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Japanese Value Orientations and Culture Change¹

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This article presents an analysis of Japanese value orientations based on data gathered in 1955 through use of a theory and a method coming from the work of Florence Kluckhohn. It is appropriate that our analysis of the Japanese data follows the recent publication (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961) of a thorough discussion of her research.

The motivation for our investigation was threefold. First, information was desired about Japanese value orientations in order to help provide cultural perspective on the symptoms of psychiatric patients and types of treatment in Japan (see Caudill 1959, 1961). Second, we wished to obtain data which would give some indications of the directions of change taking place in Japanese value orientations. Third, we hoped to build on the work of Kluckhohn by attempting to make a further contribution to the theoretical understanding and measurement of variations in value orientations. We were especially sensitized to the question of systematic variation because, although such variation exists at any point in a culture's history, the question becomes a crucial one during periods of apparent culture change as in Japan today.

JAPANESE BACKGROUND

In the ten years since Japan regained full sovereignty in 1952, the country has been subject to many political and social upheavals, and this period was preceded by the American Occupation, which was a massive effort to bring about cultural change. Although the changes under the Occupation were essentially imposed from the outside, they were not dissimilar in their thoroughness to the realignment of the structure of Japanese society which took place in the late nineteenth century under the Meiji Reformation, ending 250 years of comparative cultural stability during the Tokugawa period. Yet the Tokugawa period began early in the seventeenth century only after the strenuous efforts, in succession, of Oda Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu to unify the

country. Looking back at these transition periods of rapid cultural realignment, one can say, "Yes, things changed at that point under Hideyoshi, Ieyasu, Meiji, MacArthur, and are even changing in the present as a result of the struggles between the Socialists and the Liberal Democrats." But, one wonders, what in such realignments is truly new, and what is essentially the repetition of old ways of behaving in different forms?

Western writers on Japan have often been accused of over-emphasizing "traditional" aspects of Japanese culture, and of not attending to the great changes that were taking place. Benedict (1946), in particular, has been criticized for placing too much emphasis on the hierarchical structuring of interpersonal relations, the importance of obligations over human feelings, and the role of the family over that of the individual. Reischauer (1957), however, stresses many of the same things as does Benedict, and, indeed, so do quite a few Japanese writers, e.g., Kawashima (1948) and Takagi (1957).

After World War II there was a widespread popular reaction in Japan against "traditional" values and what was called "feudalistic" behavior, and a rather loudly voiced enthusiasm for "humanism" and "democracy." Writers often expressed the belief that the old values were outmoded, and, although the determined pleasure seeking of a not inconsiderable proportion of the population was viewed with some alarm, it was felt that the country was at least moving toward individualism and democracy (see Kato 1959; Stoetzel 1955).

In more recent years, there have been a number of attempts to describe the blending or clashing of "traditional" and "modern" values and behavior patterns in postwar Japan. Dore (1958, 1959) has written excellent accounts for both urban and rural life. Matsu-moto (1960) has made a careful analysis of public opinion polls, which is especially relevant as background for this article, as is also the discussion by Pelzel and Kluckhohn (1957) of changing Japanese values. Although the general picture is still unclear, there does seem to be agreement that Japan is not moving evenly in all spheres of behavior toward individualism, but rather has retained a strong emphasis on the importance of the group, even though this may be expressed today in humanistic and socialistic terms instead of in terms of filial obligation and loyalty to one's superiors.

This article takes a position similar to that in other recent studies, but we feel that a certain lack of clarity evident in the literature may, in part, be a result of the duality inherent in the contrast between "traditional" and "modern" values and in the assumption that such values are necessarily blending or clashing. It seems to us that a theory of variations in value orientations may help to bring greater clarity to the problem of culture change by avoiding the trap of either-or propositions while still allowing for systematic and empirical treatment of data.

THEORY OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS

Kluckhohn develops the idea that *ordered variation* in value orientations is a key factor in the understanding of any culture. She defines value orientations as follows: "Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles, resulting from the transactional interplay of three analytically distinguishable elements of the evaluative process—the cognitive, the affective, and the directive elements—which give order and direction to the ever-flowing stream of human acts and thoughts as these relate to the solution of 'common human problems'" (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961: 4).

Three major assumptions underline Kluckhohn's classification of value orientations. The first is that there is a limited number of common human problems for which all people at all times must find solutions. The second is that there is a limited range of variability in the solutions to problems. The third assumption is that all variations of recurring solutions are, with varying degrees of emphasis, present in all societies at all times. There will be, therefore, in every society not only a dominant value orientation for each of the common human problems, but also one or more variant value orientations for each problem. Moreover, the theory emphasizes that variant value orientations are not only permitted, but are required in any society for its successful functioning. It is the dynamics of the relation between dominant and variant value orientations that provides, for us, the flexibility and special usefulness of this theory.

Kluckhohn, to date, has defined five common human problems for which people in any society must find solutions. These five problems concern the nature of man himself, his relation to nature and supernature, his place in the flow of time, the modality of human activity, and the relationship man has to his fellow human beings. The names given to the areas of value orientation relating to each of these problems are *human nature*, *man-nature*, *time*, *activity*, and *relational* (see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961: 10-20, 340-344).

In the schedule devised to gather data on value orientations in five cultures in the Southwestern United States, Kluckhohn and her co-workers tested for four of the five areas of orientation, omitting items on *human nature*. Because the original schedule was adapted for use in Japan, we shall not refer again to the area of human nature. Also, although Kluckhohn's theory postulates a three-position ranking of solutions in each area of value orientation, the original schedule provided for only a two-position ranking on the items in the *activity* area. The items in the *activity* area were included in the Japanese schedule, but will not be analyzed here. Our analysis will concentrate upon the three value-orientation areas

—*relational*, *time*, and *man-nature*—for which data are available on a three-position ranking.

For handling the Japanese data, we arranged the main theoretical concepts and terms in an order appropriate for our procedures, and hereinafter we shall use these concepts and terms as they are defined in the following paragraphs. Our definitions are essentially the same as those of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), but we have, in several respects, attempted to build on the types of analyses presented by them, particularly in our elaboration of the concept of *distance* between value orientations and the implications of this for cultural change.

We define a *value-orientation area* as coinciding with one of Kluckhohn's five common human problems. Specifically, we shall deal with the *relational* area, the *time* area, and the *man-nature* area, which we shall abbreviate, respectively, as R, T, and MN (see Table 1).

In each area, Kluckhohn postulates that there are three solutions to the common human problem being considered, and that, although all solutions are always present, the order in which they are emphasized may vary from one society to another, from one social class to another, from one generation to another, and so on. We shall designate each of the three solutions to a common human problem as a *position* in a value-orientation area.

