

A STUDY OF THE JAPANESE NATIONAL CHARACTER

— PART III —

THE THIRD NATION-WIDE SURVEY*

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* This article was translated from the Japanese original by Sen Nishiyama.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose and scope of the study

The national character of the Japanese people has been studied from various points of view. Our purpose has been to study this subject through statistical surveys. In many cases, Japanese national character has been studied through interpretive analyses of adages, literary works, and similar data, but our method has been to determine how the Japanese public actually think about various affairs.

The term "national character," as used in this report, may be regarded as the way the Japanese people think. In other words, it refers to the sum of public opinion surveyed, which reveals the views and attitudes of the Japanese concerning various events in society.

In the past descriptions of Japanese characteristics have often emphasized only one or a few particular aspects of the Japanese or unique actions of unique individuals. In most cases they have not provided a comprehensive picture of the character of the Japanese people. The study described in this report intends to fill the gap in our knowledge in this area.

In conducting sample surveys of Japanese national character, interviews were carried out, since this method was considered the best in the light of results obtained from various types of social research techniques. This meant that the topics surveyed had to be limited to those lending themselves to the direct interview method. Topics were chosen as objectively as possible. A detailed description of the procedure for determining the topics appears in Reference [3] (in Japanese). In brief, the procedure was as follows:

At the beginning of the project, a large number of works on Japanese characteristics were collected, including even such non-Japanese works as Ruth Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. Most of them were descriptive and not quantitative. From these we made a list of characteristics, opinions, and attitudes thought to be descriptive of the Japanese people. Then these characteristics were compiled, pre-tested, and organized into questionnaires.

This type of study of Japanese national character, which is based on measurements of the opinions and attitudes of the Japanese public, cannot be finished in one or two surveys, so we are going to continue the study of this sort.

This is a summary report of the third nation-wide survey conduct-

ed by the Research Committee on the Study of Japanese National Character. The first survey was taken in 1953, and the second in 1958. The third survey, which is the central subject in this report, was carried out in 1963.

All these three surveys examined through the method of sample survey the Japanese people think and feel. While studies of this sort have tended to be impressionistic and speculative, in this study we gathered empirical data and examined the problem statistically.

The questionnaire in the third survey used many of the questions in the first and/or second surveys. Sixteen questions in the third survey had been used in both the first and the second surveys, and thirteen in the third had been in either of the previous two. However, fifteen new questions were added in the third survey. Continuous use of the same questions in two or three surveys enables us to carry out the longitudinal analysis of Japanese opinions and attitudes.

Here we should stress the fact that opinions and attitudes are moving in the progressive direction.

2. Sampling and interviewing

A stratified, three-stage probability sample was drawn in each of the three nation-wide surveys. Since the object was to study the thinking of the nation as a whole, it was necessary for the samples to reflect accurately the composition of the population as a whole. (The "population" referred to in this study is limited to Japanese nationals of voting age, 20 years old and over.) The samples were drawn in three stages:

Stage 1. Boroughs, cities, towns and villages were stratified in terms of metropolitan, urban, rural divisions, to population size, to district, etc., and from each stratum one administrative district was selected with the probability of selection being proportionate to the size of population.

Stage 2. Data concerning election districts were gathered from each of the administrative districts selected, and one voting district was selected from each, the probability of selection being proportionate to the size of population.

Stage 3. The interviewers were assigned in each voting district, and then they selected the sample from the voters' list by the systematic sampling method. The size of the sample in each district was proportionate to the size of population of the stratum from which it was drawn.

In the first survey (1953), a nation-wide (three-stage, stratified)

probability sample of 2254 adults of age 20 and over, plus samples of several hundreds more in Tokyo and Osaka for comparison purposes, were drawn from the resident register*. Of this number, 1871 interviews in the nation-wide sample were completed.

The second survey (1958) consisted of (1) interviews with persons in a nation-wide probability sample of 2250 adults from the list of voters*, with whom 1782 interviews were completed, and (2) surveys on two other samples, one a random selection of 642 respondents interviewed in the 1953 survey, with whom 445 interviews were completed this second time, and the other a new random sample of 741 respondents (587 interviews completed), residing in the same areas as the 642 re-surveyed. These two surveys provided (1) a panel study of a nation-wide sample to determine what changes, if any, took place among the same people in this five-year interval, and (2) a check on the representative nature of the panel study sample by comparison with a new sample.

In 1963, a nation-wide probability sample of 3600 adults from the list of voters* was surveyed, and 2,698 interviews were completed. In addition, 879 respondents who had been interviewed in 1953 but not in 1958, representing a nation-wide probability sample of adults included in the first survey, were traced and as many interviews as feasible were conducted. There were 423 interviews completed among the respondents who could be traced to their original addresses or who could be located in the same area as they had lived ten years ago. This provided a panel study of people at a ten-year interval.

The field work was conducted by the faculties and students of universities all over the country, numbering between 18 to 28 institutions, depending on the size and scope of the survey. The interviewers were trained and supervised by the staff of the Institute of Statistical Mathematics.

The sampling errors of the samples drawn in the three major surveys have been computed by the Institute. These computations show that most percentages listed for total samples (not sub-samples repre-

* All Japanese citizens are required by the law to register their current place of residence at the local government office. This "resident register" is the source from which the "list of voters" is compiled. The list of voters provides automatically a list of adults 20 years of age and over who have resided in one district longer than the minimum legal period required for voting, while the residents' register includes citizens of all ages regardless of period of residence. Tests have shown that one of these two lists is almost as valid as the other in providing unbiased samples of adults. Population mobility causes some failure to complete interviews, but tests show that usually the portion of the total sample for which interviews are completed (usually about 80% or over) turns out to be relatively undistorted for all practical purposes, in comparison with the entire sample (ref. [3] pp. 141-142).

senting sub-categories of the population) are very likely to be within about plus-or-minus 3% of the correct actual percentages of the entire adult population. Also when comparing the percentage in one survey with that for the same question in another survey, a difference between the two of over 5% may be considered statistically significant.

II. SURVEY RESULTS

Questions have been categorized in this report according to the respondent's outlook towards his own life, towards religion, his family, society, etc. Changes over the ten-year period show that the Japanese people are shifting from so-called traditional* views toward the non-traditional. However, in a very few areas of attitudes, there has been no significant change. In the tables showing percentage trends, the particular alternatives in responses that were regarded as following or opposing traditional mores, attitudes, and customs, have been designated as "traditional" or "non-traditional." Alternatives that were regarded as having no connection with either type have been left without designation (e.g. see table 1).

1. Attitude toward life and environment

There has been a shift towards self-contented themes of life and away from moral-ethical themes. Six alternatives varying in degree from aggressive self-aggrandizement to strong self-sacrifice were listed on a card, and the respondent was asked to select the one closest to his feeling about life. The trend, as seen in Table 1, shows little change among percentages choosing aggressive self-aggrandizement (alternative "a" and "b") but an increase in percentages preferring the middle two alternatives, and a decrease in those selecting the last two ("e" and "f") involving moral-ethical themes. The shift during the second five-years interval (1958-1963), however, was much less than that occurring in the first interval (1953-1958).

The breakdown of the sample into various population characteristics (e.g., age, education, geographic region, etc.) shows that the greatest differences existed with respect to age in alternative "c". The younger the age, the larger the percentage choosing "c" (In 1963, 45% of

* Here the term "traditional" opinion has been defined as the one which is supported rather by an older generation than by the younger when we consider the percentage of its supporters in each generation.

those 20-24 years of age chose this alternative, while 22% of those 50-54 years of age chose it. The variation in the breakdown by age in 1958 showed similar to in 1963). There was relatively little difference with respect to age for other alternatives. Also, other population characteristics appeared to have little, if any, correlation with the six alternatives. The fact that alternative "c", the moderate level of goal commitment, has been found much more prevalent in the younger generation than the older seems to refute the stereotype impression that youth are enthusiastic and idealistic. The panel survey of 423 (see

Table 1. The way of life

Ques. (#2.4) "There are all sorts of attitudes towards life. Of those listed here (card shown), which one would you say comes closest to your feeling?"

	1953	1958	1963
a. Work hard and get rich.	15%	17%	17%
b. Study earnestly and make a name for yourself.	6	3	4
Sub-total "a" & "b"	21%	20%	21%
c. Don't think about money or fame; just live a life that suits your own tastes. (Non-traditional)	21	27	30
d. Live each day as it comes, cheerfully and without worrying. (Non-traditional)	11	18	19
Sub-total "c" & "d"	32%	45%	49%
e. Resist all evils in the world and live a pure and just life. (Traditional)	29	23	18
f. Never think of yourself; give everything in service of society. (Traditional)	10	6	6
Sub-total "e" & "f"	39%	29%	24%
Other & Don't know	8	6	6
	100%	100%	100%

Chapter I) showed that the same persons, during the ten-year interval, have shifted their views in the direction of this moderate theme, paralleling the same shift in the general population. The atmosphere of well-being and safe economic progress has apparently impressed the young generation strongly and given them little more than this moderate goal.

With respect to natural surroundings, there has been a slight increase in the individual's aggressive attitude towards conquering nature.

Table 2. Attitude towards nature

Ques. (#2.5) "Here are three opinions about man and nature. Which one of these do you think is closest to the truth?"

	1953	1958	1963
a. Man must adapt to nature to be happy. (Traditional)	27%	20%	19%
b. Man must make use of nature to be happy.	41	38	40
c. Man must conquer nature to be happy. (Non-traditional)	23	28	30
Other & Don't know	9	14	11
	100%	100%	100%

Table 2 shows this trend.

The progress of technology during the ten-year period and the visual evidence of construction (dams, roads, etc.), as well as increasing efficiency in agricultural production and gains over the effects of diseases and adverse weather, probably have helped produce this shift.

There was very little change in another aspect of individual attitude involving an ethical stand. Table 3 shows that the only statistically significant change was a slight increase in those giving a conditional reply "depends on circumstances".

