THE INFLUENCE OF PARENTING ON CHILDREN’S ACADEMIC

ACHIEVEMENT: COMPARISON BETWEEN THE

UNITED STATES AND JAPAN

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Akiko Watabe

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This study examined the influence of parenting on academic achievement among elementary school children in the United States and Japan based on Baumrind’s parenting typology. The applicability of Baumrind’s parenting typology to Japanese children’s academic outcomes is not clarified yet. Previous works have shown that authoritative parenting tends to yield positive academic outcomes for Western children. Conversely, Asian children are likely to attain better academic goals with authoritarian parenting. These two parenting styles have been revealed as typical parenting models in both Western culture and Asian culture. However, in modern times, the characteristic parenting style that belongs to each culture may be changed by a new generation of
parents. Thus, it was hypothesized that (a) authoritarian parenting will be associated with higher academic achievement among modern American children, and (b) authoritative parenting will be associated with higher academic achievement for modern Japanese children. Two hundred and eight students from an American elementary school and 312 students from a Japanese elementary school completed each measure of achievement goal orientations and parental attitudes toward them. After the data was collected, bivariate correlations, a one-way multivariate analysis of variance, and a two-way factorial analysis of variance were utilized to analyze the data. Support was found for the hypothesis that American children acquire the benefit of academic achievement with authoritarian parenting style today. There was no support for the hypothesis that contemporary Japanese children obtain higher academic achievement with authoritative parenting style.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Students who have higher academic achievement are at an advantage in terms of positive outcomes such as joy, pride, and happiness (Elliot & Dweck, 2005). Having higher academic achievement has been associated with positive characteristics, including self-esteem, self-efficacy, and motivation (Bandura, 1997). Conversely, lower academic achievement is linked to low levels of particular achievement goals (Boon, 2007). Academic success in terms of higher academic achievement has long been thought to be the path to a stable livelihood and a successful future (Hyde & Kling, 2001). How is academic success produced? It may relate to having high academic achievement in childhood (Englund, Luckner, Whaley, & Egeland, 2004). If this is an appropriate interpretation, what factors influence children’s academic achievement? Although there are likely many factors that influence academic success (e.g., peer relationships, school environments), parenting styles may be especially an important influence on academic success (Eccles, 2004; Gentry, Gable, & Rizza, 2002; Gutman & Midgley, 2000; Juvonen & Wentzel, 1996). Moreover, in different cultures (e.g., different countries and environments), there may be some diversity in children’s academic achievement because of parenting style differences between countries (Chao, 2001; Phillipson, 2006; Pong, Johnston, & Chen, 2010; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). Thus,
parenting styles in different cultures may differentially impact children’s academic achievement.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the present study is to examine the influence of parenting styles on children’s academic achievement using the theoretical model and framework identified by Steinberg et al. (1992). This theoretical model indicated that parental factors (e.g., authoritative parenting, parental involvement in schooling, parental encouragement) and adolescent factors (e.g., acceptance/involvement with parents, academic outcomes) play a significant role in the academic achievement of adolescents (Steinberg et al.). Although this past research identified the influence of different parenting styles across ethnicity on adolescents, the influence of parenting styles across ethnicity on younger children is not yet clear. On the other hand, Baumrind (1966, 1967) identified specific parenting typology, and several past researchers demonstrated the association between Baumrind’s parenting typology and children’s academic outcomes in different cultures (Brown & Iyengar, 2008; Chao, 1994, 2001; Park & Kim, 2010; Pong et al., 2010). However, the potential application of Baumrind’s parenting typology (Baumrind, 1966, 1967) to Japanese cultures and Japanese children’s academic achievement has not been clarified yet. Thus, the goal of the present study is to explore the relationship between parenting styles and elementary school children’s academic achievement across the different countries and to identify the applicability of Baumrind’s parenting typology to Japanese children’s academic outcomes.
The Definition of Academic Achievement

According to Bandura (1997), academic achievement consistently relates to positive identity structures, which encompass self-esteem, self-efficacy, and motivation. On the other hand, Zimmerman (2001) revealed that academic achievement can be defined as self-regulated learning, including excellence in sports, arts, culture, behavior, confidence, and communication skills, and it shows how learners control their emotion, feelings, and actions in order to academically achieve. Also, Dweck and Elliott (1983) proposed that “achievement” is conceptualized in terms of “competence.” For example, achievement in Western societies tends to be conceptualized as individual, self-defining, accomplishment in the prototypical domains of school, sports, and work (Dweck & Elliott, 1983; Elliot & Dweck, 2005).

The Definition of Parenting

The term “parenting” frequently refers only to “mothering,” and past research examining “maternal influence” clearly does not measure father’s influence (Stevenson-Hinde, 1998). Domenech-Rodriguez, Donovick, and Crowley (2009) demonstrated that parenting styles are beneficial for understanding complex behaviors and attitudes in categories, and these are associated with child outcomes. Thirty-five years ago, Dawkins (1976) described parenting (in terms of parental behaviors) as the most functional activity. Parenting encompasses pleasures, privileges, and profits as well as frustrations, fears, and failures. Thus, parents can find an interest and derive considerable and continuing pleasure in their relationships and activities with their children (Dawkins, 1976). Nine parenting styles are commonly represented: (1) authoritative, (2) demanding,
(3) traditional, (4) authoritarian, (5) undifferentiated, (6) democratic, (7) permissive, (8) nondirective, and (9) rejecting-neglecting (Baumrind, 1989). It is important to note that current researchers have also found that parenting styles are often adapted by previous generations (Brown & Iyengar, 2008) and are passed down by culture.

**The Definition of Culture**

The concept of “culture” may be highly diverse in other cultures (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008). For instance, if the word “culture” is mentioned in Japan, most Japanese think to match the concept with flower arranging or a tea ceremony rather than the broader aspects of culture. In the United States, the term “culture” is described more broadly as a range of structures, events, activities, and behaviors in our lives, and culture involves several aspects of life (Matsumoto & Juang, 2008). Kim (2001) asserted that culture is defined as the collective utilization for natural and human resources to achieve desired results. Differences in cultures exist due to individuals having different goals, using different ways and resources to achieve them, and connecting different meanings to them (Kim & Park, 2006). Differences in academic achievement and parenting styles can reflect different values at the cultural level (Kim & Park, 2006).

**The Essential Prior Work**

Baumrind’s (1966, 1967) typology of authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting styles in the context of adolescent academic performance was examined by Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, and Fraleigh (1987). Findings indicated that authoritative parenting positively related to grades; conversely, both authoritarian and permissive parenting negatively related to grades. However,
authoritarian parenting is inclined to have a stronger relationship with grades rather than the other two parenting styles. This is because authoritarian parenting tends to be characterized by power.

Similarity, Steinberg et al. (1992) revealed that in western cultures, authoritative parenting likely produces benefits of higher academic performance for adolescents. By contrast, in Asian cultures, non-authoritative parenting is expected to be related to higher school achievement for adolescents.

Hypotheses

Although several parenting styles have been discussed, I focused on authoritative and authoritarian styles between America and Japan because these two parenting styles have been revealed as typical parenting models in both western culture and Asian culture (Chao, 1994; Park & Kim, 2010; Pong, Hao, & Gardner, 2005; Steinberg et al., 1992). Previous works also indicated that there is diversity in parenting styles between these two cultures. However, in modern times, the parenting styles that characterize each culture may be different due to a new generation of parents. Thus, I hypothesized that (a) authoritarian parenting will be associated with higher academic achievement among modern American children, and (b) authoritative parenting will be associated with higher academic achievement for modern Japanese children. On the basis of these hypotheses, I examined how parenting influences children’s academic achievement and compared children’s academic achievement between the United States and Japan. First, I conducted survey research at an elementary school both in the United States and in Japan. The study included 312 second through sixth grade Japanese
elementary school students, as well as 208 second through sixth grade American elementary school students. The students responded to questions about gender, age, and grade, and then completed a 10-item questionnaire examining achievement goal orientations and their parents’ attitudes toward them. The items were adopted from the Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ) (Buri, 1991) and past studies (Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Pong et al., 2005). Second, after I collected the data, I used bivariate correlations, a one-way multivariate analysis of variance, and a two-way factorial analysis of variance to analyze the data. The present study aims to provide a framework for future research to further understand the influence of parenting styles on children’s academic achievement across different countries, and it assesses the applicability of Baumrind’s parenting typology (Baumrind, 1966, 1967) to Japanese children’s academic achievement.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Forty-five years ago, studies of socialization of competence determined that different sorts of parenting would produce different children’s behaviors (Baumrind, 1966, 1967). Also, Baumrind (1966, 1967) classified the original parenting style prototype into three categories: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive.

