Cross-Cultural Comparison of Relational Values of Asians: Analysing the World Values Survey, International Social Survey Programme, and AsiaBarometer

MAY CHO MIN[1, 2]* and JIRO TAKAI[1]

Introduction

Social interaction occurs within relational and situational contexts, which are substantially influenced by cultural norms, standards, traditions, and customs. According to Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, social interactions within the microsystem, such as with family, friend, teachers, peers etc., affect the individual's developmental process. Moreover, the actual culture of an individual, known as the macrosystem, such as socioeconomic status of the person and/or his/her family, his/her ethnicity or race, and living in a developing or well-developed country, is also affected (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994). Therefore, the process of human development has important societal level consequences, and in particular, it has great impact on relational values of the social interaction context of each country.

Research conducted by cross-cultural scholars have indicated differences in cultural variation, including individualism versus collectivism, independent versus interdependent cultures, tight versus loose cultures, materialism versus post-materialism, survival versus self-expression values, and autonomy versus embedded-

ness. A myriad of cross-cultural studies have proven that Western cultures are more individualistic than Eastern cultures, which are typically collectivistic. In collectivist societies, social context plays a crucial role in people's perceptions and causal reasoning, and meaning is contextualized (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). While collectivist values harmony within their group, individualistic people are expected to be independent. However, according to Hofstede's value dimension of "individualism", some Asian countries, for example, Japan, India, and Iran, score relatively highly on individualism (Hofstede, 1980). Moreover, although Asian countries are in the same geographical area, they have different political and economic states. In order to elucidate the importance of context, it is necessary to focus on relational values of Asian people.

Furthermore, recent research in dealing with the theoretical framework of Gelfand et al.'s (2011) tight versus loose cultures indicates that tightness scores of almost all Asian countries are higher than the overall mean scores, except for Hong Kong. This indicates that most Asian countries are tight cultures, but some can be considered loose. Countries with high tightness scores have strong norms and a low tolerance toward deviant behavior while those that are not tight have weak norms and a high tolerance for individual differences. Tightness-looseness also affects distal ecological, historical, and institutional contexts and in everyday situations. This suggest that social interaction context of everyday situations is a highly influential factor in the way people interact with one another.

Most previous studies had featured Asian cultures, mainly as a comparative standard with Western cultures, picking up major Asian countries like China, Japan, and South Korea, while ignoring the rest. Very few stud-

---

* Correspondence concerning this article should be sent to: May Cho Min, Graduate School of Education and Human Development, Nagoya University, Furo-cho, Chikusa-ku, Nagoya, Japan 464-8601.
(E-mail: maycho.mn@gmail.com)
名古屋大学大学院教育発達科学研究科博士課程（後期課程）（指導教員：高井次郎教授）
1) Graduate School of Education and Human Development, Nagoya University, Japan
2) Department of Educational Psychology, Yangon University of Education, Myanmar

ies had actually focused solely on the broader physical region of Asia. In Asia, intra-regional interactions have been deepening and broadening much faster than antici-pated (Inoguchi, 2002, cited in Inoguchi, 2005). However, Asian countries cannot be bunched into one general group, as they have widely varying values, religions, be-liefs, political systems, and economies, and which impact their social development, despite the fact that they are in the same geographical area. In light of this fact, different relational values of the societies need to be considered.

For decades, cross-national social surveys have been conducted in Europe and some Asian countries, as well as most of the world. In particular, many Asian countries have participated in worldwide surveys, such as World Values Survey (WVS) and International Social Survey Pro-gramme (ISSP), as well as Asia-centered surveys, such as the AsiaBarometer, East Asia Value Survey, the Asian Barometer (East Asia Barometer, ABS), and East Asian Social Survey (EASS). Since ABS is a comparative survey of mainly public opinions on political values, democracy, and government, and focuses specifically on East Asian countries, we decided to analyze the data sets from the World Values Survey (WVS), International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), and the AsiaBarometer. Therefore, this study aims to explore the impact of relational values on social interaction context in intra-regions of Asia as

reflected through analyses of the following multinational surveys and databases.

World Values Survey

The World Values Survey (WVS), one of the most wide-ly used and authoritative cross-national and time-series surveys, investigates values and beliefs, cultural stability or change over time and the impact of values on social and political development in different countries around the world. Up to now, six waves have been conducted based on the European Values Study (EVS), which first was carried out in 1981. The seventh round of the WVS program is planned for 2017-2018. Survey years, number of participating countries, and specific countries in East Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia in each wave of WVS are shown in Table 1. Further details on WVS and data access of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th waves of WVS are published at www.worldvaluessurvey.org.