Table 3. Custom vs. conscience

Ques. (#2.1) "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 you are less apt to make a mistake if you follow custom?"

	1953	1958	1963
Go ahead (Non-traditional)	41%	41%	40%
Follow custom (Traditional)	35	35	32
Depends on circumstances	19	19	25
Other & Don't know	5	5	3
	100%	100%	100%

2. Religion

Questions about religious faith were asked in 1958 and 1963, so that the change in only a five-year span might be measured. No significant change took place in the percentage saying they believed in a religion. In 1958, 35% said they believed in a religion, and 31% said so in 1963.

Those who said they did not believe in a religion were asked whether or not a religious frame of mind was important. About seven out of ten not having a religious faith said that they thought a religious attitude was important. This average remained almost the same in 1963 as it was in 1958.

Those saying they believed in a religion were asked what their religion was. The results are shown in Table 4. Figures for 1958 give the sub-totals for the major religions, while those for 1963 have breakdowns within Shinto and Buddhism. The portion of the sample believing in a religion is taken as 100%.

Table 4. Religions professed (#3.1b)

Total of those who believed in a religion=100%; these amounted to 35% of total sample in 1958 and 31% of the sample in 1963.

	1958	1963
Not established sect	13%	10%
Shinto	9	7
Orthodox Shinto		4%
Kongo-kyo & Tenri-kyo		3
Buddhism	68	75
Soka-gakkai		11
Rissho Koseikai		2
Nichiren		7
Other Buddhist sects		55
Christianity	3	3
Other & Don't know	7	5
	100%	100%
	(35% of sample)	(31% of sample)

In 1963, those saying they had a religious faith were asked further about their religious activities, and the answers were coded in terms of the degree of practice of their religion. Among Shintoists, Buddhists and Christians, roughly half displayed only a nominal affiliation with their religion. In the case of the Soka Gakkai, about one-third had but nominal connections. The remainder, about half of the Shintoists, Buddhists and Christians, and two thirds of the Soka Gakkai believers, showed some degree of activity and practice of their religions. About one in ten of the Soka Gakkai believers displayed practices extending into proselyting. Somewhat less than one in ten Christians said they were active in proselyting. Less than 1% of the Buddhists and none of the Shintoists in the sample were found in this category.

As a by-product of this survey, estimates of the numbers of adults

professing each faith are obtained from the above percentages: Soka Gakkai was professed by 11% of those saying they believe a religion, or about 3.5% of the total sample. This percentage means that about 2,000,000 adults in Japan would have professed this religion in late 1963. (There were approximately 60,000,000 Japanese of age 20 and over in Japan in 1963.) Similarly, the estimate of Christians (the survey did not differentiate Protestants from Catholics) was approximately 600,000. This figure for Christians roughly corresponds to the estimates of Protestant and Catholic church statistics. The Soka Gakkai figure, however, is only a fraction of the numbers claimed by this organization.

Another area of opinion related to religion is connected with the visit of the Prime Minister to the Shrine at Ise upon assuming office. This tradition of paying homage at Ise Shrine lost support rapidly between 1953 to 1958 and continued to lose support at a slower rate between 1958 and 1963. The results are shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Opinion on Prime Minister's visit to Ise Shrine

Ques. (#3.9) "Some Prime Ministers, when they take office, pay a visit to the Imperial Shrine at Ise. What do you think about this practice?"

	1953	1958	1963
Should go (Traditional)	7%	5%	4%
Better to go (Traditional)	50	33	28
Sub-total "Should" + "Better"	57%	38%	32%
Can do as he pleases (Non-traditional)	23	27	41
Better not to go (Non-traditional)	6	12	9
Should not go (Non-traditional)	2	5	5
Sub-total "Better not" + "Should not"	8%	17%	14%
Other responses	2	2	3
Don't know	10	16	10
	100%	100%	100%

It is to be noted from the table that the opposition to the Prime Minister's visit to Ise doubled from 1953 to 1958 (8% to 17%) but remained relatively unchanged after 1958, while support for his visit dropped from 57% to 38% in the first five years and tapered down to 32% in the next five years. It showed a very large change of public opinion that the net support for his visit dropped from +49% in 1953 to +13% in 1963. On the other hand, the tolerant attitude of letting the Prime Minister "do as he pleases" grew slightly in the first five years (23% to 27%) and then swung rapidly up in the next five years

(27% to 41%). This change from the traditional attitude to the non-traditional is one of the noteworthy shifts of the nature of public opinion.

3. Family and children

One of the greatest changes from traditional to non-traditional in opinion about family affairs concerns adoption*. Table 6 shows the trend, which has been at a relatively steady rate over the ten-year period surveyed. Moreover, detailed data shows that the trend towards the non-traditional has appeared in all age groups, indicating that the overall climate has been changing in all generations (see Chapter III). There is a great difference with respect to the degree of urbanization: In the 1963 data, 35% in the six largest cities said they were for adoption and 41% were not, while 62% in towns and villages were for adoption and 24% were not.

Table 6. Attitude towards adoption to continue family line

Ques. (#4.10) "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 don't you think this is important?"

	1953	1958	1963
Yes, would adopt (Traditional)	73%	63%	51%
No, would not adopt (Non-traditional)	16	21	32
Depends on circumstances	7	8	12
Other & Don't know	4	8	5
	100%	100%	100%

Even the drop in percentage of those who would adopt a child to continue the family line is, perhaps, not so much due to a change in deep ethical commitment as it is due to a change in the national pattern of economic convenience. What suggests the connection with economic convenience is that the agricultural population showed a much higher preference for adoptions than the urban population. Although such a difference might be considered natural, in line with the usual assumption that Japanese farmers are more traditional than city dwellers, statistical data in the 1963 survey shows that in nearly all questions involving traditional-versus-non-traditional views (e.g., Table 10 and discussion), the rural population shows no greater traditionalism

* Unlike the West, adoptions in Japan are usually for the purpose of continuing the family line.

than the urban, or only slightly greater traditionalism, *except in the case of adoptions.*

As already related, the rural population showed a far greater percentage in favor of adoptions than did the urban. Moreover, percentages in terms of occupational breakdown showed that in 1963, 71% of the farmers preferred adoption, as contrasted with 30% in the professions. These percentages imply that continuation of the family line to maintain the farm is perhaps a more serious economic matter than continuation of a family line among professional groups, where property inheritance is not directly connected with pursuance of a vocation. Superimposed on this admittedly oversimplified pattern is also the fact that, at least until relatively recent years, the oldest son usually had to carry on the family line on the farm while the younger sons went off to the city to get jobs and were freed from the main responsibility of family lineage. It is conceivable, then, that as far as family lineage is concerned, the more purely traditional portion has been retained in the agricultural occupations (and hence rural), while the non-traditional portion has been growing in the cities. The overall picture of change in opinion, therefore, probably coincides with the shift in population patterns related to economic convenience.

Some attitudes about children have shown little change, if any. One was the case of teaching children that money is the most important thing. Table 7 shows the responses to this question, which was asked in 1953 and 1963.

Table 7. Teaching children money is the most important

Ques. (#4.5) "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?"

	1953	1963
Agree	65%	60%
Disagree	24	23
Neither agree nor fully disagree	9	15
Other & Don't know	2	2
	100%	100%

Another area of family affairs was related to the school teacher image sustained by parents. The question asked involved the respondent's opinion about whether he would tell his children that the teacher is correct although in reality he is not. Table 8 shows that no change took place in the first five-year interval and some shift towards the non-traditional occurred in the second five-year period, although the

statistical weight of those holding on to the traditional position changed very little. The net percentage (% traditional—% non-traditional) however showed a considerable shift.

Table 8. Sustaining good image of school teacher

Ques. (#4.4) "Suppose that a child comes home and says that he has heard a rumor that his teacher had done something to get himself into trouble, and suppose that the parent knows this is true. Do you think it is better for the parent to tell the child that it is true, or to deny it?"

	1953	1958	1963
Better to deny it (Traditional)	38%	38%	32%
Better to affirm it (Non-traditional)	42	41	50
Other	13	10	10
Don't know	7	11	8
	100%	100%	100%

4. Face-to-face social groups

In the field of the moral indebtedness and duty towards those one is closely associated with, there has been hardly any shift of percentages in the ten-year period. Rather extreme alternatives were presented to the respondent in order to measure his opinion about the relative

Table 9a. Loyalty to benefactor vs. business

Ques. (#5.1) (Picture of situation shown): "Imagine this situation. Mr. M was orphaned at an early age and was brought up by Mr. A, a kind neighbor. Mr. A gave him a good education, sent him to a university, and now Mr. M has become the president of a company. One day he gets a telegram saying that Mr. A, who brought him up, is seriously ill and asking if he would come at once. This telegram arrives 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.
(Card of alternatives shown): "Which of the things written on this card do you think he should do?"

	1953	1958	1963
Leave everything and go home	54%	50%	46%
However worried he might be about Mr. A, he should go to the meeting	41	39	46
Other & Don't know	5	11	8
	100%	100%	100%

Table 9b. Loyalty to parent vs. business

Ques. (#5.1b) (Same picture as question for Table 9a shown): "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?"

	1953	1958	1963
Leave everything and go home	49%	50%	45%
Go to the meeting	48	41	47
Other & Don't know	3	9	8
	100%	100%	100%

weights of loyalties. Tables 9a and 9b show that the opinion has remained split in half on these questions.

The fact that opinion is split almost exactly in half for both answers over the years may be due to the equal value the Japanese places on moral indebtedness (to the benefactor or parent) and duty (to the company). Both are old Confucianist values, which apparently do not change greatly with social modernization. Moreover, very few tried to sit on the fence ("Other" and "Don't know" percentages). Since situation of this sort are commonplace in Japanese life, respondents could comprehend issues in this question, and did not have to choose these answers.

