A STUDY OF THE JAPANESE NATIONAL CHARACTER[1]
—PART V—
FIFTH NATION-WIDE SURVEY

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Japanese National Character[2]

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I. Introduction

This is a summary report of the fifth nation-wide survey conducted in the fall of 1973 by the Research Committee on the Study of the Japanese National Character.

Although national character has been studied by a variety of

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[1] Data in this paper were obtained in the various surveys conducted by the Research Committee on the Study of the Japanese National Character.

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methods, our study of this subject employs statistical surveys. The items for the survey were chosen as objectively as possible from a wide range of attitudes in human life, at the same time acknowledging limitations intrinsic to the nature of the interview method itself.

Briefly, the following describes the method used in our survey for selecting questionnaire items, although most were taken from items originally prepared for the first nation-wide survey in 1953.

First of all, references were collected from various literary works, documents and materials which described Japanese Characteristics, attitudes, opinions and other distinctive features. After these items had been arranged into categories and pretested, the finalized form of the questionnaire was completed.

1. Past and present studies

(1) *Past and present studies*

The study of national character by the Research Committee originated with the first nation-wide survey in 1953, and since then a similar survey has been conducted every five years.

Each of the five surveys carried out thus far consisted of face-to-face interviews with 3,000 to 6,000 Japanese nationals, aged 20 and over, who were selected by a stratified, three-stage probability sampling method.

In each survey, the questionnaire contained approximately 50 items, most of them being similar to those utilized in the previous surveys. However, in 1973, two different types of questionnaires were prepared. One contained items used in all preceding surveys (referred to as 'K-type'), the other consisted mainly of new items (referred to as 'M-type').

The K-type interview questionnaire was administered to two-thirds of the total number of respondents; the M-type to one-third of the population. Immediately before and after each major survey, we conducted a pre-test and an analytical survey designed to serve not only as correlated studies but also as sources of independent analysis in themselves.

(2) *Questionnaire items for the fifth nation-wide survey*

As previously mentioned, two separate questionnaires, K-type and M-type, were utilized in the fifth nation-wide survey. All the question items in the K-type questionnaire had previously appeared in the questionnaires of one or more of the previous four studies, most of them having been common to all four.

On the other hand, the majority of items in the M-type questionnaire had been newly prepared. These had been formulated after con-

sideration of the following reasons.

(a) Since twenty years had passed since the questionnaire items had been first constructed, it was thought that the contents of the questions were outdated or inadequate for covering recent problems.

(b) Some of question items and response categories proved to be unsatisfactory.

(c) In all past surveys there has been a high concentration of opinion in response to the question " Which do you prefer, Japanese or Western gardens ? " However, we wished to investigate whether the high percentage of responses favoring Japanese gardens was due to the choice of photographs showing a Japanese garden and a Western garden or actually represented the preference of respondents.

(d) The questions were also improved so as to facilitate future comparative studies with other nations.

Although national character surveys have not been conducted in the same manner outside Japan, we plan to carry out survey research in other nations in the future, using our questionnaire items as a basis for this.

In general, the latest nation-wide survey has two major objectives. One is to make clear what aspects have changed in people's way of thinking over the past twenty years, as seen in responses to questions repeatedly asked over this period. The other aim is to improve in order to investigate more recent problems, while at the same time continuing research on basic issues from past surveys.

2. Sampling and interviewing methods

(1) *Sampling*

Selection of the sample was carried out in three stages. First, boroughs, cities, towns and villages were stratified, taking into consideration district, population size, industrial structure and other factors. From each stratum one administrative district was randomly chosen with the probability of selection being proportionate to the size of population. Administrative districts thus selected amounted to 303 places (Stage 1). Secondly, from each of the administrative districts randomly picked, one voting district was selected in the same way (Stage 2). Finally, from voters' lists in the voting districts selected, the respondents were chosen by means of systematic random sampling (Stage 3).

A total of 6,055 respondents were drawn and surveyed, including 55 respondents in Okinawa prefecture.

(2) *Implementation of survey*

The survey was carried out with the cooperation of twenty-five universities in Japan, from September to the beginning of November

in 1973.

After the 303 survey districts had been assigned to each university, members of the Committee visited these universities in turn, giving instructions to student interviewers. The interviewers were responsible first for randomly selecting the sample from voters' lists according to instructed method (20 respondents on an average for each district). Then they conducted the interviews from house to house, the responses being recorded on the schedules by the interviewers. Students handed in the completed questionnaires to the responsible professor in each university, checked questionnaires were sent back to our institute. We succeeded in interviewing about 4,500 out of the 6,055 respondents. Following the survey, it became apparent that in certain places mistakes had been made in sampling method or that the results could not be accepted as reliable. Therefore, new respondents were randomly selected as before in January 1974 and interviewed to replace the previous respondents with the object of utilizing perfectly accurate data. In all, the completed questionnaires amounted to 4,594; 1,539 of the M-type questionnaire and 3.055 of the K-type. The completion rate was 76%.

Non-interviewed respondents were investigated further regarding possible changes of address through the offices of administrative districts. This operation proved that the reports of students were correct in general, and the reasons for non-completion of interviews were mainly moves from the given address, long term absences and illness, which were considered reasonable causes of non-completion.

The examination on our survey methods will be discussed more fully in another paper by the same author.

II. Trend survey results

1. General trend of opinion over past twenty years

Of the questions asked, a total of 17 were presented in the same manner in all five surveys. An additional 4 questions were identical in at least three surveys, in 1953, 1963 and 1973. Therefore, it was possible for us to detect changes in the responses over every ten-year period. In addition, there were eight questionnaire items presented in the same way in at least two surveys, 1953 and 1973. Although we were not able to trace the actual trend of change between 1953 and 1973, it was possible to observe what major changes took place over this twenty-year period.

Figure 1 shows the percentages for sixty-three alternatives, corresponding to twenty-one questionnaire items, taken from the three surveys of 1953, 1963 and 1973. "white circles" stand for items showing
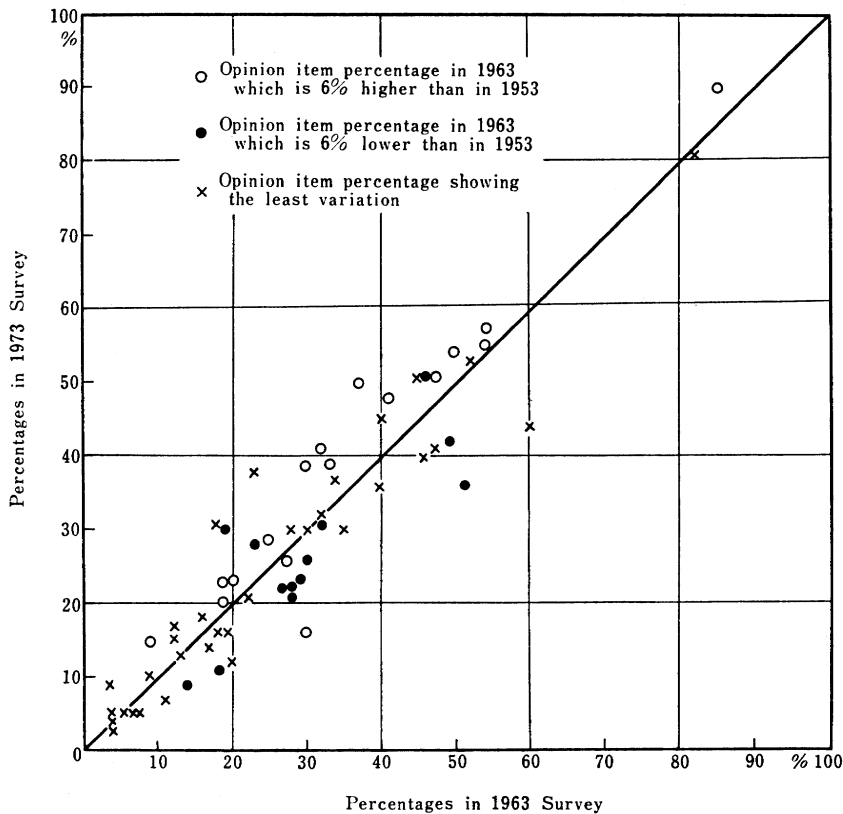
Fig. 1. Changes in opinion percentages for each ten-year period

percentage increases of over 6% during the ten-year period, between 1953 and 1963.

Conversely, "black circles" signify items with percentage decreases of over 6% during this same time interval. "×" stands for item percentages whose ratio of change shows the least amount of variation during this ten-year period.

We observe in Fig. 1 that all of the "white circles," except for two, appear in the upper sector, above the 45-degree diagonal. On the contrary, all of the "black circles," except three, are found in the lower sector, below the 45-degree diagonal.

This points to the fact that almost all opinions which had increased in 1963 over 1953, had continued to increase in 1973 over 1963. Conversely, almost all opinions which had decreased over the first ten-year period had continued the downward trend during the last ten years also. Moreover, the least amount of fluctuation was apparent in opinion items signified by "×." Therefore, we could say that there has been very little change in opinion regarding these items over this time in-

terval. In addition, almost all opinions represented by "white circles" correspond to what are thought of as new, rational opinions, while those represented by "black circles" are considered to be old, tradition-al opinions. Consequently, in general, the number of Japanese having new, rational opinions has increased gradually while those with old, tra-ditional opinions have decreased steadily over the last twenty years.

Within this general trend of change, those items which showed significant deviation when comparing the two periods, namely a com-pletely opposite trend between 1953 to 1963 and 1963 to 1973, were the following four; "man and nature" (♯2.5), "superiority or inferiority of Japanese vs. Westerners" (♯9.6), "value of type of work" (♯7.7), "benefactor vs. business" (♯5.1). In the next chapter, we shall ex-plore the meanings and types of changes.

Now, we shall attempt to explain what particular problems have changed and to what extent the change has been apparent over this specified time interval.

In Table 1, we have classified items along an upward vertical co-ordinate, according to their distance from the individual; individual, parents, relatives, benefactors, society—for example, the company, neighborhood, etc.—nation, between nation and nation.

Along a horizontal coordinate from left to right we have established four categories in which items have been placed according to their contents; 1) attitude toward daily life 2) problems regarding personal relations 3) national political problems and 4) abstract problems regard-ing feelings, ideas and preferences not included in categories 1) to 3).

Although we were not able to define exact positions for all the items included, it was possible to classify all the questions surveyed in the same manner at least once before 1963, as shown in Table 1.

Cases in which item contents were found to overlap were given a middle range position, along either the vertical or horizontal coordinate. Therefore, in such cases, the items overlapped category boundaries. In addition, because there were items which could not be assigned to any of the four categories, we indicated these by placing them in parenthesis.

The questions with response categories which have changed more than 20% over the past twenty years have been indicated by double circles. The questions which have varied between 10% to 19% over this period are shown by single circles. By this operation we can ob-serve what items have changed and to what extent.

It becomes evident that those items concerned with personal relations in daily life have shown the least degree of change. We cannot detect any changes in these except for the following two questions; "Should you train your children not to be bothered by questions of face or

Table 1.　Content catalogue of continuous questions

		Content of Problem			
		Attitude toward daily life	Problems regarding personal relations	National political problems	Abstract problems, feeling, idea etc.
Distance from the individual	Nation & nation				○Japanese garden, Western garden (♯9.3) ◎Superiority or inferiority of Japanese vs. Westerners (♯9.6) ◎Superior races (♯9.7) ○Character of the Japanese people (strong points) (♯9.1) ◎Character of the Japanese people (short comings) (♯9.1c)
	Nation			Immediate reaction to Democracy (♯8.2e) Immediate reaction to Capitalism (♯8.2f) ○Immediate reaction to Liberalism (♯8.2g) Immediate reaction to Socialism (♯8.2h) ◎Interest in elections (♯8.6) ◎Leave things to political leaders? (♯8.1) Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit (♯3.9)	○Medals or money (♯7.6)
	(Middle range)		○Public good & individual rights (♯7.5b) Important virtue [Respecting right] (♯5.1d) [Respecting freedom] (♯5.1d)	○Man & nature (♯2.5) ○Scientists and politics (♯8.3b) ○Japan and individual happiness (♯7.4) ◎(Loss of human feeling with modernization?) (♯7.1)	
	Society	Opinions about law (♯7.13c) Freedom vs. discipline (♯4.7) Type of supervisor preferred (♯5.6) Custom vs. conscience (♯2.1) Give in to opposition or go ahead? (♯2.2) ◎Teaching children never to lose face (♯4.6) Big weddings and funerals (♯4.8)		Formal dress for headmasters (♯8.4b)	○(No loss of richness of human feeling with advancement of civilization?) (♯7.2) (Virtue of type of work) (♯7.7) ○(Rumor about teacher) (♯4.4)
	Benefactor Relative Parent		Important virtues [Repaying moral indebtedness] (♯5.1d) Employment examination [Son of benefactor] (♯5.1c) Benefactor vs. business (♯5.1) Employment examination [Son of relative] (♯5.1c) Important virtues [Filial piety] (♯5.1d) Parent vs. business (♯5.1b)		◎(Adoption to continue family line) (♯4.10) ○Honor one's ancestors (♯4.11) ("Religious attitude" important?) (♯3.2)
	Individual	○The way of life (♯2.4) ◎Teaching children money is the most important? (♯4.5) ○Hideyoshi as a model for youth? (♯5.9) (The most important thing in life?) (♯2.7) Women's going out to work (♯6.4)			○(Religious faith) (♯3.1) ◎Sex preference if reborn (♯6.2) ○(Which sex has more difficult life?) (♯6.2c) (Which sex has more pleasure?) (♯6.2d) (Think more of past or future) (♯2.7)

prestige ? " and " Do you think it necessary to adopt a child in order to continue the family line, even if there is no blood relationship ? " In answer to this last question, the percentage favoring adoption fell sharply from 73% to 36%, a difference of 37%.

As a rule, questions concerning attitudes toward daily life have changed considerably. In a word, it seems that people are coming to attach increasing importance to their home rather than to their family. This way of thinking is becoming manifest in attitudes toward daily life.

Moreover, the inferiority complex from being a Japanese, caused by defeat in the war, has gradually decreased.

Attitudes toward political problems have changed vastly in the percentages of voting participation as well as the kinds of views held. This means that a democratic way of thinking has been developing gradually over this period.

Thus we can discern the outline of changes in Japanese opinion over this time span, but we cannot understand what aspects have changed and what have not changed. Therefore, in the following chapter we shall investigate all of the questionnaire items researched in 1973, employing the classification method used in Table 1.

2. Opinion trend on various questions

(1) *Attitudes toward political problems*

In reactions to questions regarding democracy, capitalism, liberalism and socialism, it is democracy which has been consistently supported by the majority of people. On the contrary, capitalism and socialism have had the least support from respondents. The percentage supporting liberalism is midway between these two views.