The three positions in the *relational* value-orientation area are: Lineal, Collateral, and Individualistic, abbreviated, respectively, as L, C, and I. Lineal relations are those that stress the descent from parent to child. Authority passes for example, from the father to the eldest son in a tight hierarchical arrangement. In behavior spheres other than family life, Lineal relations emphasize superior and subordinate positions in the exercise of authority. The familial basis for Collateral relations is found in the ties among siblings. In the exercise of power and the making of decisions, Collaterality is exhibited in a preference for general group discussion until consensus is reached. Individualism is rooted in the uniqueness (whether physical, psychological, or cultural) which each person has when compared with another. Practically speaking, an emphasis on Individualism means that each person essentially makes his own decisions and acts on these in a manner relatively independent of other persons.

The three positions in the *time* value-orientation area are: Past, Present, and Future, abbreviated, respectively, as Pa, Pr, and Fu. These terms scarcely need elaboration. Kluckhohn illustrates the ordering of these positions by noting that Spanish Americans emphasize the Present, Chinese (in earlier historical periods) emphasized the Past, and Americans emphasize the Future.

The three positions in the *man-nature* value orientation area are: Subjugation-to-Nature, Harmony-with-Nature, and Mastery-over-Nature, abbreviated, respectively, as S, W, and O. The Subju-

gation-to-Nature position involves a feeling of fatalism; there is little man can do about such problems as fire, storm, and illness except to accept them as inevitable. In the Harmony-with-Nature position there is no real separation between man and nature, and a sense of completeness and well-being derives from their unity. In the Mastery-over-Nature position, natural forces of all kinds are to be overcome; rivers are to be spanned; illness is to be controlled; and life is to be lengthened.

Kluckhohn's definition of value orientations, cited earlier, begins with the key statement: "Value orientations are complex but definitely patterned (rank-ordered) principles . . ." Following this, we define a *value orientation* as a ranking of the positions in a value-orientation area; for example, I>C>L is one of the possible value orientations in the *relational* area. The symbol > indicates that one position is ranked higher than another, thus expressing an order of preference. We shall speak of *first-rank*, *second-rank*, and *third-rank* positions in a value orientation.

In our analysis we shall consider only value orientations which are complete rankings and shall not be concerned with rankings involving ties in positions (called incomplete rankings on Tables 4-13). In the administration of the schedule, the respondent was instructed that he might include ties in his numerical preference ranking of the three alternative solutions given for the life situation represented in each item. Empirically, however, tied rankings were infrequent in the responses from our sample (see Tables 4-13), and also in the data presented by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961: 416-437). Tied rankings pose interesting theoretical questions, but we shall not consider these in this article.

Six complete rankings are possible for the three positions in the *relational*, *time*, and *man-nature* value-orientation areas. Thus, using our definition of a value orientation as a ranking of positions in a value orientation area, the six *value orientations* in each of the three areas in our analysis can be listed as follows:

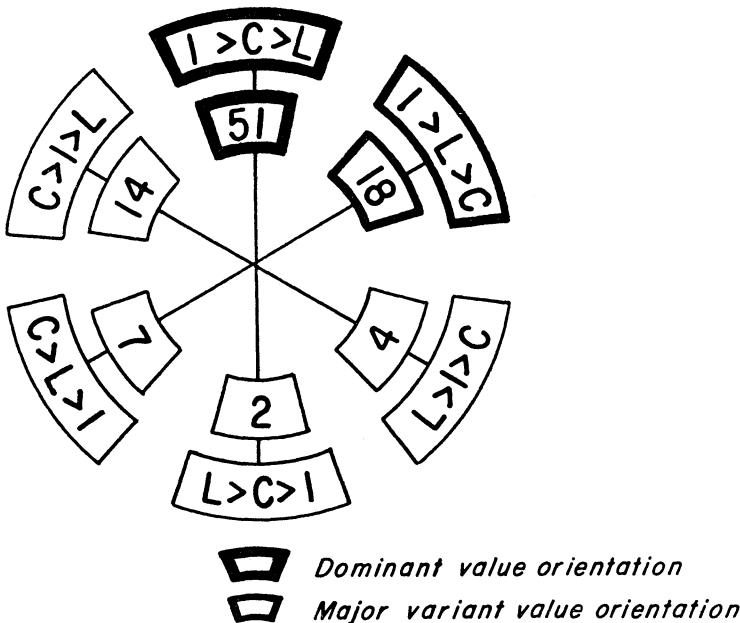
<i>Relational</i>	<i>Time</i>	<i>Man-nature</i>
I>C>L	Fu>Pr>Pa	O>W>S
I>L>C	Fu>Pa>Pr	O>S>W
L>I>C	Pa>Fu>Pr	S>O>W
L>C>I	Pa>Pr>Fu	S>W>O
C>L>I	Pr>Pa>Fu	W>S>O
C>I>L	Pr>Fu>Pa	W>O>S

The respondents in the sample did not, of course, indicate their value orientation preferences in this way. There was no identification of items in the schedule by value orientation area, and no identification of positions was given. Each *item* merely presented a hypothetical life situation followed by three alternative solutions which the respondent was asked to rank numerically (including the

opportunity for ties) in order of preference. In coding the items for analysis, this numerical ranking was translated into a ranking of value-orientation positions, thus yielding the respondent's value orientation for that item. The *schedule* consisted simply of a series of items; its construction is discussed in full by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961: 77-104).

We come now to our final conceptual tool for dealing with variations in value orientations. In addition to speaking of the six value orientations from a single item as different (the one from the other), we are also going to speak about the *distance* between them. By distance between two value orientations we mean *the smallest number of adjacent position rank reversals required to turn one into the other*. To illustrate the concept of distance we may refer to Figure 1, which presents the percentage distribution of value orientations in our total sample of 619 respondents on Item R2, Help in Case of Misfortune (see Table 1 and the English text of this item cited below). We shall discuss the logical properties of Figure 1 before turning to the empirical results.

Figure 1: Item R2: Help in Case of Misfortune



What is the distance between $I > C > L$ and $L > I > C$? Starting with $I > C > L$, we reverse the ranks of C and L, thus obtaining the orientation $I > L > C$ (which in Figure 1 lies between $I > C > L$ and $L > I > C$); then, working with $I > L > C$, we reverse the ranks of I and L, thus obtaining the orientation $L > I > C$. Since two reversals were required in this process, we say that $I > C > L$ and $L > I > C$ are

a *two-distance* apart. Note that $I>C>L$ and $I>L>C$ are a *one-distance* apart, as also are $I>L>C$ and $L>I>C$. This concept of distance applies to all possible pairs of orientations in Figure 1, and makes statements such as the following meaningful: "C>L>I is further from $I>C>L$ than $I>L>C$ is from $I>C>L$ "; or, " $L>C>I$ is further from $I>C>L$ than is any other value orientation."

