

A STUDY OF JAPANESE NATIONAL CHARACTER

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1. Preface.

The problem of nationality has been discussed for a long time and is still one of the current topics today. Social tension often occurs from the mutual misunderstanding which is often caused not only by the difference in logical thinking but by the difference in "the way of thinking" or "point of view" based on the feeling towards life or the social norm. Therefore, for international understanding, it is quite important to study the problem of nationality.

There are various ways to investigate this problem. One may proceed by historical consideration or statistical survey or through insight into the problem. All of them will have their own merits. But one must avoid taking such an attitude as to set up a dogmatic hypothesis and then gather only the data that support the hypothesis and try to get the conclusion. It is important to advance the study without any prejudice or preconceived judgements. We have so many studies on this problem before as well as after the second war. However, almost all of them do not seem to be based upon real data. Further, some of them only give predetermined conclusions through dogmatic deduction. We think that real data are the most necessary thing for the study of nationality and that only statistical methods can provide with such data. In fact, we took up this problem and carried out a survey all over Japan, the results of which will partly be presented in the following.

2. Purpose of Survey.

We are going to deal with the problem of nationality in a restricted sense from the statistical point of view. It might be more appropriate to say that we are going to study the nationality from one version, than to study nationality in general.

At the beginning of the survey, it would be necessary to consider what nationality means. In general, national character has been often

investigated from the following standpoint. Namely, national character does not change within a generation or a century, and is common to the whole nation. The studies based on such consideration about national character do not try to predict how the people would react under certain circumstances, but rather explain the phenomenon and interpret it a posteriori. In other words, any behavior by a Japanese would be explained as being "Japanese", and this explanation would give an impression of afterthought.

We have decided to investigate the problem of national character in an alternative way. We have tried to study quantitatively patterns of behavior, i.e., how people with different experience, career, want, expectation and outlook would react to certain stimulus under certain situations. We have tried to make clear the types of the social behavior and the way of thinking of the people as one of the problems of nationality and to see how the behavior of the people changes according to difference in age, sex, education, occupation, social status, political opinion, whether they support a progressive or conservative party, condition of the contact with mass communication, or how various phases in national character interrelate with each other and how people decide to behave under certain stimulus. In order to investigate such problems, statistical methods are indispensable, and we must design new methods to get necessary data and to describe and analyse complicated phenomena.

To deal with this problem, we give importance to the following points for deriving the conclusion: reliability of the survey, method of analysis and validity of results.

In this survey, we adopted the interviewing method to probability sample. We shall state methodological problems related to this survey.

1. the design of sample survey, especially with regard to gains from stratification and to the accuracy of the resident cards
2. questionnaire making and design of interviewing form
3. the method of quantification of qualitative responses (similar to factor analysis etc.)
4. numerical evaluation of non-sampling error (including non-response error). In interviewing survey, the interviewer plays an important role, and we have made the following study in order to evaluate interviewing biases.

- a) analysis of biases caused by difference in the technique of interviewers
 - b) investigation of reliability of checking by interviewers
 - c) inspection of interviewer's behavior in actual situations
 - d) evaluation of errors caused by interviewer's cheating
5. the survey of small scale to see how far the sample understood the question
 6. to study the method to synthesize many responses
 7. to represent quantitatively the images of the national character in the mind of well-known persons and to compare them with the data of the national survey

These methodological results were published separately in various scientific periodicals.

3. Method of Survey

The universe of the survey consists of the Japanese who live in Japan and are above 20 years old (approximately 45 million persons). We took *Si* (City), *Mati* (Town) and *Mura* (Village) as the primary sampling units, and grouped them into 160 strata. In this case, the strata were formed with approximately equal size. The criteria for stratification were geographic location, degree of urbanization, size of population, type of industry and so on, and the validity of this stratification was checked by a preliminary survey before deciding the criteria. Then we selected primary sampling units from each stratum, in proportion to its size (i.e. population in the 1950 Census), and sampled individuals from each of the selected primary units with equal probability. For sampling of individuals we made use of the resident cards.

Thus the numbers of the primary sampling units (spots) and of individuals selected were 160 and 3000, respectively (i.e. roughly 20 individuals per spot), which were decided on the basis of the preliminary survey and the cost consideration. As to the Tokyo and Osaka districts, relatively large samples as 500 were selected in order to compare them. The interviewing was carried out in spring of 1953. College students took part in the interviewing. To evaluate the precision of this survey, we estimated the sampling error and the nonsampling errors such as the non-response error and interviewer error. Although

we shall not discuss the details of the results here, it can be said that the results were quite satisfactory.*

Only the results of national survey for different items will be explained in the subsequent section and the *enquête* will be presented here. The following procedure was taken for the *enquête* in which the universe consists of the persons who are put on the directories of the Asahi press, the Mainichi and the Yomiuri for 1953. We selected a random sample from this universe (sample size was approximately 450) and sent a schedule to each of its members. The questions were as follows: (a) what response do you think would be the commonest for Japanese for each question? (b) what response do you think would be the most uncommon for Japanese for each question? We got approximately 10% answered, partly or completely, and it was only 26 that gave complete replies. However, as long as we evaluate the results under the limitation of partial response and proper care is taken not to consider it applicable to the whole *enquête* group, it will remain suggestive.

4. Schedule

We decided items of the questionnaire by studying past literatures. For that purpose exhaustive enumeration of items, that were in literatures was done at first. Among these items there were some that could not be studied by a single survey and some that seemed impossible to be taken up in the present survey. Then stage selection of items was taken up. The most important items are those which relate to the problem of authority (Q4, Q6, Q7, Q14, Q17, Q23, Q24, Q30, Q45) and morality (Q9, Q19, Q21, Q26, Q35, Q41, Q42, Q50). The importance of such items was pointed out and has been made clear in various studies that were published in the past. In addition to

* The variance of estimate does not exceed approximately

$$\frac{p(1-p)}{n}(1+1.5+0.03+0.1) = \frac{p(1-p)}{n} \times 2.63$$

disregarding the bias (where P is the proportion of a characteristic in the universe and n the number of respondents), in the case $P=0.3\sim 0.7$. The first term in parenthesis on the left side refers to within-variance, the second to between-variance, the third to the random error of descriptions by interviewers and the fourth to the diminution of sample size by interviewers' cheating. The total bias of the survey was at most 0.043. This is caused from interviewers' cheating, interviewers' distortion, and non-response. We can consider the relative error as at most 10%.

the two that we mentioned, we decided to make a survey on the items related to family, nation, society, culture and attitude to various circumstances. As was pointed out previously, we designed the survey so that it would make clear personal opinion and social type to such problems. In order to avoid stereotyped answer, we used questions in the form of giving the interviewee a certain situation, especially critical one, in which he may happen to be, presenting him with mutually conflicting norms of behavior in the situation, and finally asking him on which norm he would lay stress in his actual behavior in the situation. Among these questions some are designed so that we can see the frame of reference as the basis of interviewer's behavior itself. Besides we made questions so that we can see the intensity of interviewee's opinion and attitude.

Result 1.

The first results of our survey are the simple tabulations of responses for each individual question. They are given in Appendix together. It will be tedious to give the details of the analyses as to each of these tables, and we omit them here. Instead we shall give some examples of more important analysis.