Parenting Typology, Pattern, and Dimension

Over two decades, theories of socialization (Baumrind, 1989, 1991) found that parenting styles are crucial in children’s academic and other outcomes, and parenting is categorized in nine styles: 1) authoritative, 2) demanding, 3) traditional, 4) authoritarian, 5) undifferentiated, 6) democratic, 7) permissive, 8) nondirective, and 9) rejecting-neglecting. In particular, authoritative, traditional, authoritarian, permissive, and rejecting-neglecting clearly have the most distinctive influence on children’s development and are considered prototypes (Baumrind, 1989). Authoritative, demanding, and traditional parenting styles are classified as parents in an engaged pattern, and authoritarian parenting style is categorized as a restrictive pattern. Democratic, undifferentiated and permissive parenting styles are described as a lenient pattern,
whereas, nondirective and rejecting-neglecting parenting styles are considered an unengaged pattern (Baumrind, 1989).

The typology of parenting styles is important because children’s developmental outcomes are structurally relative (Pong et al., 2010). Although Baumrind (1966) did not outline parenting dimensions in her original manuscript, Maccoby and Martin (1983) suggested that Baumrind’s parenting styles represent two dimensions: demandingness and responsiveness. Demandingness is conceptualized by the standards and demands set by parents, such as control and supervision. On the contrary, responsiveness refers to parent’s response and communication with their children, such as warmth, acceptance, and involvement (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Subsequently, the third dimension of parenting style was found as autonomy granting, which refers to allowing children autonomy and individual expression within the family (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). However, this dimension was not usually included in statistical analyses in past research (Lamborn et al., 1991). Stewart and Bond (2002) claimed that parenting dimensions are universal, so they provide better measures for parenting behaviors in specifically ethnic cultural groups in which the culture-specific meaning of the behavior may be different. The present study examines only scores obtained from the authoritarian and the authoritative subscales of the Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ) (Buri, 1991), as well as a score acquired from the authoritative subscale of the Measures of Parenting Styles and Social Capital (Pong et al., 2005).

According to Baumrind (1989) and Maccoby and Martin (1983), there are four patterns of parenting styles and two dimensions. First, parents in the engaged pattern
are authoritative, demanding, and traditional. Authoritative parents have high demandingness and high or medium responsiveness (Baumrind, 1989; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Moreover, authoritative parents reasonably attempt to direct their children’s activities and use more warm control, positivity during communication, feelings-oriented reasoning as well as induction, and more responsiveness to children’s questions (Mize & Pettit, 1997). Interestingly, adolescents with authoritative parents reported higher grades in school performance than adolescents with neglectful parents, and demonstrated stronger school orientation, school engagement, and bonding with teachers than adolescents with neglectful parents (Steinberg, Blatt-Eisengart, & Cauffman, 2006). Demanding parents are medium responsive and high demanding (Baumrind, 1989). Traditional parents exhibited a different structural role between mothers and fathers. For example, mothers are highly responsive; however, relatively understanding. In contrast, fathers are highly demanding, but quite coercive and nonresponsive (Baumrind, 1989).

Second, parents in the restrictive pattern are identified as authoritarian. Parents in this type attempt to sharpen, control, and evaluate the behavior and attitude of their children which is usually formulated by a higher secular authority (Baumrind, 1989). The parents are high on demandingness and low on responsiveness (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Additionally, children and adolescents with authoritarian parents were reported as having low self-esteem and spontaneity, as well as withdrawal, antisocial, and delinquent behaviors (Coie & Dodge, 1998). Parents in this pattern value obedience as a virtue and are punitive and forceful (Baumrind, 1989).
Third, parents in the lenient pattern are composed of democratic, permissive, and undifferentiated parents. Democratic parents are high responsive and medium demanding (Baumrind, 1989). Permissive parents are low or medium demanding and high responsive. Also, parents in this type highly accept their children and make some demands for the children’s behavior. The parents allow their children fundamental self-regulation (Baumrind, 1989). Furthermore, Fite, Stoppelbein, and Greening (2009) found that permissive parenting styles are associated with readmission for both Black and White children who are hospitalized in child psychiatric inpatient facilities. Although undifferentiated parents did not fit any of the criteria for any classification in Baumrind’s study, the mean score in the undifferentiated parents did not significantly differ from the mean scores of parents in the lenient pattern. Therefore, undifferentiated parents are included in this pattern (Baumrind, 1989). Children of the undifferentiated parents would be expected to have the greater risk for emotional and behavioral problems (Fite et al. 2009).

Fourth, parents in the unengaged pattern are exemplified in rejecting-neglecting and nondirective parents. By contrast, nondirective parents are low demanding and medium responsive (Baumrind, 1989). Rejecting-neglecting parents are low relative to both demandingness and responsiveness and are unlikely to take part in their children’s activities. Interestingly, Ehnvall, Parker, Hadzi-Pavlovic, and Malhi (2008) found that female depressed patients who underwent rejected or neglected parenting in their childhood had a higher chance of attempting suicide at least once during their lifetime. In contrast, males who had rejected or neglected experiences in their childhood were not as at risk of suicide attempts.
Defining Academic Achievement

Achievement motivation concepts were studied even at the beginning of psychology as a scientific field of study. Early on, there were implications about how achievement is connected to self-evaluation, which was suggested by James (1890). Later, McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, and Lowell (1953) determined guidelines for the research on achievement motivation in scientific psychology. In fact, the achievement motivation literature has not clearly defined the concept of “academic achievement,” but most researchers agree that academic achievement is characterized by doing or achieving at school: in class, in a laboratory, in library, or in fieldwork (Fuligni, 1997; Johnson & Johnson, 1989; Maehr & Nicholls, 1980).

A majority of researchers found that academic achievement involves self-efficacy beliefs, which means perceived self-efficacy in one’s capabilities for the academic domain that contributes independently to academic achievement (Bandura, 1997; Pajares & Schunk, 2001; Schunk & Zimmerman, 1994). Moreover, firm belief in one’s self-efficacy yields the endurance that is exemplified by children’s beliefs, which can regulate their own learning. These are children’s efficacy for academic activities, and their academic achievement is increased by their self-efficacy (Zimmerman & Bandura, 1994; Zimmerman, Bandura, & Martinez-Pons, 1992). Hejazi, Shahraray, Farsinejad, and Asgary (2009) also demonstrated that academic self-efficacy beliefs have a mediating effect on the association between academic achievement and identity styles. On the other hand, Bandura (1997) defined that self-efficacy is a cognitive resource that encompasses an individual’s belief or confidence in one’s capability to effectively function in behaviors toward desired goals.
According to Dweck and Elliott (1983), academic achievement is defined as individual or self-defining complete performance in the domains of school, sports, and work; however, “achievement” is conceptualized by meaning of “competence,” which has a substantial impact on emotion and well-being. Competence is operative across the lifespan, and it is obvious in all individuals across cultural boundaries (Dweck & Elliott, 1983; Elliot & Dweck, 2005; Geppert & Halisch, 2001; Veroff, Depner, Kukla, & Douvan, 1980). The current study will use Dweck and Elliott’s (1983) definition of academic achievement. This is because the academic achievement questionnaire used in the present study, the Performance Versus Learning Goals (Dweck & Leggett, 1988), was created using this theoretical framework.