Comparing the response percentages of " good " and " bad " for each political system over the past ten years, we were unable to find any changes in the rates of political support. In the case of democracy, the percentages responding " good " were between 38% to 43%, over this period ; the percentages answering " bad " were between 2% to 3%. Thus, the numbers in favor of " bad " were so small as to be insignificant. Those considering liberalism, " good " were between 24% to 30% ; those rating it " bad " were between 10% and 20%. It is evident that percentages favoring democracy and liberalism were in the majority and that such opinions have been increasing by degrees.

On the other hand, those in favor of capitalism or socialism were almost equal to those considering them " bad," indicating little evident change in these views.

In addition to these items, the 1973 survey included questions re-

garding communism and fascism. In both cases, the number of persons supporting these political views were far less than those nonsupporting. The proportion of those favoring communism as "good" were 5%; those viewing it "bad" were 45%. In the case of fascism, responses of "good" totaled 9%, "bad" totaled 30%.

Consequently, it can be said that the Japanese seem to have more positive feelings toward democracy than toward special social systems, such as, capitalism or socialism; still less toward fascism or communism.

Next, we shall examine people's attitude toward political participation. Given a choice on the opinion "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 have people discuss things among themselves," the percentage agreeing with this statement has greatly decreased over the past twenty years. Forty-three percent were in favor in 1953 but this declined to 23% in 1973. The decrease in affirmative responses has resulted in an inversion of the majority opinion. If we were to add the percentage of those who "disagree" to those who replied "depends on circumstances," which seems to be essentially contained within the category "disagree," we find that the majority opinion has been inversed.

We can demonstrate this fact also from the results of the M-type questionnaire in the 1973 survey in which the response categories were reduced to two, "agree" and "disagree." In these latest results, the ratio of "agree" to "disagree" was 30% as compared to 60%.

The popular preference for democracy, at any rate, seems to be reflected in attitudes toward political participation. In answer to the question "What do you do in general elections for the House of Representatives?" the opinion "let nothing stand in the way of voting" has decreased considerably. Those holding this absolute view in 1958 totaled 62%; but it declined to 41% in 1973. This decrease, of course, cannot be interpreted as a refusal-to-vote attitude, as might be inferred from the opinions, "not much interested in voting" or "hardly ever vote." Rather we consider the opinion "try to vote as much as possible" as an expression of the intention to make use of one's voting right. Therefore, the previous attitude "let nothing stand in the way of voting" has seemed to shift toward one of "try to vote as much as possible." We are inclined to interpret this as an indication that people's attitudes toward elections have changed.

Phenomena similar to these changes in attitude toward elections have appeared also in the manner of supporting political parties. The greatest change, proportionately, which occurred recently with regard to party allegiances is neither a percentage decrease in Liberal-Democratic Party support nor percentage decline in Japan Socialist Party

support but rather expansion of the group with "no party affiliation." There were no extreme fluctuations in party support percentages over the fifteen-year period from 1953 to 1968, but the percentages supporting the Liberal-Democratic Party and the Japan Socialist Party went down 8% and 5%, respectively. On the other hand, the group with "no party affiliation" absorbed these shares and increased 12%.

Thus, we have been able to point out the remarkable phenomenon of withdrawing affiliation from any existing political party. We think that dissatisfaction or indifference toward existing political parties has brought about this phenomenon and has resulted in the changes in attitude toward elections.

Now, we shall observe Japanese opinions regarding more concrete political problems. The question was asked: "Some Prime Ministers when they take office, pay a visit to the Imperial Shrine at Ise; what do you think about this practice?" The percentage who answered "better to go" decreased 29%, from 50% to 21%, clearly showing a decrease in affirmative opinions over the past twenty years. Those responding "he can do as he pleases," have increased 25%, from 23% to 48%. Although the categories "better not to go" and "should not go" increased only 7%, from 8% to 15%, a present majority opinion is "he can do as he pleases," which does not signify strong disapproval. This is further supported by the following fact. Correlation of responses for the two opposing categories, "better to go" and "better not to go" in the K-type questionnaire, resulted in the finding that the rate of "better to go" to "better not to go" was 40% compared to 25%. This seems to result from the tendency of Japanese to identify the "Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit" with "a citizen's worship at a shrine or temple nearby," without distinguishing the political implications of the former.

As for the participation of scientists in politics, two contrary opinions showed a downward trend. These opinions were: 1) "Scientists should devote themselves to their own special field of study and should not concern themselves with politics," and 2) "Scientists should not confine themselves to their own special field of study, but should also take an active part in politics." Both of these two extreme opinions have decreased from 20% to 16%. Instead, the more moderate opinion "Scientists should devote themselves to their special field of study, but they should also show a certain amount of interest in politics" has increased 12%, from 45% to 57%. We can see, in this way, that responses to the previous two questions (♯3.9; ♯4.3b) have something in common with the increase in choice of moderate or ambiguous opinions. These facts, we believe, do not mean that there has been a deepening of Japanese consciousness toward political problems, but rather this con-

sciousness has remained unchanged or superficial. In other words, though emotionally Japanese agree with the concept of democracy, people in general have not reached the level of understanding the possible meanings implicit in concrete political problems.

Of course, the appearance of this type of phenomenon also depends upon whether or not tense political problems have occurred in connection with the questions previously discussed. Because, if such problems had occurred, Japanese opinion would have changed significantly. For instance, the question regarding the relationship of man to nature showed a great change. The opinion "in order to be happy, man must follow nature" decreased gradually from 27% to 19% over a fifteen-year period, from 1953 to 1968, but this same opinion has now reversed and gone up to 31% over the last five years. In the meantime, though the opinion "in order to be happy, man must conquer nature," had increased 11%, from 23% to 34%, over fifteen years between 1953 to 1968, it has dropped to 17% in the last five years. These changes have taken a U-turn, indicating that the outlook on nature has changed due to the increasing seriousness of environmental pollution in Japan, 1968 serving as the turning-point. We can see from the people's way of thinking that the notion of conquering nature has been rethought. These changes in thinking have been influenced by serious reconsideration of the cost of extraordinary progress made through technological achievement. The percentage of persons responding "with the development of science and technology, life becomes more convenient, but at the same time a lot of human feeling is lost" increased 20% over twenty years. There was a 10% increase in the past five years. In addition to this, even though the percentage answering "however mechanized the world gets, nothing can reduce the richness of human feelings" remained unchanged over fifteen years; this response decreased 14% over the last five years. We can say, therefore, that awareness and concern over wasteful uses of natural resources have become generally public and people have started to assume a critical attitude toward technological progress which is at the expense of human values.

As democratic attitudes or critical views toward politics increase, how will they change people's attitudes toward their rights, which is fundamental to political awareness?

Examining the problematic relationship between the nation and the individual, the opinion "If Japan as a whole improves, then and only then can individuals be made happy" decreased by 11%, from 37% to 26%. However, the opinion "If individuals are made happy, then and only then will Japan as a whole improve" did not increase noticeably; only 5%, from 25% to 30%, over twenty years.

An additional opinion which seems to identify the nation with the individual, "Improving Japan and making individuals happy are the same thing," showed a slight increase, from 31% to 37%. We could say, therefore, that although an attitude of viewing the nation as superior to the individual has shown a decrease, the attitude of identifying the nation with the individual is still supported by 63%, a large majority opinion even at present.

A question was asked regarding public interest and individual rights, offering two opposing alternatives; "It cannot be helped if the public interest is somewhat sacrificed for the sake of individual rights" or "It cannot be helped if individual rights are somewhat sacrificed for the sake of the public interest." The percentage agreeing with the former showed an increase of 8%, from 29% to 37%. The percentage assenting to the latter showed a decrease of 6%, from 57% to 51%. Though the opinion favoring greater emphasis on individual rights has gradually increased, the opinion that one should put greater emphasis on public interest still retains a majority.

In the 1973 survey using the concrete example of opposition campaigns, we asked a question concerning attitudes toward individual rights, worded as follows: "People who are subject to compulsory purchase orders to make way for new roads and public works frequently try to stop the project by mounting opposition campaigns. What do you think of those opposition campaigns?" The percentage maintaining the opinion that "most often the opposition is just selfish" was 30%; the percentage holding the view that "most often they are quite justified in asserting their rights" was 56%. People regard these types of opposition campaigns not as selfish deeds but as assertions of their individual rights. However, in answer to the question "Supposing the project was to build a school, what would you think of the opposition then?", respondents answering "Most often the opposition is just selfish" totaled 38%, which was less than the percentage response in cases of roads or public works. Accordingly, whether one regards opposition campaigns as assertions of individual rights or not depends on the type of opposition campaigns. From these results, we were able to see that people's awareness of fundamental human rights is still lacking in this regard.

We could, therefore, make the following analytical generalizations regarding attitudes toward political problems. Almost all responses to political problems have changed significantly toward a more democratic way of thinking. In accordance with such a change, self-examinations and criticisms of former Japanese political ways of thought and action have been expressed in many ways recently. However, we cannot state definitively that the Japanese people have deepened their thinking

or that an awareness of human rights has taken root in the Japanese spirit. Therefore, we venture that many problems still remain in this area.

(2) *Japanese feelings and ideas*

In this chapter we shall discuss the respondents' views regarding the Japanese as compared with foreigners. In analyzing their responses we shall attempt to describe aspects of Japanese feeling.

First, we showed a picture of the "Katsura-Rikyu," as representative of Japanese gardens, then a picture of the "Versailles Palace," representing Western gardens and asked which one was preferred. The results indicated that the majority of persons preferred the Japanese garden while only a few favored the Western garden. Even in the 1953 survey, those preferring the Japanese garden totaled 79%; those choosing the Western type 16%. The percentage showing preference for the Japanese garden has increased steadily, reaching 90% in 1973. This phenomenon in which the percentage supporting a specific opinion has concentrated on one item as high as 90% has seldom occurred in any other public opinion poll or in the Japanese National Character Surveys.

As a further test, we thought the responses might vary if people were shown another picture representing a Western garden. Therefore, in the M-type questionnaire, we substituted another picture but, inspite of this, there was no change in response to this question. Since most Japanese have never seen a real Western garden, we may not jump to any conclusion, but we cannot help recognizing the overwhelming preference for Japanese gardens.

Investigating the inferiority complex of the Japanese people toward Westerners, the question was asked "Generally speaking, would you say that the Japanese people are superior to or inferior to Western people?" Responses to this question showed interesting trends of change over the past twenty years. Those who considered the "Japanese inferior" steadily declined 19%, from 28% to 9%, over this period. We are led to believe, therefore, that the inferiority complex of Japanese people toward Westerners, which was brought on by defeat in World War II, has disappeared after about thirty years.

Meanwhile, those who considered the "Japanese superior" increased 27%, from 20% to 47% between 1953 and 1968. However, in the past five years this rate has decreased 8%. These figures indicate a reversely stated inferiority complex which the Japanese have been conscious of since the defeat. We could also say from the increase of a reverse trend that Japanese feeling toward Western countries has gradually quieted down. In addition, the combined percentages for "Japa-

nese inferior" and "Japanese superior" totaled 48% in 1953, 47% in 1963, 58% in 1968 and 48% in 1973. Since both these opinions "Japanese superior" and "Japanese inferior" are similar responses in that they reveal a competitive spirit, these figures show that half the Japanese people consistently demonstrated a competitive attitude. More correctly, about half of the respondents identified the superiority or inferiority of individual Japanese versus that of individual Westerners and generalized these as the superiority or inferiority of all Japanese versus all Western people.

Next, we asked the question "Among the peoples on the list, who do you think are superior? You may name as many as you like." Respondents were given choices from the following nationalities; Japanese, Chinese, Indians, Jews, Russians, Germans, French, English, Americans. In every survey, about 60% selected "Japanese." With regard to the other nationalities, however, the percentage distribution varied as follows. First, while there were no significant changes in the percentages of any nationality over the first ten years, great fluctuations were apparent in the last ten years. Second, these changes were characterized by the fact that people from more advanced nations, such as Germans, Americans, English, Russians, French lost much of their popularity, while the Chinese and Jews increased theirs. For instance, out of 47% of the respondents who selected "Americans" in 1958, only 25% made this choice in 1973. To the contrary, the percentage favoring "Chinese" was merely 9% in 1958, but this increased to 21% in 1973.

It is no wonder that the Japanese selected themselves since most of them had never come into contact with foreigners. Regarding other nationalities, these survey results seem to be a mirror of multipolarization in international politics. However, summing up the percentages naming the other eight nationalities, excluding Japanese, the totals were 191% in 1958, 164% in 1963, 154% in 1968 and 126% in 1973. We note the steady decline in percentage. Although each respondent selected about two different nationalities besides "Japanese" in 1958, the latest survey shows that respondents chose an average of only 1.3 nationalities. Accordingly, it is also likely that these questions have gradually lost their interest for the Japanese. This view is further supported by the fact that the percentage for category "other," containing opinions that "all peoples are the same," increased from 2% to 10%.

As stated above, the Japanese people's spirit of competition has become stronger toward specific peoples, not against Westerners as a whole. Yet this competitive spirit in the Japanese has tended to subside in accordance with a rediscovery of self-confidence among Japanese

people in general.

Actually, what do the Japanese people think of themselves? The strong points which had high value in all surveys were "diligence" and "persistence." However the former valued traits of "kindness" and "politeness" decreased significantly over the past fifteen years. To the contrary, the shortcomings respondents selected have changed less than the strong points. "Quicktempered, impatient," "quick to be enthusiastic but quick to cool off" and "insular" were given by the majority of respondents. This then typifies the average Japanese who quickly takes in new and varied cultures on the one hand, yet works diligently every day on the other.

(3) *Opinions regarding personal relations*

Problems related to human relations vary in content, scope and degree of complexity. Therefore, in our analysis we shall proceed from problems closest to the individual to those extending beyond, that is, family, relatives, friends, company, society; and from concrete problems to those which are more abstract.

First, we shall present an overview of the parent-child relationship, that closest to the individual, as seen especially from the angle of mutual dependency expectations.

Respondents were given two examples of the kind of thing a parent might say to his child who has left school, gotten a job and is just about to leave home. Respondents selected which they thought was better. Those supporting the opinion "If things go wrong for you in some way, you should always come and consult us first" totaled 58% in 1973, while 37% favored the opinion "From now on even if things go wrong for you, you shouldn't depend on your parents." These figures show that the majority of people think that their children need not stand on their own feet after leaving home.

Another question was asked regarding a daughter going off to get married and responses to this followed a similar pattern. Over half, 54%, thought she "should always come and consult parents first" while 42% felt she "shouldn't depend on her parents."

These two alternatives, allowing "*amae*" or refusing "*amae*," might not necessarily be exclusive categories. For both essentially seem to belong to the category of allowing dependence or expecting to be depended on and therefore, may differ merely in the manner of expression. So, to the extent that this interpretation is correct, to that extent are these two response categories mutually interdependent. Accordingly, even in the way of expression these figures describe how indulgent relations are between parent and child in Japan.