In order to carry out a full study of the national character of the Japanese, it will be necessary to make clear the frame of references in the light of which we can elucidate the attitude and behavior of the Japanese under any specified situations. Besides it will be important to examine the intensity of opinion of the Japanese about given questions. Of these points we shall give some examples of analyses in the following.

The first example we take up is concerned with Q.26. Under the awkward situation given in this question, one would think over various respects in order to choose one's best way. We take up here one of these considerations, what people may say of one's behavior, and we wish to investigate whether or not one is influenced by it. For that purpose we crossed Q.26 to Q.27, its result being given by Table 1.

As is seen from the Table 1, the greater part of "Recommend" and "Don't make clear answer" people suppose that their behaviors will anyhow be approved by others, while comparatively many (37.5%) of "Tell the truth" people suppose that their behavior will be blamed

Table 1. Q.26 × Q.27

Q.26 \ Q.27	Good	Can't help	Not good	Others
Recommend	(24.1) 27.8	(46.4) 53.5	(16.3) 18.7	(13.2) —
Don't make clear answer	(18.5) 22.7	(52.0) 13.0	(10.5) 13.0	(19.0) —
Tell the truth	(23.2) 27.3	(29.9) 35.2	(31.8) 37.5	(15.0) —

by others. This may be considered to show that, in the given situation, "Recommended" and "Don't make clear answer" people are apt to be influenced by "what people may say" people and careful to conform to the ways of the world, while "Tell the truth" people rather go their own way.

What people may say of the above mentioned is no more than the one which is guessed by respondents likely to be so, and there is a remarkable difference between it and what people say in reality. In fact, according to the result of simple tabulation of Q.26 (see Appendix), which may be considered to roughly show the people's opinion in reality, there are 48% of people who approve to "Tell the truth", while in Table 2 only 18.7% of "Recommend" and 13.0% of "Don't make clear answer" people suppose that people will approve to tell the truth, and only 27.3% of "Tell the truth" people consider that their behavior will be completely approved by people. In a word people's point of view is far more reasonable in reality than in one's mind, as long as the subject is concerned.

As the next example we take up the cross-tabulation Q.41 × Q.42.

Table 2. Q.41 × Q.42

	Type of answer				
	A	B	C	D	E
Q.41	Attend the conference	Go home at once	Go home at once	Attend the conference	Others
Q.42	Attend the conference	Go home at once	Attend the conference	Go home at once	
%	31.2	37.9	15.4	9.1	1.8

Answers of type C would be expected to be the largest in number, from the conventional point of view that the Japanese are apt to be

a slave of "giri-ninzyo". But our result shows that such a point of view is wrong. Only 15.4% of respondents give the answer of type C, while the greater part of respondents give the answer of type A or type B. Similar gap is found between the conventional point of view and the result of our survey, as to various questions taken up in our study.

Finally we give an example which presents a method of measuring the intensity of opinion. The following table is the cross-tabulation $Q.5 \times Q.29$.

Table 3. $Q.5 \times Q.29$

	A	B	C	D	E
Q.5	1. Agree	3. Disagree	1. Agree	3. Disagree	Others
Q.29	1. Disagree	2. Agree	2. Agree	1. Disagree	
%	8.8	27.7	16.3	3.4	43.8

In these two questions the same subject is taken up. But the questions were given to respondents in the wordings oppositely biased, expecting that the answers will be inconsistent unless respondents' opinions are firm. In this way we shall be able to see the intensity of respondents' opinions or attitudes. It is seen, in Table 3, that there are 36.5% of respondents whose opinions are firm, that is, of high intensity.

Results 2. Tabulation by Personal Data

1) We shall show the relation between every question and personal data—*i.e.* sex, age, education, political party supported, urban-rural, and districts (east Japan and west Japan). In this paper, there is not enough space to admit all 300 tables. Here, we show the following table (Table 4) on the statistical test by personal data.

The answers are most closely related to the party supported through all questions, second to sex, third to urban-rural, fourth to district, fifth to education, and age has the most distant relation to the answers.

2) We see whether or not there is a monotonous relation between answers and age.

Closely related: Q2, Q3, Q4, Q9, Q10, Q12, Q14, Q24-1, 24-3, 24-4, Q28-1, Q30, Q34, Q37, Q39, Q40, Q41, Q43, Q44, Q46, Q48, Q50

Weakly related: Q5, Q6, Q25, Q21-1, Q21-2, Q29, Q33, Q36, Q38, Q42, Q45

Uncertain or No relation: Q7, Q8, Q16, Q17, Q19, Q22, Q23, Q26, Q31, Q32, Q34, Q35

Table 4. The statistical test by personal data

No. of Q.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	12	14	16	17	19	21 -1	21 -2	22	23	24 -1	24 -2	44 -3	25	26	27	28 -1	28 -2	88 -3	
Sex	×	×	⊙	○	×	○	○	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	⊙	⊙	×	○	○	×	×	○	⊙	×	×	⊙	⊙	
Age	⊙	⊙	⊙	○	×	×	×	○	○	○	⊙	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	○	○	×	×	×	⊙	×	×	
Education	○	×	○	○	×	○	○	×	○	○	⊙	○	⊙	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	×	○	○	⊙	○	○
Party	⊙	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	○	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	○	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	×	⊙	×	⊙	
Urbaniz	×	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	○	○	○	×	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	○	⊙	○	×	×	⊙	⊙	⊙	○	⊙	○	⊙	⊙	⊙	
Districts	×	⊙	○	⊙	○	×	×	×	⊙	×	⊙	×	○	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	⊙	○	⊙	×	○	

No. of Q.	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	48	50	⊙	○	×	Total
Sex	○	⊙	⊙	×	⊙	⊙	⊙	×	⊙	○	⊙	×	⊙	○	○	×	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	24	11	12	47
Age	○	⊙	○	×	×	○	×	○	×	○	×	○	×	○	○	×	×	○	○	○	6	16	25	47
Education	×	○	○	×	○	⊙	×	○	○	⊙	○	○	⊙	○	○	○	×	○	×	○	6	32	9	47
Party	⊙	⊙	×	⊙	○	⊙	×	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	×	×	×	⊙	×	○	○	⊙	⊙	30	9	8	47
Urbaniz	○	⊙	⊙	×	○	×	⊙	⊙	○	×	⊙	⊙	×	⊙	⊙	×	×	○	○	○	22	15	10	47
Districts	○	⊙	○	×	×	○	×	×	⊙	○	×	×	○	⊙	×	○	○	⊙	○	○	11	14	22	47

Note: ⊙ shows significant difference in more than two answer categories of the question, ○ shows only one answer category, and × shows no significant difference between categories of personal data (significant level 5%).

Companism tests on age were down between twenties and fifty and over, and rise on education were done between elementary school and high school and over. Other items of personal date were divided into two categories, before the test.

3) The following categories of questions are answered by more than 60% of respondents, excluding *no answer* and *ambiguous answer*. (Figures in the parenthesis give the answer code of each question in Appendix.)

Q2(1), Q3(1), Q6(1), Q7(1), Q10(1), Q12(2), Q14(1+2), Q16(1), Q21-1(1), Q21-2(1), Q22(3), Q23(1), Q24-1(1), Q24-4(2), Q28-1(1), Q29(3), Q31(4), Q32(1), Q35(2), Q38(2), Q44(1), Q50(1+2)

4) Threefold cross-tabulation of each question by age and the political party supported. Figures of threefold cross-tabulation can be classified into four types.