**Parenting, Parental Control, and Academic Achievement**

It is generally agreed that parenting style influences self-efficacy, self-esteem, and identity development, which are associated with academic achievement (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). The progress in children’s achievement is influenced by the decision that is made by both parents and their children to cooperate or confront each other (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). Furthermore, children’s academic motivation and behavior are directly influenced by family activities and parents’ behavior, which are seen as the external factor. For instance, there is a positive outcome for both parents and children when parents interact in a fun and loving way during children’s homework time. Conversely, when parents are neglectful, academic disengagement and problem behavior are generated (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). One study found that mothers who were better to modulate emotion and ability to both intimacy and autonomy had children who had
higher scores for verbal and math achievement (Skowron, 2005). Parents are seen to communicate their characteristics or explanations for their children’s achievement in terms of day-to-day interactions and behavior with their children (Phillipson, 2006). Therefore, parents are influenced by their children’s academic achievement, and children’s achievement is, in turn, influenced by their parents (Phillipson & Phillipson, 2007).

The foundation for parenting style and academic achievement is formed by the belief systems and attitudes in parents and their children (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). For example, Pastorelli et al. (2001) found that children with authoritarian parents perceive themselves as less efficacious for self-directed learning. In general, children are enhanced by authoritative parents and show higher academic competence, social development, self-perception, and mental health compared to children with authoritarian and permissive parents (Baumrind, 1966, 1967; Dornbusch et al., 1987; Lamborn et al., 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Children’s self-concepts at home or at school are influenced by parents’ views, whether positive or negative, and can be an important factor for academic achievement (Sarason, Pierce, Bannerman, & Sarason, 1993). For instance, the study of mathematics achievement in China and the United States showed that American children believed that they were making appropriate progress in school even if they were not. This notion was consistent with their parents’ expression of high satisfaction with their children’s advance of academic ability. In contrast, Salili, Chiu, and Hong, (2001) found that Chinese parents placed a high value on effort rather than ability to make sure their
children have high academic achievement. Also, they obviously indicated higher expectations for their children’s academic performance.

Other researchers examined the relations among parental behaviors, parental expectations, and children’s academic achievement (Englund et al., 2004). Although results of this study did not refer to specific dimensions of the parenting style, findings clarified that early parenting factors, such as involvement in school and parent-child interaction, are significant for children’s academic achievement (Brown & Iyengar, 2008).

Parental control with regard to children is relative to parenting style (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). Baumrind (1991) pointed out four dimensions of parenting control: (1) assertive control that contains firm, clear, nonrestrictive monitoring of adolescents’ activities and life-style as well as confrontation and enforcement of rules; (2) supportive control mentions considerateness, responsive discipline, principled use of rational explanations to influence adolescent, intellectual stimulation, and encouragement of individuation; (3) directive/conventional control involves restrictive control and conventional values; and (4) intrusive control refers to officiousness, over-control, and disruption of the child’s independence. Additionally, two sorts of parental control were found: behavioral control is likely to assist development by supporting necessary supervision, and psychological control is thought to inhibit development through an excessive control (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). Most researchers accept that behavioral control positively leads to children’s achievement, and children’s academic success across grades, gender, and ethnicities is largely produced by authoritative parenting styles and active parental involvement (Dornbusch et al., 1987; Steinberg et al., 1994).
Harkness and Super (1995) asserted that lifespans of individuals in families and communities create “culture.” Also, a developmental study of culture determines a better understanding of how parents think, feel, and act towards their children. The individual parenting style arises in the wake of acculturation, assimilation, and actualization based on different cultures, so cultural and environmental differences influence the role of parenting (Brown & Iyengar, 2008). For example, Chao (1994) demonstrated the differences in cultural systems between Chinese Americans and European Americans through the cultural concept of training. According to the research, Chinese parenting was represented as “restrictive,” “controlling,” “authoritarian,” or “rejecting.” Even though these parenting styles have been indicated to be associated with poor school achievement in European-American students (Steinberg et al., 1992), Chinese-American students have had benefits for their school performance. Chao (1994) focused on the concept of chiao shun that is explained as the notion of training for children in the suitable or expected behaviors. Moreover, the concept of training was developed into the term guan which means “to govern,” and the additional meanings are “to care for” and “to love.” Western parenting styles do not have the equivalent concepts of chiao shun and guan, and these specific concepts do not sufficiently accord with authoritarian style (Chao, 1994).

In addition, Steinberg et al. (1992) insisted that advantages of authoritative parenting may differ depending on the particular ethnic groups. For instance, European American, African American, Asian American, and Hispanic American were compared
to look at the influence between parenting styles and academic achievement for adolescents. There were surprising findings that European American, African American, and Hispanic American adolescents’ higher school achievement was significantly predicted by authoritative parenting, but this was not the case for Asian American adolescents. Also, Steinberg et al. (1992) found that the parents of European American adolescents were most likely to use authoritative parenting. In contrast, Asian American adolescents’ parents were the least likely to use authoritative parenting.

Interestingly, Park and Kim (2010) examined the association between perceived parenting styles and family conflict for Asian American college students. The results indicated that authoritarian parenting was perceived as the highest by Asian Americans, and followed by authoritative and permissive styles. This accords with the findings of past researchers that authoritarian parenting tends to be performed more often by Asian American parents (Chao, 1994; Pong et al., 2005). On the one hand, the results showed that parents who are strongly connected to Asian values tend to support authoritarian parenting, which results in increased family conflict. On the other hand, parents who have a higher level of authoritative parenting reported less family conflict. Further, a significant association between permissive style and family conflict was not found. This interesting result should be interpreted that lenient parenting may lead to less family conflict, alternatively, overly autocratic and restrictive parenting may generate more family conflict for Asian American families (Park & Kim, 2010).

Pong et al. (2010) reexamined the link between parenting and school performance among Taiwanese adolescents. Even though Taiwanese culture was formed by Japanese colonialism, it was a province in the People’s Republic of China (P.R.C.) for
much longer than it was kept to be the colony in Japan. Therefore, Taiwan claims several aspects of a common Chinese culture, such as filial piety, respect for the elderly, and a high value for education, which were shared by Chinese in Hong Kong or mainland China. The tenacious Chinese culture in Taiwan may exist due to the basis of this circumstance, though these two countries geographically locate in a different place. Thus, it was originally thought Chinese parenting that is authoritarian yields a great number of benefits on school performance for Taiwanese adolescents. However, there were novel findings that authoritarian parenting is negatively associated with children’s school achievement in both the United States and Taiwan as well as among European-Americans and Asian-Americans (Pong et al., 2010). The association between authoritarian parenting and ethnic difference on academic achievement is composed of two components: differential distribution of parenting style across ethnic groups (distribution difference), and the impact of parenting styles on achievement (relationship difference) (Chao, 2001; Pong et al., 2010). The result of this study indicated that the distribution difference between authoritarian and authoritative parents was small. In other words, parents of Asian American and Asian students were slightly more authoritarian. This means that the proportion was only slightly higher compared with authoritative parents (Pong et al., 2010). Also, Pong et al. (2010) found that the impact on school performance (relationship difference) was smaller compared with other family background variables. Thus, the importance of its function on Asian academic achievement may have been overstated.
Academic Achievement Across Cultures

As noted earlier, academic achievement is mediated by self-efficacy that includes beliefs in one’s capabilities (Bandura, 1997). For example, academic, athletic, or business abilities with higher belief of self-efficacy induced better outcomes than those with lower efficacy belief. Thus, students in the United States, Europe, and Asia, who had the belief of self-efficacy to train themselves, to improve cognitive skill, and to acquire the necessary support from parents, teachers, and friends, performed well in school (Bandura, 1997; Kim & Park, 2006).