Next, we shall examine the relationship of child to parent. In

order to examine and compare which was given more weight, the relationship between child and parent or awareness of political problems, respondents were asked to select two items from the following four, which they thought were most important; "*Oya-koko*" (filial piety, to be dutiful to one's parents), "*On-gaeshi*" (repaying moral indebtedness), "respecting individual rights" and "respecting freedom." "*Oya-koko*" was selected by between 61% and 63% over the last ten years; "*On-gaeshi*" by 43% to 45% ; "respecting individual rights" by 44% to 48% and "respecting freedom" was chosen by between 40% to 46%. There have been no notable changes in the percentages over the past ten years.

The two alternate categories were then grouped together for comparison but still no changes were evident. For example, the percentages selecting both "*Oya-koko*" and "*On-gaeshi*" totaled 28% in every survey ; "respecting individual rights" and "respecting freedom" were also constant at about 20% for the last ten years. The Japanese people are more sensitive and responsive to slogans related to private human relations, such as "*Oya-koko*" or "*On-gaeshi*" than they are to mottos representing democratic ideas like "respecting individual rights" or "respecting freedom." In addition, there have been no changes at all in these patterns over the last ten years.

Next, we compared the intensity of the parent-child relationship with that in the relationship between a person and his benefactor. The following imaginary situation was presented to respondents : " Mr. M was orphaned at an early age and was brought up by Mr. A, a kind neighbor. The A's gave Mr. M a good education, sent him to a university, and now he 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." The responses showed that the opinion " leave everything and go back home " was supported by between 46% to 54% over the past twenty years, while the contrary opinion " However worried he might be about Mr. A, he should go to the meeting " was supported by 39% to 47%. Although the weight of responses has inclined slightly toward the opinion " go back home," the ratio between responses has not changed over the past twenty years.

In answer to the question " Suppose that it had been his real father who was on his death-bed ; which would have been your answer then under the same condition ? " the percentage saying " go home " were between 44% to 51% ; " attend meeting " ranged between 41% to 49%. The percentage differences between these two categories vary

less than the percentages in the case of the benefactor. However, there were no changes over the last twenty years in either case.

Since we feared that respondents might not be able to understand the meaning of these questions as formulated in the original K-type questionnaire, a new, clarified version of these questions was used in the M-type interview schedule. One was reworded as follows: "The president of a company is just about to go to an important meeting which will save his firm from bankruptcy when he receives news that someone who has looked after him and been more than a parent to him is dangerously ill. Which of the following should he choose to do?" Although the question was improved, the results were almost the same as those previous. Even if these responses are viewed as answers given according to principle, it is evident that both the relationship between child and parent as well as that of a person toward a benefactor constitute an essential part of Japanese morality even today.

Next, we shall further analyze problems related to the category of benefactor. We asked the following question: "Suppose that you were 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?" The percentage answering "the one with the highest grade" ranged between 73% to 78%; the percentage who favored the "relative" were between 17% to 19%. These figures show that the opinion "the one with the highest grade" was the overwhelming majority choice, and has not changed in percentage over the last ten years. A related question was then asked: "Suppose that the second place candidate was the son of parents who had been your benefactor. Which of them would you employ?" The percentage who chose the one with the highest grade demonstrated a decrease of as much as 20% and totaled between 48% and 54%. Respondents who favored the "son of one's benefactor" were from 38% to 44%. The percentage differences between the two alternate choices amounted to about 10%. Although people attach importance to the results of an examination when comparing someone having the highest grade with a relative, they do not always make such distinctions when comparing one in first place with the son of one's benefactor. This demonstrates two facts. First, the Japanese people are less strongly conscious of personal relations with a "relative" than they are with a "benefactor." Secondly, justice is sometimes perverted through personal relations.

The idea of bringing personal relations into the sphere of one's

business is expressed in the following question asking what type of supervisor is preferred: "Suppose you are working in a firm. There are two types of department chiefs. Which of these two would you prefer to work under?" Those who wanted to work under "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 peasonally in matters not connected with the work" ranged between only 12% and 14%, while the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people, about 80%, wanted to work under "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." The results from this question show that after carefully weighing "being looked after personally" and "sometimes demanding extra work," people give greater importance to "being looked after personally."

Next, the question was asked; "Suppose that you are working in a firm. Would you think it unnecessary to have social contacts with your superior outside of work, or would you think it better to have such contact?" Those answering that such vertical relations were "unnecessary" amounted to only 22%, while those who thought it better to have such social contacts with superiors totaled 72% in 1973, an overwhelming majority. While these questions verified the importance given to vertical relationships with superiors, the following questions show that people also highly value family-type relationships, which include both horizontal and vertical relations. Persons who would prefer to work for "a firm which paid good wages, but which did nothing like organizing outings and sports days for the employees' recreation" totaled 21%, while the percentage preferring to work for "a firm with a family-like atmosphere which organized outings and sports days, even if the wages were a little less" amounted to 74%. The majority, therefore, prefer to work for a firm with a family-like atmosphere at the cost of good wages.

What the ideal human relations in a company should be were explored by the three preceding questions. Yet, regardless of which question, it is clearly evident that giving serious consideration to individual personal relations is a very deeply-rooted trend and that individuals expect to extend family-type relations beyond the family into the sphere of the company. Next, we shall investigate realities in personal relations which support this extreme position as well as behavior and thought in the individual's immediate surroundings.

Asked which they thought was the better sort of person to have as a friend, respondents who preferred to have "somebody who, once you tell him your problems, will listen to all your troubles as seriously as if they were his own" were higher in number than those who

favored "somebody who will ask about something that might be worrying you even before you speak of it yourself." The former was supported by 73%; the latter by 23%.

A different approach was taken in the question "Which do you think is the best way to make society run smoothly?" Only one of the following two alternatives was selected by respondents: "Everybody is likely to overlook his own faults, so we should help each other by pointing them out" or "One should just look after one's own affairs properly, and refrain from offering advice to others." Those selecting the former, 75%, were much higher than the latter in the 1973 survey.

Comparing these two questions, the former asks opinions about being in the position of receiving advice from others while the latter asks about being in the position of giving advice to others. However, in making a cross tabulation comparing these two questions, we observed they were independent of one another. In other words, one does not meddle in others' affairs because one does not like one's affairs to be meddled in by others. These results indicate that most Japanese people do not like to have their affairs meddled in by others, yet they want to meddle in that of others.

And now, we shall investigate the attitudes of individuals in dealing with others in their day-to-day contacts. In answer to the question of whether they thought lying couldn't be helped sometimes in their social life, the number who responded "can't be helped" totaled 62%, which was double the amount of those answering "shouldn't lie." On the other hand, the opinion that lying to protect the teacher's reputation in the eyes of the child couldn't be helped, supposing someone were to repeat some scandal about the child's school teacher, was supported by 65%. The percentage of persons maintaining that sometimes people who were responsible for running the country couldn't help telling lies, when they judged that otherwise the country would be plunged into increasing confusion, amounted to 32%. Therefore, telling lies in one's social life is permitted to the same degree as lying in order to protect a teacher's reputation in the eyes of a child.

Next, the question was asked, "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 mistaks if you follow custom?" Although the ambiguous response "depends on circumstances" increased from 19% to 29% over twenty years, neither the response "go ahead" nor "follow custom" changed considerably. These three responses seem to divide national opinion into three categories. The purpose of the question was to examine whether individuals actually carried out their own will in social life. Next, from a different point of view, we asked respondents how they rated other people who car-

ried out their own will. The following question was posed : " 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 has the better attitude ? "
The number who preferred " somebody who gives up the idea if it is
opposed " remained constant between 30% and 32%, 1958 and 1973.
People who favored " somebody who ignores the opposition and goes
ahead " also remained steady between 53% and 59%. The response
percentages for these two questions show that people who selected the
" go ahead " category did so more frequently in support of others act-
ing from conviction than as a possible choice for themselves when
wishing to do something they think is right. However, even in this
case, the percentage of people supporting others who " go ahead " won
by only a slight majority. In other words, about half of the nation
does not favor individuals who " go ahead." A further analysis was
made of these two questions by means of cross tabulation. Table 2
reveals three main findings. People saying " one should go ahead if
one thinks a thing is right " amounted to one-third of the population.

Table 2. Custom or conscience

		Custom vs. conscience (# 2.1)				Total
		Go ahead	Follow custom	Depends on circumstances	Other & D.K.	
Give in to opposition or go ahead? (# 2.2)	Go ahead	24%	14%	14%	1%	53%
	Give in	9	14	8	1	32
	Other & D.K.	3	4	7	1	15
Total		36	32	29	3	100 (3055)

Those maintaining that one " should not always go ahead oneself, but
hoped others would go ahead " totaled one-third, while people answer-
ing that neither others nor oneself should go ahead amounted to one-
third of the respondents. Of these three different response patterns,
people of the second type might be thought of as hero-worshippers.
It is important to note the fact that people of the third type do not
always regard the right and wrong of things as a principle of action
in their social lives since they maintain that neither they themselves
nor others should go ahead and act even if convinced it is right. On
the contrary, those of the second type give consideration to the right

and wrong of things as a principle of action in their social lives, although they themselves can not carry out their convictions.

The previous questions dealt with abstract principles of action in the social life of the individual. We further delved into this problem by means of more concrete questions. "When opinions are divided into two camps at meetings such as those conducted by the PTA," the number of people who think it better "to cut the discussion short so that there should not be any bad feeling afterwards" totaled 41% in 1973. On the other hand, those who consider it better "to discuss the matter fully and not worry too much about whether some people are upset" amounted to 50%. Although it is true that the latter opinion exceeded the former, there is little difference between them. When involved in discussing an issue, 40% of the population pay more attention to their personal relations, than to the particular matter under discussion.

A characteristic of the Japanese people of giving careful consideration to human relations at all times seems to be evident in the next question. Respondents were asked to give their opinion on the following: "For a child of primary school age, do you think it is more important to stress the value of freedom or the value of discipline?" Those who selected "freedom" totaled between 16% and 22%, while the number favoring "discipline" ranged between 63% and 68%, from 1953 to 1973. Neither of these opinions changed to any degree during the last twenty years. These figures strongly indicate that in the value judgment of the Japanese, discipline should be given primary importance. Since many people tend to misunderstand freedom and identify it with willfulness, the ratio of those choosing "freedom" seems quite low. On the other hand, the number of people in favor of "discipline" seems too high. Generally speaking, the word "discipline" usually implies norms in one's personal behavior. However, because this term includes not only norms, regulations and laws formulated "for the people by the people" but also many others imposed from above, this constitutes a real problem. The more serious question is: most Japanese have never had a realization of the true meaning of "freedom," therefore the relationship between "freedom" and "discipline" is not clearly understood. For this reason, Japanese people are apt to regard this problem not as a related issue but as a problem of choosing between two alternatives, freedom or discipline. So for many people, the word "discipline" invariably settles whatever problem may arise.

This way of thought which highly regards personal relations is also reflected in opinions pertaining to law. People who agreed with the opinion "laws should be established so as to bring about justice in

society" totaled about 50% during the past ten years. On the contrary, the opinion that "Laws should be established so as to provide people with a way of getting along together easily" was supported by a little over 40%. In short, people who consider "justice" an important standard to observe in society barely exceeded those who make convenience their standard.

In ancient times, there was a moral standard of behavior which prescribed that an individual be careful never to lose face or prestige. However, more recently people who believe that in rearing children of primary school age, one should tell them to be careful never to lose face, decreased noticeably from 36% to 20% over the last twenty years. On the contrary, people who "think one should train children not to be bothered by questions of face or prestige" increased 27%, from 43% to 70%. This significant change in the response pattern may have been caused by images evoked by the terms "face" or "prestige" which were used in the questionnaire. However, the period of history when such normative concepts could serve as standards of behavior seems to have gone forever.

Yet, if an individual is lacking in something, can this cause a cutting off of the personal relationship? We did not ask any questions directly concerned with this problem, but there is no doubt that it is vitally linked to the unwillingness of individuals to assert their own independence.

There was little change over the past twenty years in responses to questions regarding personal relations except for the question: "Do you tell children to be careful never to lose face?" It is noteworthy that the pattern of behavior in social life, whose supporters never assert independence nor approve of it in others and place great importance on personal relations, has remained constant though there were many changes in various other opinions. A sense of the "individual" is veiled in the mist of a sense of "group," as it were. These problems will be further analyzed in Part IV.

(4) *Attitudes toward daily life*

The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of various personal problems individuals encounter in daily life, which are not related to politics or human relations. First, there has been a great change in the principles guiding individuals in their daily lives over the past twenty years. In 1953 the number of people whose prime sentiment was to "resist all evils in the world and live a pure and just life" totaled 29%, putting this at the top of six principles listed. After twenty years, however, the top-ranking opinion receiving 39% was "don't think about money or fame; just live a life that suits your own

tastes." There was also a noticeable percentage increase in the opinion "live each day as it comes, cheerfully and without worrying." This item made great progress from 11% to 23%. On the contrary, one of the principles showing a percentage decrease was, "never think of yourself, give everything in service of society." A decrease of 5%, from 10% to 5%, was seen in this item. These results show that there has been a significant shift from "*tatemae*" choices, or identification with normative patterns of society, to a greater preference for "*honne*" choices, or real, personal motives for daily life.

The opinion "study earnestly and make a name for yourself" also increased slightly though it has always remained a minority choice. There was a noticeable decline in the related opinion that "men like *Hideyoshi* who have risen from humble beginnings by their own efforts and become famous, should always be considered as models for youth." This evidenced a 18% drop, from 80% to 62% over the past twenty-year period. A way of life which aims at getting ahead in the world does not appeal to people. Those who would "work hard and get rich" as their aim in life remained constant at 17%, as compared to 14% twenty years ago. However, responses to additional questions examining this same principle did not reveal similar results. People who felt that in "rearing children of primary school age, one should teach them that money is the most important thing," steadily decreased from 65% to 44%. On the other hand, the percentage of people disagreeing with this opinion increased from 24% to 38%. In addition, when asked what they consider to be the most important thing in life in an open-ended question, the percentage of those giving "money" or "wealth" showed a decrease of 8%, from 16% to 8%. Furthermore, the percentage favoring "life" or "health" increased from 12% to 20%, and those choosing "love" or "heart" increased from 11% to 17%.

We can see that strong attachment to success in life or to money has declined significantly, and it would also seem that the period when these were regarded by the majority as the main priorities in life has passed. Although people prefer to live a life that suits their own tastes, this does not mean that the value of labor has been lost nor that the importance of work in life has diminished. In answer to the question "Supposing you had acquired enough money to live the rest of your life in comfort, would you go on working, or would you give up work?", only 25% of the people responded with "give up work." On the other hand, those who would "go on working" totaled 70%, by far the majority choice. These figures indicate that people value work not simply for the salary they get. Therefore, the present attitude toward work is different from that in previous decades. Whereas formerly the will to work was sustained by means of such social cri-

teria as "give everything in service of society" or "make a name for oneself," nowadays the motivation to work is dependent on the personal criteria of whether or not the particular employment is suited to the individual. However, these features of contemporary life do not mean that people lead a selfish life. The more self-centered view that "having been born into this world, the most important thing is to live happily" obtained the approval of 27%. Those favoring an opposite view of life that "having been born into this world, one would like to do something, even if it is a small thing, to make the world a better place" amounted to 66% in 1973. These figures indicate that people do not lead a selfish life.