As a convention, we call orientations which are a one-distance from the orientation under consideration, *first-order variants*; those which are at a two-distance we call *second-order variants*; and that orientation which is at a three-distance, the farthest possible, we call the *third-order variant*. Thus, from the point of view of $I>C>L$ in Figure 1, $C>I>L$ and $I>L>C$ are first order variants; $C>L>I$ and $L>I>C$ are second-order variants; and $L>C>I$ is the third-order variant.

As we analyzed our data, an empirical correlate to these logical properties concerning distance between value orientations became evident. The value orientation held by the largest proportion of our sample on any item we decided to call the *dominant value orientation* for that item (thus, in Figure 1, the dominant value orientation for Item R2 is $I>C>L$, chosen by 51 per cent of the total sample). We then discovered that, as the distance between the dominant value orientation and the other value orientations increased, the percentages from the sample endorsing the other value orientations decreased, reaching a minimum at the value orientation which was a three-distance from the dominant one. The percentages in Figure 1 illustrate this phenomenon, as do those in Figures 2-4. This leads to the generalization that, as the distance from the dominant value orientation increases, percentages found in the other value orientations decrease.

We similarly decided to call the value orientation held by the second largest proportion of the sample the *major variant value orientation* (which, in Figure 1, is $I>L>C$). By these definitions, both the dominant and major variant value orientations are empirically determined, and might conceivably occur as any two of the six possible value orientations for an item. Note, however, that in Figure 1 the major variant value orientation, $I>L>C$, is also one of the two logically deduced first-order variants, $I>L>C$ and $C>I>L$, of the dominant value orientation, $I>C>L$. This follows necessarily if our generalization concerning the relation of distance and percentage distribution is true. Figures 2-4 reveal that, for all eighteen items analyzed, the major variant value orientation coincides, in fact, with one of the logically deduced first-order variants of the dominant value orientation.

THE INSTRUMENT AND THE SAMPLE

The instrument we used was a schedule devised by Kluckhohn and her co-workers (see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961: 77-120).

The final version of Kluckhohn's schedule consisted of twenty-two items, while the Japanese schedule had twenty-three items, retaining an additional item in the *time* area from an earlier version of the Kluckhohn schedule. The twenty-three items in the Japanese schedule were divided among the value-orientation areas as follows: seven *relational* items, six *time* items, five *man-nature* items, and

TABLE 1
Items from the Japanese Language Form of the Value-Orientation
Schedule Used for Analysis in this Article

Item Series Number (this number is the same as that used in Kluckhohn and Strodt- beck, 1961 [hereafter K&S], p. 140)	Place of Item in the Sequence of Administration in the Japanese Form of the Schedule	Short Title
<u>Relational items:</u>		
R1	2	Bridge Building (adapted from K&S p.80, Well Arrangements item)
*R2	7	Help in Case of Misfortune
*R3	8	Family Work Relations
*R4	10	Choice of Delegate
*R5	13	Wage Work
R6	21	Personal Property Inheritance (adapted from K&S, p. 88, Livestock Inheritance item)
R7	22	Land Inheritance
<u>Time items:</u>		
T1	3	Child Training
*T2	5	Expectations About Change
*T3	12	Philosophy of Life
*T4	15	Ceremonial Innovation
T5	23	Water Arrangements (adapted from K&S, pp. 89-90, Water Allocation item)
+T6	9	New Factory
<u>Man-Nature items:</u>		
MN1	4	Crop Damage (adapted from K&S, pp. 81-82, Livestock Dying item)
MN2	6	Facing Conditions
*MN3	11	Use of Fields
MN4	14	Belief in Control
*MN5	18	Length of life

* In the text, these nine items are given more intensive analysis than the others.

+ This item was not used by Kluckhohn in the final form of her schedule, but it was used in the Japanese form of the schedule.

five *activity* items. For the reasons noted above we have dropped the five *activity* items.

The eighteen items analyzed here are listed in Table 1. The content of several of the items was slightly altered from that in the Kluckhohn schedule, but such alteration was minimal, and consisted, for example, of substituting the problem of bridge building for that of well arrangements, since bridge building was a more realistic situation in Japan. In the sequence of administration, items from the various value-orientation areas were distributed throughout the sequence, and within items in a particular area the three value-orientation positions represented by the three solutions for a life situation were systematically rotated.

The Japanese schedule contained a face sheet for the collection of background characteristics of the respondent, instructions for the ranking of the alternative solutions (including the allowance for ties), and a set of boxes for each item in which the respondent placed his numerical rankings. Space limitations make it impossible to give the full English text of the eighteen items from the Japanese schedule which are analyzed here. (It is available from the authors upon request.) The following English text for three items, one in each of the value-orientation areas, will, however, give a feeling for the content of the schedule. The pre-defined value-orientation positions and the item series numbers are enclosed in brackets to indicate that they did not appear on the form of the schedule given to the respondent. The number to the right of the title indicates the place of the item in the sequence of administration:

[R2] *Help in Case of Misfortune* 7

A man had a crop failure, or, let us say, had lost most of his cattle. He and his family had to have help from someone if they were going to get through the winter. There are different ways of getting help, as in the following.

[Coll] Would it be best if he depended on his brothers and sisters or other relatives all to help him out as much as each one could?

[Ind] Would it be best for him to try to raise the money on his own, without depending upon anybody?

[Lin] Would it be best for him to go to a boss or to his head house (*honke*), and ask for help until things got better?

[T6] *New Factory* 9

People in a community heard that there might be a new factory built very close to where they lived. When the people talked about this they said different things.

[Pres] Some people say they never know about these things. It may turn out to be a good thing or it may not. They want to wait and see how it works out.

[Fut] Some people are all for the factory and do all they can themselves to get it brought in. They feel that new things like this are always good and will bring improvements to the whole region.

[Past] Some people do not want to have the factory moved into the area. They say that it will change things and people too much. They don't want to upset the old ways.

[MN2] *Facing Conditions* 6

There are three different ways of thinking how God (or Buddha) is related to man and to nature. The word nature means the weather and all other natural conditions which influence the harvest. Here are three possible ways of thinking about this.

- [With] God and people work together all the time, and all the conditions which make the crops and animals good or bad depend upon whether people do all the proper things to keep themselves in harmony with their God and with the forces of nature.
- [Over] God does not directly use his power to affect the growth of crops or animals. It is up to the people themselves to figure out the ways conditions change and to try hard to find the ways of controlling them.
- [Subj] Just how God will use his power over all the conditions which affect the growth of crops and animals cannot be known by man. It is useless for people to think they can change conditions. The best way is to take conditions as they come and do as well as one can.