A small number of studies examined the differential effects of parental involvement on students’ academic achievement in American ethnic groups (Hong & Ho, 2005). For instance, achievement in White adolescents was immediately enduringly affected by parental aspiration and communication, whereas parental participation and involvement were enormously effective on achievement in the Asian American adolescents. Moreover, parental educational aspiration only for a short term affected achievement in the African American adolescents, but achievement in the Hispanic adolescents was essentially affected by parental communication.

Interestingly, Cheung (1982) found that higher grade point averages in college are more likely to be obtained by Asian students, even though their parents had less education and family income than parents of European American students. On the other hand, there was tremendous diversity among Asians on academic achievement that Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and South Asians perform better than Southeast Asians, Filipinos, and Pacific Islanders (Kao, 1995). In addition, Asian Americans make more effort toward their school work, and they spend more time on academic activities that
might improve their academic ability, such as music or language lessons, attending a tutoring school, private tutoring, and after-school study groups (Kao, 1995). Conversely, they spend less time on activities that conflict with their academic work, such as working household chores, having a part-time job, and less engagement in dating (Chen & Stevenson, 1995; Kao, 1995).

Salili et al. (2001a) demonstrated that students from different cultures have different beliefs about what helps them to succeed or fail in school, and they use different strategies and skills to attain their academic goals. For example, Chinese students make more effort and work harder to gain intellectual ability and to reach success than Western students (Salili et al., 2001a). Exertion from Chinese beliefs about the relationship between effort and ability yields positive academic performance. In other words, its belief generates parents and teachers to put students under pressure to work harder in order to make better outcomes. However, working hard was negatively associated with academic performance in most high achievers in China and low achievers in Hong Kong (Hong, 2001). On the other hand, Chinese students rarely reveal characteristics such as low self-esteem and low anticipation of future success (Weiner, 2001). This suggests that Chinese children’s motivation for academic goals might be culturally influenced by Chinese Confucian and parental expectations.

**Culture, Parenting Style, and Academic Achievement in Western Countries**

Generally speaking, Western cultures have been described as focusing on independence and individualism in terms of childrearing and education (Georgiou, 1999). Children likely understand the conception of family responsibility, and they generally
take responsibility for themselves. There are differences of the degree of autonomy for children between one Western country and another. For example, some Western cultures have family structures with closer family bonds and more family responsibility (Chen & Lan, 1998). Nonetheless, Western children are ordinarily deemed to be more individualistic in their aims and achievement goals, and western parents tend to have more flexible expectations and put less pressure on their children to achieve academic success (Georgiou, 1999).

Salili, Chiu, and Lai (2001b) found that studying time for European Canadian students positively correlated with their academic outcomes. This means that Western students could make better academic performance if they would work harder. On the other hand, Western students are influenced by various factors to obtain better academic outcomes, such as ability, task difficulty, and mood for their academic success and failure (Tuss, Zimmer, & Ho, 1995). Thus, a major cause of success or failure for Western students is not generally deemed by effort (Phillipson, 2006).

According to Power, Kobayashi-Winata, and Kelley (1992), mothers in the United States were eager for children to start socialization in early age, and many more rules should be set for their children to follow. Mothers also supported the idea that children should be given more advice about the socialization process. This means mothers placed a special emphasis on early autonomy promotion. Additionally, American mothers highly tend to respond to children’s misbehavior with material/social consequences (Power et al., 1992).
It is generally agreed that Japanese culture is more collective and less individualistic than the United States (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997). Japanese people are described to be more sensitive to social harmony, which has been valued since the middle of the 17th century (Kojima, 1996). In other words, most Japanese pay a great deal of attention to what other people think and evaluate. Sensitivity toward social evaluation is involved with shame (Crystal, Parrott, Okazaki, & Watanabe, 2001). Japanese individuals have learned what is shameful in terms of internalizing the conception, which is sekentei that is the “eyes” of other people who watch the behavior for an individual (Asai & Kameoka, 2007). Furthermore, Japanese people tend to place greater emphasis on social hierarchy and obedience to authority (Kitayama et al., 1997). In addition, Japanese families are more likely to emphasize the value of respect for parental authority than that of Western families. However, Japanese adolescents are less impacted by parental control over their individual and private behavior than American adolescents (Kitayama et al., 1997). Thus, family patterns in Japan are outlined by a path toward symbiotic harmony, which is generated by an emphasis on others’ expectations through childhood and good relationships with parents and peers in adolescence (Hasebe, Nucci, & Nucci, 2004). In contrast, family patterns in the United States take steps with the final goal of accomplishing the child’s individuality and independence.

Other researchers found that Japanese individuals are not necessarily more collective than Americans (Oysterman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). The coexistence of individualistic and collectivistic tendencies within cultures is drawn out by coexistence
of various concerns in society and the broadly-based nature of social judgments and reasoning of individuals (Killen & Wainryb, 2000). In short, there is diversity in the social orientations of individuals within cultures.

The research for Japanese mothers’ views of young children contended that Japanese mothers profoundly focus on the maintenance of social harmony, and they encourage young children to be empathetic and to avoid bothering others (Ujiie, 1997; Yamada, 2004). Past researchers also found that Japanese childrearing encompasses individualistic values: respect for autonomy, competence, and self-development of young children (Hess, Kashiwagi, Azuma, Price, & Dickson, 1980). Japanese mothers carefully train their children in appropriate communication, bodily movement, and reasonable behavior, though early child rearing is characterized by considerable permissive parenting (Lanham & Garrick, 1996). Furthermore, Japanese mothers prefer to use reasoning and explanation for persuading young children to positively behave rather than to use power-assertive ways, such as force (Ujiie, 1997). Japanese mothers believe that children’s knowledge of self is crucial to understand others and to attain cooperation (Hendry, 1986).

Caudill and Schooler (1973) maintained that modal descriptions of Japanese parenting are accorded with indulgent amae that is anxiously emotionally involved in nonrestrictive. In general, amae is defined as the ability that is to depend and suppose on another’s love or bask in another’s indulgence (Doi, 1992). In other words, amae is yielded by “sweet” feelings. Though amae seems to be a negative meaning, it does not typically obtain disapproval in Japan (Niiya, Elsworth, & Yamaguchi, 2006). Therefore, amae is one of the unique and main cultures in Japan and is more essential and more
frequently experienced. However, there is the potentiality that it exists in non-Japanese cultures (Niiya et al., 2006).

Although Baumrind (1966, 1967) determined three parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive, as the original prototype among mothers from the United States, two contrastable parenting styles are applicable to the Japanese. One study conducted cluster analyses to find cultural and individual differences in early socialization patterns for mothers of 3- to 6-year-old children from Japan and the United States (Power et al., 1992). The first is “indulgent style” that is consistent with the parenting approach in Japanese child-rearing, which was described by several past researchers (e.g., Azuma, 1986; Caudill & Schooler, 1973; Doi, 1992; Lanham & Garrick, 1996; Power et al., 1992). These mothers are extremely permissive, and they handle child misbehaviors by talking with the child. Also, mothers seldom use material methods such as social consequences. In this context, young children do not sufficiently mature to independently understand and are placed the responsibility for household rule as the next step. Thus, they are treated with somewhat leniency by parents (Power et al., 1992). The second is “strict style” that refers to the change of parent-child interactions around age five to six (Norbeck & Norbeck, 1956; Power et al., 1992). This is involved with a parental decision that the child has the ability to behave more responsibly. Moreover, this change is reported as a shift to less permissive and slightly less nurturant parenting in which a child is anticipated to come up to family standards. Interestingly, almost 25% of the Japanese mothers reported American parenting style, which is predominantly either permissive or authoritative. However, only less than 5% of
American mothers showed Japanese parenting style that is either indulgent or strict (Power et al., 1992).