What about attitudes toward the family, which played such a vital role in both the family system and political systems of the prewar period. How have these changed? The question was asked: "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 think this is unimportant?" The percentage of people who "would adopt" has dropped to half, namely from 73% to 36% during the last twenty years. At present the negative opinion "would not adopt" has become the majority one though the difference is small. However, for the continuation of this system in any period, it is necessary to have an economic structure which permits ownership of property and allows individuals to earn sufficient income for an average living in society. In postwar Japan, during the course of transformation in industrial structures, these conditions have steadily diminished. Therefore, it was inevitable that the family system should have disintegrated. This system, nevertheless, has survived in the world of ideas though it has been broken down in the world of reality. In answer to the question "Would you say you were on the whole more inclined to honor your ancestors than the average person, or less?", those responding "yes" have decreased only 10%, from 77% to 67%, over the last twenty years. Even at present, two-thirds of the nation are inclined to honor their ancestors. This problem, though, might be similar to that of "Oya-koko" (filial piety). That is, people may identify "Oya-koko" in this world with "honoring their own ancestors" in the next life.

Under the traditional family system, utmost value was placed upon the family, therefore on the head of the family. As a result, the personality of individual family members, especially women, was disregarded. To examine attitudinal changes related to this fact, women only were asked, "If you could be born again, would you rather be a man or woman?" In 1958, the percentage of women who would have preferred to be born men amounted to a majority of 64%, with 27%

choosing to be born women. In 1973 those preferring to be born women increased to a majority of 51% over 42%. These results indicate that women feel that their conditions have improved. In addition, changes were also apparent in the responses of women only to the question "On the whole in Japan, which sex do you think has the more difficult life, men or women?" Ten years ago, the number who selected "women" were a majority of 42%, with 39% for "men." In 1973, those women who felt men had a more difficult life amounted to 47%, compared to 33% choosing "women."

Have individuals changed their point of view toward women, then?

Men and women were asked this question: "Formerly, women used to confine themselves to working in the home, but recently increasing numbers are going out to work. Do you think this is a good thing, or a bad thing?" The number of men viewing it as "a good thing" totaled 61% in 1953 and 65% in 1973, showing no considerable change in percentage. On the contrary, women of this same opinion increased only 8%, from 64% in 1953 to 74% in 1973. Although among women this is certainly the overwhelming majority opinion we need to turn our attention to the fact those seeing it as "a bad thing" totaled 17% even in 1973. In order to raise women's social status, it is important that women themselves deepen their awareness of women's potential for greater participation in society, with the co-operation and understanding of men.

In the end, we shall briefly touch upon the religious problem. The proportion of people disclaiming any personal religious faith has increased from 65% to 75% over the last fifteen years. At the present time, three out of every four persons have no personal religious faith. Those who answered "have none" were further asked whether or not they thought a religious attitude was important without reference to any of the established religions. The number who answered "important" was much greater than any other response category, and formed about 70% in every survey. Therefore, if personal religious faith were to be judged on the basis of membership in one of the established religions, there was a slight decline in affiliation according to the responses. However, if personal religious faith were to be judged on the basis of a religious attitude, there was no significant change in responses over the past twenty years.

From the aspect of attitudes toward daily life, we have seen that the Japanese people have demonstrated great change over the last twenty years. We can say frankly that this has been due to a process which in the past put restraints upon the free enjoyment of traditional community civic life but which by stages, has become freed from such social restrictions. Within the social system, people have escaped from

the traditional family, from excessive money consciousness, from an obsessive pursuit of success in ·life, from enforced morals; in short, they have gradually become liberated from those things which were in conflict with personal family life. It is only within the realm of personal relations, however, that the Japanese people have yet to experience real liberation.

We have observed these gradual changes, therefore, from an age when even family affairs were judged by society and the nation (and this was true not only before the war), to the time when this ceased to be; from the age of the traditional family, to that of the nuclear family; from the time when people aspired after material things, to an age of spiritual aspirations; from the period when highest values were generally found in the nation and society, to the age when human life has taken on greater importance.

III. Some findings from cross sectional analysis

1. Demographic data and differences of opinion

In this chapter we shall observe how Japanese opinions previously discussed vary according to differences in demographic data.

In our surveys, we have utilized 6 indicators for the demographic data; sex, age, education, occupation, regional distribution, urban-rural residence. Figure 2 shows to what degree opinions vary according to these six items. The diagram was compiled in the following manner.

1) Ordinary cross-tabulations were made as seen, for example, in Table 3.

2) Eliminated were those categories in which the number of re-

Table 3. ♯4.10 "Adoption to continue the family line"

		Would adopt	Would not adopt	Depends on circumstances	Other	D.K.	Total
Regional distribution	Hokkaido	32	54	6	2	6	100 (134)
	Tohoku	47	31	16	2	4	100 (272)
	Kanto	33	42	19	1	5	100 (858)
	Chubu	41	36	15	1	7	100 (552)
	Kinki	28	46	20	1	5	100 (475)
	Chugoku	35	42	18	2	3	100 (266)
	Shikoku	34	45	13	3	5	100 (97)
	Kyushu	38	39	16	1	6	100 (401)
(1)	Max.	47	46	—	—	—	
	Min.	28	31	—	—	—	
(2)	Difference	19	15	—	—	—	

spondents in the total column was smaller than 5% of the survey's total number of respondents. Since the respondents numbered 3055 persons in this example, the totals for "Hokkaido" and "Shikoku" with fewer than 152 respondents each, were eliminated.

3) The categories "other," "don't know" and those with ambiguous meaning were eliminated.

4) The maximum and minimum values were found from among all the numerical values. Column (1) shows this operation.

5) The difference between the maximum and minimum values was found as shown in Column (2).
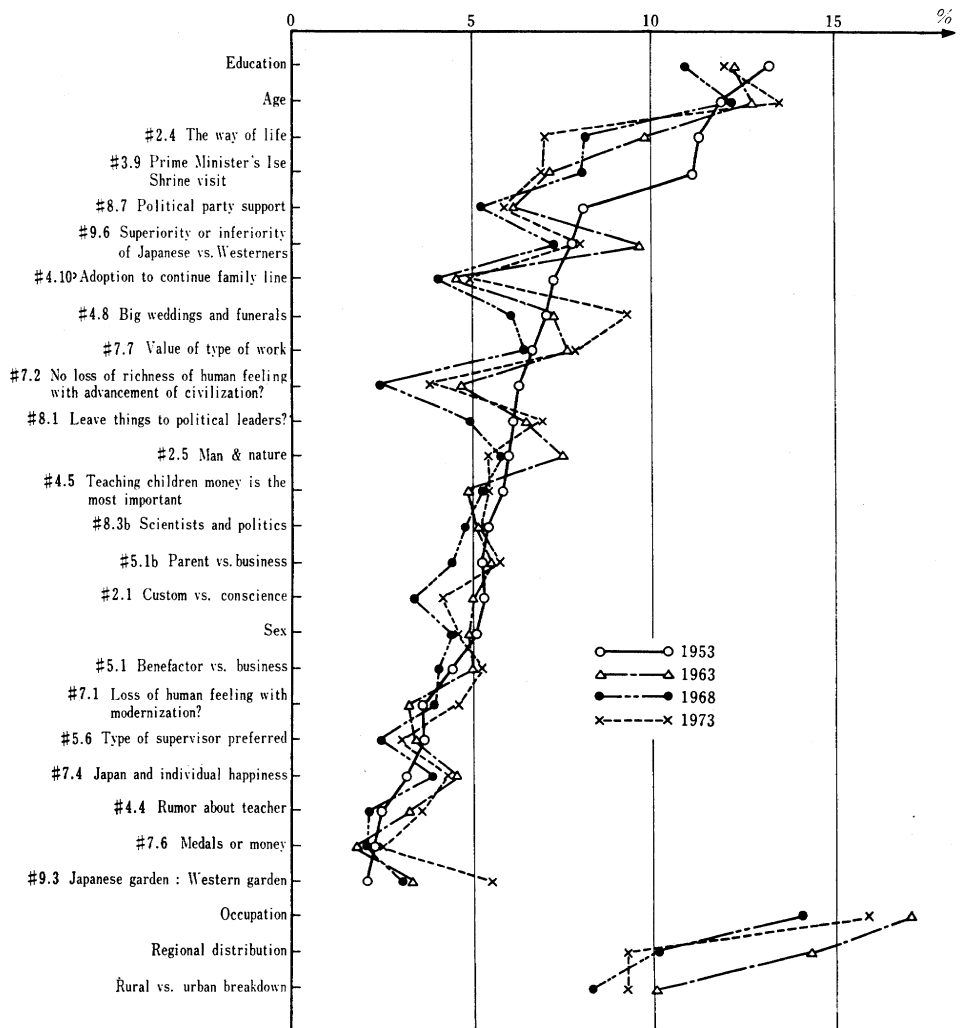
Fig. 2. Difference in relation to all other opinions from varied response categories [Difference per response category]

6) The sum of the numerical values from operation 5 was then obtained as in our example, $19+15=34$.

7) The sum total of values from all 21 questions, as found by operation 6, was divided by the total number of categories.

The rationale for each operation will be described. The reason why categories consisting of under only 5% of all respondents were eliminated in operation 2 is that the sampling error seems to be too great, owing to a scarcity of individuals if the category is a demographic item, and the infrequency of such an opinion if the category is an opinion item. The reason why categories having ambiguous meanings were eliminated is that items of this type are beyond the scope of our research, which is that of discovering what opinions are dependent upon each other and which opinions are not.

Figure 2 shows percentages which were found by operation 7. For example, Fig. 2 shows that in 1973 there was a difference of 12% per response category based on the differences in education, which was composed of three categories[1]. In the same manner, we used each question in turn and made a cross-tabulation with all other questions, in order to calculate the percentage differences between the fixed question used and all other questions.

Three indicators, occupation, regional distribution and urban-rural residence, are shown in the lower section of Fig. 2. This is due to the fact that we were unable to utilize them as data in 1953, since the information had not been recorded on cards for computer use. In addition, strictly speaking, we could not compare 1973 with 1963 or 1968 with regard to occupation as this data was classified in a slightly different way each time.

Figure 2 shows the following findings.

1) Opinions differ an average of 10% or more in relation to education, age, occupation, regional distribution and urban-rural residence. However, there is little difference of opinion when comparing sex. One of the reasons why differences in opinions according to occupation and regional distribution are slightly greater than opinion variations by education and age might be due to the discrepancy between the number

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[1] The number of categories for the demographic data are as follow. Age is composed of 5 categories; 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60 and over. Education consists of 3 categories; elementary education or former upper elementary or postwar middle school (0-9 years), former middle school or postwar high school (10-12 years), former high school, higher technical or university, postwar university (13 years and over). Urban-rural residence is covered by 6 categories: the six major cities; cities with a population of 200,000 or over; those with a population of 100,000 to 200,000; those having a population of 50,000 to 100,000; cities with a population less than 50,000 and towns and villages. The six major cities include the 23 boroughs of Tokyo Metropolitan, the cities of Yokohama, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe. Regional distribution covers 8 areas as shown in Table 3. Occupation varied slightly as a criterion for categorization between 1963 (or 1968) and 1973.

of response categories each contains. That is to say, while occupation
and age respectively, are composed of 8 response categories, education
consists of 3 and age contains 5. When calculating this type of dia-
gram, a larger number of categories will cause a greater percentage
increase in opinion differences.

2) In examining changes over the past twenty years, opinion dif-
ference according to regional distribution has decreased about 5% since
1968. Variation in opinion according to education has also decreased
slightly but opinion difference by age has increased a little.

3) Of all the questions analyzed by cross tabulation, those which
brought an opinion difference of 10% or more in 1953 concerned "the
way of life" (#2.4) and "the Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit" (#3.9).
For instance, in 1953 all other opinions as seen in relation to the way
of life one might choose differed on an average of 11%. However,
this difference in opinion has gradually decreased to 7% over the last
twenty years.

4) All of the questions, with the exception of #2.4 and #3.9,
showed opinion differences that were less than 10%. Those questions
evincing comparatively great change over the past twenty years were
related to "political party support" (#8.7), "adoption to continue the
family line" (#4.10) and "no loss of richness of human feeling with
the advancement of civilization?" (#7.2). Although "political party
support" ordinarily has an important relationship to opinions in public
opinion polls, we were surprised that it seemed to have little correlation
with questions employed in our Japanese National Character Survey.

5) One fact which should not be overlooked is that there are
questions, not yet mentioned, which have shown very little change in
opinion over the past twenty years. Since the correlations apparent
between questions will be discussed more fully in the following chapter,
we shall limit our consideration here to some basic attributes.

One of the social phenomena of the postwar period is that the
"generation gap" problem has come to the forefront of attention.
The "generation gap" as seen at a specific time, refers to an increas-
ingly magnified difference of opinion between varying age groups.
However, Fig. 2 shows that difference in opinion according to age has
neither collectively increased nor decreased in relation to the questions
in our surveys. The influences of TV mass media and massive popula-
tion migrations may account for the little variation in opinion found
between people of differing regional districts. These differences are
slightly less than those found in relation to education and age. Al-
though differences in opinion by both regional distribution and urban-
rural residence are nearly equal to those by age or education when
analyzing the overall averages in opinion differences, the latter presents

a marked contrast to the former when determining the extent of deviation in degree of relationship to each question.