(i) The answers show their independence (though not complete) of age or the political party supported. Figure 1*(Q35) gives an example of this type. The figures of Q8(2), Q16, Q17, Q20, Q22, Q25, Q31, Q37, Q39(4), Q41×Q42, and Q46 are of the same type. (Figures in paren-

* In Figures 1~4, percentages are based on clear answers only—i.e. excluding no answer and ambiguous answer.

thesis give answer code.) We can think that in these questions, the categories which are answered by high percentage of respondents, are typical opinions of the Japanese.

(ii) The answers show their dependence more on the political party supported than on age. Figure 2 (Q8) is of this type. The figures of Q4(1), Q12(1), Q14(4+5), and Q19(2) are of the same type.

(iii) The answers show their dependence more on age than on the political party supported. Figure 3 (Q9) is of this type. Figures of Q2, Q3(2), Q24-4(2), Q32(2), Q38(1), Q39(3), Q40, Q43(1), Q45, Q48(1), and Q50(4) are of the same type.

(iv) The answers show their dependence on both age and the political party supported. Figure 4 (Q30) is of this type. The figures of Q3(1), Q4(2), Q6(1), Q10(1), Q14(1+2), Q24-3(1), Q28-1(1), and Q50(1) are of the same type. Figure 4 shows that the difference between the progressives and the conservatives always keeps about 10%, and as the lines increase or decrease monotonously as the age increases. Moreover, the differences by age are enormous. This figure gives more interesting results, for example, there is no difference of opinion as to Q30 between the conservatives of age 20-24 and the progressives of age 30-39.

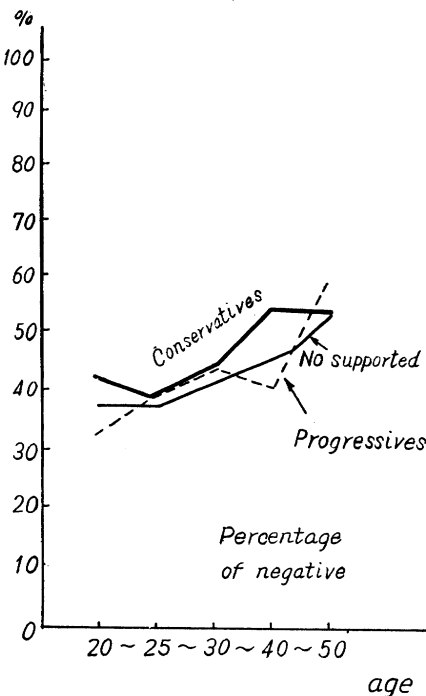


Fig. 1

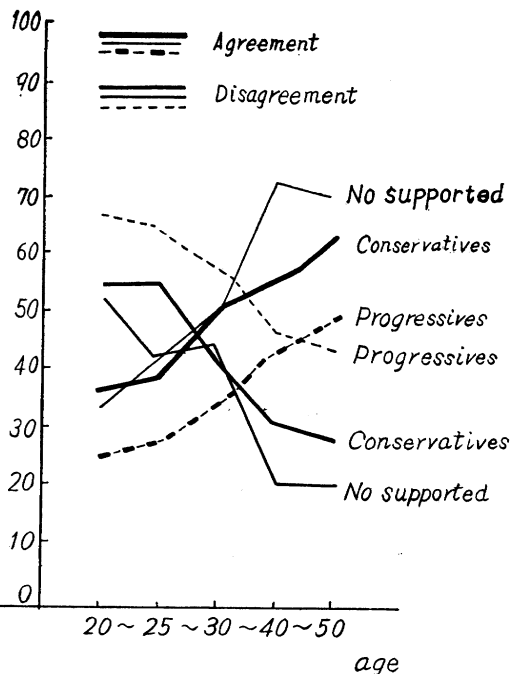


Fig. 2

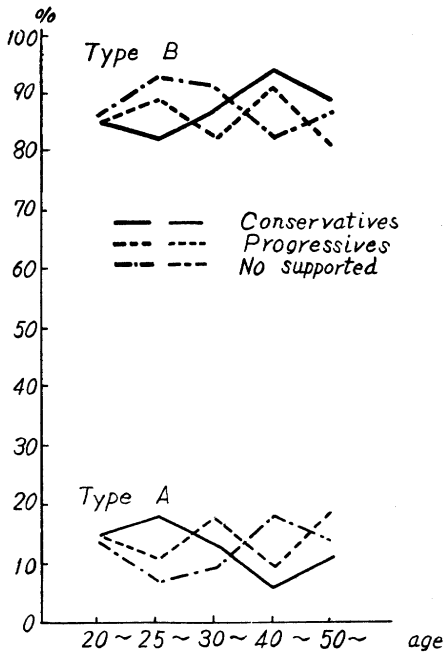


Fig. 3

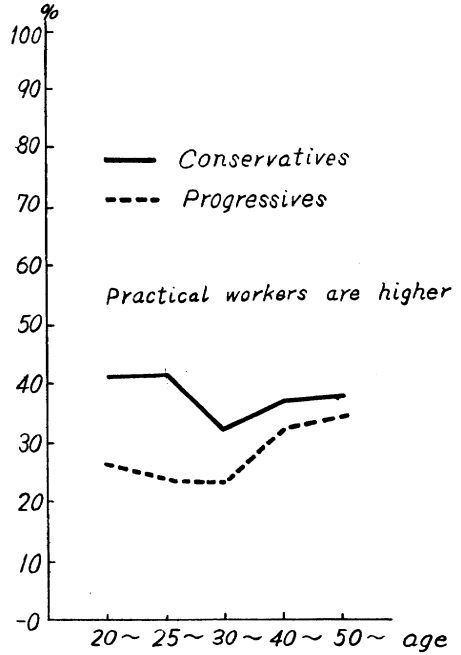


Fig. 4

5) Figure 5 shows a diagram in which each point represents answer category of questions. In this figure, the vertical axis indicates the difference between the percentages of answers of two respondent groups,

Political party (Conservative-progressive)

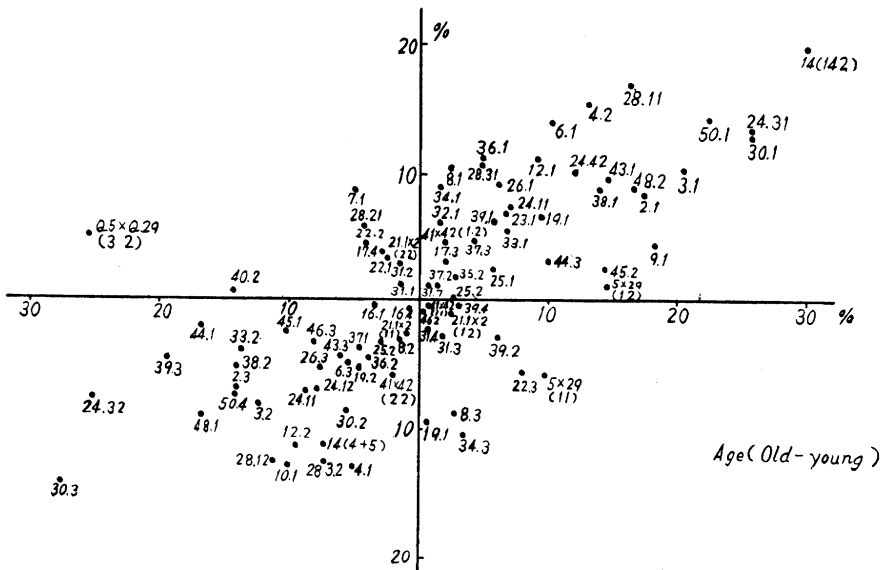


Fig. 5

which support respectively the conservative and the progressive party. The horizontal axis indicates Q.