During the fall of 1954, the Kluckhohn schedule was translated into Japanese, using as a model the Japanese translation which had been made by Mrs. Kimiko Hara under the direction of Professor Seiichi Izumi of the University of Tokyo. The schedule was then given to a Japanese scholar who had nothing to do with the translation, and he translated the Japanese schedule back into English. The results of this check were encouraging since the translation from Japanese was almost the same, considered word for word, as the original English version (on this problem see Kluckhohn 1960).

The procedure followed in administering the schedule was to use senior high schools (contacts were made originally through the Ministry of Education) and to obtain material from twelfth grade students (who, on the average, were eighteen years of age) by group administration in the classroom. After the students had completed their schedules, fresh schedules were distributed, and the students were asked to have their parents fill these out and return them to the school within a week. We specifically asked the girls to have their mothers fill out the schedules, and asked the boys to have their fathers do so. We requested the students not to prompt their parents in this task. There are several reasons for believing that the students complied with this request: first, and most cogently, the most significant differences we obtained were between generations (see Tables 5-23 below); second, scholarly research has considerable prestige in Japan, and there was no indication that the students and parents did not perform their tasks seriously.

During the spring of 1955, a pilot study was carried out with 464 respondents, who were fairly equally distributed by residence in a rural village, a medium-sized city, and a ward area of Tokyo.

Through an error in administration, only first choices to the alternative solutions on the items were obtained in the pilot study. This error was corrected in a second study, carried out in the fall of 1955, in which the sample was drawn from three similar, but entirely separate, communities. In this study, utilizing 619 respondents, a ranking of the three positions was obtained for all items. When comparisons were made between the first choices of respondents, the two samples replicated almost exactly. We shall consider here only the results from the second study. The respondents in this study are classified by sex, generation, and place of residence in Table 2.

TABLE 2
Distribution of Total Sample of 619 Respondents According to Sex,
Generation, and Place of Residence*

	Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Total Three Communities
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Old	24	38	42	62‡	56	55	277
Young†	25	44	58	61	85	69	342
Totals	49	82	100	123	141	124	619

* These numerical values are the sub-sample sizes for all percentage distribution tables in which this breakdown of respondents occurs.

† A young respondent is a boy or girl who completed the schedule in his school classroom. An old respondent is a man or woman who completed a schedule brought home to him by a young respondent. Old respondents are almost always (241 out of 277 cases) mothers of young girls or fathers of young boys, in accordance with instructions given to the young respondents.

‡ There are more old than young respondents among Chiba females, since some of the schedules obtained from young respondents were not usable.

The first of the three communities selected for study was Ome, a small city (population 55,218 in 1955) located about 25 miles northwest of Tokyo. Here we chose a senior high school drawing its student body largely from farming families residing in nearby villages (79 per cent of the fathers of students in the Ome sample were farmers). The second selection was Chiba (population 198,116 in 1955), the capital of Chiba Prefecture, located about 20 miles southeast of Tokyo. In the senior high school we chose in Chiba, the students came from economically better-than-average families, but there were no students from well-to-do families. In Tokyo (population in all *ku*, or wards, 6,969,104 in 1955) we chose two senior high schools located in different, but economically broadly similar, areas. The sample of boys and their fathers was obtained in Fukugawa, a downtown (*shitamachi*) working class area (see

Dore 1958). The sample of girls and their mothers was obtained in a white collar and working class part of Shinjuku, a large ward area with an economically highly variegated population.

All of the younger generation in our sample were students in the last year of senior high school; in the older generation, the parents of the students, the average educational level in each of the communities was between eight and nine years of education completed. In regard to religion, which is normally considered more a family than an individual matter in Japan (see Dore 1953; Matsumoto 1960), most respondents gave "none" as their own religion, and overwhelmingly listed "Buddhist" as the family religion. Occupations, pertinent, of course, only to the older generation, were classified into two types—traditional and modern (see Rosovsky and Ohkawa 1961). Traditional occupations are those which were important in pre-industrial Japan as well as today, e.g., farmers, craftsmen, and small shopkeepers. Modern occupations are those associated with increased industrialization and formal education or technical training, e.g., white collar workers, machine operators in factories, and professionals such as engineers, doctors, and lawyers. The three communities revealed interesting differences in the proportions of traditional and modern occupations. In Ome the major concentration was in traditional occupations (92 per cent of the fathers of sons were farmers). In Tokyo there was an approximately even split between traditional and modern occupations (49 per cent of the fathers of sons were small shopkeepers). In Chiba, only about one-third of the older respondents (32 per cent of the fathers of sons) were in traditional occupations, the remainder (68 per cent of the fathers of sons) being engaged in modern occupations mostly as white collar or skilled factory workers.

One further characteristic of our sample, length of residence in the community, is especially important in the case of Ome. Among our respondents from both Chiba and Tokyo, the modal length of time which families had lived in the area was six to ten years. In contrast, families from the rural area surrounding Ome city had lived there much longer; among the fathers of sons the modal length of residence was 41 years or more and among the mothers of daughters it was 21 to 25 years. The greater residential stability of males reflects both a family farming system and a marriage pattern in which the wife comes to live in the home of her husband's family. In comparisons of value orientations by place of residence, therefore, we shall think of Ome as more representative of a folk way of life, of Chiba and Tokyo as more representative of an urban way of life.

Prior to the collection of any of the data, the senior author in consultation with his Japanese assistants made predictions for each item on the schedule in terms of the expected dominant value orientation for the total sample. Of the eighteen items analyzed in this article, predictions involving ties in positions were made for six

items, and completely ranked predictions were made for twelve items. Table 3 presents the results of the use of two criteria in checking the accuracy of the twelve completely ranked predictions.

The first criterion simply states that if the predicted value orientation is an important one among Japanese, then it should be

TABLE 3
Predicted Dominant Value Orientations and Their Occurrence
in Responses from the Total Sample on Twelve Items
in the Japanese Schedule

Item Number	Predicted Dominant Value Orientations	Did the Predicted Dominant Value Orientation Occur as a Statistically Significant Proportion of Responses from the Total Sample?*	Did the Predicted Dominant Value Orientation Occur as the Empirical Dominant Value Orientation or as one of Its First-Order Variants in Responses from the Total Sample?†
R1	I>L>C	No	Yes
R3	C>I>L	Yes	Yes
R4	I>C>L	Yes	Yes
R5	I>C>L	Yes	Yes
R6	C>I>L	Yes	Yes
T3	Pr>Fu>Pa	Yes	Yes
T4	Pr>Pa>Fu	No	Yes
T5	Fu>Pr>Pa	Yes	Yes
T6	Pr>Fu>Pa	No	Yes
MN1	O>S>W	Yes	Yes
MN3	O>W>S	Yes	Yes
MN4	O>W>S	Yes	Yes

* Assuming that 1/6 of the responses should be the predicted dominant orientation on the basis of chance alone (since there are six ways to rank three positions, completely), a "yes" in this column means that significantly more than 1/6 of the respondents (at the .05 level or better) chose the predicted dominant orientation.