Figure 3 shows opinion differences according to response categories which were found to be 15% or higher in cross tabulations. For example, opinion differences according to regional distribution which reached as high as 15% or more, were found in only three response
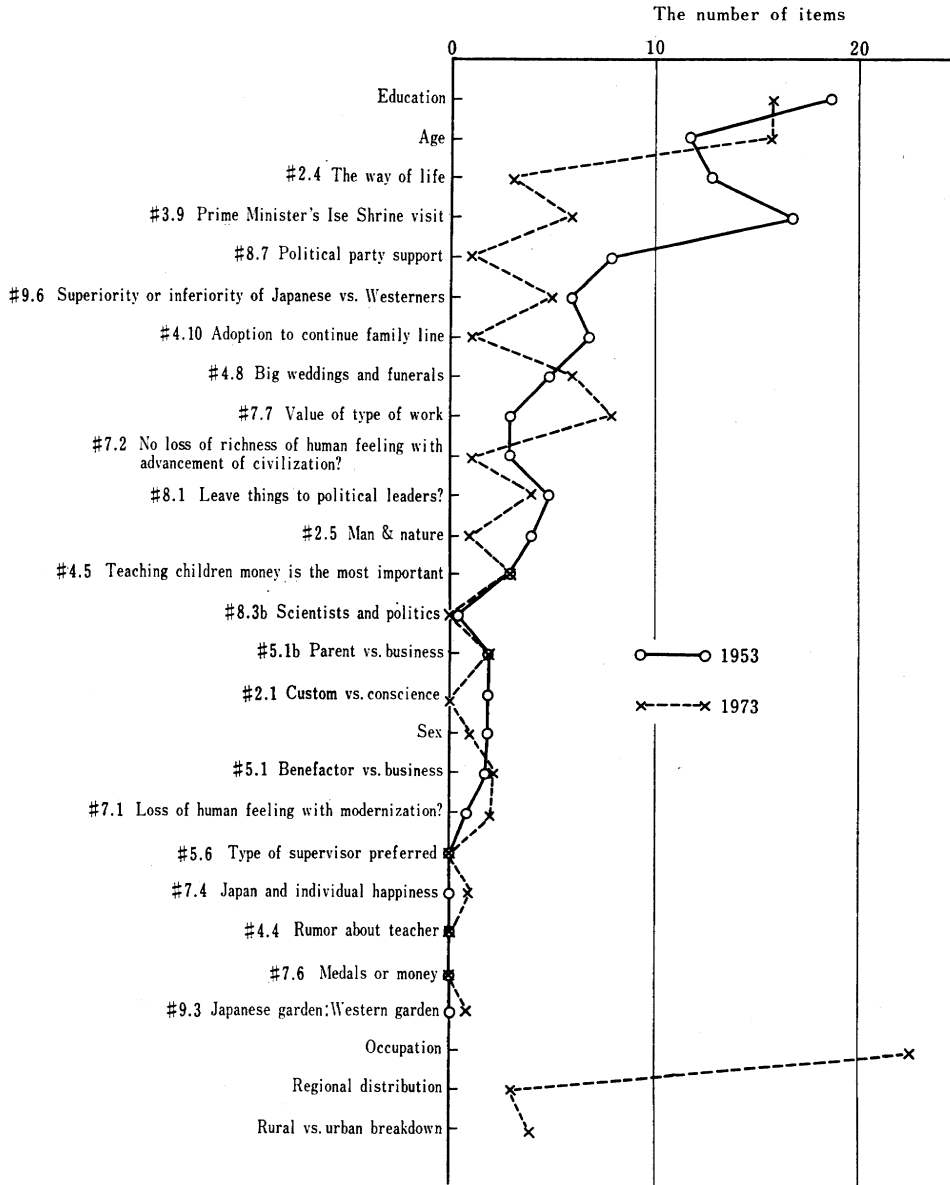
Fig. 3. The number of categories having a difference of 15% or over
[52 categories in total]

categories in 1973. Meanwhile, education and age, which vary accord-
ing to the years in which the survey was conducted, seem to have a
far greater relationship to questions than any other demographic data
or opinions. Therefore, even if there is variation in opinion according
to regional distribution and urban-rural residence reaching a level of
support differing as much as 10% per category, we can see that it is
not due to these particular attributes having strong correlation with
any one of these questions. On the contrary, it becomes evident that
education and age combined with occupation bring about great differ-
ences in the percentage of support according to individual questions.

Have questions with a large percentage difference according to
education or age given place to others over the last twenty years, or
not ? We shall consider this point in the following section. Figure 4
shows to what extent differences in opinion by age and education have
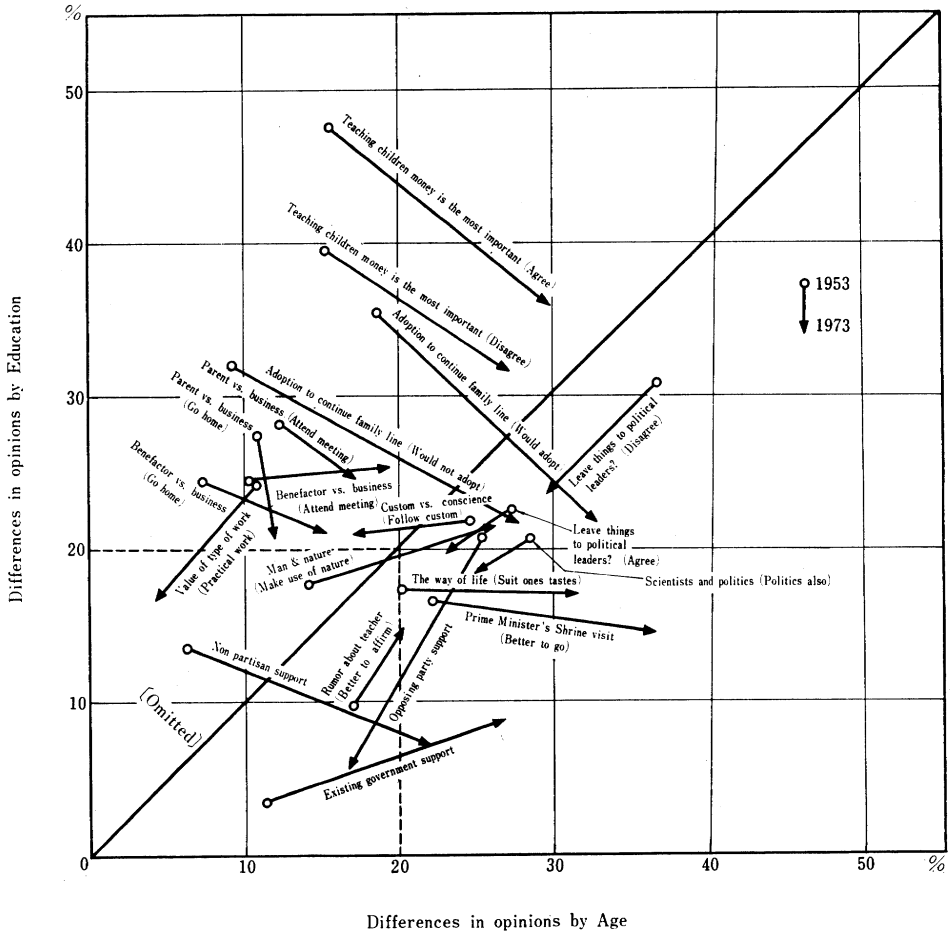
Fig. 4. Most apparent differences in opinions by age and education

changed. In this figure, the difference in each question by age is gradu-
ated along the horizontal coordinate; the difference in the same ques-
tion by education is located along the vertical coordinate. Therefore,
if a point is plotted in the left-hand portion above the 45-degree dia-
gonal, that opinion shows greater difference by education than by age.
Conversely, a point plotted below the diagonal represents a greater
variation by age than by education.

In this figure our attention is drawn to the fact that the nearer a
point is to origin the less difference in opinions by age and education.
Typical questions in which differences by both age and education were
under 20% in 1973 as well as 1953, not shown in Fig. 4 to avoid com-
plexity, are as follows; "type of supervisor preferred" (♯5.6), "Japa-
nese garden, Western garden" (♯9.3), "big weddings and funerals"
(♯4.8), "superiority or inferiority of Japanese vs. Westerners" (♯9.6),
"Japan and individual happiness" (♯7.4).

On the contrary, the farther a point is from origin, the greater
the difference in opinions by age and education. Typical questions of
this nature which are considerably far from the origin and have dif-
ferences by education greater than those by age are the following;
"teaching children money is the most important" (♯4.5), "benefactor
vs. business" (♯5.1) and "parent vs. business" (♯5.1b). On the other
hand, typical expressions of opinion which are considerably far from
the origin and show differences by age greater than those by education
are as follows; "not leave things to political leaders" (♯8.1) and
"Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit is better" (♯3.9).

Observing the direction of change in opinions which reveal great
differences by education or age, there are 5 upward-pointing arrows
and 15 pointing downward. In addition, there are 14 lines going to
the right and 6 to the left. Therefore, we could say thst differences
by education have decreased in the number of opinions on the one
hand, and differences by age have increased in a large number of
opinions on the other hand, during the last twenty years. As a result
of these changes, opinions in which differences by education are greater
than by age have decreased from 11 to 8 items, and other opinions
have increased from 9 to 12 items. Though neither differences by age
nor education have changed considerably on the average for all opinions,
as we found in Fig. 2, the majority of questions with originally large
differences by age or education have increased their differences even
more by age, while decreasing in differences by education. We should
not take differences in individual opinions too seriously but rather look
at the overall trends. In this sense, we could say that there has been
an increase in differences of opinion among people according to age.
Also in the M-type questionnaire utilized in 1973, opinions showing

Fig. 5. Most apparent differences in opinions by age and education in 1973
         (M-type survey)

Fig. 6. Factors in change of opinion

higher percentage differences by age than by education were more numerous than any other opinions. Therefore, we were able to support our findings (see Fig. 5).

Now, we might ask what brought about the widening differences of opinion by age, as have been observed thus far? Cross-tabulations by age were made for each of the five surveys, and arranged in Fig. 6. Categories A, B, C and D were divided in the following manner, respectively.

A: Percentage supporting a specific opinion, by persons who were between the ages of 20 and 24 in 1953.

B: Percentage supporting the same opinion as A, by persons who were between the ages of 20 and 24 in 1973.

C: Percentage supporting the same opinion as A, by persons who were between the ages of 40 and 44 in 1953.

D: Percentage supporting the same opinion as A, by persons who were between the ages of 40 and 44 in 1973.

If, therefore, we compare the value of A with that of D, we could ascertain how many persons, between the ages of 20 and 24 in 1953, have changed their opinion in twenty years concerning a specific opinion. One value was compared with another in the form of five arrows as shown in Fig. 6. Each of the values contains three factors, which are age, generation and the year of the survey. Thus, we were able to locate the particular factor and to what extent it has contributed to the change in opinion. For clarification, difference in opinion by generation implies difference in the year of one's birth and year of the survey means the difference between 1953 and 1973. In this way we were able to find the differences for each of the 82 response categories covering 27 questions which had been asked in both 1953 and 1973. These separate items were summed up and the total divided by the number of items. These values are shown in Fig. 6. For example, the value calculated on the basis of the comparison of A with B signifies that the opinions of persons who are between the ages of 20 and 24 have changed 12% per category over the last twenty years.

On the basis of Fig. 6, we could make the following general statements. Differences in opinion comparing results over a twenty-year period are greater than those found comparing different age groups in the same survey year. In other words we may say that the opinions of Japanese people have kept pace with the times. More specifically, changes, in opinions have not come about because people of a specific generation have changed their opinions over the twenty-year period. Rather, people from a younger generation have carried these new opinions into society. In addition, the opinions of younger persons are easier to change than those of older people. The most important single factor

that has accelerated the change in opinion is the younger generation's integration into society. Therefore, we could say that the widening opinion differences by age brought about by the influence of a younger generation's integration into society has far outdistanced any change resulting from older people altering their personal opinions. Nevertheless, the reason why the difference by age has not changed more significantly on the average over the last twenty years, as we have shown in Fig. 6, is because older people have also changed their opinions in the same direction, influenced by new ways of thinking.

Up to this point, we have discussed the difference in opinions between two different time periods. However, the difference in opinion between persons of varied age groups in the same specific period is of greater importance and concern to the majority of people. In society, differences from age seem to be the cause of much discussion and controversy. Therefore, we investigated which specific problems changed significantly according to differences in age. Since questions which had been asked in the same way in both the 1953 and 1973 surveys were fewer in number than those utilized in both 1963 and 1973, we researched this problem based on 39 questions which had been used in both 1963 and 1973. From such an investigation we were able to arrive at the following findings.

Changes in differences of opinion by age were more sharply apparent when questions were classified according to whether or not they concerned problems close to the individual, than when classifying the same questions according to their contents, combined as four categories in Table 4. Questions were categorized into four divisions as follows; 1) questions regarding the individual or home, 2) those regarding personal relations, 3) those pertaining to the nation and 4) questions concerning foreign countries. As Table 4 reveals, questions concerning

Table 4. Difference in opinion by age

	Difference in opinion per category		The number of questions	The number of response categories	Question No.			
	1963	1973						
Problems regarding foreign countries	9.4%	8.8%	2	5	#9.3	#9.6		
Problems regarding nation	10.2	10.7	11	34	#3.9 #8.2e #8.6	#8.1 #8.2f #2.5	#7.4 #8.2g #7.6	#8.3b #8.2h
Problems regarding society close to the individual	12.2	12.3	13	28	#7.2 #4.4 #5.1d-4 #4.8	#7.1 #7.5b #2.1	#7.7 #2.2 #7.13c	#8.4 #5.1d-3 #5.6
Problems regarding home or the individual	13.3	15.7	10	26	#4.10 #6.2c #5.1	#5.1d-1 #6.2d #5.1b	#5.1d-2 #5.1c-1	#6.2 #5.1c-2

the individual or home have manifested the widest difference in opinion in relation to age. Discrepancy in opinions regarding the individual or home have increased 2.4% per category, from 13.3% to 15.7% in the last ten years. In fact, although questions pertaining to problems in personal relations have given evidence of great opinion differences by age, there has been no noticeable percentage increase from 1963 to 1973. In other problem areas as well, opinion differences according to age have failed to escalate. As we have seen in Fig. 4, differences by age are enlarged in problems close to the individual, such as, "teaching children money is the most important" (♯4.5), "adoption to continue the family line" (♯4.10) and "the way of life" (♯2.4). Therefore, the reason why a widening difference of opinion by age has come to the forefront of attention in this nation could be attributed to the following two facts; 1) difference in age is a problem in itself but the closer a problem is to the individual, the greater are the variations in opinions (see Table 4), and 2) it is particularly in problems of daily life concerning the individual or home that difference in opinions by age have shown the highest percentage increase.

As previously mentioned, the differences in opinions by urban-rural residence, regional distribution and sex are small as analyzed from our five surveys regarding the Japanese national character. On the contrary, differences in opinions by occupation, age and education are large. However, opinion variations by education have declined steadily, while differences by age have increased. The former would have been largely due to the fact that most people have been able to receive a university education, while the latter would have resulted from the new generation with new opinions integrating into society. From these findings we can conclude that age and occupation are the two social indicators which have the greatest influence on the Japanese way of thinking.

In conclusion we should mention the following points for the purpose of improving future surveys. Previously, we pointed out that the reason why the "generation gap" has come to the forefront of attention might be chiefly due to intricately related problems close to the individual. This finding seems to suggest two significant things; first, the type of problems the Japanese people have been concerned about and secondly, their way of thinking toward other people. More exactly, the former indicates that Japanese people are more concerned about immediate daily events than about political problems, and the latter implies that they are apt to interfere in other people's way of thinking. This can be seen in the fact that the so-called "generation gap" problem was first raised by older people. What is more, the source of this questioning seems to come from older people feeling a

sort of reproach and sadness about the younger generation having new, different opinions from themselves. They believe that younger people should share the same opinions as the older generation. However, we would have to inquire further into these conclusions by means of more exact surveys in the future.