Where $Q = (Q_1/Q_2) \times C$

$$Q_1 = \frac{1}{n(n-1)} \left\{ \sum_{i>j}^n (x_i - x_j) + \sum_{i>j}^n (y_i - y_j) \right\}$$

$$Q_2 = \frac{1}{Y_2 n(n-1)} \sum_{i>j}^n (z_i - z_j)$$

C is the range of age by classification

x_i is the percentage of i -th class of age in the conservatives

y_i is the one of i -th class of age in the progressives

z_i is the median in the i -th class of age

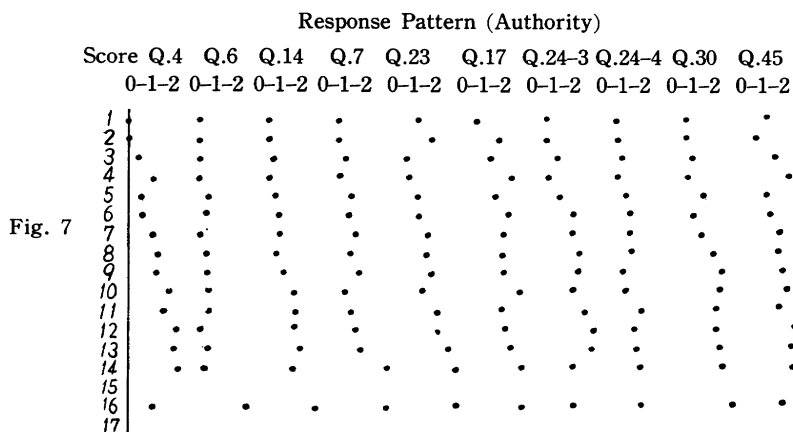
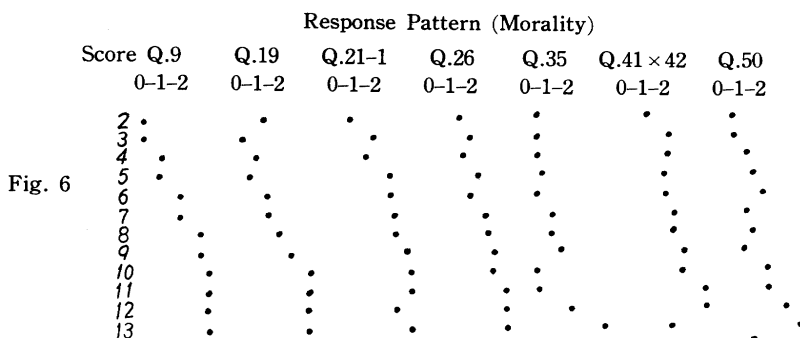
n is the numbers of age class.

Result 3. Attitude towards Human Relations and Authority.

Furthermore we classify the questions into two groups, one being concerned with human relations and another with authority. We call the former H-group of questions and the latter A-group of questions. H-group consists of the questions, Q.9, Q.19, Q.21(1), Q.26, Q.35, Q.41×Q.42 and Q.50; A-group, of Q.4, Q.6, Q.7, Q.14, Q17, Q23, Q24(3), Q.24(4), Q30, and Q45. Treating each group of questions, we use a technique similar to scalogram analysis. Responses to each question are grouped into three categories and numerical values (scores) 0, 1 and 2 are given to the categories as follows. Score 0 is assigned to the category of response which most people consider old fashioned as an answer to the question in H-group and as an answer to the question in A-group, 1 to the intermediate category, and 2 to the category of response which most people consider new fashioned for H-group and anti-authoritarian for A-group. We define $\delta_i(jk)$ and x_{jk} as follows; $\delta_i(jk)=1$, if the i -th person responses in the k -th category in the j -th question and $\delta_i(jk)=0$ otherwise; x_{jk} is a score assigned to the k -th category in the j -th question where $x_{j1}=0$, $x_{j2}=1$ and $x_{j3}=2$. We make the total score of the i -th person as $\alpha_i = \sum_j \sum_k x_{jk} \delta_i(jk)$, which is an integer and ranges from 0 to $2R$ where R is the number of questions. Thus, in each group we make a scalogram of α_i ($i=1, 2, \dots, n$, n being the number of persons) and then, for simplicity, in each question we make the average of the

scores x_{jk} that the persons of the same total score α 's have, and the correlation diagram between the total score and the averages in the questions. The obtained diagram, which may be called a scalogram in the mean score, is shown below.

The point in each question shows the average score of the persons having the same total score.



Each diagram (Fig. 6 and 7) may be regarded to make a scale in the mean score. H-group gives a better scale.

The relative frequency distribution of the total score is obtained (Fig. 8 and 9). Thus we see that these distributions are approximately unimodal and have two tails, the relative frequencies in the extremes being small and that the distance between the median and the mode is very small. This fact is very suggestive. For example, the Japanese typical attitude towards human relations is to choose the intermediate category in Q.9, Q.19, Q.26 and Q.41 × Q.42, the category of a new fashioned answer in Q.23(1), and the category of an old fashioned answer in Q.35 and Q.50.

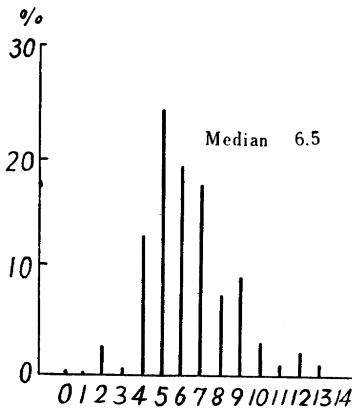


Fig. 8
(Relation frequency in H-group)

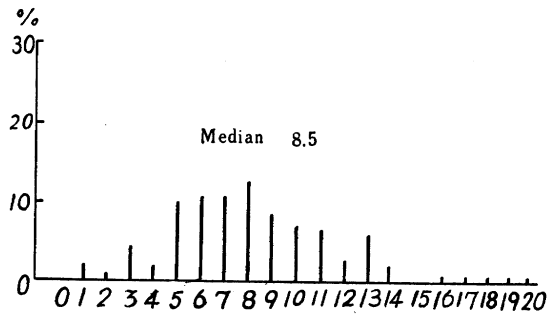


Fig. 9 (Relation frequency in A-group)

Result 4. Comparison with Other Studies

1) Some findings on *giri-ninzyo* (Q.26)

When we carried out the Tokyo-Pretest*, we asked the following two questions similar to Q.26 in the national survey. These questions were slightly modified from Q.26 as follows:

Question A: Supposing that the teacher of your school days** has a son, who applies for entrance to a firm. Someone from the firm comes to ask you what kind of person the son is. You happen to know that the son is not very reliable. What would you say to the representative of the firm?

Question B: Suppose that the person to whom you owed in former days runs for an election, and comes to ask you to vote for him. If he is a member of the party which you do not uphold, what would you do? Choose one out of the following list.