† Defining the value orientation receiving the largest percentage of responses as dominant, and the two orientations adjacent to it on either side as its first-order variants, a "yes" in this column means that the predicted dominant orientation in fact turned out to be one of these three value orientations. With six possible orientations per item, hitting on any one of three predefined orientations should occur about 1/2 the time (in the most null case) by chance. Hitting on 12 items out of 12 is a significant result, statistically, by any standard technique, such as the sign test, which might be applied.

over-chosen a statistically significant number of times in the total sample. As shown in Table 3, three of the items fail to satisfy this criterion, while nine of them meet it.

The second criterion, though more stringent theoretically, is difficult to deal with in a formal statistical fashion. This criterion requires that if the predictions are true, then no predicated dominant orientation should be other than the empirical dominant orientation or one of its first-order variants. In Table 3, all predicted dominant orientations satisfy this criterion; five are the same as the empirical dominant value orientation, and seven are one of its first-order variants (see Figures 2-4 below).

The results presented in Table 3 are encouraging. First, it seems that two of the value-orientation areas are dealt with successfully: the *man-nature* and the *relational*. The accuracy of predictions within each of these areas suggests that our initial grasp of Japanese value orientations was fairly sound. In the *man-nature* area the predictions for each of the three items turned out to be the empirical dominant value orientation. In the *relational* area, the predictions could have been better had not the strength of the Lineal and Collateral positions been underestimated for Items R3, R4, and R5, and overestimated for Items R1 and R6. To see this clearly the reader should examine the percentage distributions for the *relational* items in Table 4. The least success was obtained with predictions in the *time* area. Even in this area, however, the predictions were satisfactory on the basis of the second, and more theoretical, criterion. It is interesting in this connection that Kluckhohn has expressed the opinion that the items designed to test in the *time* orientation area were the least successful in the schedule (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961: 91).

GENERAL RESULTS

The consensus among respondents is statistically significant for each of the eighteen items (see Table 4). The unevenness of the distribution of responses over the six value orientations from each item, with a sample as large as ours, almost guaranteed such significance. Though this formal characteristic of the over-all patterning is an important aspect of our data, we are even more concerned with the generalization discussed earlier under the concept of distance, according to which, in a single item, as the distance between the dominant value orientation and the other value orientations increases, the proportion of the sample endorsing the other value orientations decreases.

The distributions in Table 4 are presented in Figures 2-4 in a form which emphasizes our generalization concerning percentage distribution and distance from the dominant orientation. The generalization holds for Items R1, R2, R4, R5, and R7 from the *relational* area, Items T1, T3, T4, and T5 from the *time* area, and Items

TABLE 4

Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations in Total Sample of 619 Respondents
on 18 Items in the Schedule

Item	Ranking of Value-Orientation Positions							Total Per cent*	Significance Level†
	D>C>L	D>I>C	I>D>C	I>C>I	C>I>I	C>I>L	Incomplete Rankings**		
<u>Relational</u>									
R1	[40]*	15	2	2	4	(33)	3	.99	.001
R2	[51]	(18)	4	2	7	14	4	.100	.001
R3	11	3	2	9	[49]	(23)	3	.100	.001
R4	(25)	12	7	9	16	(27)	4	.100	.001
R5	(21)	2	0	1	5	(64)	5	.98	.001
R6	[45]	12	5	7	4	(22)	4	.99	.001
R7	[32]	13	9	7	10	(24)	4	.99	.001
<u>Time</u>									
T1	(23)	2	0	2	7	(62)	4	.100	.001
T2	[24]	[35]	6	7	8	12	7	.99	.001
T3	(21)	3	1	1	8	(62)	4	.100	.001
T4	(28)	3	0	4	16	[41]	6	.98	.001
T5	[45]	(38)	2	0	1	6	6	.98	.001
T6	[65]	8	1	3	2	(13)	6	.98	.001
<u>Man-Nature</u>									
MN1	O>W>S	O>S>W	S>O>W	S>W>O	W>S>O	W>O>S	Incomplete Rankings**	.99	.001
MN2	[27]	[50]	11	4	0	3	4	.99	.001
MN3	[26]	[31]	16	8	5	6	7	.99	.001
MN4	[54]	10	3	3	4	(23)	2	.99	.001
MN5	[35]	8	4	9	12	(27)	4	.99	.001
	[56]	14	5	3	2	(15)	4	.99	.001

* Because of rounding error, the total per cent often does not equal 100.

† The significance of the distribution for each item is based upon Kendall's Coefficient of Concordance (τ).

‡ The dominant value orientation for each item is enclosed in brackets, []; the major variant value orientation is enclosed in parentheses, ().

** Incomplete rankings are responses involving tied ranks (e.g., I=C>L, or P>Pr=Pa, or O=S=W).

MN1, MN2, and MN3 from the *man-nature* area. Of the items departing from the generalization, only Item MN4 involves drastically "misplaced" percentages. Item T2 would not be expected necessarily to behave regularly over the total sample for it was administered in a different form to the two generations—one version for young respondents and another for old. The "out of line" percentages in Items R3, R6, T6, and MN5 are slight enough to suggest that some minor extraneous characteristic may have caused the deviation. We will now discuss the patterning in each of the value-orientation areas.

The Relational Value-Orientation Area

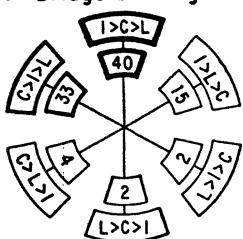
Among the seven items in this area, only one—Item R3, Family Work Relations—had the value orientation C>L>I as dominant (49 per cent of the respondents chose it). The major variant value orientation was C>I>L, chosen by 23 per cent of the respondents. Thus 72 per cent of the respondents held a value orientation with Collaterality in a first-rank position—an emphasis which is in line with previous literature on Japanese family life. The unpopularity of orientations with first-rank Lineality in this item suggests a commitment to corporate family effectiveness, rather than to intra-family lineal authority, though this may not have been true in the past. Present Japanese wages and salaries are seldom sufficient to

permit an individual to live "by himself." They reflect an underlying premise that the individual is part of a corporate family unit to which all members who are able contribute financially. Factors such as this may account for the reaction against the tyranny of Lineality in the recent past, and for wishful fantasies of an Individualistic nature in the present, but they certainly demonstrate the reality of the pressures toward Collaterality today.