2. Correlation of opinions

In this section, the correlation between various questions will be analyzed. As seen in Fig. 2, we plotted the percentage difference between the response categories of the fixed question used and the response categories of all other questions. Therefore, we could say that a dot in Fig. 2 means a sort of correlation coefficient between the fixed question and all others. Depending on the way of life ("work hard and get rich," "study earnestly and make a name for yourself" and so on) preferred by respondents, all opinions differed as much as 12% per category in 1953 as shown in Fig. 2, preceding. In other words, differences in opinion were as great among people with varied life style preferences as among those in differing age categories. Looking at this from a new angle, we could say that opinions regarding the way of life have been closely related to as many other opinions as age. Likewise, there has been strong relationship between opinions regarding the question of the "Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit" (#3.9) and many other opinions. Type of political party support was the third highest item showing a strong relationship with many other opinions. Three categories comprised this item; 1) support of existing government, 2) support of opposing party and 3) non-partisan support.

On the other hand, questions evoking a difference of less than 5% in relation to other opinions were: "Japanese garden, Western garden" (#9.3), "medals or money" (#7.6), "rumor about teacher" (#4.4), "Japan and individual happiness" (#7.4) and "type of supervisor preferred" (#5.6). This seems to indicate that each of these questions has been only remotely related to many other opinions and that, most likely, each has been independent of the others. This inference has the following justification. By computer we generated independent random digits, which were the same both in sample size and in marginal distribution in response to each of the items, as in the 1953 survey. Utilizing these random digits in place of actual responses obtained in the 1953 survey, a simulation was made following the operation set forth in procedures 1 to 7 (see pp. 25–27). As the result we found that the percentage differences per response category brought through this simulation were 5% or 6% at most, but usually only 2% or 3%.[1]

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[1] If the sample size is given in this simulation, the percentage difference brought through this simulation depends upon both the number of categories and the pattern of

Therefore, if opinion differences are smaller than those in numerical value, it can be assumed that they are independent. Yet this does not mean that opinions in response to such questions are always unrelated to other opinions. This is because such questions usually include not only those which are essentially independent of other questions but also those which are actually not independent, although they appear to be for certain reasons. An example of this would be a survey which does not contain more than one question related to a specific issue. Also, when a question can be interpreted in various ways, regardless of the category respondents may support, this particular response category would be comprised of various types of people due to the ambiguity of the question. Therefore, regardless of whichever category may be supported, other opinions could not be separated from this. In any case, we could regard as independent all the questions which are located in lower section of Fig. 2, with the exception of "occupation," "regional distribution" and "urban-rural residence."

Notable changes were apparent when comparing trends in the results from four past surveys in Fig. 2. Although the question pertaining to "the way of life" (♯2.4) revealed a difference of as much as 12% in other opinions in 1953, this correlation has steadily diminished during the last twenty years to merely 7% in 1973. Also, the question regarding the "Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit" (♯3.9) has dropped to the same level as other questions. In addition to these, "no loss of richness of human feeling with advancement of civilization?" (♯7.2), "adoption to continue the family line" (♯4.10) and "political party support" (♯8.7) have also shown considerably great decreases in percentage.

Among all the questions listed above, three which have shown great changes in the percentage of respondents supporting the various response categories these questions contain are; "the way of life," "Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit" and "adoption to continue family line." In the process of this change of opinion, it can be said that these opinion items have also decreased in their relationship to other questions.

On the other hand, questions other than those listed above generally have changed little in the degree of correlation to other questions. Most of these questions originally had weak correlations to other ques-

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marginal distribution of the item, which was crossed with other opinion items. The percentage is higher to the extent that the number of response categories is greater and marginal distribution is more removed from uniform distribution. However, since the number of categories for every opinion item was limited to 6 or under and because categories in which the number of random digits, which correspond to "respondents" in page 26, was smaller than 5% of the 1953 survey's sample size were eliminated, we were able to avoid the outcome of abnormally great percentage differences.

tions and those which had been independent of others twenty years ago are still independent at present. "Teaching children money is the most important" (♯4.5) and "leave things to political leaders?" (♯8.1) are representative examples of this. Both questions have shown great changes in the percentages supporting the particular categories they consist of, and even seem to have close correlation with other questions. However, the fact is quite different from such assumptions. That is to say, while opinions toward money and attitudes toward political participation have changed drastically with the times, they have not been accompanied by changes in other opinions.

In any event, we should pay particular attention to the fact that formerly such questions as the "Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit" and "the way of life" had such strong correlation to other questions that we could estimate the approximate distribution of other opinions simply from information on the distribution of one opinion. Now, this is no longer true. There are two limitations in what has been mentioned thus far based on Figs. 2 and 3. First, we are unable to ascertain the correlation between each separate question item. Secondly, although a particular question may seem to have a strong dependent relationship with several other questions, this, in fact, proved to be only apparent. We conclude, therefore, that some opinions may have a strong correlation with certain other, more demographic items. So we set out to investigate concretely which particular items were dependently related to which other items.

In the figure below, questions which have attained to the following conditions have been shown. First are those which have shown a difference of 20% or more in relation to any of the particular categories contained in another question. Secondly, the difference found above was greater than all those found according to the demographic data. In this way, we were able to eliminate false correlations when a question qualified according to the second condition. The arrows point to the particular question in relation to which a specific question showed such significant difference.
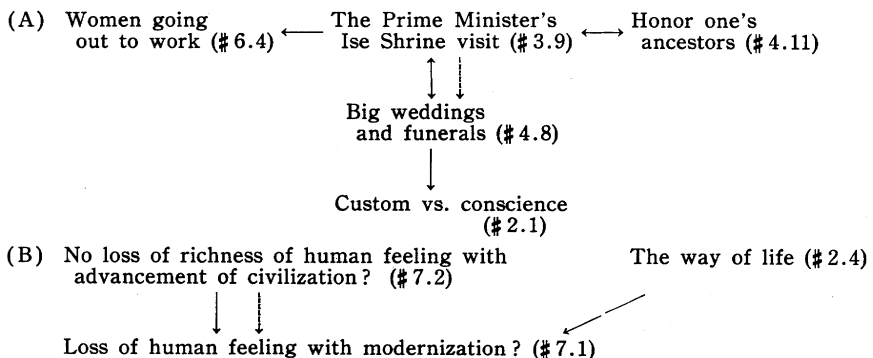
(C) Superiority or inferiority of   ⟷   Value of type of work (♯ 7.7)
     Japanese vs. Westerners (♯ 9.6) ⟵⟶

(D) Benefactor vs. business (♯ 5.1) ⟷⟵⟶ Parent vs. business (♯ 5.1b)

First of all, group (A) contains more related questions than any other category. Among the items belonging to this group, the "Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit" is related to three other questions. That is, according to whether one agrees or disagrees with the "Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit," views regarding "women going out to work" diverge sharply, and a marked difference is apparent in opinions concerning "honoring one's ancestors" as well as "big weddings and funerals." Though the questions connected by lines in this diagram do not always have a cause and effect relationship with each other parallel to the arrows, we could regard them as linked questions originating from a similar pattern of thinking. For example, the fact that the "Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit" ties in with ancestor worship and ceremonial occasions tells us that these problems are interpreted by respondents as problems of similar scope without consideration of political meanings implied in the Prime Minister's visit, as discussed in the preceding chapter.

Setting aside this question, we will touch upon the changes apparent in the relations between each item. Some of these correlations have diminished over the past twenty years, as readily seen in a comparison of the relations in 1973, shown by dotted lines, with those of 1953. Some examples are; the relation between ancestor worship and the "Prime Minister's Ise Shrine visit," between the latter and whether or not one understands why women go out to work, between "the way of life" and "loss of human feeling with modernization?" It is evident that the manner of judging each of these problems has changed with increasing variation. In short, stereotyped ways of thinking have decreased considerably. Nowadays, we would be unable to predict the trend of response for other questions simply from information on people's opinion regarding one item.

However, the following should be added for caution's sake. The majority of questions showed a greater difference in relation to the demographic data than to any other opinion item. That is to say that most people's opinions are strongly influenced by their demographic data.

In conclusion, we have investigated by means of a similar operation what type of relationships emerge between various opinions expressed in response to the 1973, M-type questionnaire. The following findings were made as a result. The question "satisfied with societies" (♯ 2.3b) has been most closely interrelated with many questions in the K-type questionnaire. Other questions which also clearly divided various opin-

ions were; "what is the level of Japan's standard of living" (♯9.12d), several touching upon the value and importance of morals, "religious feeling" (♯5.20c), "revering one's ancestors" (♯5.20e) and "returning favors one has received" (♯5.20g).

On the other hand, questions regarding political problems and personal relations are independent of many other opinions. What is most important, there is a dependent relationship between the respondent's age and how closely the question "satisfied with society?" is related to other opinions. The relationship is more remote in younger persons than in older.

Questions having the greatest difference in support percentages according to the level of satisfaction with society were those pertaining to future prospects for "people's health" (♯7.18), "people's peace of mind" (♯7.18b), "levels of living" (♯7.18d), "happiness" (♯7.18e) and "richness of emotional life" (♯9.12e). It is important to note that discontent with society has not been dependently related to opinions regarding such political problems as "people's freedom" (♯7.18c). However, we can conclude that discontent with society is closely connected to various other problems, both materially and morally, touching the individual and home, especially to feelings of unrest and gloomy views of the future.

IV. Problems evident in Japanese opinion

Summarizing all the changes seen in opinions categorized into four different types of problems, mentioned previously, it can be said that there have been great shifts in opinions regarding political problems, daily life and Japanese feelings and ideas. That is, the attitudes of Japanese people toward political problems have varied from an undemocratic way of thinking to a democratic one; in attitudes toward daily life from family-centered thinking (meaning patriarch-centered thinking) to a home-centered one; in feelings toward foreign countries from a sense of inferiority to a weak sense of rivalry.

These changes in opinion have been accelerated by the entry of the new generation into society rather than by persons' adapting their own opinions to the times. In addition, these causes of opinion change have brought with them a tendency to increase differences in opinions by age and decrease opinion differences by education. In contrast, opinions regarding personal relations have not changed but rather have remained the same although the opinions of Japanese people have greatly changed with regard to the many problems of the postwar period. We could list as examples, the personal relations in home, place of work and so on.
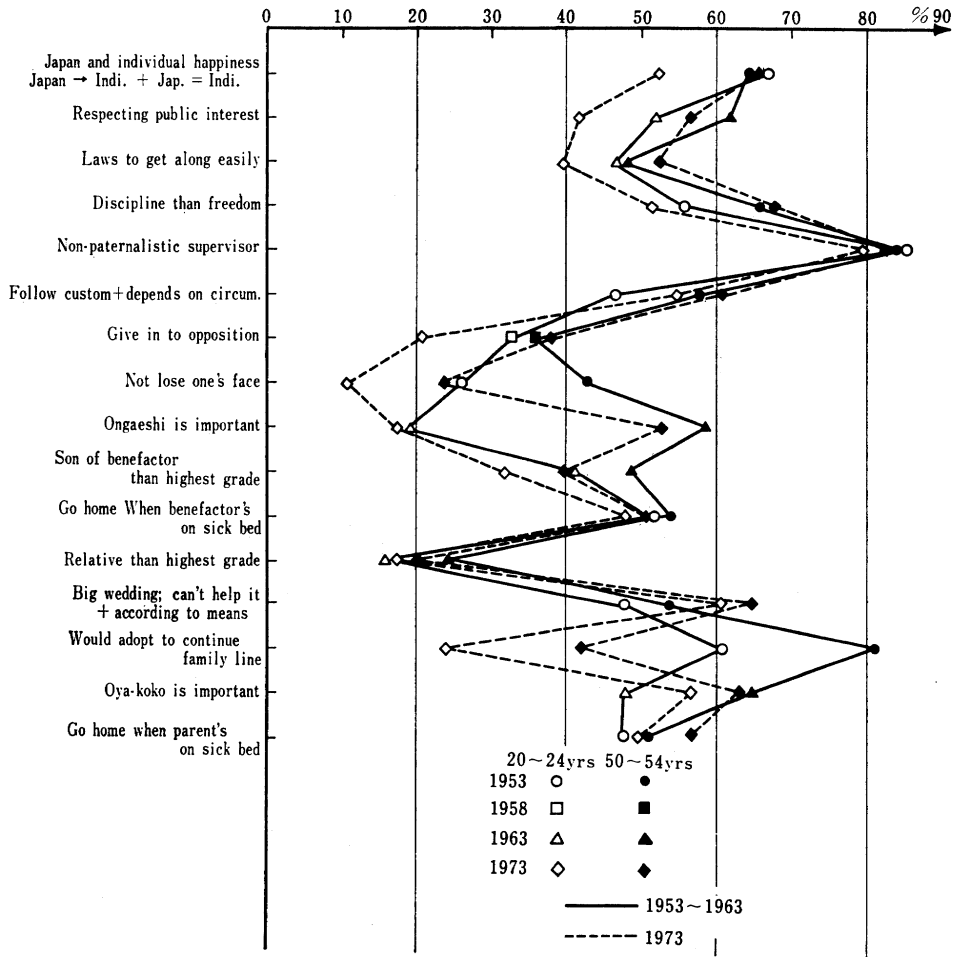
Fig. 7. Age and change in opinions regarding personal relations

What type of opinions toward personal relations does the new generation have as they inject new opinions into society? We should like to inquire into this point a little further. Figure 7 shows the percentage of respondents who continue to favor traditional patterns in human relations. Except for the opinions, "one would adopt to continue the family line" and "teaching children never to lose face," the Japanese people have not shown any noteworthy change in these sort of opinions irrespective of age for this time interval. Only the percentage selecting "*Ongaeshi*" (repaying moral indebtedness) as an important virtue give evidence of a difference by age of 20% or over, except for the two previously mentioned opinions. However, this particular opinion reveals no difference by year but rather shows a great difference by age in every year. In other words, younger people also in-

creasingly regard "*Ongaeshi*" as an important virtue as they advance
in age. We make passing reference here to the fact that persons
regarding "*Ongaeshi*" as an important virtue are less in percentage
than those "respecting rights" or "respecting freedom," so it seems
that "*Ongaeshi*" is not supported by younger people. However, in the
following two opinions which were worded in a more concrete way, the
differences in opinions between young people and old were small, so
we can not conclude that these two age groups differ in their opinions.
The two opinions utilized were; wishing to employ the son of a bene-
factor even though he receive second rating in an employment exami-
nation and going home when a benefactor is seriously ill.