- a) I vote for him, because I owe him.
- b) I tell him to vote for him, but actually vote for the other person.
- c) I abstain from voting.
- d) I don't answer clearly.
- e) I refuse his proposal, saying that I support the opposite party.

Table 5 shows the result

* Before the national survey, we carried out a preliminary survey in Tokyo, based on the random sampling method.

** This question differs from Q.26 in this point. In Q.26, it is "someone who has been good to you."

Table 5. Attitude toward given situation

Question	Agreement*		Uncertain attitude		Disagreement		Others	
Q.26 Tokyo only	(17.2)	18.5	(21.6)	23.5	(54.4)	58.3	(6.8)	—
Pretest Q. A	(6.9)	8.0	(30.1)	35.1	(49.0)	56.9	(14.0)	—
Pretest Q. B	(6.7)	7.2	(56.3)	60.5	(30.0)	32.3	(7.0)	—

To see this table, the percentage of "agreement to Q.26 is higher than that to Q.A. On the contrary, the percentage of "uncertain attitude" to Q.A is higher than that to Q.26. This difference between Q.26 and Q.A might be caused by the fact that one feels much indebted more to his *on-zin* (benefactor) than to his teacher. Moreover, to question B, we find the high percentage of "uncertain attitude". This might be caused by the fact that one has to answer face to face with the person concerned.

2) Goal of life

The Q.39 is used originally at the conscript examination in 1930, and has been asked at the several studies which followed. These studies, however, are carried out under the various conditions, so the comparison may not strictly be made, hence we only show the data of these studies. Table 6 shows the results of them.

Table 6 Goal of life

Answer categories	Percentage giving indicated response							
	Conscripts in 1930		Only students who were conscripts in 1930		1949 survey of college students		20-24 age-group in our 1953 survey	
a) Get rich	18.1	27.4	4.1	19.5	8.2	20.8	9.6	14.3
b) Fame	8.8		15.4		12.6		4.7	
c) Live on taste	12.2	15.7	29.3	35.8	40.0	60.0	35.5	44.6
d) Enjoy daily life	3.5		6.5		6.7		9.1	
e) Honest life	32.7	56.9	17.9	44.7	12.2	18.9	25.3	41.1
f) Service of the public	24.2		26.8		6.7		11.8	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of respondents	8175		123		578		406	

* The answer categories 1) of an Q.26, 1) of Q.A, and a) of Q.B are considered "agreement". The answer categories 2) of Q.26, 2) of Q.A, and b), c), d) of Q.B are considered "uncertain attitude". The answer categories 3) of Q.26, 3) of Q.A, e) of Q.B are considered "disagreement", and the other categories in these questions are put in "others".

3) Which peoples do the Japanese like (or dislike)? (Tokyo Pretest)

We show to each respondent the list of peoples and ask him which peoples he likes and which he dislikes. The listed peoples are Americans, Chinese, French, English, Germans, Indians, Italians, Koreans, Micronesians and Russians. (The effect caused by listing order is adjusted by randomization.)

Figs. 10, 11, and 12 represent the results classified by educational levels, from which we find first of all that the percentage of "I like Americans" answers remains about 50% for all educational levels, but that "I like Americans only" decreases with the rise of educational level. As to French, Indians, Russians etc., "like" answers increase in percentage as educational level rises, whereas "like Asians only" answers remain constant for all educational levels.

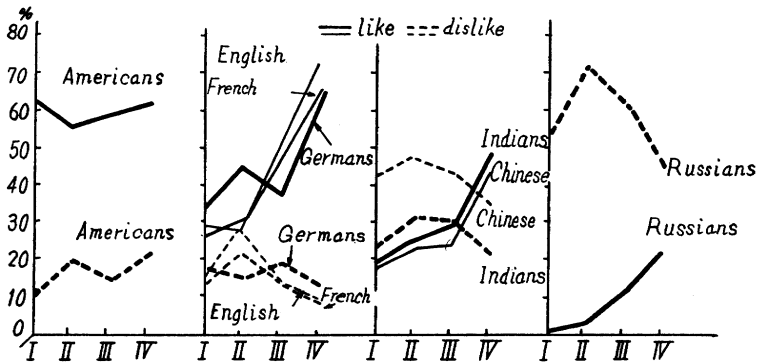


Fig. 10

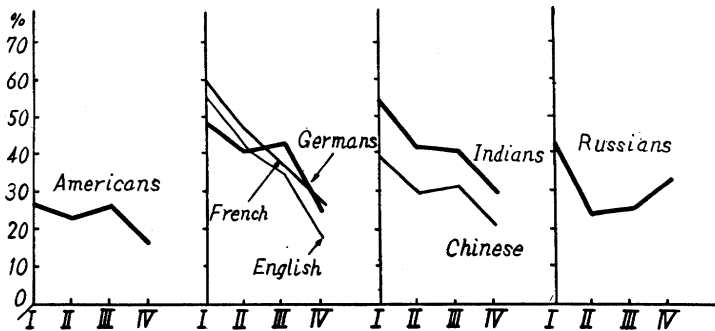


Fig. 11

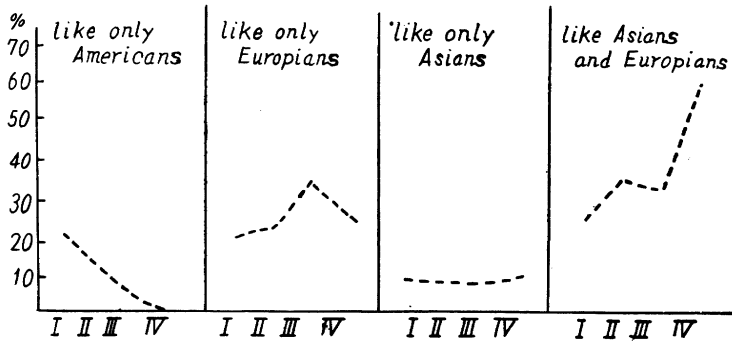


Fig. 12

Fig. 13 shows the result classified by sex. The difference of the response patterns is found to be considerably conspicuous between male and female.

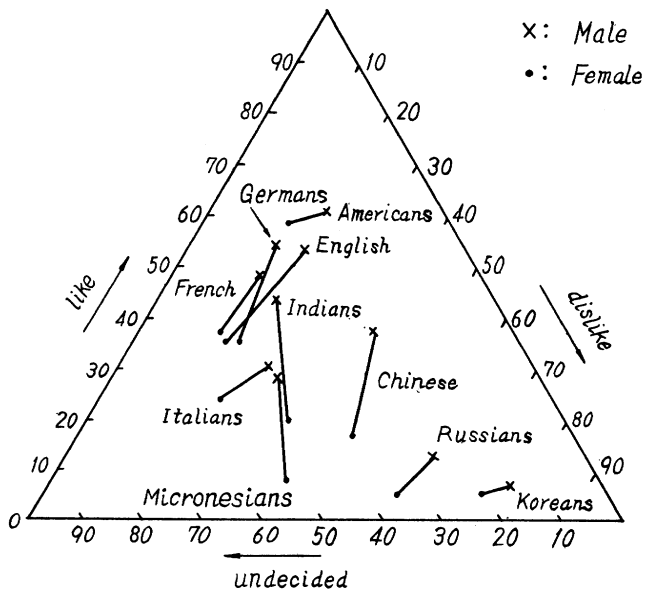


Fig. 13

There are some studies which treat the similar items to this question. Though the populations and questionnaires of these studies are different from those of ours, we shall try to compare them with ours for reference (see Table 7). From this Table, it may well be said that the correlations between them are fairly high.