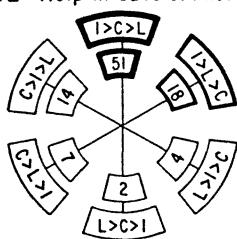
Given the intermeshing of the economy of the family with that of the business world, together with the extent of personal involvement of the employer in the lives of his employees in Japan (Abegglen 1958), it is not surprising that orientations appropriate to family relations are also seen as appropriate to the occupational world. Item R5, Wage Work, dealing specifically with employer-

Figure 2: Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations for Total Sample of 619 Respondents on Relational Items

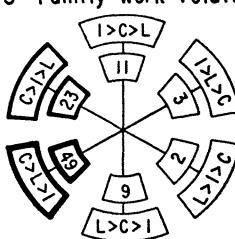
R1: Bridge building



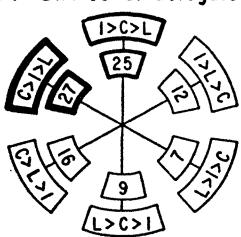
R2: Help in case of misfortune



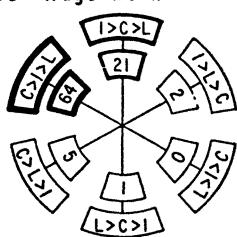
R3: Family work relations



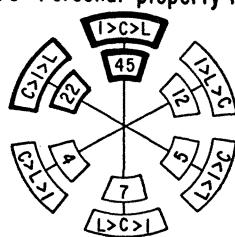
R4: Choice of delegate



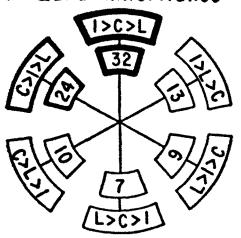
R5: Wage work



R6: Personal property inheritance



R7: Land inheritance



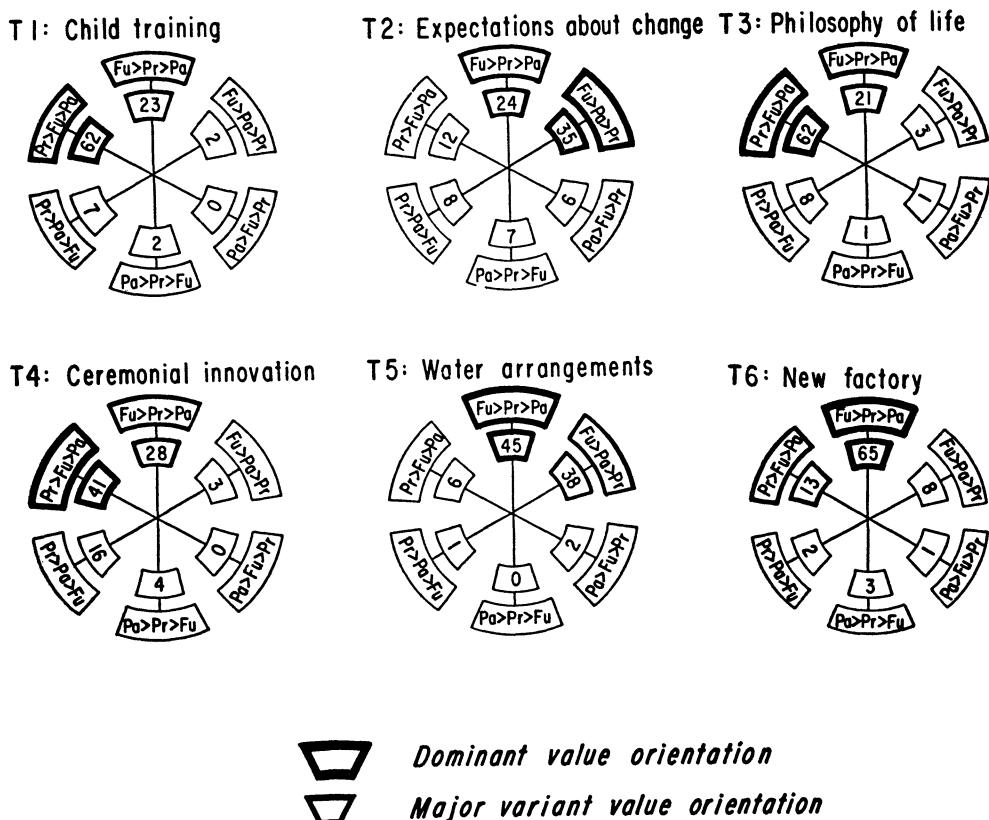
Dominant value orientation

Major variant value orientation

employee relations, has the dominant value orientation $C>I>L$, chosen by 64 per cent of respondents. The major variant value orientation, $I>C>L$ (chosen by 21 per cent of respondents), points to the commitment of a sizable part of the population to a more contractual, Individualistic view of employer-employee relations. The rejection of first-rank Lineality orientations (chosen by less than 2 per cent of the respondents) is an expression of the postwar Japanese reaction against traditional pseudo-familial work relations, often characterized by the epithet "feudalistic." Though spoken of derisively today, these relations nevertheless continue, in various forms, to be of importance in getting and keeping a job. This may help to account for the bitter smile which often accompanies verbal reference to them (see Ishino 1953; Dore 1958; Matsumoto 1960).