International Social Survey Programme

The International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) conducts annual surveys on diverse topics relevant to social sciences. It was established in 1984 by its founding members Austria, Germany, Great Britain, and the US and started the survey in 1985, followed by Asian coun-tries joining it in 1991. The survey years, topics, number

Table 1 *Survey Years, Number of Participating Countries, and Participating Countries of East, Southeast, and South Asia in Each Wave of WVS*

Wave	Survey Year	No of Countries	Participating Countries		
			East Asia	Southeast Asia	South Asia
1st	1981-1984	20	Japan, South Korea, China		
2nd	1990-1994	42	Japan, South Korea, China		India
3rd	1995-1998	55	Japan, South Korea, China, Taiwan	Philippines	India, Bangladesh, Pakistan
4th	1999-2004	65	Japan, South Korea, China	Philippines, Vietnam, Indonesia, Singapore	India, Bangladesh, Iran, Pakistan
5th	2005-2009	66	Japan, South Korea, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan	Indonesia, Vietnam, Malaysia, Thailand	India, Iran
6th	2010-2014	57	Japan, South Korea, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan	Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Singapore	India, Pakistan

Note. Participants of the 6th wave of WVS: Japan=2443, South Korea=1200, China=2300, Hong Kong=1000, Taiwan=1238, Malaysia=1300, Thailand=1200, Philippines=1200, Singapore=1972, India=5659, Pakistan=1200.

Table 2 *Survey Years, Survey Topics, Number of Participating Countries, and Participating Countries of East, Southeast, and South Asia in ISSP*

Year	Survey Topic	No of Countries	Participating Countries		
			East Asia	Southeast Asia	South Asia
1985	Role of Government I	6	-	-	-
1986	Social Networks I	7	-	-	-
1987	Social Inequality I	10	-	-	-
1988	Family and Changing Gender Roles I	8	-	-	-
1989	Work Orientations I	11	-	-	-
1990	Role of Government II	10	-	-	-
1991	Religion I	17	-	PH	-
1992	Social Inequality II	17	-	PH	-
1993	Environment I	21	JP	PH	-
1994	Family and Changing Gender Roles II	23	JP	PH	-
1995	National Identity I	23	JP	PH	-
1996	Role of Government III	24	JP	PH	-
1997	Work Orientations II	25	JP	PH	BD
1998	Religion II	31	JP	PH	-
1999	Social Inequality III	26	JP	PH	-
2000	Environment II	26	JP	PH	-
2001	Social Network II	28	JP	PH	-
2002	Family and Changing Gender Roles III	34	JP, TW	PH	-
2003	National Identity II	34	JP, TW, SK	PH	-
2004	Citizenship I	38	JP, TW, SK	PH	-
2005	Work Orientation III	32	JP, TW, SK	PH	-
2006	Role of Government IV	33	JP, TW, SK	PH	-
2007	Leisure Time and Sports I	34	JP, TW, SK	PH	-
2008	Religion III	41	JP, TW, SK	PH	-
2009	Social Inequality IV	41	JP, TW, SK, CN	PH	-
2010	Environment III	32	JP, TW, SK	PH	-
2011	Health and Health Care I	33	JP, TW, SK, CN	PH	-
2012	Family and Changing Gender Roles IV	41	JP, TW, SK, CN	PH	IN
2013	National Identity III	33	JP, TW, SK	PH	IN
2014	Citizenship II	34	JP, TW, SK	PH	IN
2015	Work Orientation IV	24	JP, TW	PH	-

Note. JP=Japan, PH=Philippines, CN=China, SK=South Korea, TW=Taiwan, IN=India, BD=Bangladesh.

of participating countries, and the participating countries of East, Southeast, and South Asia are presented in Table 2. This study focused on the survey topic of social networks in particular, from the ISSP 2001 data. Further details on ISSP and data access are available at http://www.issp.org/about-issp/.