Power et al. (1992) also found that Japanese mothers’ views on child rearing revealed that young children should be tolerated and indulged and be made fewer demands at the early age. Mothers were inclined to report responding with reasoning and scolding their children when their children misbehaved. Therefore, the authoritarian style does not correspond with Japanese parenting in this study because Japanese parents place on reasoning with their children. In particular, Japanese mothers tend to encourage their children to show respect for authority. They were more likely to keep their most powerful effective manner of discipline, which is physical punishment, for situations involving direct conflict toward maternal authority, such as lying (Kitayama et al., 1997; Power et al., 1992).
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Participants

The study included 208 children in the United States (117 girls and 91 boys; the mean age = 9.22; \( SD = 1.66 \)) and 312 children in Japan (153 girls and 159 boys; the mean age = 9.41; \( SD = 1.73 \)): 60 second graders, 72 fourth graders, and 76 sixth graders in the United States, as well as 99 second graders, 96 fourth graders, and 117 sixth graders in Japan. American children were enrolled in one public elementary school in Stockton, California, whereas Japanese children were enrolled in one public elementary school in an urban area in Fukuoka.

Measures

Children were asked to complete a questionnaire, including the following measures: parenting style and academic achievement.

Parenting Style

The Parental Authority Questionnaire (PAQ) (Buri, 1991) was used to measure perceived parenting style. The PAQ includes 30-item questionnaire with three subscales designed to measure Baumrind’s authoritarian parenting style (e.g., My parents expect me to always obey them), authoritative parenting style (e.g., My parents give me comfort and understanding when I am upset), and permissive parenting style (e.g., My
parents did not view themselves as responsible for directing and guiding my behavior as I was growing up).

The PAQ has verified good test-retest reliability, content validity, and discriminant validity for the three parenting scales. Internal consistency reliability has also been determined and produced the following alphas for each subscale: .82 for Mother Authoritative, .85 for Mother Authoritarian, .75 for Mother Permissive, .85 for Father Authoritative, .87 for Father Authoritarian, .74 for Father Permissive (Buri, 1991). However, this study focused on only two parenting styles: authoritarian and authoritative, so the subscale for permissive parenting style was not used. Furthermore, the subscales for mother authoritative and mother authoritarian were utilized as each subscale for authoritative parents and authoritarian parents, respectively. This is because “parenting” terminologically often refers to “mothering” (Stevenson-Hinde, 1998). Both of those parenting styles were indicated twice in the questionnaire for creating four subscales. Each item was responded using a 5-point Likert rating scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Also, each item was adopted to be answered by children.

In addition, Measures of Parenting Styles and Social Capital (Pong et al., 2005) was utilized to measure authoritative parenting style (e.g., My parents and I have a good relationship, and I am close to my mom and dad). The average of authoritative parenting for Cronbach’s alpha values is .79 for the mother and .85 for the father. The subscale for mother authoritative was used as the subscale for authoritative parents in the current study. This item was responded using a 5-point Likert rating scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) as well. Thus, there were five subscales to measure parenting style.
Academic Achievement

The Performance Versus Learning Goals (Dweck & Leggett, 1988) was utilized to measure children’s academic achievement. These questionnaires measure children’s goals in achievement situations, which are an orientation toward mastery, increasing competence and skills, and learning goals (e.g., I want to get an “Excellent” grade in school because it shows me that I have learned the material). Also, the questionnaires show children’s orientation toward outcomes, winning positive judgments, and looking intelligent goals (e.g., I am frustrated when the teacher or books explain things more than I need to understand for the quiz). The five achievement goal items were utilized in terms of focusing on academic achievement in the present study, so learning goal items were not used.

Each factor scale has good internal consistency reliability with the Achievement Goal scale produced a Cronbach’s alpha of .76 and the Learning Goal scale produced an alpha level of .65. The current study analyzed results from five subscales of Achievement Goal with 5-point scale that was adopted from 6-point scale, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

Procedures

School consent (the United States and Japan) and parental consent (the United States only) were obtained before the survey was conducted at each school. It should be noted that due to cultural norms, parental consent was not required at the school in Japan. All participants were informed about the confidentiality and anonymity in the study and were encouraged to respond honestly to the questionnaire. The American children
completed the questionnaire during the school hours in November 2010, whereas the Japanese children completed the questionnaire during school hours in July 2010. The survey research took about 10 minutes to complete. After the research, participants were debriefed with the purpose of the study.

Analytic Strategy

The data was collected, and all analyses were performed. The present study attempts to examine which parenting styles and factors influence children’s academic achievement in the different cultures. Bivariate correlations, a one-way multivariate analysis of variance, and a two-way factorial analysis of variance were utilized to examine how authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles are related to each academic factor across the United States and Japan, how academic achievement and parenting style differ across the two countries, and how academic achievement differ as a function of each grader and the two countries, respectively.
CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Interitem Reliability

Interitem reliability of all subscales for academic achievement and parenting style was calculated to ensure all scales which were found reliable in this study. Cronbach’s alpha for Academic Achievement subscale ($M = 21.99$, $SD = 3.31$) was .76. Parenting Style ($M = 20.58$, $SD = 3.51$) produced alpha level of .62. Even though the alpha level of Parenting Style was less than .70, this should be impacted by only the five items. Scales with a small number of items (e.g., less than 10) are sometimes difficult to obtain a decent Cronbach alpha value (Pallant, 2007).

Findings of Correlations

A new measure of authoritarian style was created by summing the variables measuring strong parental encouragement (1 to 5 scale), parental expectation (1 to 5 scale), and obeying your parents (1 to 5 scale) into a single composite measure ($\alpha = .52$), as well as parent comfort (1 to 5 scale) and parent closeness (1 to 5 scale) into a single composite measure for a new measure of authoritative style ($\alpha = .63$). The new measure of authoritarian style had a potential range of 3 to 15, and responses for it actually ranged from 4 to 15 ($M = 11.87$; $SD = 2.55$), as well as a potential range and actual range for the new measure of authoritative style were from 2 to 10 ($M = 8.70$; $SD = 1.69$).
Bivariate correlations were computed between authoritarian, authoritative, enjoy school, excellent learn, the importance of doing well in school, aspiration, and try hard for American children and Japanese children separately. For American children, using a two-tailed test and a .05 alpha level, the correlations that obtained statistical significance were between authoritarian and enjoy school, $r(206) = .51, p < .001$, excellent learn, $r(206) = .51, p < .001$, importance of doing well in school, $r(206) = .46, p < .001$, aspiration, $r(206) = .53, p < .001$, and try hard, $r(206) = .54, p < .001$. Also, there were significant correlations between authoritative and enjoy school, $r(206) = .46, p < .001$, excellent learn, $r(206) = .36, p < .001$, importance of doing well in school, $r(206) = .29, p < .001$, aspiration, $r(206) = .42, p < .001$, and try hard, $r(206) = .33, p < .001$. Thus, both authoritarian and authoritative parenting were highly associated with enjoy school, excellent learn, importance of doing well in school, aspiration, and try hard among American children. For Japanese children, using a two-tailed test and a .05 alpha level, the correlations that obtained statistical significance were between authoritarian and enjoy school, $r(310) = .28, p < .001$, excellent learn, $r(310) = .19, p < .001$, importance of doing well in school, $r(310) = .23, p < .001$, aspiration, $r(310) = .28, p < .001$, and try hard, $r(310) = .29, p < .001$. Also, there were significant correlations between authoritative and enjoy school, $r(310) = .25, p < .001$, excellent learn, $r(310) = .37, p < .001$, importance of doing well in school, $r(310) = .17, p < .001$, aspiration, $r(310) = .27, p < .001$, and try hard, $r(310) = .29, p < .001$. Thus, both authoritarian and authoritative parenting were moderately associated with enjoy school, excellent learn, importance of doing well in school, aspiration, and try hard among Japanese children (See Table 1).
Table 1