A breakdown by population category shows relatively little difference in this split by age. The greatest difference appeared with respect to education, in which those with low education tended to choose going home, while those with high education tended to choose to attend the company meeting. Also people in professional, management, or large enterprise categories also tended to attend the meeting, but those in other occupations (small enterprises, agriculture, etc.). These educational and more occupational differences are perhaps more related to levels of current or expected social responsibility, than to degrees of modernization. On the other hand, the ten-year panel group (see Chapter I) showed a 15% drop in those choosing to go home in answer to the question in Table 9a (58% in 1953 to 43% in 1963), and an 11% rise in those choosing the meeting (39% to 50%). For the question in Table 9b, the panel showed an 8% drop among those going home (50% to 42%) and a 4% rise in those attending the meeting (48% to 52%). These shifts were greater than the differences for the entire population samples. Since the panel was ten-years older in 1963, these shifts in the panel would seem to be related to experience and increased social responsibility, a factor that is implied in levels of education

mentioned above for the total samples.

A different set of alternatives, involving clear contrasts between traditional and non-traditional ethical values, were used in another question during the third survey. No trend figures are available on this measurement, since the question was asked only in the latest survey. The results in 1963 are shown in Table 10.

Table 10. Important virtues

Ques. (#5.1d) "If you are asked to choose two out of this list (Card shown) that are important, which two would you point out?"

	1963
a. Filial piety (<i>oya-koko</i>)	61%
b. Repaying moral indebtedness (<i>on-gaeshi</i>)	43
c. Respecting individual rights	48
d. Respecting freedom	40
Other & Don't know	5
% Choosing:	
a & b (exclusively traditional)	28%
c & d (exclusively non-traditional)	21
1 traditional & 1 non-traditional	46
Other & Don't know	5
	100%

Cross-tabulations by population categories to yield the percentages choosing exclusively traditional and exclusively non-traditional answers show that women are more inclined towards traditional answers than men (22% men and 34% women exclusively traditional; 26% men and 16% women exclusively non-traditional). With respect to age, there is a neat gradation of percentages showing that the older the age group is, the higher the exclusively traditional percentage is (13% at 20 through 29 years, and 39% at 50 through 59 years), and vice versa for exclusively non-traditional percentages (35% at 20 through 29 years, and 12% at 50 through 59 years). Similar gradations are found with respect to education, that is, the lower the education level, the higher the traditional percentage (53% primary school level and 10% college level exclusively traditional; 8% primary school level and 43% college level exclusively non-traditional). On the other hand, there is little difference between those living in large cities and small cities, but a slightly higher traditional percentage in rural areas (23% in 6 largest cities, 26% in cities of 100,000 to 200,000 population, and 32% in towns and villages exclusively traditional). In nearly all types of population

categories, roughly half choose a combination of traditional and non-traditional.

In another significant pair of contrasting preferences, used in this case as a trend study, figures for three surveys are available. The alternative preferences involve the type of supervisor under whom the respondent would want to work. One type is the supervisor who demands extra work although it is against the company rules but looks after the employee's personal matters outside of the job. This may be regarded as a traditional, paternalistic pattern of relationship. The other type is the supervisor who adheres to the company rules but does not look after the employee's personal affairs. He may be regarded as the non-traditional supervisor. The results, over the ten-year span in Table 11, show there has been no significant change.

Table 11. Type of supervisor preferred

Ques. (#5.6) "Supposing you are working in a firm. There are two types of department chiefs. (Card shown) 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 who sometimes demands extra work in spite of rules against it, but on the other hand, looks after you personally in matters not connected with the work."

	1953	1958	1963
Type A (Non-traditional)	12%	14%	13%
Type B (Traditional)	85	77	82
Other & Don't know	3	9	5
	100%	100%	100%

Here, an overwhelming proportion of the Japanese (about eight out of ten) prefer the traditional type of supervisor. This overwhelming preference runs consistently through all age groups, urban-and-rural breakdowns, and levels of education. There is a slight difference according to occupation, between those in professional and management categories preferring the independent, non-traditional type and those employed in small and medium-size enterprises; but the difference is no more than that between an 8-in-10 proportion and a 9-in-10 proportion for the traditional.

5. General social problems

There has been a small shift in opinion towards the attitude that mechanization is reducing human feelings in our life. Tables 12a and 12b show the trend over the ten-year period with respect to two different types of questions on this subject.

Table 12a. Human feelings in our life in modernization

Ques. (#7.1) "Some people say that with the development of science and technology, life becomes more convenient, but at the same time a lot of human feeling is lost. Do you agree with this opinion or do you disagree?"

	1953	1958	1963
Agree human feelings lost	30%	33%	37%
Neither fully agree nor disagree	18	17	23
Disagree human feelings lost	35	34	28
Don't know	17	16	12
	100%	100%	100%

Table 12b. Richness of human feelings in modernization

Ques. (#7.2) (Wording in 1953): "Some people say that however advanced civilization becomes, nothing can reduce the richness of human feelings. Do you agree with this opinion, or do you disagree?"

(Wording in 1958 & 1963): "Some people say that however mechanized the world gets, nothing can reduce the richness of human feelings. Do you agree with this opinion, or do you disagree?"

	1953	1958	1963
Disagree	17%	21%	18%
Neither fully agree nor disagree	9	11	20
Agree	58	52	49
Don't know	16	16	13
	100%	100%	100%

The question wording in Tables 12a and 12b tends to persuade the respondent to agree with the proposition, first in one direction (that "human feelings are lost" with the development of science and technology) and then in the other direction (that the "richness of human feeling" is not reduced with mechanization). However, if it is assum-

ed that the bias in each question was constant through the years, the change in the net percentage in both questions is in the direction that human feelings are being reduced through modernization of the physical environment.

Opinion about the relationship between individual happiness and national well-being was measured in 1953 and 1963. Results, shown in Table 13, indicate that there has been a slight shift towards emphasis on the individual during this ten-year interval.

Table 13. Individual happiness and national well-being

Ques. (#7.4) "Which one of the following opinions do you agree with ?

(Card shown):

- a. If individuals are made happy, then and only then will Japan as a whole improve.
- b. If Japan as a whole improves, then and only then can individuals be made happy.
- c. Improving Japan and making individuals happy are the same thing."

	1953	1963
a. Individuals first (Non-traditional)	25%	30%
b. Japan as a whole first (Traditional)	37	30
c. Both same thing	31	34
Other & Don't know	7	6
	100%	100%

6. Men and women

The attitude of women towards their lot in society appears to be improving in Japan. In 1958 and 1963, a question was asked about the respondent's preference in being men or women. Table 14 gives the results, showing a growth of women's satisfaction over their sex, while the men remained unchanged.

Earlier surveys in the United States and Canada (1946) have shown about two-thirds of the women saying they would prefer to be women, if re-born, and about one-fourth saying they would prefer being re-born men. Japanese women have not shifted to these Western levels as yet, but there seems to be a change in this direction.

Table 14. Preference of being re-born men or women

Ques. (#6.2) "If you could be born again, would you rather be a man or a woman?"

	1958	1963
Opinion of men:		
Prefer being a man	90%	88%
Prefer being a woman	5	7
Don't know & other replies	5	5
	100%	100%
Opinion of women:		
Prefer being a man	64%	55%
Prefer being a woman	27	36
Don't know & other replies	9	9
	100%	100%

7. General attitude toward politics

The attitude toward authoritarian government has shifted in favor of the non authoritarian view over the ten-year span measured. Table 15 shows this trend.

Table 15. Attitude towards authoritarian government

Ques. (#8.1) "Some people say that if we get good political leaders, the best way to improve ('reconstruct' in 1953 survey) the country is for the people to leave everything to them, rather than for the people to discuss things among themselves. Do you agree with this or disagree?"

	1953	1958	1963
Agree should leave up to leaders (Traditional)	43%	35%	29%
Depends on time & leaders	9	10	13
Disagree (Non-traditional)	38	44	47
No such leaders expected	3	2	4
Other & Don't know	7	9	7
	100%	100%	100%

As shown in Table 15, the opinion supporting the authoritarian measures declined. By 1963 only 29% of the population agreed to leave everything up to leaders and by 1963 about half the population disagreed with the idea of having an authoritarian government. A break-

down into various population categories show that the greatest differences appear with respect to age. In 1963, those in their twenties exhibited about six-in-ten disagreement and two-in-ten agreement, while those in their fifties showed about four-in-ten disagreement and four-in-ten agreement. A tabulation by education levels also showed considerable differences, the higher the education level, the higher the percentage of disagreement. In 1958, the age breakdown showed somewhat less disagreement and more agreement in all age brackets than the 1963 figures. The growth of the non-authoritarian attitude appears to have taken place in all age brackets. However, the ten-year panel group showed very little change, with only a slight shift towards the non-authoritarian view. Apparently the overall tendency towards the non-authoritarian view is slightly stronger than the reverse tendency as people become older. Therefore the overall trend in the population may be attributed to the attitude change of the people remaining in the population rather than it is to the entry of a new generation into the population in the last ten-years.

Support for the Liberal-Democratic Party remained stable. There was a rise and then a drop in support for the Socialist Party. Short-term fluctuations, which often occur in party support percentages, may have made some difference especially in the results of the percentage support for the Socialist Party, since only three points in time were measured in the ten-year period. The results are shown in Table 16.

Table 16. Percentage support for political parties

Ques. (#8.7) "Which political party do you support?"

	Apr.-May 1953	Nov.-Dec. 1958	Oct.-Nov. 1963
Liberal-Democratic*	41%	38%	43%
Democratic Socialist**	—	—	3
Japan Socialist Party***	23	31	22
Communist Party	0	0	0
Koseiren****	—	—	2
None & Don't know	36	31	30
	100%	100%	100%

* Sum of Liberal Party & Progressive Party support in 1953.

** Established in 1960 after splitting from JSP.

*** Sum of Left-Wing and Right-Wing Socialist support in 1953.

**** Name of Soka-Gakkai-affiliated body prior to formation of Komeito in 1964.

In the panel group, 44% chose the conservative parties in 1953 and 50% chose the LDP in 1963. On the other hand there was a drop

from 20% to 16% in JSP support (plus 3% support for the DSP in 1963). This trend towards conservative support as a group gets older is revealed in other studies.