AsiaBarometer

The AsiaBarometer Survey, the comparative survey in Asia covering almost all regions of Asia such as East, Southeast, South and Central Asia, focuses on daily lives of ordinary people asking about their aspirations, apprehensions, ambitions and their relationships to family, neighborhood, workplace, social and political institutions and marketplace. Table 3 describes survey years, number of participating countries, and participating countries from East, Southeast, and South Asia in the AsiaBarometer Survey. Further details on AsiaBarometer and data

Table 3 *Survey Years, Number of Participating Countries, and Participating Countries from East, Southeast, and South Asia in the AsiaBarometer Survey*

Survey Year	No of Countries	Participating Countries		
		East Asia	Southeast Asia	South Asia
2003	10	Japan, South Korea, China	Myanmar, Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia	India, Sri Lanka
2004	13	Japan, South Korea, China	Myanmar, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Vietnam, Singapore, Brunei	
2005	14	Mongolia		India, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Maldieves, Nepal, Afghanistan
2006	7	Japan, South Korea, China, Hong Kong, Taiwan	Vietnam, Singapore	
2007	7		Myanmar, Malaysia, Thailand, Philippines, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos	
2008	4	Japan, China	Indonesia	India

Note. Participants of AsiaBarometer 2003: Japan= 834, South Korea= 795, China= 789, Malaysia= 799, Thailand= 800, Vietnam= 807, Myanmar= 800, India= 822, Sri Lanka= 798; Participants of AsiaBarometer 2004: Japan= 821, South Korea= 816, China= 799, Malaysia= 798, Thailand= 800, Vietnam= 800, Myanmar= 800, Cambodia= 812, Laos= 800, Indonesia= 824, Singapore= 795, Brunei= 804, Philippines=800; Participants of AsiaBarometer 2006: Japan= 1000, South Korea= 1023, China= 1999, Hong Kong= 1000, Taiwan= 1006, Vietnam= 1000, Singapore= 1038; Participants of AsiaBarometer 2007: Malaysia= 999, Thailand= 1000, Myanmar= 1000, Cambodia= 1012, Indonesia= 1000, Philippines= 1000.

access are available at https://www.asiabarometer.org/ (Inoguchi, 2017).

The Present Study

Cross-cultural research are most likely to be based on individualism/collectivism, and the underlying assumption is that Westerners are more individualistic, and Easterners are collectivistic. To further ascertain this finding, we looked at the cultural map by Inglehart and Welzel, who plotted countries based on two axes in the "Inglehart-Welzel cultural map:" traditional values versus secular-rational values and survival values versus self-expression values. The resultant cultural mapping from the two axes can be interpreted as the following. Countries near the traditional pole emphasize the importance of religion, parent-child ties, deference to authority and traditional family values, while rejecting divorce, abortion, euthanasia and suicide. These countries also have high levels of national pride and a nationalistic outlook. In contrast, countries near the secular-rational pole place less emphasis on religion, traditional family values and

authority, while relatively accepting divorce, abortion, euthanasia and suicide. On the other hand, survival values place emphasis on economic and physical security that is linked with a relatively ethnocentric outlook and low levels of trust and tolerance, while self-expression values give high priority to environmental protection, tolerance of foreigners, gays and lesbians and gender equality, and rising demands for participation in decision-making in economic and political life.

According to "Inglehart-Welzel cultural maps" of 4th, 5th and 6th wave of WVS, among participating countries in East Asia, Japan had high secular-rational and high self-expression values, while other participating countries from East Asia except Hong Kong (South Korea, China and Taiwan) had high secular-rational and high survival values. In the 5th Wave, Hong Kong had high secular-rational and high survival values, but in the 6th Wave, it changed into high secular-rational and high self-expression values.

All participating countries in Southeast Asia except Philippines, Vietnam and Thailand (Indonesia and Malay-

sia) had high traditional and high survival values in the 4th, 5th and 6th Waves of WVS. Philippines had high traditional and high survival values in the 4th wave but shifted to high traditional and high self-expression values in the 6th wave. Similarly, Thailand had high traditional and high survival values in the 5th wave but changed to high traditional and high self-expression values in the 6th wave. In contrast with Philippines and Thailand, Vietnam had high traditional and high self-expression values in the 4th wave, altering to high traditional and high survival values in the 5th wave. All participating countries in South Asia except India (Bangladesh, Iran, and Parkistan) had high traditional and high survival values. However, India had high traditional and survival values in the 4th wave, shifting to high self-expression values and neither high nor low traditional values in the 6th wave.

Drawing from Inglehart-Welzel cultural map of the WVS waves, it is important to note here that, some Asian countries have more individualistic values. Moreover, recent studies show that traditional values have declined in China, while Japan co-exists with Western values, and South Korea emphasizes superiority role of males, typical of traditional values (Zheng, 2005). To probe further into distinctions between Asian cultures, we aimed to elucidate the relational values of social interaction context in the intra-regions of Asia.