Summary of Correlations in Both the United States and Japan for Scores on the Enjoy School, Excellent Learn, Do Well, Aspiration, and Try Hard as a Function of Academic Achievement Between Authoritarian and Authoritative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Achievement Variable</th>
<th>Authoritarian US</th>
<th>Authoritarian Japan</th>
<th>Authoritative US</th>
<th>Authoritative Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enjoy School</td>
<td>.51**</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>.46**</td>
<td>.25**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent Learn</td>
<td>.51**</td>
<td>.19**</td>
<td>.36**</td>
<td>.37**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Well</td>
<td>.46**</td>
<td>.23**</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.17**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration</td>
<td>.53**</td>
<td>.28**</td>
<td>.42**</td>
<td>.27**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Try Hard</td>
<td>.54**</td>
<td>.29**</td>
<td>.33**</td>
<td>.29**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Enjoy School = I enjoy going to school because it gives me a chance to show my abilities; Excellent Learn = I want to get an “Excellent” grade in school because it shows me that I have learned the material; Do Well = Doing well in school is important to me; Aspiration = Someday, I would like to go to school so I could become a lawyer, doctor, professor, or get a good job; Try Hard = I want to try hard in school so I can get excellent grades on my report card.

**p < .01.

Results of Multivariate Analysis of Variance

Academic Achievement

A one-way MANOVA was used to analyze five individual self-reported children’s academic achievement measures (enjoy school; excellent learn; the importance of doing well in school; aspiration; try hard) as a function of two countries (Japan; United States).
A significant multivariate main effect across the five variables was found, Wilks $\Lambda = .81$, $F(5, 514) = 23.50$, $p < .001$. Univariate ANOVAs on the children’s academic achievement measures indicated significant country differences for enjoy school, $F(1, 518) = 40.61$, $p < .001$, for excellent learn, $F(1, 518) = 7.57$, $p = .006$, for aspiration, $F(1, 518) = 18.17$, $p < .001$, and for try hard, $F(1, 518) = 34.19$, $p < .001$ (see Table 2).

Table 2

MANOVA Comparing Children’s Academic Achievement Between the United States and Japan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>United States $M$ ($SD$)</th>
<th>Japan $M$ ($SD$)</th>
<th>$F$</th>
<th>$P$</th>
<th>Partial $\eta^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enjoy School</td>
<td>4.32 (.87)</td>
<td>3.71 (1.19)</td>
<td>40.61</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent Learn</td>
<td>4.55 (.75)</td>
<td>4.73 (.73)</td>
<td>7.57</td>
<td>.006*</td>
<td>.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do Well</td>
<td>4.61 (.75)</td>
<td>4.55 (.92)</td>
<td>.504</td>
<td>.478</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration</td>
<td>4.63 (.71)</td>
<td>4.29 (1.02)</td>
<td>18.17</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Try Hard</td>
<td>4.66 (.65)</td>
<td>4.18 (1.06)</td>
<td>34.19</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.062</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Enjoy School = I enjoy going to school because it gives me a chance to show my abilities; Excellent Learn = I want to get an “Excellent” grade in school because it shows me that I have learned the material; Do Well = Doing well in school is important to me; Aspiration = Someday, I would like to go to school so I could become a lawyer, doctor, professor, or get a good job; Try Hard = I want to try hard in school so I can get excellent grades on my report card.

All variable scores range from 1-5. *$p < .05$. 
Parenting Style

Another one-way MANOVA was used to analyze parenting styles across two countries (Japan; United States) as factors. These factors were used to examine four dependent variables (parental comfort; parental expectations; close relationship with parents; obeying your parents), which are components of parenting styles.

A significant multivariate main effect was found for the two countries across those parenting style variables, $\Lambda = .71$, $F(5, 514) = 42.67, p < .001$. Significant univariate effects were found for parental encouragement, $F(1, 518) = 62.31, p < .001$, parental expectation, $F(1, 518) = 5.03, p = .025$, and obeying your parents, $F(1, 518) = 166.49, p < .001$ (see Table 3).

Results of Factorial Analysis of Variance

Although no specific predictions were made, the following measures were examined as an exploration of grade (age) differences on children’s academic achievement between the United States and Japan.

A new measure of achievement was created by summing the variables measuring enjoy school (1 to 5 scale), excellent learn (1 to 5 scale), importance of doing well in school (1 to 5 scale), aspiration (1 to 5 scale), and try hard (1 to 5 scale) into a single composite measure ($\alpha = .76$). This new measure had a potential range of 5 to 25, and responses for it actually ranged from 6 to 25 ($M = 21.99; SD = 3.31$).

Factorial analysis of variance was used to determine the effect of country (the United States/Japan) and grade (second grade; fourth grade; sixth grade) on academic achievement. This 2x3 analysis indicated two significant main effects. A main effect for
Table 3

*MANOVA Comparing Parenting Style Between the United States and Japan*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>Japan</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>Partial $\eta^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$M$ ($SD$)</td>
<td>$M$ ($SD$)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Com</td>
<td>4.29 (.91)</td>
<td>4.34 (1.07)</td>
<td>.322</td>
<td>.571</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Sen</td>
<td>4.18 (1.02)</td>
<td>3.29 (1.39)</td>
<td>62.31</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Exp</td>
<td>4.51 (.82)</td>
<td>4.31 (1.07)</td>
<td>5.03</td>
<td>.025*</td>
<td>.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Close</td>
<td>4.38 (.86)</td>
<td>4.38 (1.05)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.985</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parent Obey</td>
<td>4.59 (.77)</td>
<td>3.34 (1.25)</td>
<td>166.49</td>
<td>.000*</td>
<td>.243</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* The parental prototype represented in parenting behavior by each item is meant as follows: **authoritarian and ***authoritative. Parent Com = My parents give me comfort and understanding when I am upset; Parent Sen = My mom or dad frequently says to me, “You study hard.”; Parent Exp = My parents have high expectations for me; Parent Close = My parents and I have a good relationship and I am close to my mom and dad; Parent Obey = My parents expect me to always obey them.

All variable scores range from 1-5. *p < .05.

grade, $F(2, 514) = 18.86, p < .001$, was examined further with Trend tests. A significant linear trend ($p < .001$) across grade was found. The liner trend accounted for 99.35% of the between-groups variance; this is shown in Figure 1. A main effect for country, $F(1, 514) = 22.43, p < .001$, indicated children from the United States ($M = 22.78, SD = 2.96$) had significantly higher academic achievement than children from Japan ($M = 21.46, SD = 3.44$). None of the interactions between grade and country were significant, which is depicted in Figure 2.
Figure 1. Significant univariate effects for grade.
Figure 2. Achievement by grade and country.
CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

General Discussion

This study was conducted to explore – contrary to past conceptualizations and research – whether modern American children have higher academic achievement with the authoritarian parenting style or modern Japanese children have higher academic achievement with the authoritative parenting style. The results indicated that there is a surprising effect of the two countries on the components of children’s academic achievement and parenting styles. One hypothesis was supported in this study. American children do seem to acquire the benefit of academic achievement with the authoritarian style today. In contrast, both authoritarian and authoritative styles should not yield higher benefits for Japanese children’s academic achievement.