Table 7.

Survey	Tokyo Pretest		Mr. Izumi	Mr. Kusunoki
Year	1953		1951	1953
No. of Peoples	10		16	15
Sample Size	314		344	1258
Population	Citizens of Tokyo		Public Officials House Wives and etc. in Tokyo	Students in Tokyo
order	Peoples	% of "like"	Peoples	Peoples
1	Americans	59.2	Americans	Germans
2	English	43.4	French	Italians
3	Germans	43.4	English	Koreans
4	French	41.8	Germans	Indians
5	Indians	30.4	Italians	Americans
6	Italians	26.9	Indians	French
7	Chinese	25.9	Chinese	Negros
8	Micronesians	15.8	Russians	English
9	Russians	8.5		Chinese
10	Koreans	6.3	Koreans	Russians
Spearman's ρ with Tokyo Pretest			0.95	0.25

Note.

In this paper, we have showed the outline of our survey. The details will be soon published in Japanese.

As the complete conclusion on this problem of national character of Japanese can not be drawn by only one survey, we are designing the succeeding ones. The second survey has been carried out in 1958~1959.

Appendix.

Q.1 When were you born?

Q.2 Are you satisfied with living in this *city (town, village)*?

	Satisfied	Not always	Dissatisfied	No answer	Others	Total
National	75.4	6.6	12.0	2.4	3.6	100.0

Q.3 Would you say you were on the whole more inclined to honor your ancestors than the average, or less?

		More	Medial	Less	No answer	Others	Total
National		77.0	14.9	5.2	2.4	0.5	100.0
Enquête	Common	69.2	73.1	3.9	—	—	
	Uncommon	—	—	46.2	—	—	

Q.4 If you think a thing is right, do you think you should go ahead and do it even if it is contrary to usual custom, or do you think it is safer to follow custom?

		Go ahead	Follow custom	Depends on circumstances	No answer	Others	Total
National		41.1	35.5	18.6	3.7	1.1	100.0
Enquête	Common	3.9	57.7	53.8	—	—	
	Uncommon	42.3	—	—	—	—	

Q.5 Some people say that with the development of science and techniques, life becomes more convenient, but at the same time a lot of the human feeling is lost. Do you agree with this idea, or not?

		Agree	Undecided	Not agree	No answer	Others	Total
National		30.3	16.5	35.2	16.9	1.1	100.0

Q.6 According to some people, men like *Hideyoshi** who have risen from humble beginnings by their own efforts and become famous, should always be considered as models for our youth. Do you agree, or disagree,

		Agree	Undecided	Not agree	No answer	Others	Total
National		80.1	10.4	4.2	4.9	0.4	100.0
Enquête	Common	80.7	30.8	—	—	—	
	Uncommon	3.9	—	61.5	—	—	

Q.7 At the Olympics, when prizes are awarded, national anthems are sung and national flags are flown to honor the country of the winning competitors. However, in the Asian athletic meeting—the so-called Asian Olympics—prizes are awarded to the competitors, but no flags are flown in order to avoid any competition between nations. Which do you think is better?

* *Taiko Hideyoshi* (1536–1598) is a hero in Japan. It may well be said that is a Napoleon in Japan.

	Olympics	Asian games	No answer	Others	Total
National	58.8	16.7	20.9	3.6	100.0

Q.8 Which do you think have the greater value for society, people who make or buy or sell things that are practically necessary, or people like scholars and artists?

		Working class	Intellectual class	Equally worthy	Undecided	No ans.	Others	Total
National		30.6	20.6	24.6	14.2	9.6	0.4	100.0
Enquête	Common	30.8	46.2	34.6	38.5	—	—	
	Uncommon	3.9	7.7	7.7	—	—	—	

Q.9 Supposing that your child comes home and says that he has heard a rumor that his teacher has done something to get himself into trouble, and suppose that you know this is true, do you think it is better to tell the child that it is true, or to deny it?

		Deny it	Tell the fact	No answer	Others	Total
National		38.3	42.0	7.2	12.5	100.0
Enquête	Common	69.2	7.7	—	—	
	Uncommon	—	11.5	—	—	

Q.10 Formerly, women used to confine themselves to working in the home, but recently more and more they are going out working. Do you think this is a good thing, or a bad thing?

		Good	Bad	No answer	Others	Total
National		63.2	24.4	3.9	8.5	100.0
Enquête	Common	42.3	42.3	—	—	
	Uncommon	3.9	7.7	—	—	

Q.11 What do you think is the most important thing for a man to get along with his senior?

	Act ethically	Careful about behavior toward superiors	Obedient	No answer	Others	Total
	13.4	26.5	22.9	12.1	25.1	100.0

Q.12 Supposing that you saw a young man on the Ginza Street being employed as an advertising sandwich man in fancy dress, and somebody told you that he was so-and-so's son, naming a famous personality. Would you tend to think it was a disgrace that he should take this kind of job, or would you think it doesn't matter?

		Not good	All right	No answer	Others	Total
National		24.6	64.3	7.5	3.6	100.0
Enquête	Common	69.2	19.3	—	—	
	Uncommon	—	11.5	—	—	

Q13. (Continuation) Why do you think so?

The 61% of the respondents saying "Not good" give the reason that the son hurts his father's honor; the 30% of "All right" group give the reason that he will not have any other way to earn his living; the 26% of "All right" give the reason that all kinds of job are equally valuable.

Q.14 Some Prime Ministers when they take office pay a visit to the Imperial Shrine at Ise. What do you think about this practice?

		Must go	Better to go	Free for him	Better not to go	Should not go	No answer	Others	Total
National		6.7	50.3	22.6	5.9	2.2	9.9	2.4	100.0
Enquête	Common	27.0	61.5	46.2	11.5	3.9	—	—	
	Uncommon	46.2	3.9	—	27.0	73.1	—	—	

Q.15 (Continuation) Why so?

Most of the respondents who answer "Go" think, "He follows the traditions of Japan", or "It is because Shintoism is the national religion of Japan."

The 10% of the respondents who answer "Not go" believe that politics much be separated from religion, and most of the rest give no clear reason.

Q.16 (To men) Don't you wish you had been born a woman?

(To women) Don't you wish you had been born a man?

	Man	Woman
Man	93.4	47.2
Woman	2.4	43.9
Others	2.9	8.2
No answer	1.3	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0

Q.17 Some people believe in making a splash for weddings and funerals, even if it does cost a bit of money. What do you think about this?

* Ginza is a main street of Tokyo.

* It was a convention in Japan before the World War II.

		Not good	Be obliged	Within his means	Luxuriously	No answer	Others	Total
National		31.0	4.9	47.7	8.1	1.6	6.7	100.0
Enquête	Common	7.7	57.7	61.5	7.7	—	—	
	Uncommon	42.3	—	—	27.0	—	—	

Q.18 (Continuation) Why do you say so?

The 42% of the respondents who answer "Not good" give the reason that it costs too much, and the 22% think they should rather use the money for their daily life; the 23% of the respondents who answer "Within his means" give the former reason, and the 15% the latter.