Hypotheses

Given the above evidence from WVS, we hypothesize that the importance of family in respondents' lives is higher in countries with high traditional values (Southeast and South Asian countries) than those in low (East Asian countries) since all participating countries in Southeast and South Asia have high traditional values than those in East Asia countries (Hypothesis 1). Second, we predict that friends in respondents' lives are less important in countries with high traditional values than those in low (Hypothesis 2).

Based on ISSP 2001 data, we predict that participants from Southeast Asian countries have more contact with family and other relatives than those from East Asian countries (Hypothesis 3). Also, participants from East Asian countries have more contact with close friends than those from Southeast Asian countries (Hypothesis 4). Based on religious beliefs, we assume that participants from Philippines are more likely to participate in

church or other religious organization and charitable organization or group than those from Japan, while Japanese respondents participate more in trade union or professional association, sports groups, hobby or leisure club, neighborhood association or group and other association or group (Hypothesis 5).

Based on AsiaBarometer 2003, 2004, 2006 and 2007, we expect that participants from Southeast and South Asian countries select family as the most important social group than those from East Asian countries (Hypothesis 6). We predict that religion is chosen more by participants from Southeast and South Asian countries as the important social group than those from East Asian countries (Hypothesis 7).

Method

Sample and Data Collection

No original data collection was done by the authors, as available general social survey data sets were analyzed. The data collection methods of the data sets implemented are as follows.

The original WVS questionnaire was translated into respective languages of the countries surveyed, which serve as the first language to 15% or greater of the population. Participants were selected randomly across all residents between the ages of 18 and 85, with a minimum sample size of 1200 per country. The main method of data collection was face-to-face interview at the respondent's home/ place of residence.

The ISSP standard questionnaire was initially compiled in British English, consisting of a 15-minute long questionnaire with 60 items (not including the demographics). The questionnaire was translated into each language, taking into account necessary cultural adjustments. Sampling procedures were not uniform across each country, but attention was paid to attain a representative random sample of the adult population. Samples were collected with a norm of 1400 sample size, but in actuality, the minimum sample size was 1000. In ISSP 2001, 28 countries participated with adults aged 18 years old and older. From East, Southeast, and South Asian Countries, participants included 1321 from Japan and 1200 from Philippines. Mode of data collection was oral, paper and pencil and postal interview through a standardized questionnaire.

For the AsiaBarometer, the questionnaire was formulated in English, translated into local languages by local survey companies, and then checked through back-translation. A multi-stage-stratified random sampling procedure was used in all rounds, but in the 2006 and 2007 rounds, quota sampling was also used. Participants consisted of adults between ages 20 and 59 in all rounds, except the 2007 round, which age range was extended to age 69. The sample size was around 800 for each society in 2003-2005, and increased to around 1000 in 2006 and 2007. The questionnaire was administered through face-to-face interview, except for Japan in 2003.

Results

Importance of Family and Friend in Life Based on the 6th Wave of WVS

We focused on the item, "importance of family in life," in the 6th Wave of WVS, extracting participants from Southeast and South Asian countries for comparison with East Asian. Means indicated that family was considered to be less important in East Asian countries (see Figure 1a), with the exception of Thailand, which resembled the East more. The one way analysis of variance on importance of family showed that there was a significant effect of country on the participants' perception of importance of family in life: $F(10, 20598) = 37.57$, $p = .00$. Post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD tests indicated that countries with high traditional values tended to afford more importance to family than those with low traditional values, except for Thailand.

We then analyzed the same WVS data for the item, "importance of friend in life," conducting a similar one way analysis of variance. The ANOVA indicated that there was a significant country difference for importance of friend in life: $F(10, 20502) = 48.81$, $p = .00$. In line with our hypothesis, post-hoc comparisons using Tukey HSD tests indicated that countries with low traditional values allotted more importance to friends, than those with high, except Singapore (see Figure 1b).

Social Network Size Based on ISSP 2001

Three types of social network were examined from the 2001 ISSP data: family and relatives, friends, and participation in formal groups and organizations. According to ISSP, family network was measured as participants'

contact with their adult relatives (brothers, sisters, children, father, mother and other types of relatives such as uncles or aunts, cousins, parents-in-law, brothers- or sisters-in-law, nieces and nephews) and each participant responded to the frequency with which they were in touch with or had been in touch with in the previous four weeks. Friendship networks were examined by the number of friends in various contexts: workplace, neighborhood, and others. Participation in formal groups and organizations were examined by counting the number of formal groups and organization whose activities participants had joined in at least once during the previous 12 months.