8. Japanese opinion about themselves

Japanese display considerable self-confidence when they compare themselves with other peoples. Table 17a and 17b show this tendency.

Table 17a. Comparison with Western people

Ques. (#9.6) "Generally speaking, would you say that the Japanese people are superior to, or inferior to Western peoples?"

	1953	1963
Japanese superior to Westerners	20%	33%
Japanese inferior to Westerners	28	14
Both same	14	16
Qualified answers & other	23	28
Sub-total "same" + "qualified"	37%	44%
Don't know	15	9
	100%	100%

Table 17b. Peoples considered superior

Ques. (#9.7) "Among the peoples on this list, who do you think are superior? You may name as many as you like. (Card shown)"

	1958	1963
Japanese	57%	52%
Chinese	9	6
Indians	7	3
Jews	8	6
Russians	20	16
Germans	52	45
Frenchmen	17	15
Englishmen	31	27
Americans	47	46
Koreans	1	—*
Arabians	1	—*
Micronesians	0	—*
No difference & Don't know	20	27

* Not listed in 1963.

Table 17a reveals an increase in the percentage of Japanese regarding themselves superior to Westerners and a decrease in those considering themselves inferior. It also shows a little increase in those either saying "same" or giving qualified answers (37% in 1953 to 44% in 1963). Indeed, the total percentage giving one or the other of the latter two categories of replies—which were volunteered against the dichotomy presented—has been higher than either of the two opposite alternatives in both surveys. These percentages represent a more sophisticated attitude than the superior-or-inferior attitude; and the growth of this percentage over the ten years perhaps implies more self-confidence than the change in the portion involving the dichotomy.

Table 17b shows that in both 1958 and 1963, the Japanese named themselves most frequently as being a superior people. The Germans and Americans were also named with almost an equally high frequency. Other peoples were chosen with considerably less frequency. (The temptation to make more out of the slight percentage shifts in this table was avoided, since the individual percentages are either under or just over the threshold of statistical significance. At most, it could be said that the table seems to support the findings in Table 17a.)

The age-group breakdown of survey results in 1953 and 1963 shows that the growth of self-esteem tabulated in Table 17a occurred at all ages. In other words, there was almost as much growth of self-esteem (increase in net percentage; i.e., % "superior" minus % "inferior") among those in their forties, for example, as among those in their twenties. Moreover, the total percentage change in the entire sample was almost exactly duplicated in the panel study group. That is, the 13% increase in "superior" percentage paralleled a 12% increase in the panel, and the 14% drop in "inferior" percentage was reflected in a 15% drop in the panel. Also a 5% increase in qualified answers in the entire sample was matched by a 7% increase in the panel. These patterns may be interpreted to mean that the shift of opinion in the ten-year period has been a change in the overall climate and not a change resulting exclusively from people growing older (as was the case with the panel) or from a new generation entering the adult population (as was the case with the overall sample).

Another result that may reflect a phase of this growth of confidence appeared in responses to a question of preference choice between Japanese and Western gardens. A picture of a Japanese garden (of the Katsura detached palace in Kyoto) and that of a Western garden were shown and the respondent was asked to point out which one he preferred. Table 18 shows the results. It is possible that the actual photos gave weighted results, for the portion of the Katsura garden shown was a good combination of water and vegetation, while that of

western garden showed primarily paved walkways in a geometric pattern, with a minimum of greenery (see Appendix).

Table 18. Preference of garden type

Ques. (#9.3) (Picture of Japanese and Western gardens shown):
"Which of these do you like?"

	1953	1958	1963
Japanese garden	79%	78%	85%
Western garden	16	16	11
Other	1	2	2
Don't know	4	4	2
	100%	100%	100%

There has been an overwhelming majority preferring the Japanese style garden, throughout the ten years. This sustained preference apparently has no connection with the increase in adoption of western modes of life. If anything, this trend backs up the idea that indigenous arts are not made weaker by modernization, after the process has advanced beyond the initial copying stage.

9. Summary

The results of these three nation-wide surveys will now be considered together in the following overall discussion:

Within the limits of opinion and attitudinal questions, there were a total of 16 asked in the same way in all three surveys. The answers to these questions may be divided into 38 major opinions, which can be categorized into various levels and directions of change: In this ten-year span, there were 6 opinions whose percentages hardly changed at all, while among those showing large changes, 2 opinions revealed increases of 10% or more, 2 showed decreases of over 20%, and 2 others, decreases in the order of 10%. The majority of opinions revealed changes in the order of 5% to 10%. In other words, changes were relatively little in most of the opinions during the ten-year period.

These 38 opinions may be classified into three general categories, namely (1) those representing the old, traditional views of the Japanese people (i.e., opinions revealing higher percentages at higher age levels), (2) those representing the so-called new, rational or non-traditional views, and (3) those falling mid-way between these two or which involve questions having nothing to do with either of the previous two directions.

It is found that among the 11 opinions representing the new, rational views, there were 8 opinions in which percentages supporting them increased over the ten-year span. Among the 10 traditional opinions, on the other hand, 7 of them showed decreasing percentages supporting them. Not a single one in either category showed an opposite trend (that is, a new, rational opinion decreasing in percentage, or a traditional opinion increasing in percentage). (This discussion takes into account random statistical deviations, and differences of 5% or more are regarded as actual trend changes.) Among the unrelated category of opinions, ((3) above) the number showing increasing percentages, those showing decreasing percentages, and the opinions revealing fluctuating percentages, were found to be divided into roughly three equal portions.

In order to present more clearly the picture of these percentage changes corresponding to the 38 opinions, the 1953 results have been plotted on a graph along the ordinate and the 1963 results along the abscissa, as shown in Figure 1.

In Figure 1, if there were no differences in opinion percentages

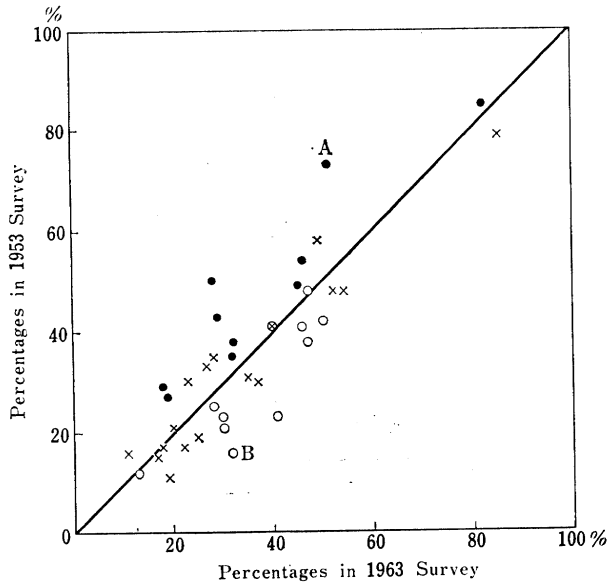


Fig. 1 Changes in opinion percentages during 10-year span

- Opinion item representing the so-called new, rational point of view
- Opinion item representing the older, traditional Japanese point of view
- × Opinion representing a neutral position between traditional and new points of view, or having no connection with such points of view

between 1953 and 1963, the corresponding points would lie along the 45-degree diagonal drawn on the graph. Opinion percentages that increased in 1963 over 1953 would produce points falling in the right-hand portion below the diagonal, and those that decreased in 1963 below 1953 would appear in the upper left-hand portion. For example, the opinion for adopting a child to carry on the family line (Qus. #4.10; Table 6) was supported by 73% in 1953 and by 51% in 1963, producing point A in Figure 1, while the opinion for not adopting was held by 16% in 1953 and by 32% in 1963, producing point B in the same figure. In this way, opinion percentages that show an increase become located in the right-hand part under the diagonal line, and decreasing percentages appear in the upper left-hand sector.

It is seen that points tend to cluster in the vicinity of the 45-degree diagonal, the points farthest from the diagonal being not farther than points A and B. In other words, there has not been a very great overall change in the various opinion percentages during the ten-year period measured.

However, the changes that have occurred are seen to follow a distribution of points characteristic of the three categories of opinions mentioned above. That is, nearly all points representing traditional opinions appear above the diagonal towards the left; and nearly all those representing opinions opposite to the traditional appear below the diagonal to the right. This indicates that traditional opinions have generally decreased from 1953 to 1963.

If points are similarly plotted for the results of 1958, compared to 1953, and for 1963 compared to 1958, it is found that these points for the 5-year spans assemble around the 45-degree diagonal in both cases than shown in Figure 1 for the ten-year span. (The figures showing 5-year span comparisons have been omitted here.) Moreover, the amount of shift from the diagonal which points show in the 10-year span is found to be roughly about twice the shift shown in the graphs of the 5-year spans. This means that the direction and amount of change from 1953 to 1958 continued in the period from 1958 to 1963, producing a measure of change in opinions and attitudes during the 10-year period, and that the direction is away from the traditional.

While the foregoing discussion is limited to percentage changes in the entire population as a whole, parallel surveys were conducted on panels which reveal what changes, if any, have occurred among individuals in five and ten years. Briefly, these panel studies show that these individuals, when considered collectively, also reveal decreases in percentages supporting traditional opinions and increases in percentages supporting the so-called new, rational opinions. The trend in the panels, who are five or ten more older than the 1963 sample, in general follows

the same trend as the overall population sample surveys. It therefore appears that individuals themselves shift their views as the years go by, following the trend of change in the general opinion climate.

III. AGE AND OPINION CLIMATE

As has already been mentioned in the introduction, the purpose of this paper is to investigate trends in public opinion and attitude about ordinary affairs in society. Some aspects appear to change and others do not. There are two major factors for these changes, the one is a influence of age, the other is a influence of current history. We call the latter "public climate" in this section.