We could find no noteworthy difference in age nor in year except
for the preceding three opinions. Examining all other opinions in de-
tail, we are able to list the following three as those opinions regarding
which only the younger generation has changed to a comparatively
great extent. These opinions include: preferring "somebody who gives
up the idea if it opposed," "if Japan as a whole improves, then and
only then can individuals be made happy," "laws should be established
so as to provide people with a way to get along together easily."
However, even with regard to these three problems we could not con-
clusively state that they have given rise to new opinions. Because,
for example, while it is certain that opinions in favor of "somebody
who gives up the idea if it is opposed" have decreased, those thinking
that one is less apt to make a mistake if one follows custom have in-
creased, which could be interpreted as discrepancy between people's
words and actions. The gap between these two responses has been
more extensive in the new generation than the old. In short, those
of the new generation do not always translate into action the progres-
sive ideas they may have. This implies that an item similar to the
opinion "teaching children never to lose face" has decreased. For it
is likely that they would not insist on their own ideas in a group.
Ultimately, although opinions regarding personal relations as well as
attitudes toward political problems, irrespective of age, have changed
more or less so far as their issues are not in conflict with very personal
relations, the new generation, we could say, has much the same atti-
tudes as older people.

From the viewpoint of whether their opinions had become stereo-
typed or not, we discovered several characteristics in the changes of
opinion, with the exception of those related to personal relations. Al-
though people with bigoted opinions have decreased and attitudes have
become multifarious, such views have not always gone to the core of
key issues. For example, there has not always been insight into the
implications of a concrete political problem, nor a sense of individual

human rights as a firmly held belief with deep roots in Japanese tradition. There were thirteen questions containing one ambiguous response category among all those questions asked at least twice in the same way. However, the percentages supporting each ambiguous response category were seen to have increased. We could not help interpreting this as evidence that people's thinking on issues had become indecisive. In other words, economic growth and the stabilization of political conditions and livelihood in the postwar period have accelerated the popularity of rational and individualistic views on the one hand, but have not always stimulated deeper awareness and insight into political and social problems; rather indifference and a happy-go-lucky way of looking at them. Because people's consciousness has become increasingly interdependent with Japan's social conditions, this individual awareness could not help assuming a form best adapting to existing social conditions.

Summarizing the trend in the opinions of Japanese people today, we could say that new attitudes toward political problems and daily life coexist with a traditional outlook on personal relations. So, first of all, we must give attention to the fact that opinions regarding political problems and daily life have changed significantly. We could say at the same time that the Japanese national character consists essentially in personal relations because the least changeable things are regarded as of greatest value. Needless to say, these personal relations form the foundation of all social problems. Therefore, we cannot regard changes in opinions as basic changes but should judge them to be only apparent if opinions concerning personal relations have changed very little, inspite of however much other opinions may have changed. It is true that attitudes toward political problems have changed greatly as previously mentioned, yet only those politically-related opinions which are far removed from the realm of human relations have, in fact, changed. The remaining cases which touch upon human relations have changed very little. These opinions toward personal relations, which may not be capable of change because they are intricately enmeshed in the interests of individuals, play an important key role in easing or impeding even more extensive changes in the opinions of Japanese people.

Acknowledgements

Thanks are also due to Mr. Ronald P. Dore[1] for considerable co-operation in the translation of questionnaires and Mrs. Michiyo Tera-shima and Mrs. Reiko Ota for their useful editorial assistance.

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Appendix

Questions and simple tabulations

§ 1.　Basic Data

(Survey　'53/'58/'63/'68/'73)

♯1.1	Sex		
		Male......	47/46/46/47/45
		Female......	53/54/54/53/55
♯1.2	Age	20-24......	19/15/13/12/14
		25-29......	15/14/13/13/11
		30-34......	12/14/14/13/12
		35-39......	11/10/12/13/12
		40-44......	10/11/10/11/12
		45-49......	8/ 8/ 9/ 8/10
		50-54......	9/ 7/ 9/ 7/ 8
		55-59......	6/ 7/ 6/ 7/ 7
		60 yrs & over......	10/14/14/16/14
♯1.3	Education	Elementary......	33/31/21/16/15
		Middle......	35/37/41/40/30
		High......	24/24/29/34/41
		University......	6/ 7/ 8/10/12

♯1.4* Occupation

Farmers, lumbermen and fishermen......	/ / / /13
Shop and factory proprietors......	/ / / /10
White-collar workers......	/ / / /16
Blue-collar workers......	/ / / /16
Professionals......	/ / / / 5
Managers and officials......	/ / / / 3
Housewives......	/ / / /26
Students and no occupation......	/ / / /10

♯1.4　Occupation

Professional......	/ 4/ 3/ 3/
Managerial......	/ 2/ 2/ 2/
Clerical and salesman......	/11/12/15/
Owners of small enterprises......	/ 8/11/11/
Farming, fishing and forestry......	/29/16/16/
Skilled......	/ 7/15/18/
Unskilled......	/ 4/ 2/ 1/

♯1.5　Rural vs. urban breakdown

	6 Metropolitan cities......	13/15/16/17/18
Other cities { Pop.:	200,000 & over......	↑/↑29/12/17/23
	100,000-200,000......	26/↓/11/10/ 9
	50,000-100,000......	↑/↑12/11/12/12
	Under 50,000......	↓/↓/12/11/10
	Rural......	61/44/38/33/28

♯1.6　Regional distribution

Hokkaido......	5*/ 5/ 5/ 5/ 4
Tohoku......14*/10/10/10/ 9	
Kanto......17*/25/23/25/28	
Chubu......21*/18/19/18/18	

<div align="right">

Kinki......11*/14/17/16/16
Chugoku......16*/ 8/ 8/ 8/ 9
Shikoku......↓ / 5/ 5/ 5/ 3
Kyushu......16*/15/13/13/13

</div>

＊ 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 ?

<div align="right">

Go ahead...... 41/41/40/42/36
Follow custom...... 35/35/32/34/32
Depends on circumstances...... 19/19/25/20/29

</div>

♯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 has the better attitude ?
(a) Somebody who ignores the opposition and goes ahead.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　......   /54/55/59/53
(b) Somebody who gives up the idea if it is opposed.　......   /32/32/30/32

♯2.3c (Card shown) Are you satisfied with your family life ? Or are you dissatisfied ?
(a) Satisfied　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... / / / /48
(b) Rather satisfied　　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... / / / /33
(c) Rather dissatisfied　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... / / / /13
(d) Dissatisfied　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... / / / / 5

♯2.3d (Card shown) And how do you feel about society ?
(a) Satisfied　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... / / / / 6
(b) Rather satisfied　　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... / / / /20
(c) Rather dissatisfied　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... / / / /37
(d) Dissatisfied　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... / / / /30

♯2.4 There are all sorts of attitudes toward life. Of those listed here (card shown), which one would you say come closest to your feeling ?
(a) Work hard and get rich.　　　　　　　　　　...... 15/17/17/17/14
(b) Study earnestly and make a name for yourself.　...... 6/ 3/ 4/ 3/ 3
(c) Don't think about money or fame; just live a life that suits your own tastes.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... 21/27/30/32/39
(d) Live each day as it comes, cheerfully and without worrying.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... 11/18/19/20/23
(e) Resist all evils in the world and live a pure and just life.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... 29/23/18/17/11
(f) Never think of yourself, give everything in service of society.
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... 10/ 6/ 6/ 6/ 5

♯2.4* (Card shown) There are all sorts of things to live for. Of the things listed here, which would you say is closest to your own ideas ?
(a) To get rich　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... / / / / 7
(b) To become famous　　　　　　　　　　　　　...... / / / / 2
(c) To live just as one wants to live　　　　　　...... / / / /68
(d) To devote one's efforts to serve society　　　...... / / / /18

♯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.　...... 27/20/19/19/31

(b) In order to be happy, man must make use of nature. 41/38/40/40/45
(c) In order to be happy, man must conquer nature. 23/28/30/34/17

♯2.6 (Card shown) Do you think more about the past or about the future? Please choose one of the answers on this card.
   (a) If anything I think more about my future than about my past.
                                                      ...... 61/ / /69/66
   (b) I think about equally of the past and of the future.   ...... 27/ / /22/25
   (c) If anything I think more about my past than about my future.
                                                      ...... 9/ / / 7/ 7

♯2.7 What single thing do you think is the most important in life?
   (Anything will do) (Free answer)   Health......12*/21/26/28/20
                                                        Child......12*/11/10/ 8/ 8
                                                       Family......19*/11/13/13/20
                                                    Happiness......11*/21/15/15/17
                                                       Wealth......16*/12/10/ 8/ 8
                                                        Other......25*/19/19/22/19
      * What do you think is the most important single thing for your family?

♯2.8 Supposing you had acquired enough money to live the rest of your life in comfort, would you go on working, or would you give up work?
                                            Go on working...... / / / /70
                                            Give up work...... / / / /25

♯2.9 Do you think you personally are wasteful of things or not?
                                                Wasteful...... / / / /48
                                            Not wasteful...... / / / /48

♯2.10 (Card shown) Two people express the following different views. Which do you agree with?
   (a) Having been born into this world, the most important thing is to live happily.
                                                      ...... / / / /27
   (b) Having been born into this world, one would like to do something, even if it's a small thing, to make the world a better place.   ...... / / / /66

§3.   Religion

♯3.1 I'd like to ask you a question about religion. Do you, for example, have any personal religious faith?
                                                Have...... /35/31/31/25
                                            Have not...... /65/69/69/75

♯3.1b (To those who answered "Have" to Q. ♯3.1 above): What religion is that?
                                              Shinto...... / 9/12/ 9/ 7
                                            Buddhism...... /68/70/76/74
                                         Christianity...... / 3/ 3/ 3/ 4
                              Not established sect...... /13/12/ 9/12

♯3.1c (To those who answered "Have" to Q. ♯3.1 above): What are you doing as religious activities?
   (a) Completely indifferent.   ...... / /47/26/43
   (b) Have some interest.   ...... / /20/35/21
   (c) Do something regularly or daily.   ...... / /30/36/32
   (d) Deeply engaged in the activities, recommending others religious faith (including professionals).   ...... / / 3/ 3/ 4

♯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?

<div align="right">Important...... /72/77/76/69
Not important...... /16/13/14/15</div>

♯3.7 (Card shown) 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 (naturally) good.   ...... 31/ / / /25

(b) The nature of man is originally (naturally) bad.   ...... 2/ / / / 3

(c) The nature of man is originally (naturally) both good and at the same time bad.   ...... 25/ / / /40

(d) The nature of man is originally (naturally) neither good nor bad.

<div align="right">...... 35/ / / /27</div>

♯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?

<div align="right">Should go...... 7/ 5/ 4/ 3/ 4
Better to go...... 50/33/28/28/21
Can please himself...... 23/27/41/33/48
Better not to go...... 6/12/ 9/14/10
Should not go...... 2/ 5/ 5/ 6/ 5</div>

♯3.9* Some Prime Ministers, when they take office, pay a visit to the Imperial Shrine at Ise. Do you think they should, or do you think it would be better if they didn't?

<div align="right">Better to go...... / / / /40
Better not...... / / / /25</div>

§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?

<div align="right">Better to deny...... 38/38/32/29/31
Better to affirm...... 42/41/50/52/54</div>

♯4.4b There is no question that telling lies is bad, but supposing that someone were to repeat some scandal about your child's school teacher in the child's presence, would you think that is a case where one couldn't help telling a lie?

<div align="right">Can't be helped...... / / / /65
Shouldn't lie...... / / / /26</div>

♯4.4c In that case, do you think that in order to keep on good terms with people one sometimes can't help lying?

<div align="right">Can't be helped...... / / / /62
Shouldn't lie...... / / / /32</div>

♯4.4d In that case, do you think that sometimes people who are responsible for running the country can't help telling lies when they judge that otherwise the country would be plunged into unnecessary confusion?

<div align="right">Can't be helped...... / / / /32
Shouldn't lie...... / / / /52</div>

♯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?

<div align="right">Agree...... 65/ /60/57/44
Disagree...... 24/ /23/28/38
Undecided...... 9/ /15/12/17</div>

♯ 4.5* (Card shown) In bringing up children of primary school age, which do you think it is best to teach them?
(a) That money is the most important thing in life.   ...... / / / / 9
(b) That money is important, but there are other more important things in life.
...... / / / /87

♯ 4.6 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?

Tell them to be careful...... 36/ / / /20
Tell them not to be bothered...... 43/ / / /70

♯ 4.7 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?

Freedom...... 16/ / /20/22
Discipline...... 63/ / /68/66

♯ 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?

Disapprove...... 31/48/35/37/30
Can't help it...... 5/ 5/ 4/ 4/ 9
According to your means...... 48/38/52/47/53
Have a grand affair*...... 8/ 6/ 6/ 7/ 5

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

♯ 4.8* Some people spend a great deal of money on weddings, do you think this is a good thing or a bad thing?

Good thing...... / / / /15
Bad thing...... / / / /67

♯ 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...... 73/63/51/43/36
Would not adopt...... 16/21/32/41/41
Depends on circumstances...... 7/ 8/12/ 9/17

♯ 4.11 Would you say you were on the whole more inclined to honor your ancestors than the average, or less?