The 70% of the respondents who answer "Luxuriously" think that they may well use a certain amount of money for wedding and funeral because they are memorable ceremonies in one's life.

Q.19 Supposing someone is told off by a superior in front of others, and the superior's rebuke is based on a misunderstanding. What do you think that person should do?

		Never oppose	Clear it at once	Clear it later	No answer	Others	Total
National		18.4	33.5	32.3	11.3	4.5	100.0
Enquête	Common	57.7	11.5	53.8	—	—	
	Uncommon	11.5	11.5	3.9	—	—	

Q.20 (Continuation) What is the reason?

The 38% of "Never oppose" people give this answer because they think they should "Save superior's face", and the 16% think that the misunderstanding will be removed some day.

The 47% of "Clear it at once" think that it is natural because they are right.

The 49% of "Clear it later" think also that it is because they should "save superior's face".

Q.21 There are many reasons for suicide, but wouldn't you think that in the following cases suicide was justified?

- (a) When a person is caught between loyalty towards someone who has been good to him, and the demands of society?

	Not good	Can't help	No answer	Others	Total
National	61.4	20.3	10.0	8.3	100.0

- (b) When one is in a financially hopeless situation?

	Not good	Can't help	No answer	Others	Total
National	65.1	18.0	5.5	11.4	100.0

Q.22 Bicycle racing is a form of gambling. However, towns and cities which run bicycle races have been able with the money they gained to rebuild schools and so on, which cost a lot of money. If you had to choose between permitting bicycle races and having schools built quickly, or delaying the building of schools and banning bicycle races, which do you think is the better from an educational point of view?

		Permit bicycle races	Ban bicycle races	No answer	Others	Total
National		34.1	54.1	8.6	3.2	100.0
Enquête	Common	80.8	27.0			
	Uncommon	11.5	30.8			

Q.23 (show card) Which of the following ways of giving recognition to people who have made contributions to society or to mankind, do you think is the better?

(a) You should give a medal, but it is not necessary to give money rewards.

(b) You should give money rewards, but it is not necessary to give medals.

	Medals only	Money only	No answer	Others	Total
National	48.4	32.5	9.9	9.2	100.0

Q.24-1 In bringing up children of primary school age, some people think that one should teach them that money is the most important thing. Do you agree with this or not?

		Agree	Disagree	Undecided	No answer	Others	Total
National		65.1	23.7	9.0	1.9	0.3	100.0
Enquête	Common	38.5	19.3	57.7			
	Uncommon	15.4	15.4				

Q.24-2 (Only to the opposite to Q.24-1) Then, what is the most important thing for children to be taught?

Q.24-3 In bringing up children of primary school age, do you think you should tell them always to be careful never to lose face, or

do you think you should train them not to be bothered by questions of face or prestige?

		Be careful	Not care about	Depend on circumstances	No answer	Others	Total
National		35.8	42.6	11.8	8.1	1.7	100.0
Enquête	Common	61.5	15.4	46.2			
	Uncommon	11.5	19.3				

Q.24-4 For a child of the same age, do you think it is more important to stress the value of freedom or the value of discipline?

		Liberty	Orderliness	Circumstances	No answer	Others	Total
National		15.8	62.9	11.9	6.2	3.2	100.0
Enquête	Common	19.3	69.2	34.6	—	—	
	Uncommon	27.0	3.9				

Q.25 If you had to make a generalization, would you say that the Japanese people were superior to Western people, or inferior?

		Superior	Inferior	Equal	Undecided	No answer	Others	Total
National		20.3	28.3	14.0	21.2	15.1	1.1	100.0

Q.26 (show picture) Supposing that someone who has been good to you in the past has a son, who applies for entrance to a firm. Someone from the firm comes to ask you what kind of person the son is. You happen to know that the son is not very reliable. What would you say to the representative of the firm?

		Commend him	Don't make a clear answer	Tell the truth	No answer	Others	Total
National		23.4	18.8	48.3	7.6	1.9	100.0
Enquête	Common	80.7	42.3	3.9	—	—	
	Uncommon	—	—	50.0	—	—	

Q.27 If people got to know what you had done, what do you think they would think of you?

		Good	Can't help	Not good	No answer	Others	Total
Notional		19.8	34.4	20.5	16.5	8.8	100.0

Q.28-1 If you have no children, do you think it necessary to adopt a child in order to continue the family line, even if there is no blood relationship? Or do you not think this is important?

		Adopt	Needless	Depends on cir- cumstances	No answer	Others	Total
National		73.5	15.8	7.1	2.7	0.9	100.0
Enquête	Common	88.5	3.9	23.1	—	—	
	Uncommon	—	27.0	3.9	—	—	

Q.28-2 What would you think about adopting the child of a relative?

		Adopt	Needless	Depends on cir- cumstance	No answer	Others	Total
National		37.8	35.2	17.9	6.9	2.2	100.0
Enquête	Common	100.0	3.9	19.3	—	—	
	Uncommon	—	30.8	—	—	—	

Q.28-3 (except the negative in Q.28-2) What makes you adopt a child?

		Preserve line age	Expecting his help in one's old age	For prosperi- ty of one's posterity	No answer	Others	Total
National		55.6	31.3	3.7	4.7	4.7	100.0
Enquête	Common	73.1	84.6	—	—	—	
	Uncommon	—	—	—	—	—	

Q.29 Some people say that however mechanized the world gets, nothing can reduce the richness of human feelings. Do you agree with this idea, or not?

		Agree	Disagree	Undecide	No answer	Others	Total
National		58.5	16.9	8.2	15.8	0.6	100.0

Q.30 Some people say, "For the reconstruction of Japan, it is better to leave everything to an excellent statesman, if any, than to bring it up for discussion."

Do you agree or do you not agree with this opinion?

		Agree	Depends on cir- cumstances	Disagree	No answer	Others	Total
National		43.5	8.7	37.7	7.2	2.9	100.0
Enquête	Common	38.5	46.2	53.8	—	—	
	Uncommon	30.8	—	7.7	—	—	

Q.31 (show picture) Suppose you had two children both of preschool age and you gave them each a cake. If the younger one, having taken his own cake, cried and demanded his elder brother's cake too, what would you do?

	Scold elder	Give younger a half of elder's	Laissez-faire	Scold younger	No answer	Others	Total
National	2.2	14.2	5.7	73.4	1.9	2.6	100.0

Q.32 (showing the pictures of the *Katura* Detached Palace* and Versailles Palace). Which of the following do you like?

	The Katura Detached palace	Versailles	No answer	Others	Total
National	78.4	16.0	4.3	1.3	100.0

Q.33 (showing the pictures of scenes in Paris, Teheran and New York). Which do you feel best of these three?

	Paris	Teheran	New York	No answer	Others	Total
National	44.7	27.4	18.8	7.1	2.0	100.0

Q.34 Which of the following opinions do you agree with?

- (a) We must obey nature for our happiness.
- (b) We must utilize nature for our happiness.
- (c) We must conquer nature for our happiness.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	No answer	Others	Total
National	26.4	41.4	22.9	8.0	1.3	100.0

Q.35 Supposing you are working in a firm. There are two types of department chiefs. Which of these two would you prefer to work under?

- a) A man who always sticks to the work rules and never demands any unreasonable work, but on the other hand, never does anything for you personally in matters not connected with the work.
- b) A man sometimes demands extra work in contravention of the work rules, but on the other hand, looks after you well personally in matters not connected with the work.