First, the bivariate correlation showed contemporary American children’s academic achievement was highly associated with both authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles. Conversely, modern Japanese children’s academic achievement was somewhat less impacted by the two parenting styles. For the Japanese children, other parenting styles or factors, such as school environments, peer relationships, or interactions with teachers, might more strongly influence their academic achievement (Power et al., 1992). More research is needed to examine this possibility.
Second, there was evidence that differences between the two countries significantly impact enjoy school, excellent learn, aspiration, try hard, strong parental encouragement, parental expectations, and obeying your parents. Contrary to predictions, there was no evidence that each country significantly impacts the importance of doing well in school, the parent comfort, and the parent closeness variables. American children have higher academic achievement for enjoy school, aspiration, and try hard, but not for excellent learn. Conversely, Japanese children have higher academic achievement for excellent learn only (see Table 2). Why do Japanese children not have higher academic achievement for enjoy school, aspiration, and try hard? In fact, these findings may reflect an interesting cultural difference. In terms of the concept “enjoy school” in the question, it is possible that this difference may indicate that Japanese children often feel shame when they make a mistake in class or miss a question (Crystal et al., 2001; Mapes, 2008), so they may not want to show their academic ability to others. For example, some children do not raise their hands to give an answer to a question in the classroom even if they know the answer. Furthermore, “aspiration” in the question might have been interpreted by modern Japanese children as having an interest in different occupations (not only lawyer, doctor, or professor). Lower achievement for “try hard” suggests that modern Japanese children may not care as much about their report card as American children do. This is because the report card in modern Japan enormously shows and evaluates more children’s attitudes in their school life than their academic grades. For instance, Japanese elementary school students are assessed on how well they make standard greetings: *ohayo gozaimasu* (good morning) and *sayonara* (goodbye). Also, the report card indicates how well students remember to bring necessary items to school,
such as *uwabaki* (shoes worn only inside school), gym clothes, calligraphy sets, and water color sets. Bringing these items is Japanese elementary school students’ responsibilities. Furthermore, Japanese second graders (lower graders) are evaluated on whether they are kind to animals and respect plants (Gordenker, 2001).

Third, there was evidence that American children have perceived that their parents are more authoritarian. Although, “strong parental encouragement” in the question obviously meant authoritarian style for Japanese children, it might mean authoritative cheering for children in the United States. “Parental expectations” in the question might also encompass another meaning for children from Japan; for example, it might have meant both authoritative and authoritarian. However, scoring significantly lower for “obeying your parents” reflects modern parenting in Japan. In contemporary Japan, the parents are unlikely to often use force with their children. This may be because fathers are particularly not eager to be disliked by their children. This situation should be associated with indulgent child-rearing, especially for younger children (Caudill & Schooler, 1973; Power et al., 1992). Again, more research is needed to explore this possibility.

Fourth, the results of a two-way factorial ANOVA suggested that children in both the United States and Japan have higher academic achievement in second (lower) graders and less academic achievement in six (upper) graders. In other words, children in a lower grade (i.e., younger children) are associated with having higher academic achievement. This is consistent with the past research that early elementary school students gain more academic achievement in terms of their relationship with teachers who are supportive and positively influence children’s academic outcomes (Cadima,
Leal, & Burchinal, 2010; Hughes & Kwok, 2007). On the other hand, academic achievement for elementary school upper graders (i.e., older children) is likely to be impacted by peer acceptance (Ruhland, Gold, & Feld, 1978). For example, when peer acceptance is high, achievement motivation and academic performance for upper grader elementary school children are also high. Therefore, if peer relationships are poor, it may cause lower academic achievement to older children. Academic achievement for upper grader children should be more influenced by peer relationships than a link with teachers. In the present study, teacher-child relationships and peer relationships were not measured, so future research should incorporate these scales to clarify how academic achievement for elementary school children are influenced by teachers or peers.

Fifth, the results demonstrated that academic achievement for children from the United States is significantly higher than that of Japanese children. This should be revealed that Japanese educational policy has been shifted to Yutori Education since 2002. The Japanese government gradually reduced the amount of class time and the content of the curriculum in primary education to improve the past educational issue that was characterized by rote learning or “cramming.” Yutori Education may be translated into English as “education free from pressure” or “relaxed education” (“Yutori Education,” 2011). However, there has been controversy in this educational policy. This is because academic abilities for Japanese students began to decline after this new educational policy was applied. For instance, in recent years, results of Japanese education performance test (PISA) have not kept up an international level. This new educational policy may have produced lower academic achievement for modern Japanese children. In contrast, children from the United States have higher academic achievement.
This is consistent with the past research that Western children generally have higher academic motivation and self-esteem than Asian children (Kim & Park, 2006). This is impacted by Western children’s own academic performance and may not necessarily reflect parental expectations (Georgiou, 1999). Thus, Western children spontaneously should realize the importance of having higher academic achievement without the impact from their parents. On the other hand, regarding academic ability, such as math or reading achievement, Asian children showed higher math or reading achievement than Western children (Chen, Lee, & Stevenson, 1996; Stevenson et al., 1985). This means that academic motivation or self-esteem for Western children is high, though their academic ability is not higher than that of Asian children. Conversely, math or reading ability for Asian children is high, but their academic motivation and self-esteem are poor.

Overall, past researchers found that authoritarian parenting is related to negative academic outcomes for European-American, Asian-American, American, and Taiwanese students (Pong et al., 2010), although other past researchers have indicated that authoritative parenting styles are more likely to yield higher academic benefits for Western adolescents, but not for Asian adolescents (Steinberg et al., 1992). On the other hand, one study showed that Chinese parenting styles are not described as an authoritarian style. This is because there are specific concepts in parenting style in China (Chao, 1994). Thus, the relationship between parenting styles and academic achievement should be focused on several issues. In the present study, both authoritarian and authoritative styles should not yield higher benefits for Japanese children’s academic achievement. In contrast, American children acquire the benefit of academic achievement with the authoritarian style today. What parenting style produces academic benefits for
contemporary Japanese children? Are Baumrind’s other parenting typologies applicable in terms of measuring Japanese children’s academic achievement? Even though modern American children show academic benefits with authoritarian parenting, there might be other parenting styles, which yield academic benefits for the children. Because this study only looked at two parenting styles, more research on the relationship between parenting styles and academic achievement needs to be conducted.

Limitations

There are a number of limitations in this study to take into consideration when interpreting the results. First, participants responded to the survey questionnaire as self-report responses. Thus, social desirability may have factored into the response. For example, some participants may predict what the study was examining and responded to the questionnaire accordingly. This means participants may respond in a way they think that the researcher wants. Second, although each questionnaire was adopted to be answered by elementary school children, the questions might have been difficult to understand, especially for second grade children. For instance, they might mark only “5” on the questionnaire when the second graders were puzzled what to answer. Thus, some of the answers may be unreliable. Third, no parent data was collected. Though each parenting item in the present study was scored by perception of children toward their parents, parent response on the questionnaire could provide different opinions and more suggestions for parenting styles. For example, some parents may believe that overprotection is good for children, but children may perceive this as stressful and strongly restrictive. Therefore, there may be diverse views for parenting between parents
and children. Finally, when all survey questionnaires were translated into Japanese, there might have been cultural differences in understanding the concepts. These differences could have influenced the meaning of the questionnaires for the children.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future research should include data on parents’ views regarding children’s academic achievement and parenting styles. It would be interesting to explore how parents perceive their children’s achievement and their own parenting. The results may differ from that of children’s views.

Future research should also focus on the applicability of Baumrind’s other parenting typologies on academic achievement in both the United States and Japan. In other words, how do the other parenting styles positively or negatively influence academic outcomes for modern children in each of these countries?

The influence of teacher-student relationships on children’s academic achievement should be examined in future research. It is possible that lower grader, such as first or second grade, elementary school students may gain more positive academic performance by teacher encouragement (Cadima, Leal, & Burchinal, 2010; Hughes & Kwok, 2007). Therefore, the scale of teacher-student relationship for children from the United States and Japan needs to analyze particularly for younger children. Longitudinal research would be useful to explore this issue.

Future research should also examine the influence of peer relationships on academic achievement. This is because academic performance for upper grader children, fifth or sixth grade, are likely to be influenced by peer relationships (Ruhland et al.,
This would be well worth consideration as a reexamination of the past research, and it would be interesting to understand how achievement for contemporary children from the United States and Japan is impacted by peers.