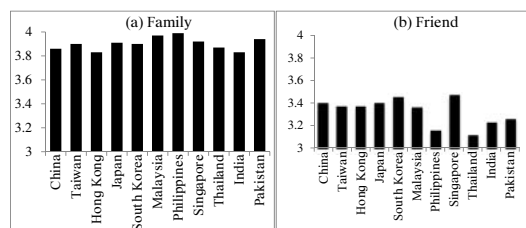Figures 2 and 3 show the summary of the comparison

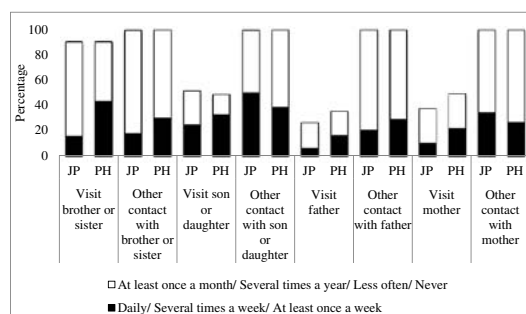Figure 1 Means of Importance of Family and Friends of Each Country

Figure 2 Percentage of Participants Visit or Other Contact with their Family and Relatives (JP= Japan, PH=Philippines)
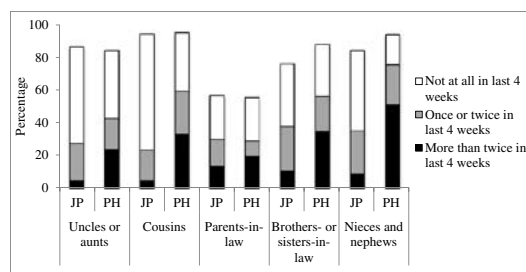

Figure 3 Percentage of Participants Visit or Other Contact with Other Types of Relatives (JP= Japan, PH=Philippines)

for the family network. As we hypothesized, there were significant associations between culture and participants' visiting brother or sister: X^2 (6) = 413.72, p = .00, other form of contact with brother or sister: X^2 (6) = 537.34, p = .00, visiting daughter or son: X^2 (6) = 103.79, p = .00, other form of contact with daughter or son: X^2 (6) = 133.12, p = .00: visiting father: X^2 (6) = 183.09, p = .00, other form of contact with father: X^2 (6) = 133.95, p = .00, visiting mother: X^2 (6) = 266.49, p = .00, and other form of contact with mother: X^2 (6) = 249.43, p = .00. In particular, Philippines participants paid more physical visits to their brother or sister, daughter or son, father, and mother more than Japanese, and had more contact in other ways as well with their brother or sister, and their father than Japanese, while the latter had more non-visit contact with their daughter or son, and their mother. With respect to other relatives, respondents from Philippines had more contact with other types of relatives than Japan. There were significant associations between culture and contact with uncles or aunts: X^2 (2) = 200.53, p = .00, cousins: X^2 (2) = 432.96, p = .00, parents-in-law: X^2 (2) = 38.16, p = .00, brothers- or sisters-in-law: X^2 (2) = 169.05, p = .00, and nieces and nephews: X^2 (2) = 549.48, p = .00.

In friendship networks, associations between culture and number of friends at workplace: X^2 (3) = 207.11, p = .00, number of friends in the neighborhood: X^2 (3) = 65.28, p = .00, and number of other close friends: X^2 (3) = 133.14, p = .00 were observed. Philippines participants had more friends at workplace and neighborhood than Japan, while the latter had more other close friends (friends at Clubs or Church) than Philippines as shown in Figure 4. Of particular interest, 49% of Japan participants answered no friend at workplace while Philippines had only 18%.

Participation in formal groups and organizations showed no significant association between culture and participation in political party, club or association: X^2 (3) = 5.05, p = .17. However, there were significant associations between culture and participation in trade union or professional association: X^2 (3) = 37.65, p = .00, church or other religious organization: X^2 (3) = 268.39, p = .00, sports groups, hobby or leisure club: X^2 (3) = 222.53, p = .00, charitable organization or group: X^2 (3) = 67.78, p = .00, neighborhood association or group: X^2 (3) = 285.10, p = .00, and other association or group: X^2 (3) = 39.99, p = .00. Philippines participated more in church or other re-
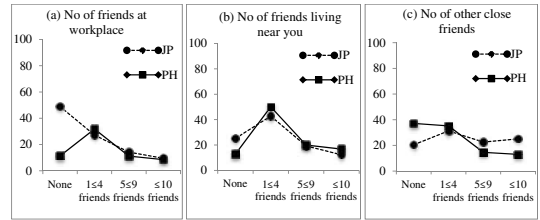