Yes...... 77/ / / /67
Like the common...... 15/ / / /21
No...... 5/ / / /10

♯ 4.13 (Card shown) Here are two examples of the kind of thing a parent might say to his child who has left school and got a job and is just about to leave home. Which do you think is the better?
(a) If things go wrong for you in some way, you should always come and consult us first.   ...... / / / /58
(b) From now on, even if things go wrong for you, you shouldn't depend on your parents.   ...... / / / /37

♯ 4.13b (Card shown) What about a daughter going off to get married? Which would you think better in that case?
(a) If things go wrong for you in some way, you should always come and consult us first.   ...... / / / /54
(b) From now on, even if things go wrong for you, you shouldn't depend on your parents.   ...... / / / /42

§ 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 kind 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 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 alternative shown) Which of the things written on this card do you think
he should do?
(a) Leave everything and go back home. 54/50/46/46/51
(b) However worried he might be about Mr. A, he should go to the meeting.
                                                           ...... 41/39/46/47/40

♯5.1* (Card shown) The president of a company is just about to go to an important
meeting which will save his firm from bankruptcy, when he receives news that
someone who has looked after him and been more than a parent to him is danger-
ously ill. Which of the following should he choose to do?
(a) Leave everything and go to the benefactor's sickbed.   ...... / / / /52
(b) However worried he might be about him, he should go to the meeting.
                                                           ...... / / / /40

♯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) Leave everything and go back home. 49/50/45/44/51
(b) However worried he might be about Mr. A, he should go to the meeting.
                                                           ...... 48/41/47/49/41

♯5.1b* The last question supposed that a benefactor was dangerously ill. In this case,
however, the parent is on his death bed. Which of the following should be choose
to do?
(a) Leave everything and go to his parent's sickbed.   ...... / / / /59
(b) However worried he might be about him, he should go to the meeting.
                                                           ...... / / / /36

♯5.1c-1 Suppose that you were the president of a company. The company decides to
employ one person, and then carries out an employment examination. The super-
visor 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   ...... / /75/78/73
(b) Your relative   ...... / /19/17/19

♯5.1c-2 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. (Card shown)
(a) One with the highest grade   ...... / /48/54/52
(b) Son of your benefactor   ...... / /44/39/38

♯5.1d (Card shown) If you are asked to choose two out of this list that are important,
which two would you point out?
(a) *Oya-koko* (filial piety, to be dutiful to one's parents)   ...... / /61/61/63
(b) *On-gaeshi* (repaying moral indebtedness)   ...... / /43/45/43

(c) Respecting individual rights   ...... / /48/44/45
(d) Respecting freedom   ...... / /40/46/43

♯5.6 Suppose 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 unreason-
able work, but on the other hand, never does anything for you personally in
matters not connected with the work. 12/14/13/12/13
  (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. 85/77/82/84/81

♯5.6* Suppose that you are working in a firm. Would you think it unnecessary to have
social contacts with your superior outside of work, or would you think it better to
have such contact?
                                Unnecessary...... / / / /22
                            Better to have...... / / / /72

♯5.6b (Card shown) Supposing there were two firms which differed in the way I am going
to describe. Which would you prefer to work for?
  (a) A firm which paid good wages, but where they did nothing like organizing
outings and sports days for the employees' recreation. ...... / / / /21
  (b) A firm with a family-like atmosphere which organized outings and sports days,
even if the wages were a little bit less.   ...... / / / /74

♯5.9 According to some people, men like *Hideyoshi* who have risen from humble begin-
nings by their own efforts and become famous, should always be considered as
models for our youth. Do you agree, or disagree?
                        Agree...... 80/ / /62
                Undecided...... 10/ / /25
                 Disagree...... 4/ / /10

♯5.17 (Card shown) Which do you think is the best way to make society run smoothly?
  (a) Everybody is likely to overlook his own faults, so we should help each other
by pointing them out.   ...... / / / /75
  (b) One should just look after one's own affairs properly, and refrain from offering
advice to others.   ...... / / / /22

♯5.18 (Card shown) Which do you think is the better sort of person to have as a friend?
  (a) Somebody who, even if you say nothing, will show his concern and speak up
with all kinds of good advice.   ...... / / / /23
  (b) Somebody who, once you tell him your problems, will listen to all your troubles
as seriously as if they were his own.   ...... / / / /73

♯5.19 (Card shown) At meetings such as PTA meetings, when opinions are divided into
two camps, what do you think it is better to do?
  (a) To cut the discussion short so that there should not be any bad feelings after-
wards.   ...... / / / /41
  (b) To discuss the matter fully and not worry too much whether some people are
upset.   ...... / / / /50

♯5.20 (Card shown) Do you think that "freedom" is important? Which of the following
categories would you put it in?
  (a) Extremely important   ...... / / / /66
  (b) Quite important   ...... / / / /29
  (c) Not very important   ...... / / / / 3
  (d) Not in the least important   ...... / / / / 1

♯5.20b (Same card shown) Do you think that "discipline" is important?
  (a) Extremely important   ...... / / / /72

      (b) Quite important   ......   / / / /24
      (c) Not very important   ......   / / / / 2
      (d) Not in the least important   ......   / / / / 0

♯5.20c (Same card shown) Do you think that "religious feeling" is important?
      (a) Extremely important   ......   / / / /28
      (b) Quite important   ......   / / / /39
      (c) Not very important   ......   / / / /24
      (d) Not in the least important   ......   / / / / 4

♯5.20d (Same card shown) Do you think that "a love of one's country" is important?
      (a) Extremely important   ......   / / / /59
      (b) Quite important   ......   / / / /30
      (c) Not very important   ......   / / / / 7
      (d) Not in the least important   ......   / / / / 1

♯5.20e (Same card shown) Do you think that "revering one's ancestors" is important?
      (a) Extremely important   ......   / / / /63
      (b) Quite important   ......   / / / /29
      (c) Not very important   ......   / / / / 6
      (d) Not in the least important   ......   / / / / 1

♯5.20f (Same card shown) Do you think that "filial piety" is important?
      (a) Extremely important   ......   / / / /76
      (b) Quite important   ......   / / / /22
      (c) Not very important   ......   / / / / 1
      (d) Not in the least important   ......   / / / / 0

♯5.20g (Same card shown) Do you think that "returning favors one has received" is important?
      (a) Extremely important   ......   / / / /66
      (b) Quite important   ......   / / / /29
      (c) Not very important   ......   / / / / 3
      (d) Not in the least important   ......   / / / / 1

♯5.20h (Same card shown) Do you think that "money" is important?
      (a) Extremely important   ......   / / / /63
      (b) Quite important   ......   / / / /30
      (c) Not very important   ......   / / / / 5
      (d) Not in the least important   ......   / / / / 0

§ 6.   Men and Women

♯6.2 If you could be born again, would you rather be a man or a woman?

Male......{ Men   /90/88/89/89
          { Women   /64/55/43/42

Female......{ Men   / 5/ 7/ 5/ 5
            { Women   /27/36/48/51

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

Male......{ Men   / /56/60/64
          { Women   / /39/47/47

Female......{ Men   / /25/19/18
            { Women   / /42/33/33

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

Male......{ Men   / /72/66/71
          { Women   / /67/60/63

Female......$\left\{\begin{array}{ll}\text{Men} & / \ /10/10/11 \\ \text{Women} & / \ /13/16/16\end{array}\right.$

♯6.4 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?

Approve......$\left\{\begin{array}{lll}\text{Men} & 61/ \ / \ / \ /65 \\ \text{Women} & 66/ \ / \ / \ /74\end{array}\right.$

Disapprove......$\left\{\begin{array}{lll}\text{Men} & 26/ \ / \ / \ /28 \\ \text{Women} & 23/ \ / \ / \ /17\end{array}\right.$

§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...... 30/33/37/40/50
Undecided...... 17/17/22/16/21
Disagree...... 35/34/28/35/22

♯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, IV & V) 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...... 17/21/18/22/31
Undecided...... 8/10/19/13/20
Agree...... 58/52/49/56/42

♯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.   ...... 25/ /30/27/30
(b) If Japan as a whole improves, then and only then can individuals be made happy.   ...... 37/ /30/32/26
(c) Improving Japan and making individuals happy are the same thing.
                                ...... 31/ /34/36/37

♯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.   ...... / /29/33/37
(b) It cannot be helped if individual rights are somewhat sacrificed for the sake of the public interest.   ...... / /57/57/51

♯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.   ...... / / / /32
(b) It cannot be helped if individual rights are somewhat sacrificed for the sake of the public* interest.   ...... / / / /55

 * This term is different from the one in ♯7.5b in Japanese question.

♯7.5c (Card shown) People who are subject to compulsory purchase orders to make way for new roads and public works frequently try to stop the project by mounting op-

position campaigns. What do you think of those opposition campaigns?

(a) Most often the opposition is just selfish.	...... / / / /30

(b) Most often they are quite justified in asserting their rights.

......	/ / / /56

♯7.5d (Card shown) Supposing the project was to build a school, what would you think of the opposition then?

(a) Most often the opposition is just selfish.	...... / / / /38

(b) Most often they are quite justified in asserting their rights.

......	/ / / /45

♯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.

...... 48/54/54/59/55

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

...... 33/27/27/25/22

♯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...... 30/25/23/31/28

Scholars, artists...... 21/25/20/17/12

Both same...... 25/16/28/23/30

Undecided...... 14/20/20/20/23

♯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.	...... / /45/37/42

(b) Laws should be established so as to bring about justice in society.

...... / /46/56/50

♯7.16 (Card shown) Supposing there were an air crash. Which do you think shows the best attitude on the part of the president of the airline company?

(a) To visit all the houses of the crash victims to apologize.

...... / / / /50

(b) To devote this efforts to investigating the causes of the crash.

...... / / / /40

♯7.18 Do you think that people's health will improve in the future, or do you think it will get worse?

Will improve...... / / / /26

Will get worse...... / / / /55

Will not change...... / / / /13

♯7.18b What do you think about people's peace of mind? Will it increase or diminish?

Will increase...... / / / /13

Will diminish...... / / / /64

Will not change...... / / / /13

♯7.18c What do you think about people's freedom? Will it increase or diminish?

Will increase...... / / / /44

Will diminish...... / / / /27

Will not change...... / / / /17

♯7.18d What about levels of living? Do you think people will become more affluent, or do you think they will become worse off?

More affluent...... / / / /38

Worse off...... / / / /30

No change...... / / / /19

#7.18e Do you think people will become more happy, or more unhappy?

More happy...... / / / /27
More unhappy...... / / / /26
No change...... / / / /24

§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...... 43/35/29/30/23
Depends on circumstances and person...... 9/10/12/10/15
Disagree...... 38/44/47/51/51
Can't imagine there being such an outstanding politician...... 3/ 2/ 4/ 3/ 5

#8.1* Some people say that if we get outstanding 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 issues among themselves. Do you agree with this, or disagree?

Agree...... / / / /30
Disagree...... / / / /60

#8.2e (Card shown) What do you think about "democracy"? Would you point out on this list the opinion that comes closest to yours?
(a) Good   ...... / /38/38/43
(b) Depends on circumstances   ...... / /49/52/46
(c) Bad   ...... / / 3/ 3/ 2

#8.2f (Card shown) What do you think about "capitalism"?
(a) Good   ...... / /19/19/17
(b) Depends on circumstances   ...... / /41/42/47
(c) Bad   ...... / /16/20/19

#8.2g (Card shown) What do you think about "liberalism"?
(a) Good   ...... / /24/29/30
(b) Depends on circumstances   ...... / /43/44/44
(c) Bad   ...... / /12/13/10

#8.2h (Card shown) What do you think about "socialism"?
(a) Good   ...... / /15/16/14
(b) Depends on circumstances   ...... / /40/46/51
(c) Bad   ...... / /20/20/16

#8.2i (Card shown) What do you think about "communism"?
(a) Good   ...... / / / / 5
(b) Depends on circumstances   ...... / / / /34
(c) Bad   ...... / / / /45

#8.2j (Card shown) What do you think about "totalitarianism"?
(a) Good   ...... / / / / 9
(b) Depends on circumstances   ...... / / / /32
(c) Bad   ...... / / / /30

#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.   ...... 20/ /18/18/16
(b) Scientists should devote themselves to their special field of study, but they should also show a certain amount of interest in politics.
...... 45/ /54/55/57

(c) Scientists should not confine themselves to their own special field of study, but should also take an active part in politics.   ...... 22/ /19/20/16

♯8.4b Do you think it better for headmasters to put on formal wear, such as morning coat and striped trousers, on such occasions as graduation ceremonies of primary schools? Or do you think he need not wear it?

Better to put on formal wear......   / / /48/47
Formal wear not necessary......   / / /43/44

♯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.   ......   /62/53/51/41
  (b) Try to vote as much as possible.   ......   /32/41/44/50
  (c) Not much interested in voting.   ......   / 3/ 4/ 4/ 6
  (d) Hardly ever vote.   ......   / 2/ 1/ 1/ 2

♯8.7 Which political party do you support?

Jiyuminshuto (Liberal Democratic Party)......41*/38/43/41/33
Minshato (Democratic Socialist Party)...... —/—/ 3/ 4/ 3
Nihonshakaito (Japan Socialist Party).....23**/31/22/22/17
Nihonkyosanto (Japan Communist Party)...... 0/ 0/ 0/ 2/ 3
Komeito...... —/—/ 2/ 4/ 4
No party...... 19/20/22/21/33

   * Liberal party and Progressive party support.
  ** The right wing and the 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.
  (a) Rational   ......   /12/ 8/11/13
  (b) Diligent   ......   /55/60/61/66
  (c) Free   ......   /15/10/12/ 9
  (d) *Tanpaku* (open, resilient, matter-of-fact)   ......   /19/15/13/14
  (e) Persistent   ......   /48/55/58/52
  (f) Kind   ......   /50/42/45/31
  (g) Original   ......   / 8/ 7/ 8/ 7
  (h) Polite   ......   /47/43/47/37
  (i) Cheerful   ......   /23/14/13/ 9
  (j) Idealistic   ......   /33/24/23/21

♯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   ......   / /20/20/20
  (b) Quick-tempered, impatient   ......   / /52/49/41
  (c) Sly   ......   / /21/19/23
  (d) Quick to be enthusiastic but quick to cool off   ......   / /49/47/46
  (e) Cruel   ......   / / 6/ 5/ 8
  (f) Insincere, frivolous   ......   / /10/ 9/10
  (g) Vindictive, vengeful   ......   / /23/26/23
  (h) Insular   ......   / /42/39/44
  (i) Arrogant   ......   / / 9/ 9/ 9
  (j) Imitative   ......   / /29/27/29

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

Japanese garden...... 79/78/85/91/90
Western garden...... 16/16/11/ 7/ 7

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

Japanese superior...... 20/ /33/47/39
Japanese inferior...... 28/ /14/11/ 9
The same...... 14/ /16/12/18
Undecided...... 21/ /27/21/26

#9.7 (Card shown) Among the peoples on this list, who do you think are superior? You may name as many as you like.
(a) Japanese ...... /57/52/59/60
(b) Chinese ...... / 9/ 6/ 9/21
(c) Indians ...... / 7/ 3/ 3/ 3
(d) Jews ...... / 8/ 6/ 8/12
(e) Russians ...... /20/16/12/ 5
(f) Germans ...... /52/45/45/36
(g) French ...... /17/15/13/ 9
(h) English ...... /31/27/21/15
(i) Americans ...... /47/46/43/25

#9.10b Some people say that when conferring medals on Olympic athletics, it would be better to avoid competition between nations by not hoisting the national flages of the winning athletes. What do you think?

Better to hoist the flags...... 59/ / / /83
Better not to...... 17/ / / / 8

#9.12 (Card shown) How would you rate the level of scientific technology in Japan today? Which of the following four categories would you put it in?
(a) Extremely high ...... / / / /33
(b) Quite high ...... / / / /49
(c) Quite low ...... / / / / 6
(d) Extremely low ...... / / / / 2

#9.12b (Same card shown) What about the level of artistic achievement? How would Japan rate?
(a) Extremely high ...... / / / /14
(b) Quite high ...... / / / /48
(c) Quite low ...... / / / /16
(d) Extremely low ...... / / / / 3

#9.12c (Same card shown) What about the level of economic achievement? How would Japan rate?
(a) Extremely high ...... / / / /25
(b) Quite high ...... / / / /42
(c) Quite low ...... / / / /19
(d) Extremely low ...... / / / / 5

#9.12d (Same card shown) What about levels of living? How would Japan rate?
(a) Extremely high ...... / / / /10
(b) Quite high ...... / / / /42
(c) Quite low ...... / / / /32
(d) Extremely low ...... / / / /10

#9.12e (Same card shown) What about the richness of the emotional life of the Japanese people? How would you rate that?
(a) Extremely high ...... / / / / 6
(b) Quite high ...... / / / /33
(c) Quite low ...... / / / /40
(d) Extremely low ...... / / / /14