The survey results described above also reveal many instances which seem to be most appropriately explained by the two effects, that of age and that of the overall public climate. These two factors will therefore be considered here in some detail:

Individuals are affected in various ways by both age and public climate, but in this study, the collective, statistical result of such influences will be discussed. It must be pointed out that the terms "influence of age" and "influence of public climate" may sound logical and understandable, but they are not easily identifiable in public opinion evidence. For example, measurements of public opinion at intervals of five or ten years might be expected to reveal changes in percentages that could readily be called changes through the influence of shifts in public climate over the years. But the problem is not so simple, since the population under study (i.e., all Japanese 20 years or over in age) become five or ten years older, while new people enter the population from the lower end. In other words, the population is constituted differently as the years go by.

The new entrants to the population went to school under the new education system and have more progressive ideas than those who are already in the population. If these older members of the population were assumed to hold on to their former opinions, the overall opinion percentage would be expected to shift towards the newer view held by the newer entrants, thereby producing a change in percentage that is apparently a change in the public climate.

On the other hand, the effect of age might, at first glance, appear to be revealed by the change of opinion percentage among the same people between one survey and another, say, five years later, since they would have become five years older. But they are also being ex-

posed to the shift of public climate during these five years, so that the effect of public climate and the effect of age cannot be readily separated. Another conceivable method might be to compare the opinion percentage today of one age group (say those in their 50's) with the opinion percentage 10 years ago of this age group 10 years younger (those in their 40's), since this age group would represent the same sector of the population ten years apart, who have aged ten years. However, such a comparison also does not isolate the influence on this group of shifts in public climate during these ten years.

This situation may be illustrated graphically as in Figure 2. Let us assume that the time of the surveys is plotted along the abscissa and the opinion percentages of a certain age group are plotted along

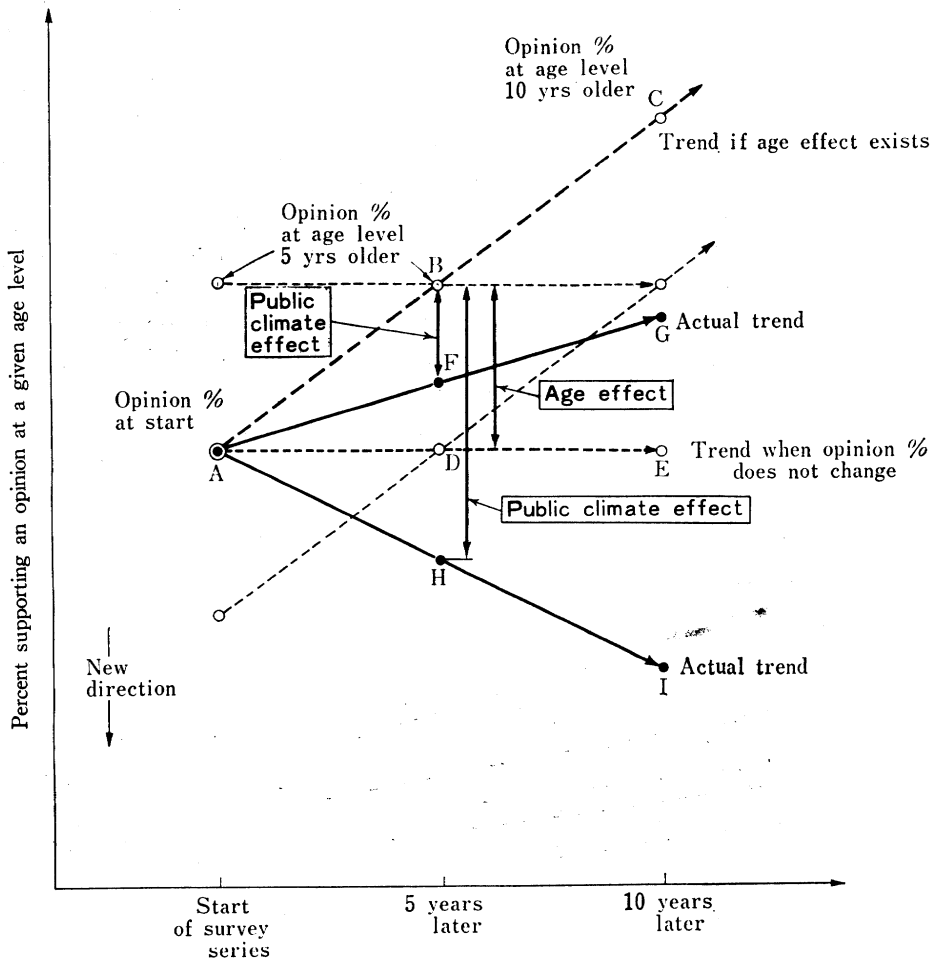


Fig. 2 Illustration of effect of age and public climate (Hypothetical figure)

the ordinate. Let us also suppose that the opinion percentage of this age group at the first survey is represented by point A. If surveys are conducted at five-year intervals, a case where there is no change would result in the point A moving along D-E. Where change is due only to age, let us assume that point A would move along B-C, but where both age and climate have effects, the percentage may shift along a trend such as A-F-G, or A-H-I. In such cases, the portion of the shift dues only to change in public climate, five years later, would be B-F, or B-H. On the other hand D-F or D-H might be considered as differences due to age simply because the surveys were taken five years apart. The two-headed arrows in the figure refer to the conceivable amounts of change due to public climate, depending on the direction and amount of the trend. Actually, the data involves not only the influences of age and public climate, but also statistical deviations of sampling, various errors inherent in the survey process, and other influences. We shall then attempt to see how far the changes of opinion percentages can be explained on the basis of the effects of age and public climate.

If data on a certain opinion item is compiled in five-year age groups and plotted with respect to age, the results for the three surveys at five-year intervals appear as shown in Figure 3. It is seen

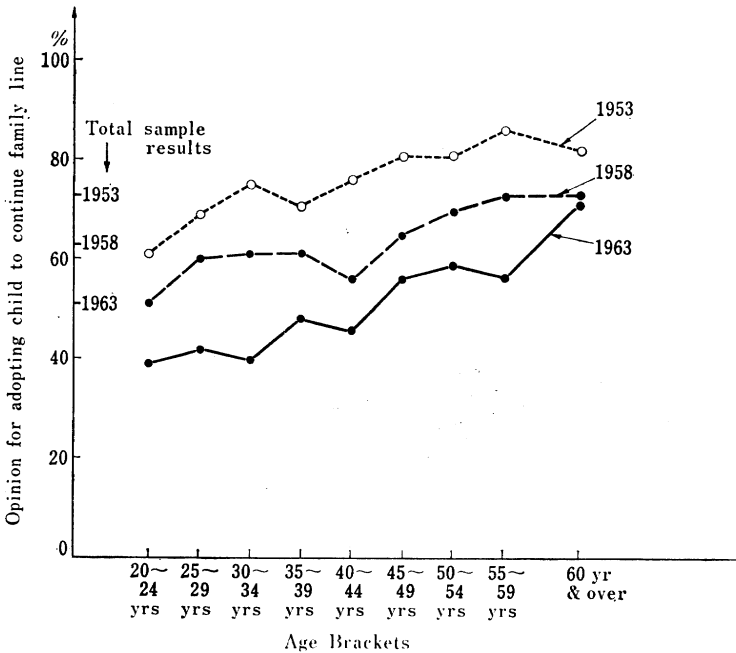


Fig. 3 Percentage of opinion for adopting child to continue family line, with respect to various age brackets

that these age-versus-percentage curves show quite a variation with respect to age and all three curves are slanted in generally the same parallel direction. Moreover, for any given age group, the percentage is seen to change with time.

Since there are irregularities causing the lines to be quite jagged, although the overall tendency is similar for all curves, the following assumption will be made for simplicity's sake: The variation of percentage with respect to age is assumed to be the same for all surveys, and the influence of the overall public climate is assumed to be uniform for all age levels.

Under these assumptions, a regression analysis of these curves provides the slope lines illustrated in Figure 4, over which the curves of Figure 3 have been superimposed to show how they fit the trend generally (see Table 19). A study of Figure 4 reveals that the effect of public climate, as represented in the differences between the lines of regression is about 12% for all ages; that is a decrease of 12% in those supporting the idea of adopting a child for continuing the family line, every five years. On the other hand the effect of age is seen to be approximately an increase of 3% in those supporting this opinion for each increase of five years in age. As drawn in the sketch below the curves, if the influence of public climate were illustrated by the flow

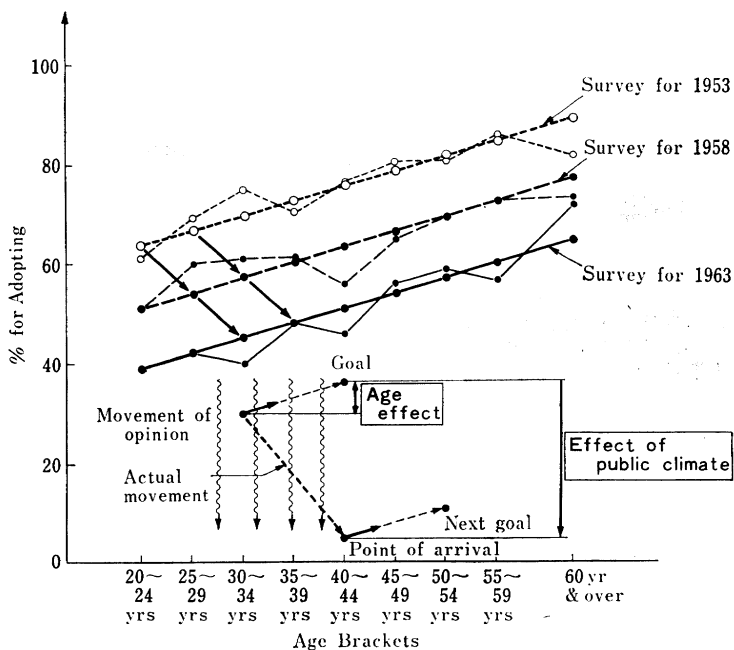


Fig. 4 Regression lines of trend in adoption of child to continue family line

of a river, and the movement of a boat on the river were diagonally upstream, the boat would be carried downstream some distance below the originally expected point, but would still be constantly working diagonally across and against the flow. In other words, opinions become more traditional as men grow older, but the men nevertheless get swept along with the times.