Figure 4　Percentage of Friendship Networks (JP= Japan, PH=Philippines)
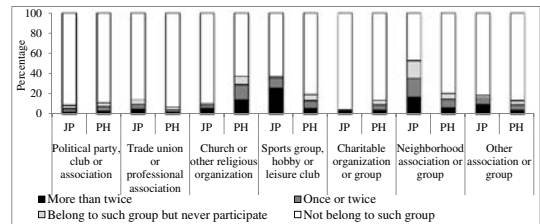

Figure 5　Participation of Formal Groups and Organizations

ligious organization and charitable organization or group than Japan, while Japanese participated more in trade union or professional association, sports groups, hobby or leisure club, neighborhood association or group and other association or group. Figure 5 describes participation in formal groups and organizations from each country.

Importance of Social Circle or Group Based on the AsiaBarometer

As apparent from the analyses on Asiabarometer 2003, 2004, 2006, and 2007, participants chose family, relatives, place of work and religion as the most important social group. The highest percentage of participants from East, Southeast and South Asian countries selected family as the most important social group. The second most important group for East Asians was the colleagues of the workplace. This contrasts with Southeast Asians (Malaysia, Myanmar, Laos, Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei, and Philippines), with the exception of Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia, who chose their religious group as the second most important social group. Further details are shown in Table 4.

Discussion

First, in consistency with Hypothesis 1, the World Values Survey indicated that societies of high traditional

Table 4 *Percentage of Participants who Chose the Most Important among Social Circle or Group in AsiaBarometer 2003, 2004, 2006, and 2007*

	Social Group	JP	KR	CN	MY	TH	VN	MM	IN	LK	KH	LA	ID	SG	BN	PH	HK	TW
2003	Family	81.5	92.1	76.7	80.1	86.9	88.2	74.6	86.5	85.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Relatives	5.6	.6	3.2	1.4	7.1	.9	.9	1.1	1.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Place of Work	4.6	4.2	11.7	2.4	2.1	4.6	6.8	4.3	1.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Religion	.7	2.5	.3	13.9	1.6	2.2	15.8	3.8	8.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2004	Family	94.3	83.6	67.7	78.8	86.9	90.0	75.6	-	-	87.1	91	65.7	92	70	94.4	-	-
	Relatives	.5	1.8	5.3	1.1	7.6	1.9	.8	-	-	2.7	4.6	3.3	.5	9.6	.4	-	-
	Place of Work	3.4	3.4	16.7	1.4	.9	2.3	8.5	-	-	4.2	1.9	2.2	1.4	3.5	1.1	-	-
	Religion	.7	3.3	-	16.4	.9	.8	11.9	-	-	2.8	-	22.7	3.5	13.1	2.5	-	-
2006	Family	94.2	87.8	74.6	-	-	92.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	93	-	-	83.6	73.5
	Relatives	1.1	2.4	5	-	-	.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	.8	-	-	2.5	4.5
	Place of Work	1.5	2.3	9.2	-	-	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	-	-	6.6	10.6
	Religion	.5	3.4	1.0	-	-	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.6	-	-	.7	.5
2007	Family	-	-	-	77.4	91.2	-	77.1	-	-	89.6	87.9	80.8	-	-	94.6	-	-
	Relatives	-	-	-	2.4	6.5	-	1.9	-	-	1.2	0	3.6	-	-	.5	-	-
	Place of Work	-	-	-	1.1	.2	-	5.6	-	-	3.4	2.7	.7	-	-	.4	-	-
	Religion	-	-	-	14.9	.8	-	12.8	-	-	2.2	3.3	9.6	-	-	3.4	-	-

Note. JP=Japan, KR=South Korea, CN=China, MY=Malaysia, TH=Thailand, VN=Vietnam, MM=Myanmar, IN=India, LK=Sri Lanka, KH=Cambodia, LA=Laos, ID=Indonesia, SG=Singapore, BN=Brunei, PH=Philippines, HK=Hong Kong, TW=Taiwan; In AsiaBarometer 2003, Labour union and political party are omitted in Myanmar and in AsiaBarometer 2004, Agricultural cooperative, commercial cooperative or industry group was omitted in China; Labour union was omitted in Brunei and Myanmar; Political party was omitted in Brunei, Laos and Myanmar; and Religion was omitted in Laos and China.

value (Southeast Asian countries) emphasize the role of family in life than those low (East Asian countries). Second, as predicted by Hypothesis 2, participants with low traditional values (East Asian countries) paid more attention to the importance of friend than those with high (Southeast and South Asian countries).