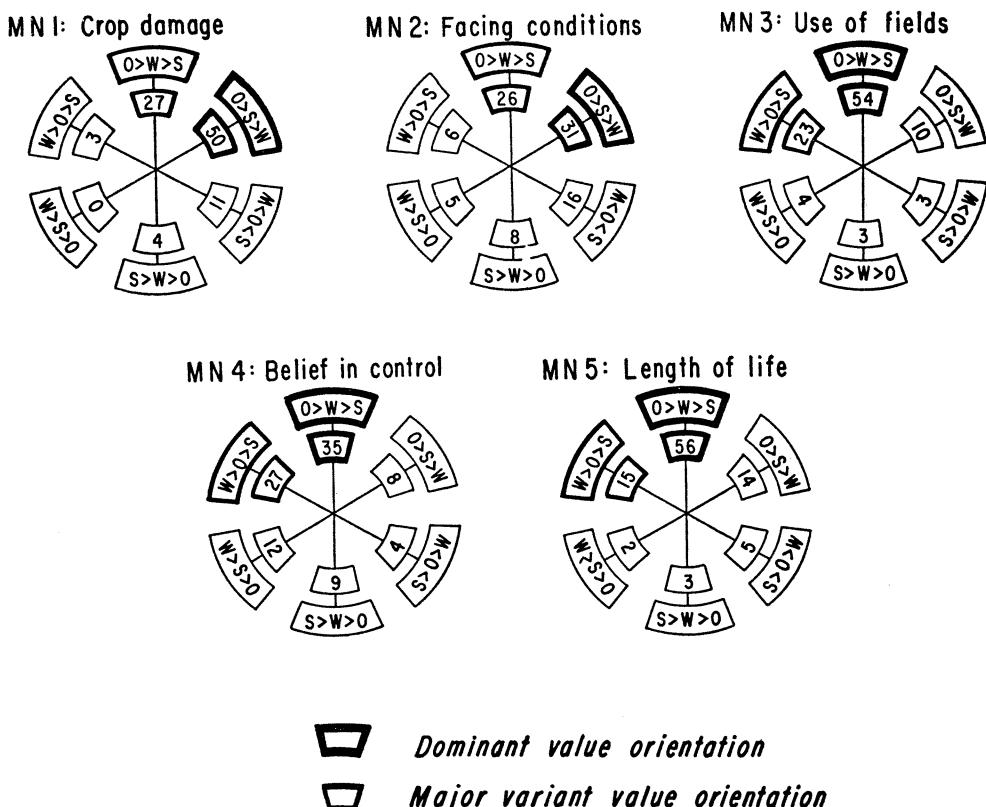
Four of the remaining five items in the *relational* area have $I>C>L$ as the dominant value orientation. Two of these, R1 and R2, are concerned with rural activities—Bridge Building and Help in

Figure 3: Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations for Total Sample of 619 Respondents on Time Items



Case of Misfortune. The other two, R6 and R7, deal with inheritance practices—Personal Property Inheritance and Land Inheritance. The first-rank Individualistic responses to Items R1, R2, and R7 suggest that the land reform movement, revivified and accelerated under the Occupation, facilitated the holding of an Individualistic position in at least two respects: first by helping to free the farmer from his dependency as a tenant upon the landlord (thus de-emphasizing Lineality), and, second, by providing him with a buttress against some of the group pressures involved in village life (thus to a degree de-emphasizing both Lineality and Collaterality). Dore (1959: 343-350), however, in discussing the persistence of group ties in village life, makes a point which suggests caution in accepting rural Individualism at face value. Village members, he finds, frequently act in a "collateral" manner in order to reach a decision to be "individualistic," especially while participating in "democratic" community meetings.

Figure 4: Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations for Total Sample of 619 Respondents on Man-Nature Items



In the case of Item R6, Personal Property Inheritance, the legal reform initiated during the Occupation, which changed the system of inheritance from one based on primogeniture to one based on a principle of more equitable distribution among the surviving heirs (see Ministry of Justice 1954), may have played a role in accounting for the dominance of the value orientation $I>C>L$.

In the *relational* area, only on Item R4, Choice of Delegate, did we observe two value orientations in approximately equal competition for dominance, with $I>C>L$ chosen by 25 per cent of the respondents and $C>I>L$ by 27 per cent. This item is directly relevant to the problem of evaluating the decision-making process in Japan discussed by Dore (1959) and referred to above. The conflict between value orientations in the decision-making process occurs not only at the village level but throughout the political sphere in postwar Japan. It is well illustrated by the bitterness with which Socialist party representatives in the National Diet complained, in the spring of 1960, about the "tyranny of the majority" under the Kishi government at the time of the renewal of the security treaty with the United States. This phrase was the euphemism used by the Socialists to express their dislike of a procedure where a decision had not been reached in a Collateral manner prior to being formally endorsed by vote in the National Diet.

More generally, the responses to Item R4, Choice of Delegate, might be considered to summarize value orientations in the *relational* area. Two competing kinds of orientations—those with first-rank Collaterality and those with first-rank Individualism—are, in their interplay, providing the context in which the relations of man to fellow man are being acted out in contemporary Japanese society.

The Time Value-Orientation Area

Two items in the *time* area—T5, Water Arrangements, and T6, New Factory—yielded the dominant value orientation $Fu>Pr>Pa$. Responses to both items indicate a forward-looking, innovative set toward technological matters. On T5, for instance, a total of 83 per cent of respondents endorse the two orientations with a first-rank Future position. A similar emphasis is found on T6, where 65 per cent of the sample endorses the orientation $Fu>Pr>Pa$.

In contrast, the dominant orientation for Items T1, T3, and T4 is a first-rank Present orientation: $Pr>Fu>Pa$. The major variant orientation on these latter three items is, however, $Fu>Pr>Pa$, which, as noted, is the dominant orientation on T5 and T6. The content of Items T1, T3, and T4 (Child Training, Philosophy of Life, and Ceremonial Innovation) deals with the more emotional, philosophical, and ceremonial aspects of everyday life. With this shift in content, the dominant first-rank Future position in technological matters changes to a dominant first-rank Present position. The expression of this preference in social activities today

has its analogue in earlier times. An emphasis on the small pleasures of life, whether these be minor triumphs in social interaction or momentary physical indulgences, has been a continuous theme among the Japanese from Tokugawa times to the present.

Item T2, Expectations About Change, will be discussed more fully in the section dealing with behavior sphere variation since, as mentioned, it was administered in a different form to the two generations. It is of interest here mainly because it reflects the same first-rank Future position as do the technological items. Value orientations in the *time* area may be summarized in terms of two emphases. First, value orientations having a first-rank Future position are pervasive in technological matters and also have considerable potency in social activities. Second, a first-rank Present orientation, $Pr > Fu > Pa$, is dominant in the social sphere but has little representation in the responses to items concerned with technology.

The Man-Nature Value-Orientation Area

Three value orientations dominate the responses to all five items in the *man-nature* area. Perhaps the most traditional of these three orientations, $W > O > S$, is the major variant value orientation for Items MN3, MN4, and MN5. The most popular orientation, however, is $O > W > S$, which is the dominant value orientation for these same three items and is also the major variant value orientation for Items MN1 and MN2. The third orientation, $O > S > W$, is the dominant orientation for Items MN1 and MN2.

The dominance of the Mastery-over-Nature position in the more work-a-day aspects of Japanese life is apparent from the content of Items MN1, MN3, and MN5, which concern, respectively, Crop Damage, Use of Fields, and Length of Life. Item MN4, Belief in Control, the most abstractly phrased item in the *man-nature* area, reveals a heavier emphasis upon the Harmony-with-Nature position than do any of the remaining items. The anomalous item in this area is MN2, Facing Conditions, which, though abstractly phrased, shows no great emphasis upon the Harmony-with-Nature position. The strong emphasis on the Mastery-over-Nature position, with a weak but discernible emphasis on the Harmony-with-Nature position, sums up our analysis of the *man-nature* area in the Japan of today.