Not all opinion items reveal such clear-cut evidences of effects from age and public climate. There are other aspects that need further study.

In some opinion items, such as the attitude that man should "make use of nature" (Q. #2.5; Table 2), or "follow custom" (Q. #2.1; Table 3), the effect of age is clearly seen, but there is hardly any evidence of effect from public climate. However, in the theme of life (Q. #2.4; Table 1), the percentage answering, "work hard and get rich," and answers to the questions on the type of supervisor preferred (Q. #5.6; Table 11) and preference for medals or money (Q. #7.6) show trends in which neither the age effect nor the influence of the public climate appears to have much significance. Also other questions, such as the one on whether funerals and weddings should be large or not (Q. #4.8), produced percentages that varied greatly with the time of the survey and did not show any constant trend that lent itself to such a hypothesis as age effect or climate influence.

The foregoing discussion describes the type of study made on the results to determine the effects of age and public climate on opinion percentages in the various questions. In general, it was found that there was more influence due to the overall tendencies of public climate than the influence due to age, under the simplified assumptions described above. Many opinion items produced percentage changes that could be explained under these assumptions. But there were others that did not fit the hypotheses of either age effect or climate effect.

Among opinion items showing very little or no significant change in percentage, there were some that revealed the influence of age and others that showed no significant evidence of either type of influence. In other words, items that showed hardly any change revealed the same opinion percentage for a given age group regardless of when the survey was conducted in a number of cases, and in other cases showed results that had no significant age effect or public climate effect. Such types of opinions need to be taken adequately into account, when considering an overall picture of the national character of the Japanese people.

The data used in this paper are collected by the surveys which Research Committee on the study of Japanese National Character have

Table 19. Relationship of opinion percentages with age and public climate

—Questions common to surveys in series—

$$\text{Model: } z = f(x, t) + \epsilon$$

$$f(x, t) = a + bx + ct$$

where x = age factor in five-year units t = index representing a particular survey in series
(influence due to the public climate) z = opinion percentage a, b, c = constant

#	Ques.	Type	Correlation coefficient	Estimate		
				b (%)	c (%)	
2.1	Custom vs. conscience	● Follow custom	0.69	2.14	(- 2.17)*	
		○ Go ahead	0.51	-1.37	(- 0.33)	
		× Depends	0.66	-1.01	3.55	
		× Get rich	—	—	—	
2.4	The way of life	○ Own tastes	0.90	-2.97	5.17	
		× Cheerfully, no worry	0.40	(0.73)	3.72	
		● Pure & just	0.60	(-0.20)	- 5.72	
		● Adapt to nature	0.66	1.05	- 3.72	
2.5	Man and nature	× Use nature	0.63	-2.01	- 0.39	
		○ Conquer nature	0.47	-1.06	3.44	
		● Should go	0.90	3.88	-12.22	
		○ As he pleases	0.86	-2.81	9.83	
4.4	Misbehaving teacher	● Better deny	0.65	1.57	- 3.16	
		○ Better affirm	0.66	-1.95	4.39	

4.8	Big weddings and funerals	×	Suitable size all right	—	—	—	—
		×	Not good	—	—	—	—
4.10	Adoption to continue family	●	Would adopt	0.92	2.93	-12.39	
		○	Would not adopt	0.86	-1.64	8.89	
5.1	Benefactor vs. business	○	Attend meeting	0.49	-1.56	(3.33)	
		●	Go home	0.57	1.01	- 4.28	
5.1b	Parent vs. business	○	Attend meeting	—	—	—	
		●	Go home	—	—	—	
5.6	Type of supervisor preferred	●	Paternalistic	—	—	—	
		○	Non-paternalistic	—	—	—	
7.1	Human feelings in modernization	×	Will be lost	0.52	0.90	3.50	
		×	Will not be lost	0.52	-1.64	(- 3.22)	
		×	Neither	0.73	-1.09	3.00	
7.2	Richness of human feeling in modernization	×	Will be lost	—	—	—	
		×	Will not be lost	0.72	-1.86	- 4.39	
		×	Neither	0.66	-0.47	5.39	
7.6	Medals or money	×	Medals	—	—	—	
		×	Money	—	—	—	
7.7	Value of type of work done	×	Scholars, artists	—	—	—	
		×	Practitioners	0.53	(-0.33)	- 3.61	
		○	Both same	—	—	—	
8.1	Authoritarian government	●	Leave to leaders	0.88	2.55	- 8.39	
		○	Disagree leaving to leaders	0.88	-3.83	6.16	
9.3	Preference of garden type	×	Japanese garden	0.35	(0.25)	4.16	
		×	Western garden	0.43	0.95	(- 2.50)	

* () shows the influence of public climate (age) is not significant.

carried out.

The members of this Committee are Zyoiti Suetuna (chairman), Chikio Hayashi, Hirojiro Aoyama, Masatugu Isida, Sigeki Nisihira, Yasushi Taga, Tosio Uematu, Tatsuzo Suzuki and Kazuo Noda.

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APPENDIX

Questions and Simple Tabulations

Roman numerals refer to survey numbers

(I: 1953; II: 1958; III: 1963. All the questions in the 1963 survey are listed in this Appendix.)

§ 1. Basic Data

#1.1 Sex

	Male	Female	Total
I	47	53	100 (2,254)
II	46	54	100 (2,369)
III	46	54	100 (2,698)
1960 Census	47.9	52.1	100.0

#1.2 Age

	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-49	50-59	60-	Total
I	19	15	12	11	18	15	10	100 (2,254)
II	15	14	14	10	19	14	14	100 (2,369)
III	13	13	14	12	19	15	14	100 (2,698)
1960 Census	14.8	14.7	13.3	10.7	17.6	14.0	14.9	100.0

#1.3 Education (Years of schooling)

	0-6	7-9	10-12	13-	Others	Total
I	33	35	24	6	2	100 (2,254)
II	31	37	24	7	1	100 (2,369)
III	21	41	29	8	1	100 (2,698)
1960 Census	21.0	48.0	24.0	6.0	1.0	100.0

#1.4 Occupation

	Professional	Managerial	Clerical and salesman	Owners of small enterprises	Farming, fishing and forestry
II	4	2	11	8	29
III	4	2	11	11	16

	Skilled	Unskilled	Housewife	Others	Total
II	7	4	22	13	100 (2,369)
III	15	2	38	1	100 (2,698)

#1.5 Rural vs. Urban Breakdown

	6 Metro- politan Cities	Other Cities				Rural	Total
I	13	26				61	100 (2,254)
II	15	Old Cities		New Cities		44	100 (2,369)
		29	12				
III	16	Pop.:				38	100 (2,698)
		200,000- & over	100,000- 200,000	50,000- 100,000	Under 50,000		
1960 Census*	17.9	11.9	10.6	11.5	11.7	36.4	100.0

* Total population 100%=93,418,501 (all ages)

#1.6 Regional Distribution

	Hok- kaido	Tohoku	Kanto	Chubu	Kinki	Chu- goku	Shikoku	Kyushu	Total
I*	5	14	17	21	11	16	16	100 (1,370)	
II	5	10	25	18	14	8	5	15	100 (2,369)
III	5	10	23	19	17	8	5	13	100 (2,698)
1960 Census	5.4	10.0	24.7	17.7	16.6	7.4	4.4	13.8	100.0

* I for rural population only

§ 2. Individual Matters

#2.1 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 you are less apt to make a mistake if you follow custom ?

	Go ahead	Follow custom	Depends on circum- stances	Other	D.K.	Total
I	41	35	19	1	4	100 (2,254)
II	41	35	19	1	4	100 (2,369)
III	40	32	25	1	2	100 (2,698)

#2.2 (Card shown) Supposing someone wants to do something which he thinks is right and gives a full explanation to others about it, but they refuse to listen to him. Which of these two persons do you think is the better attitude ?

- (a) Somebody who ignores the opposition and goes ahead.
- (b) Somebody who gives up the idea if it is opposed.

	(a)	(b)	Other	D.K.	Total
II	54	32	7	7	100 (2,369)
III	55	32	6	7	100 (2,698)

#2.4 There are all sorts of attitudes towards life. Of those listed here (card shown), which one would you say come closest to your feeling?

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

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	Other	D.K.	Total
I	15	6	21	11	29	10	4	4	100 (2,254)
II	17	3	27	18	23	6	3	3	100 (920)
III	17	4	30	19	18	6	3	3	100 (2,698)

#2.5 (Card shown) Here are three opinions about man and nature. Which one of these do you think is closest to the truth?

- (a) In order to be happy, man must follow nature.
- (b) In order to be happy, man must make use of nature.
- (c) In order to be happy, man must conquer nature.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	Other	D.K.	Total
I	27	41	23	1	8	100 (2,254)
II	20	38	28	1	13	100 (920)
III	19	40	30	1	10	100 (2,698)

#2.7 What single thing do you think is the most important in life? (Anything will do) (Free answer)

	Health	Child	Family	Happi- ness	Wealth	Other	D.K.	Total
I*	12	12	19	11	16	25**	5	100 (2,254)
II	21	11	11	21	12	19	5	100 (2,369)
III	26	10	13	15	12	19***	8	100%=(2,698)****

* What do you think is the most important single thing for your family?

- ** The 25% "Other" included 15% of those who answered "the ancestral tablets", "the ancestral altar".
- *** "Other" included "ancestors" (1%), "house" (1%), "religion" (1%), "nation (political, social)" (3%), "work" (3%), etc.
- **** Over 100% because some answers had to be coded in two or more categories.