Next, the analysis of the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) data indicated that Philippines participants had more contact with both family and other relatives than Japanese, lending support to hypothesis 3. This is also in consistency with the above WVS results, since Philippines is a society with high traditional values. As for friendship network, Philippines participants had more friends at workplace and neighborhood than Japanese, while the latter had more other close friends, which was consistent with hypothesis 4. For the social network in formal groups and organizations, Philippines respondents participated more in church or other religious organization and charitable organization or group than Japanese. This finding confirmed hypothesis 5 that religion impacts relational values of social interaction context.

Hypothesis 6 was tested through AsiaBarometer, which revealed that all Asian participants selected family as the most important social group. In line with hypothesis 7, the second highest percentage of participants from Southeast Asian countries selected religion as the important social group.

The significant role of family that was found in this research shed light on the social interaction context of Asians. In nearly all-industrial societies, worldviews have shifted from traditional toward secular-rational values. In particular, the transition from industrial society to knowledge society is linked with a shift from survival values toward self-expression values. In knowledge societies, survival values are for taken for granted, and more emphasis is placed on subjective well-being, self-expression and quality of life. This value transition from tradition toward secular-rational values impacts the relational values of family in Asian countries.

The findings of this study indicated that Asian countries have different friendship networks. Asians differ

in their relationships with close friends, coworkers, and neighbors, while Westerners regard them as one category, that of friends. This is reflected in Hui, Triandis, and Yee's (1991) study which discovered that American college students treated close friend, coworkers, and business owners similarly, while Chinese distinguished between them. It is customary for cross-cultural studies to group all Asian countries as collectivists, characterizing them as favoring the in-group, preferring equality in in-group relationships, and accommodating to in-group members (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002). Our study suggested that friendship networks of Asian countries should be examined in more detail, taking into account such relational traits as intimacy and power distance, which we regard to be varied across Asian countries. This would serve to allow us to accurately interpret Asian patterns of behavior, by giving us comprehensive knowledge of the relational values of the social interaction context.

The findings of this study showed that religion also impacts the relational values of each society. This finding extends the study by Kakuda and Suzuki (2006) which discovered that 40.1% Singapore participants emphasized religion, while only 8% of Japanese participants did so (cited in Minato, 2008).

Cross-cultural researchers, working from different perspectives, tend to account for these cultural differences with the theoretical frameworks of collectivism versus individualism, materialism versus post-materialism, survival versus self-expression values, and autonomy versus embeddedness. However, these frameworks all tap a common dimension of cross-cultural variation that reflects different levels of existential security, impacting relational values in social interaction context of each society. Previous research indicated that Chinese students found relational information more useful than individuating information, with the reverse being true for American students in an uncertain social situation (Gelfand, Spurlock, Sniezek, & Shao, 2000). Therefore, needless to say, relational values of social interaction context are important in Asian cultures.

In summary, this study had four major implications. First, this study highlighted the fact that family has a significant role in countries with high traditional values compared to low. Second, to the extent that East Asian countries and Southeast and South Asian countries ex-

emplify distinct relational values, family and relatives are important in Southeast and South Asian countries while close friends are important in friendship network of East Asian. Third, this study advances the extent of influence of relational values on friendship networks. Fourth, the impact of religion on relational values of social networks had been uncovered. Therefore, the findings also provide evidence that Asian countries have different relational values of social interaction context even though cross-cultural comparisons have grouped these diverse cultures into one category as Eastern, that of collectivists.

The cross-cultural literature has extensively investigated comparison between Western and Eastern cultures, but little work had been done to investigate intra-region differences amongst Asian cultures. The widely prevailing view among cross-cultural psychologists bundle Asian countries as collectivists, and such generalization lack validity: each Asian culture has its own pattern of relational values to some extent. This study validates research by Oyserman et al. (2002), who pointed out the necessity of understanding differences between various Asian countries, having noted that among Asians, only the Chinese were less individualistic and more collectivistic (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002; Dien, 1999).

Limitations and Future Directions

This study had some limitations. For instance, the data sets were obtained from existing social surveys databases, so we had a limited pool of items dealing with relational values from which to conduct our analyses. These data surveys sampled the general population, making it difficult for us to analyze the social interaction contexts of specific groups of people distinguished by demographics, such as religion, generation, occupation, and so forth.