Lastly, past researchers found that Chinese parents place higher value on effort rather than ability regarding children’s academic achievement (Salili et al., 2001a). Chinese adolescents also tend to make a lot of efforts for academic goals with high parental expectations (Weiner, 2001). In other words, they work harder to make better academic outcomes under parental pressure. However, in this situation, its academic goal may be attained for the sake of their parents. This means that some Chinese adolescents may not have accepted their academic achievement as their own goals. They may have made efforts to have better academic achievement for sake of parental expectations. Is academic achievement for Asian students created by parental expectations rather than their own determination? Thus, future research comparing Western culture and specific Asian cultures (e.g., United States versus Japan versus China) on this point is needed.
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DESCRIPTION FOR PARENTS/
GUARDIANS

Dear ___ grade and parents/guardian,

I am writing to ask for your help with a research study that will look at how children’s academic achievement is influenced by their parents who have different parenting styles. All grade students at __________ School have been selected to take part in the study. This study has been reviewed and approved by California State University, Chico. Please contact Dr. David R. Hibbard at 530-898-5430 if you have questions about this study.

**Description of study:** The procedure for the study is simple. Your child (and others) will be asked several questions in which involve age, grade, gender, academic achievement, and parent. The questions are survey-type questions in which your child will remain anonymous. The entire process will take only about 10 to 15 minutes of your child’s class time.

Your child is under no obligation to participate in this study. However as a researcher, I am dependent on the good will and cooperation of families like yours in carrying out studies. Other than the feeling of satisfaction gained from having contributed to advancing our knowledge of students’ development, it is unlikely that your child will reap any personal benefits from taking part in this study. You can be confident, however, that your child’s effort will not be a waste of time.

You can also be assured that your child’s participation in the study will be entirely confidential. The results from the study will be reported in terms of group findings, and at no time will names or other identifiers of individuals be reported. Although there are no foreseeable risks in taking part in this study, your child will be free to withdraw from the study at any time during the procedure.

I encourage you to complete the attached permission forms and return them to the school as soon as possible. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated. If you have any questions, please e-mail awatabe@mail.csuchico.edu or call me at 415-734-1262.

Sincerely,

Akiko Watabe
Graduate Student, MA Psychological Science Program
California State University, Chico
PARENT’S CONSENT FOR STUDENT
TO PARTICIPATE

The Influence of Parental Behaviors on Children’s Academic Achievement
Conducted by Akiko Watabe
Graduate Student, MA Psychological Science Program
California State University, Chico
E-mail: awatabe@mail.csuchico.edu
Phone: (415) 734-1262

I understand each of the following:

1. I may refuse to have my child participate or may elect to have him or her withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences.

2. My child may refuse to answer any questions that he or she does not wish to answer.

3. That all my child’s responses will be kept confidential under the limits of the law.

4. If the study design or the use of the data is to be changed, I will be so informed and my consent re-obtained.

5. That if I have any questions, concerns, or comments about the study or the informed consent process, I may write or call the chair of the Department of Psychology, California State University, Chico, CA, 95929-0234, (530) 898-5147.

I have read the above statement and acknowledge receiving a description of what my child will be doing in the study. I hereby consent to have my child participate in the research study “The Influence of Parental Behaviors on Children’s Academic Achievement.”

Print child’s name

Print parent’s or guardian’s name Relationship to child

Signature of parent or guardian Date
Title of Study: The Influence of Parental Behaviors on Children’s Academic Achievement

Principle Investigator: Akiko Watabe, (415) 734-1262

To be read to the students before giving the survey:

Purpose of Study: The present study is being conducted to better understand the influence of American parenting styles on academic achievement in American elementary school children.

Duration: Your participation in this study will require approximately 10 minutes.

Procedures: You will be asked to answer a few questions that will ask you about your parent’s attitudes and behaviors. You will also be asked about how you feel about school.

Potential Risks: The questions are pretty simple, but if you feel uncomfortable answering any question, you may skip the question. If you have any questions or concerns, do not hesitate to speak with the researcher.

Potential Benefits: Taking part in this study may help you have a better understanding of your parent’s attitudes, your academic goals and your feelings about school.

Protection of Confidentiality: When you receive your survey, please do not write your name on it. Your answers are confidential, which means that no one will know how you answered the questions.

Right to Refuse or to Withdraw from the Study: Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to begin your participation or continue your participation at any time. You may also refuse to answer some questions while you continue to answer others.

Questions: You may ask the researcher any question about the study or the survey at any time.

If no questions, students who choose to participate will then be given a survey.
APPENDIX D
Thank you for participating in this study!

Your answers will help me to understand the relationship between parenting styles and school achievement among elementary school children in the United States. In other words, I am interested in how your relationship with your mom or dad affects how you feel about school. This has been studied in other countries, but this is one of the first research studies to look at these specific aspects of school achievement among American elementary school students.

Do you have any questions or concerns about this study?

Thanks again!
APPENDIX E
SURVEY FOR AMERICAN CHILDREN

★ How old are you? ______  ★ What grade are you in? ______
★ I’m a ____ boy ____ girl
★ I enjoy going to school because it gives me a chance to show my academic abilities.
   Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree
★ I want to get an “Excellent” grade in school because it shows me that I have learned the material.
   Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree
★ Doing well in school is important to me.
   Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree
★ Someday I would like to go to school so I could become a lawyer, medical doctor, professor, or so I can get a good job.
   Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree
★ I want to try hard in school so I can get “Excellent” grades on my report card.
   Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree
★ My parents give me comfort and understanding when I am upset.
   Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree
★ My mom or dad frequently says to me, “You study hard.”
   Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree
★ My parents have high expectations for me.
   Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree
★ My parents and I have a good relationship, and I am close to my mom and dad.
   Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree
★ My parents expect me to always obey them.

Strongly Disagree  1  2  3  4  5  Strongly Agree
APPENDIX F
アンケート

★いま、あなたは、なんさいですか？
★いま、あなたは、なんねんせいですか？
★ぼくは、おとこのこです。
★わたしは、おんなのこです。
★わたし（ぼく）は、手をあげて、はっぴょうすることが、すきです。
【まったく、そうおもわない 1 2 3 4 5 たいへんとても、そうおもう】

★わたし（ぼく）は、テストで100てんを、とりたいです。
【まったく、そうおもわない 1 2 3 4 5 たいへんとても、そうおもう】

★がっこうで、よいせいせきをとることは、だいじです。
【まったく、そうおもわない 1 2 3 4 5 たいへんとても、そうおもう】

★しょうらい、わたし（ぼく）は、よいしごとを、したいので、だいがくに、いきたいです。
【まったく、そうおもわない 1 2 3 4 5 たいへんとても、そうおもう】

★わたし（ぼく）は、つうしんひょうに、“よくできる”
を、たくさんとるために、べんきょうします。
【まったく、そうおもわない 1 2 3 4 5 たいへんとても、そうおもう】

★わたし（ぼく）の、おとうさん、あるいは、おかあさんは、わたし（ぼく）の、なやみ（かなしけることや、こまっていること）を、きいてくれます。
【まったく、そうおもわない 1 2 3 4 5 たいへんとても、そうおもう】

★おとうさん、あるいは、おかあさんは、わたし（ぼく）に、なんども「べんきょうしなさい」と、いいます。
【まったく、そうおもわない 1 2 3 4 5 たいへんとても、そうおもう】

★おとうさん、あるいは、おかあさんは、わたし（ぼく）が、どのような、おとなになるのか、たのしみにしています。
【まったく、そうおもわない 1 2 3 4 5 たいへんとても、そうおもう】
わたし(ぼく)と、おとうさん、あるいは、おかあさんは、なかよしです。
【まったく、そうおもわない 1  2  3  4  5  たいへんとても、そうおもう】

おとうさん、あるいは、おかあさんは、わたし(ぼく)が、いつも言うとおりにする、とおもっています。
【まったく、そうおもわない 1  2  3  4  5  たいへんとても、そうおもう】