§ 3. Religion

#3.1 I'd like to ask you a question about religion. Do you, for example, have any personal religious faith ?

	Have	Have not	Total
II	35	65	100 (920)
III	31	69	100 (2,698)

#3.1b (To those who answered "Have" to Q. #3.1 above): What religion is that ?

	Shinto	Buddhism	Chris- tianity	Not established sect	Other	D.K.	Total
II	9	68	3	13	7	0	100 (321)
III	7	75	3	10	3	2	100 (828)

#3.2 (To those who answered "Have not" to Q. #3.1) Without reference to any of the established religions, do you think that a "religious attitude" is important, or not ?

	Important	Not important	Other	D.K.	Total
II	72	16	2	10	100 (655)
III	77	13	4	6	100 (1,863)

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

	Should go	Better to go	Can please himself	Better not to go	Should not go	Other	D.K.	Total
I	7	50	23	6	2	2	10	100 (2,254)
II	5	33	27	12	5	2	16	100 (1,449)
III	4	28	41	9	5	3	10	100 (2,698)

§ 4. Children and the Family

#4.4 Suppose that a child comes home and says that he has heard a rumor that his teacher had done something to get himself into trouble, and suppose that the parent knows this is true. Do you think it is better for the parent to tell the child that it is true, or to deny it?

	Deny	Affirm	Other	D.K.	Total
I	38	42	13	7	100 (2,254)
II	38	41	10	11	100 (920)
III	32	50	10	8	100 (2,698)

#4.5 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	Other	D.K.	Total
I	65	24	9	0	2	100 (2,254)
III	60	23	15	1	1	100 (2,698)

#4.8 Some people believe in having a grand affair for weddings and funerals, even if it does cost a bit of money. What do you think about this?

	Dis-approve	Can't help it	According to your means	Have grand* affair	Other	D.K.	Total
I	31	5	48	8	6	2	100 (2,254)
II	48	5	38	6	2	1	100 (1,449)
III	35	4	52	6	2	1	100 (2,698)

* Includes those answering "weddings should be grand affairs, but funerals should be simple".

#4.10 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?

	Would adopt	Would not adopt	Depends on circ.	Other	D.K.	Total
I	73	16	7	1	3	100 (2,254)
II	63	21	8	1	7	100 (1,449)
III	51	32	12	1	4	100 (2,698)

§ 5. Face-to-face Social Groups

#5.1 (Picture shown) 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 a university, and now Mr. M has become the president of a company. One day he gets a telegram saying that Mr. A, who brought him up, is seriously ill and asking if he would come at once. This telegram arrived 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.

(Card of alternatives shown) 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.

#5.1b 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)	Other	D.K.	Total
#5.1	Mr. A	I	54	41	1	4	100 (2,254)
		II	50	39	2	9	100 (1,449)
		III	46	46	2	6	100 (2,698)
#5.1b	Father	I	49	48	1	2	100 (2,254)
		II	50	41	2	7	100 (1,449)
		III	45	47	2	6	100 (2,698)

#5.1c a) Suppose that you were the president of a company. The company decides to employ one person, and then carries out an employment examination. The supervisor in charge reports to you, saying,

“Your relative who took the examination got the second highest grade. But I believe that either your relative or the candidate who got the highest grade would be satisfactory. What shall we do?”

In such a case, which of them would you employ?

(Card shown)

- (a) One with the highest grade
- (b) Your relative

b) In the last question we supposed that the one getting the second highest grade was your relative. Suppose that the second was the son of parents who had been your benefactor.

Which of them would you employ ?

- (a) One with the highest grade
- (b) Son of your benefactor

			(a)	(b)	Other	D.K.	Total
III	#5.1c	a)	75	19	2	4	100 (2,698)
		b)	48	44	2	6	100 (2,698)

Cross-tabulation a)×b):

a):	b):	Highest grade	Son of benefactor	Other	D.K.	Total
Highest grade		46 (1,239)	25 (676)	1 (32)	3 (66)	75 (2,013)
Relative		2 (44)	17 (471)	0 (2)	0 (7)	19 (524)
Other		0 (7)	1 (15)	1 (32)	0 (2)	2 (56)
D.K.		0 (7)	1 (24)	— (0)	3 (74)	4 (105)
Total		48 (1,297)	44 (1,186)	2 (66)	6 (149)	100 (2,698)

Note: Percentages have been rounded out, causing totals to deviate slightly from overall total percentages.

#5.1d (Card shown) If you are asked to choose two out of this list (card shown) that are important, which two would you point out ?

- (a) *Oya-koko* (filial piety, to be dutiful to one's parents)
- (b) *Ongaeshi* (repaying moral indebtedness)
- (c) Respecting individual rights
- (d) Respecting freedom

		Filial piety	Repaying indebtedness	Respect-ing rights	Respect-ing freedom	Other	D.K.	Sample total
III	#5.1d	61	43	48	40	1	4	100 (2,698)
Filial piety			28	19	12	0	1	Note: Percentages have been rounded out, causing totals to deviate slightly from overall total percentages.
Repaying indebtedness		28		8	7	0	0	
Respecting rights		19	8		21	0	1	
Respecting freedom		12	7	21		0	0	
Other		0	0	0	0	1	—	
D.K.		1	0	1	0	—	2	

#5.1e Since the war, do you think Japanese have become less dutiful

towards their parents than they were before the war ?

- (a) yes (less)
(b) no (same, more)

	(a)	(b)	Other	D.K.	Total
III #5.1e	70	21	4	5	100 (2,698)
Filial piety chosen in #5.1d	76	17	3	4	100 (1,615)
Filial piety not chosen in #5.1d	61	28	5	6	100 (1,083)

#5.1f Since the war, do you think Japanese have given less regard for repaying moral indebtedness than they did before the war ?

- (a) yes (less)
(b) no (same, more)

	(a)	(b)	Other	D.K.	Total
III #5.1f	66	24	3	7	100 (2,698)
"Repaying..." chosen in #5.1d	72	20	2	6	100 (1,166)
"Repaying..." not chosen in #5.1d	62	27	3	8	100 (1,532)

#5.1g Since the war, do you think Japanese pay greater respect to individual rights than they did before the war ?

- (a) yes (greater)
(b) no (same, less)

	(a)	(b)	Other	D.K.	Total
III #5.1g	76	12	1	11	100 (2,698)
"Rights" chosen in #5.1d	84	10	1	5	100 (1,310)
"Rights" not chosen in #5.1d	69	14	1	16	100 (1,388)

#5.6 Supposing you are working in a firm. There are two types of department chiefs. (Card shown) 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 who sometimes demands extra work in spite of

rules against it, but on the other hand, looks after you personally in matters not connected with the work.

	(a)	(b)	Other	D.K.	Total
I	12	85	1	2	100 (2,254)
II	14	77	2	7	100 (1,449)
III	13	82	1	4	100 (2,698)

§ 6. Men and Women

- #6.2 [I] (To men) Don't you wish you had been born a woman?
 (To women) Don't you wish you had been born a man?
 [II] & [III] If you could be born again, would you rather be a man or a woman?

Respondents	Male	Female	Other	D.K.	Total	
I	Men	94	2	3	1	100 (1,058)
	Women	44	47	3	1	100 (1,196)
II	Men	90	5	4	1	100 (684)
	Women	64	27	6	3	100 (765)
III	Men	88	7	3	2	100 (1,252)
	Women	55	36	5	4	100 (1,446)

#6.2c On the whole in Japan, which sex do you think has the more difficult life, men or women?

- (a) men
 (b) women

#6.2d Then, which do you think gets the greater pleasure out of life, men or women?

- (a) men
 (b) women

	(a)	(b)	Other	D.K.	Total	
III #6.2c	Men	56	25	12	7	100 (1,252)
	Women	39	42	12	7	100 (1,446)
III #6.2d	Men	72	10	10	8	100 (1,252)
	Women	67	13	11	9	100 (1,446)

§ 7. General Social Problems

#7.1 Some people say that with the development of science and technology, life becomes more convenient, but at the same time a lot of human feeling is lost. Do you agree with this opinion or do you disagree ?

	Agree	Disagree	Other	D.K.	Total
I	30	35	18	17	100 (2,254)
II	33	34	17	16	100 (920)
III	37	28	23	12	100 (2,698)

#7.2 [I] Some people say that however advanced civilization becomes, nothing can reduce the richness of human feelings. Do you agree with this opinion, or do you disagree ?

[II] & [III] Some people say that however mechanized the world gets, nothing can reduce the richness of human feelings. Do you agree with this opinion, or do you disagree ?

	Disagree	Agree	Other	D.K.	Total
I	17	58	9	16	100 (2,254)
II	21	52	11	16	100 (920)
III	18	49	20	13	100 (2,698)

#7.4 (Card shown) Which one of the following opinions do you agree with ?

- (a) If individuals are made happy, then and only then will Japan as a whole improve.
- (b) If Japan as a whole improves, then and only then can individuals be made happy.
- (c) Improving Japan and making individuals happy are the same thing.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	Other	D.K.	Total
I	25	37	31	1	6	100 (2,254)
III	30	30	34	0	6	100 (2,698)

#7.5b Here are some opinions. (Card shown) Which one would you agree with ? Of course, these opinions would depend on how strong they are or what circumstances surround them. But generally speaking, which one do you think should be put the greater emphasis ?

- (a) It cannot be helped if the public interest is somewhat sacrificed for the sake of individual rights.
- (b) It cannot be helped if individual rights are somewhat sacrificed for the sake of the public interest.

	(a)	(b)	Other	D.K.	Total
III #7.5b	29	57	1	13	100 (2,698)

For reference: #7.5 (II—1958) (Card shown) Which one of these two statements do you think more frequently holds true in Japan today?