We also acknowledge the fact that, as a future directive, we should obtain our own data, focusing on specific variables to suit our needs, in order to probe further into relational values. While we admit that an exhaustive sampling of all Asian countries is not feasible, we should sample representative cultures from religious, political, economic, and ethnic groups, such that we may account for cultural differences based on population characteristics, not just by nation. We also deem it important to focus on individual tendencies, such as self-construals and

individual experience such as emotion, cognition and motivation (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). The potential for advancing the knowledge we have of cultural differences within Asian regions is worthy of examination from various perspectives.

References

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Ceci, S. J. (1994). Nature-nurture reconceptualized in developmental perspective: a bioecological model. *Psychological Review*, *101*, 568-586.

Dien, Do. S. (1999). Chinese authority-directed orientation and Japanese peer-group orientation: Questioning the notion of collectivism. *Review of General Psychology*, *3*, 372-385.

Gelfand, M. J., Raver, J. L., Nishii, L., Leslie, L. M., Lun, J., Lim, B. C., … Yamaguchi, S. (2011). Differences between tight and loose cultures: A 33-nation study. *Science*, *332*, 1100-1104. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1197754

Gelfand, M. J., Spurlock, D., Sniezek, J. A., & Shao, L. (2000). Culture and social prediction: The role of information in enhancing confidence in social predictions in the U.S. and China. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *31*, 498-516.

Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. CA: Beverly Hills, Sage.

Hui, C. H., Triandis, H. C., & Yee, C. (1991). Cultural differences in reward allocation: Is collectivism the explanation? *British Journal of Social Psychology*, *30*, 145-157.

Inglehart, R., & Welzel. (2005). *Modernization, cultural change, and democracy - Cambridge University Press*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from http://www.cambridge.org/catalogue/catalogue.asp?isbn=9780521609715

Inoguchi, T. (2005). *Values and life styles in urban asia: A cross-cultural analysis and sourcebook based on the Asiabarometer survey of 2003*. Siglo XXI.

Inoguchi, T., et al. (2017). AsiaBarometer Survey Data 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, and 2007. Retrieved from AsiaBarometer Project http://www.asiabarometer.org/. AsiaBarometer is a registered trademark of Professor Takashi Inoguchi, President of University of Niigata Prefecture, Japan, Director of the AsiaBarometer Project.

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, *98*, 224-253. Retrieved from https://experts.umich.edu/en/publications/culture-and-the-self-implications-for-cognition-emotion-and-motiv

Minato, K. (2008). Cross-national social survey in East Asia: World Values Survey, ISSP, AsiaBarometer, Asian Barometer, East Asia Value Survey and EASS. *JGSS で見た日本人の意識と行動 : 日本版 General Social Surveys 研究論文集* , *7*, pp-159. Retrieved from http://ci.nii.ac.jp/naid/110007709962/

Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, *128*, 3-72.

Zheng, Y. (2005). "Higashi ajia no dentoteki kachikan no hensen ni kansuru keiryo bunseki" (Cross-National Comparison of Transitions of Traditional Values in Eastern Asian Countries). *Behaviormetrics*, *32*, 161-172.

原　　　　著

ABSTRACT

Cross-Cultural Comparison of Relational Values of Asians: Analysing the World Values Survey, International Social Survey Programme, and AsiaBarometer

MAY CHO MIN and Jiro TAKAI

This study examined the impact of relational values on social interaction context in East, Southeast and South Asian countries based on data sets made available through cross-national social surveys. We hypothesized that Asian countries have different relational values in their social interaction context even though they exist in the same geographical area, and most cross-cultural analysts have grouped these Asian cultures into one category of Eastern culture, characterized as being collectivists. The current study investigated relational values of intra-regions of Asia, analysing the dataset of the World Values Survey (WVS), the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP), and the AsiaBarometer. The evidence boils down to three findings: (1) Southeast and South Asian countries, characterized by high traditional values, emphasize the role of family and relatives in life more, while East Asian countries, which have low traditional values, give more attention to the importance of friend; (2) as the social friendship network, countries with high traditional values have more friends at the work place and neighborhood than those in low, while countries with low traditional values have more close friends than those in high; and (3) the impact of religion affects each country's relational values of social network.

Key words: cross-national social survey, WVS, ISSP, AsiaBarometer, relational values,
　　　　　　 cross-cultural comparison