		(a)	(b)	No answer	Other	Total
National		11.9	85.1	2.3	0.7	100.0
Enquete	Common	30.8	65.4	—	—	
	Uncommon	7.7	—	—	—	

Q.36 Supposing you are going to visit someone who has been good to

* The *Katura* Detached Palace has one of the most famous Japanese gardens (established in 1617).

you and you take along a box of cakes.

Would you

- (a) Buy them at a convenient shop close at hand?
- (b) Go out of your way to buy the same cakes at a cheaper shop?
- (c) Go out of your way to buy the same cakes at a famous shop?

	(a)	(b)	(c)	No answer	Others	Total
National	49.7	19.8	27.3	0.7	2.5	100.0

Q.37 (show card) I'd like to ask about your general attitude towards religion. There are four opinions written on this card. Which would you say is the closest to your own opinion?

- (a) Religion can not save man. The only thing that can save man is the progress of science.
- (b) In order to save mankind, it is necessary for the progress of science and the power of religion always to go hand in hand.
- (c) There is no connection between the progress of science and the salvation of man. The only thing that can save man is the power of religion.
- (d) There is no hope for man's salvation either through the progress of science or through the power of religion.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	No answer	Others	Total
National	10.2	63.2	9.1	7.6	9.5	0.4	100.0
Enquête	Common	15.4	53.8	30.8	3.9	—	—
	Uncommon	23.1	—	7.7	61.5	—	—

Q.38 (show card) Which of the following opinions is closer to your view about trade unions in factories or offices?

- (a) It is not a good idea to form unions and create conflict between capital and labor.
- (b) It is a good thing for workers to form unions and defend their own interests.

	(a)	(b)	No answer	Others	Total
National	18.3	68.8	10.7	2.2	100.0
Enquête	Common	46.2	50.0	—	—
	Uncommon	3.9	—	—	—

Q.39 (show card) There are all sorts of attitudes towards life, but of these listed here which would you say is closest to your own feeling?

- (a) Work hard and get rich.
- (b) Study earnestly and make name for yourself.
- (c) Don't think about money or fame, just live the life that suits your own tastes.
- (d) Live each day as it comes, cheerfully and without worrying.
- (e) Resist all the evil in the world and live a pure and just life.
- (f) Never think of yourself, give everything in the service of society.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	No answer	Others
National	14.9	5.6	21.2	11.3	29.1	10.4	3.9	3.6
Enquête	Common	69.2	65.4	42.3	34.6	7.7	11.5	—
	Uncommon	3.9	—	—	—	50.0	57.7	—

Q.40 (show card) Here are two opinions about families pooling their cooking facilities, assuming that the families are neighbors who get on well with each other and are all about equally well off. Which of these is closest to your own attitude?

- (a) It's not a good idea because everyone has likes and dislikes, and you can never have the food you want when you want it.
- (b) It's a good idea because it saves time and labor and you can use the time you save effectively for something else.

	(a)	(b)	No answer	Others	Total
National	38.2	53.9	5.1	2.8	100.0

Q.41 (show picture) Imagine this situation. Mr. M. was orphaned at an early age and was brought up by Mr. A, a neighbor. The A's gave him a good education, sent him to university, and now Mr. M has become the president of a company. One day he gets a telegram asking him to come at once to Mr. A because Mr. A is seriously ill. This comes just at the moment when he is going to an important meeting which will decide whether his firm is to go bankrupt or to survive.

(show card here) Which of the things written on this card do you think he should do?

- (a) Leave everything and go back home.
- (b) However worried he might be about Mr. A, he should go to the meeting.

	(a)	(b)	No answer	Others	Total
National	48.9	47.6	2.5	1.0	100.0

Q.42 The last question supposed that Mr. A had taken him in as an orphan in his youth and brought him up. Supposing that it had been his real father who was on his death-bed. Which would have been your answer then?

	(a)	(b)	No answer	Others	Total
National	48.9	47.6	2.5	1.0	100.0

Q.43 (show card) Here are three opinions about scientists and politics. Which is closest to your own opinion?

- (a) Scientists should devote themselves to their special study and not concern themselves with politics.
- (b) It is necessary for scientists to devote themselves to their special study, but they should also show a certain amount of interest in politics.
- (c) Scientists should not confine themselves to their own special study, but should also take an active part in politics.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	No answer	Others	Total
National	20.2	44.8	21.8	12.9	0.3	100.0

Q.44 (show card) Do you think more about the past or about the future? Please choose one out of the answers on this card.

- (a) If anything I think more about my past than about my future.
- (b) I think about equally of the past and of the future.
- (c) If anything I think more about my future than about my past.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	No answer	Others	Total
National	66.0	27.1	4.1	2.3	0.5	100.0

Q.45 (show card) Which of these two statements is true about Japan today?

- (a) Individual rights are too often ignored for the sake of the public good.
- (b) The public good is too often ignored for the sake of individual rights.

(c) Improving Japan and making individuals happy are the same thing.

		(a)	(b)	(c)	No answer	Others	Total
National		25.0	37.2	30.7	6.4	0.7	100.0
Enquete	Common	30.8	53.8	34.6	—	—	
	Uncommon	3.9	11.5	3.9	—	—	

Q.46 (show card) There are four statements on this card concerning the question of whether man is by nature originally good or originally bad. From your own experience, which would you say is closest to the truth?

- (a) The nature of man is originally good.
- (b) The nature of man is originally bad.
- (c) The nature of man is originally good and bad at the same time.
- (d) The nature of man is originally neither good nor bad.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	No answer	Others	Total
National	30.7	2.4	24.7	35.0	6.6	0.6	100.0

Q.47 What is the most important thing for your family? Why is it the most important?

Family	7.9	Husband
	10.0	Children
	8.3	Parents
	13.0	Buddhist altar, ancestor
	0.5	Wife
Estate	6.9	Others
	9.1	Money
	9.4	Others
Non-objective Riches.....	9.0	Health, life
	9.4	Domestic felicities
	1.0	God
	4.3	Others

(Some respondents mentioned more than one item.)

Q.48 Supposing that a scientist who had done an outstanding piece of research was due to attend an international conference as a Japanese delegate and there give a report on his research. And

supposing that just before his departure he had an affair with another man's wife. What would you think about sending such a man as a delegate to an international conference?

	Send	Don't send	Dedends on circumstances	No answer	Others	Total
National	44.1	33.0	5.3	14.4	3.2	100.0

Q.49 (Continuation) Why do you think so?

The 64% of "Send" give the reason that if his study is great, he may be allowed to go with all of his vice.

The 43% of "Don't send" give the reason that they can not admit immorality.

Q.50 What do you think about the action of the 47 Ronin of the Tokugawa period who killed the Lord Kira to avenge their master?

	Good	Good in that age	Undecided	Not good	This fact	No answer	Others	Total
National	29.5	33.6	8.7	11.1	3.6	12.5	1.0	100.0

Q.51 (Continuation) Why?

The 51% of "Good" admit this action as a "Model of loyalty", and 12% as "Manifestation of *Bushido*; the 23% of "Good in that age" as "model of loyalty", and the 36% as "Virtue (of revenge) at that time".

The 52% of "Not good" give the reason that it is sinful to kill other person.

* This event (1702) is very famous.