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

	(a)	(b)	Other	D.K.	Total
II #7.5	38	29	8	25	100 (1,449)

#7.6 When giving national recognition to people who have made contributions to society or to mankind, which one of the following ways do you think is the better? (Card shown)

- (a) Should present a medal, but not necessarily a monetary award.
- (b) Should present a monetary award, but not necessarily a medal.

	(a)	(b)	Other	D.K.	Total
I	48	33	9	10	100 (2,254)
II	54	27	5	14	100 (920)
III	54	27	7	12	100 (2,698)

#7.7 Which people do you think have the greater value in society, those who make, buy or sell things that are practical and necessary, or such people as scholars and artists?

	Practical work	Scholars, artists	The same	Other	D.K.	Total
I	30	21	25	14	10	100 (2,254)
II	25	25	16	21	13	100 (1,449)
III	23	20	23	20	9	100 (2,698)

#7.13c Here are two opinions about law. Which one would you agree with?

- (a) Laws should be established so as to provide people with a way to get along together easily.
- (b) Laws should be established so as to bring about justice in society.

	(a)	(b)	Other	D.K.	Total
III	45	46	1	8	100 (2,698)

§ 8. Political Opinions

#8.1 Some people say that if we get good political leaders, the best way to improve the country is for the people to leave everything to them, rather than for the people to discuss things among themselves. Do you agree with this, or disagree?

	Agree	Disagree	Other	D.K.	Total
I	43	38	12	7	100 (2,254)
II	35	44	12	9	100 (2,369)
III	29	47	17	7	100 (2,698)

#8.2e (Card shown) What do you think about "democracy"? Would you point out on this list the opinion that comes closest to yours?

#8.2f (Card shown) What do you think about "capitalism"?

#8.2g (Card shown) "liberalism"?

#8.2h (Card shown) "socialism"?

- (a) Good
- (b) Depends on circumstances
- (c) Bad

		(a)	(b)	(c)	Other	D.K.	Total
	#8.2e Democracy	38	49	3	0	10	100 (2,698)
	#8.2f Capitalism	19	41	16	1	23	100 (2,698)
III	#8.2g Liberalism	24	43	12	1	20	100 (2,698)
	#8.2h Socialism	15	40	20	1	24	100 (2,698)

For reference: #8.2 (II—1958) When you hear the following word, is your immediate reaction a favorable one, or unfavorable?

- (a) Democracy

- (b) Capitalism
(c) Liberalism
(d) Socialism

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Other	D.K.	Total
(a) Democracy	55	17	13	15	100 (1,449)
(b) Capitalism	12	48	10	30	100 (1,449)
(c) Liberalism	35	31	15	19	100 (1,449)
(d) Socialism	34	29	11	26	100 (1,449)

#8.3b (Card shown) Here are three opinions about scientists and their relation to politics. Which one is the closest to your own opinion?

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

	(a)	(b)	(c)	Other	D.K.	Total
I	20	45	22	0	13	100 (2,254)
III	18	54	19	0	9	100 (2,698)

For reference: #8.3 (II—1958) Some people say that scientists should have nothing to do with politics. What do you think about that?

	Agree	Disagree	Other	D.K.	Total
II	30	39	5	26	100 (920)

#8.4 Before the war, headmasters always used to wear morning for primary school graduation ceremonies. After the war, partly because of economic difficulties, most of them now wear ordinary business suits. If economic conditions permit, do you think it better for headmasters to wear formal dresses? Or do you think it unnecessary for them to have clothes which are useful only a few times a year?

	Should wear	Unnecessary	Other	D.K.	Total
II	43	45	3	9	100 (920)
III	41	52	2	5	100 (2,698)

#8.6 (Card shown) What do you do in general elections for the House of Representatives ?

- (a) Let nothing stand in the way of voting.
- (b) Try to vote as much as possible.
- (c) Not much interested in voting.
- (d) Hardly ever vote.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	D.K.	Total
II	62	32	3	2	1	100 (2,369)
III	53	41	4	1	1	100 (2,698)

#8.7 Which political party do you support ?

	Liberal-Demo- cratic	Demo- cratic Socialist	Socialist	Com- munist	Kosei- ren	No party	Other	D.K.	Total
I	41*	—	23**	0	—	19	5	12	100 (2,254)
II	38	—	31	0	—	20	1	10	100 (2,369)
III	43	3	22	0	2	22	8		100 (2,698)

* Liberal party and Progressive party support.

** Right wing and Left wing of Socialist Party.

§ 9. Race, the Japanese People

#9.1 (Card shown) Which of the following adjectives do you think describes the character of the Japanese people ? Choose as many as you like.

Rational, diligent, free, *tanpaku* (simple, frank) persistent, kind, original, polite, cheerful, idealistic.

	Rational	Diligent	Free	<i>Tanpaku</i>
II	12	55	15	19
III	8	60	10	15

	Persistent	Kind	Original	Polite
II	43	50	8	47
III	55	42	7	43

	Cheerful	Idealistic	Other	D.K.	Total
II	23	33	1	12	100%=2,369
III	14	24	1	8	100%=2,698

#9.1c (Card shown) From the list of words on this card, which ones

seem to you to best describe the character of the Japanese people ?

Choose as many as you wish.

- (a) Stingy
- (b) Quick-tempered, impatient
- (c) Sly
- (d) Quick to be enthusiastic but quick to cool off
- (e) Cruel
- (f) Insincere, frivolous
- (g) Vindictive, vengeful
- (h) Insular
- (i) Arrogant
- (j) Imitative

	Stingy	Impatient	Sly	Quick to cool off	Cruel	Insincere	Vindictive
III	20	52	21	49	6	10	23

	Insular	Arrogant	Imitative	Other	D.K.	
III	42	9	29	1	11	100%=2,698

#9.3 (Picture of Japanese and Western gardens shown) Which of these do you like ?

(Photographs shown in the third Nation-wide Survey)



Japanese garden



Western garden

	Japanese garden	Western garden	Other	D.K.	Total
I	79	16	1	4	100 (2,254)
II	78	16	2	4	100 (920)
III	85	11	2	2	100 (2,698)

#9.4 (Cards shown) Here are about twenty cards each of which shows the name of a famous Japanese. Please rank these persons according to your judgment by using the red cards.

They stand for :

- (a) Very excellent
- (b) Fairly good
- (c) Not very good
- (d) Not good at all
- (e) Don't know this person very well

Persons	a	b	c	d	e	All excellent	D.K.	Total
01 <i>Shotoku-taishi</i> (564~622)	65	16	2	0	11	2	4	100 (2,698)
02 <i>Kobo-daishu (Kukai)</i> (774~835)	47	22	3	1	21	2	4	100 (2,698)
03 <i>Sugawara Michizane</i> (845~903)	31	26	7	1	29	2	4	100 (2,698)
04 <i>Minamoto no Yoritomo</i> (1147~1199)	14	25	21	6	28	2	4	100 (2,698)
05 <i>Kusunoki Masashige</i> (1294~1336)	38	27	8	2	19	2	4	100 (2,698)
06 <i>Ashikaga Takauji</i> (1305~1358)	7	19	20	11	37	2	4	100 (2,698)
07 <i>Toyotomi Hideyoshi</i> (1535~1598)	38	33	10	2	11	2	4	100 (2,698)
08 <i>Tokugawa Iyeyasu</i> (1542~1616)	33	32	15	3	11	2	4	100 (2,698)
09 <i>Nakae Toju</i> (1608~1648)	20	16	3	1	54	2	4	100 (2,698)
10 <i>Arai Hakuseki</i> (1657~1725)	24	20	3	1	46	2	4	100 (2,698)
11 <i>Ino Tadataka</i> (1745~1818)	14	15	3	1	61	2	4	100 (2,698)
12 <i>Ninomiya Sontoku</i> (1787~1856)	65	19	3	1	6	2	4	100 (2,698)
13 <i>Saigo Takamori</i> (1827~1877)	46	31	7	1	9	2	4	100 (2,698)
14 <i>Yoshida Shoin</i> (1830~1859)	30	20	3	1	40	2	4	100 (2,698)
15 <i>Hukuzawa Yukichi</i> (1834~1901)	53	16	1	1	23	2	4	100 (2,698)
16 <i>Ito Hirobumi</i> (1841~1909)	43	26	4	1	20	2	4	100 (2,698)
17 <i>Togo Heihachiro</i> (Admiral To- go) (1847~1934)	41	25	8	3	17	2	4	100 (2,698)
18 <i>Nogi Maresuke</i> (General Nogi) (1849~1912)	50	25	6	2	11	2	4	100 (2,698)
19 <i>Meiji-tenno</i> (the Emperor Mei- ji) (1852~1912)	65	18	4	2	5	2	4	100 (2,698)
20 <i>Hara Takashi (Hara Kei)</i> (1856~1921)	16	22	6	1	49	2	4	100 (2,698)
21 <i>Noguchi Hideyo</i> (1876~1928)	68	12	1	1	12	2	4	100 (2,698)
22 <i>Yukawa Hideki</i> (1907~)	59	18	2	1	14	2	4	100 (2,698)

Note: Name cards shown at random.

#9.6 Generally speaking, would you say that the Japanese people are superior to, or inferior to Western peoples?

	Japanese superior	Japanese inferior	The same	Other	D.K.	Total
I	20	28	14	23	15	100 (2,254)
III	33	14	16	28	9	100 (2,698)

#9.7 (Card shown) Among the peoples on this list, who do you think are superior? You may name as many as you like.

Japanese, Chinese, Indians, Jews, Russians, Germans, French, English, Americans.

	Japanese	Chinese	Koreans	Indians	Micronesians
II	57	9	1	7	0
III	52	6	—*	3	—*
	Arabs	Jews	Russians	Germans	French
II	1	8	20	52	17
III	—*	6	16	45	15
	English	Americans	Equal	D.K.	
II	31	47	6	14	100%=1,449
III	27	46	6	21	100%=2,698

* Not included in the third survey

Some of the questions in this Appendix are different from the ones in Supplement II (see [2]). Its difference occurred in translating, so the Japanese questions are not changed at all.