PATTERNING OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS IN FOUR BEHAVIOR SPHERES

Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961: 24-32) suggest three classes of determinants which exercise a major influence in accounting for variations in value orientations: culture, social structure, and behavior sphere. In their book, the focus was on differences between cultures in accounting for differences in value orientations. Our

Japanese material represents the description of a sample from a single culture comparable to those obtained by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck from each of their groups. The size of our sample permits us to investigate some aspects of the other two classes of determinants—social structure and behavior sphere—in a systematic fashion. Kluckhohn assigns the term *behavior sphere* to those broad categories of activities (economic-technological, religious, recreational, and so forth) which are essential to the functioning of any society. The theory of behavior sphere differentiation has not, as yet, been worked out fully, and we shall use the term in its common-sense meaning.

We began by choosing nine items from the schedule which, from their content, fell most clearly into the four behavior spheres of *family life* (Items R3 and T2), *political life* (Item R4), *occupational life* (Items R2, R5, and MN3), and *religious life* (Items T3, T4, and MN5). Because the schedule was not designed with behavior sphere variation in mind, the items are not distributed evenly over the spheres, either by value-orientation area or by number of items. Thus, while we can say something about all four spheres, it will be with varying degrees of thoroughness. Our second operation was to break down the total sample according to three social structural characteristics: *generation*, *sex*, and *place of residence*. This breakdown has been presented in Table 2 in conjunction with the description of the sample.

We shall now examine differential preferences for value orientations in the several behavior spheres according to generation, sex, and place of residence. Our method is to hold two of these variables constant while discussing effects of the third. Thus, when discussing generational differences, we make six old-young comparisons, using the following groups: Ome males, Ome females, Chiba males, Chiba females, Tokyo males, and Tokyo females. Similarly, when testing for sex differences, we made six male-female comparisons, using the following groups: Ome old, Ome young, Chiba old, Chiba young, Tokyo old, and Tokyo young. Finally, when making comparisons by place of residence, we work with four groups: old males, old females, young males, and young females.

Using this method for testing for the effects of any one of our three variables, our statistic will be the number of times the proportion of respondents in one group in a comparison is greater than the proportion of respondents in the other group. For example, we can say that the old are more likely than the young to hold the orientation $L > C > I$ on Item R3 (see Table 5), since in all of the six possible controlled comparisons between old and young for this orientation the proportion of old endorsing $L > C > I$ is greater than the proportion of young endorsing it.

We shall introduce the items in each behavior sphere by asking and answering the question: "Do the value orientations found to be the dominant and major variant orientations for the total sam-

ple (see Table 4) remain the dominant and major variant orientations for the twelve sub-samples created by all combinations of our three social structural variables (see Table 5)?” Primarily, however, in this section, we wish to consider all six possible value orientations on each item. Our choice in the preceding paragraph of the example of the orientation $L > C > I$ on Item R3 was deliberate, precisely because this orientation is held by only 9 per cent of the total sample. We shall thus be concerned with the systematic differences that appear on any orientation in terms of our three variables.

Family Life

On Item R3, Family Work Relations, the orientation $C > L > I$, which is the dominant orientation for the total sample, remains the dominant orientation for all twelve of the sub-samples (Table 5). The major variant orientation, $C > I > L$, maintained its major variant status for ten of the twelve sub-samples. On our second item in the sphere of Family Life, Item T2, Expectations About Change, the dominant orientation, $Fu > Pa > Pr$, remains dominant in eleven of the twelve sub-samples (Table 6), while the major variant orientation, $Fu > Pr > Pa$, persists as the major variant in nine of the twelve sub-samples.

TABLE 5

Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations on *Relational* Item 3, Family Work Relations, for Total Sample of 619 Respondents, Controlling for Generation, Place of Residence, and Sex*

Ranking of Value-Orientation Positions	Old						Young						Total Sample	
	Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Per cent	Number of Respondents
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
D>C>L	17	(24)	(24)	11	14	13	4	0	9	5	12	6	11	68
D>I>C	0	5	2	3	9	5	0	2	0	0	5	0	3	18
D>D>C	0	3	0	0	2	5	4	5	0	0	0	3	2	10
D>C>I	13	16	14	11	9	(18)	8	14	0	8	4	3	9	55
C>D>I	[46] (37)	[40]	[58]	[43] (33)	[48] (18)	[62] (49)	[55] (59)	[19] (25)	[19]	[23]	[27]			
C>D>L	(21)	11	17	(14)	(21)	(18)	(36)	(32)	(29)	(34)	(19)	(25)	(23)	141
Incomplete Rankings	4	5	2	2	2	7	0	0	0	3	6	4	3	20
Total Per cent	101	101	99	99	100	99	100	101	100	99	101	100	100	--
Number of Respondents	24	38	42	62	56	55	25	44	58	61	85	69	--	619

* Dominant value orientations are indicated by brackets, [], and major variant value orientations are indicated by parentheses, (), in the body of Tables 5-13.

The effects of generation made the most difference in the patterning of preferences on the value orientations from the two items, R3 and T2. A greater preference among the old for the orientations $I > C > L$, $I > L > C$, $L > C > I$, and $Fu > Pr > Pa$, contrasts with a greater preference among the young for the orientations $C > I > L$, $C > L > I$, $Pa > Pr > Fu$, $Pa > Fu > Pr$, and $Pr > Pa > Fu$.

TABLE 6

Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations on *Time* Item 2, Expectations About Change, for Total Sample of 619 Respondents, Controlling for Generation, Place of Residence, and Sex

Ranking of Value-Orientation Positions	Old						Young						Total Sample Number of Respondents	
	Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Pd-Pd-Pa	(29)	[45]	[36]	[37]	(29)	[25]	(32)	14	(19)	15	(13)	(16)	(24)	148
Pd-Pd-Pr	[50]	(29)	[36]	[39]	[38]	[40]	[40]	[25]	[33]	[39]	[35]	[30]	[31]	220
Pd-Pd-Pr	0	3	0	0	4	0	0	14	15	10	5	13	6	37
Pd-Pd-Fu	4	3	0	2	2	0	0	16	7	(16)	8	(16)	7	43
Pd-Pd-Fu	8	5	7	3	4	4	20	(18)	10	5	12	12	8	52
Pd-Pd-Pa	8	11	5	10	13	15	8	11	15	10	11	10	12	46
Incomplete Rankings	0	5	17	3	13	15	0	2	0	5	17	3	7	46
Total Per cent	99	101	101	100	103	100	100	100	99	100	101	100	99	---
Number of Respondents	24	38	42	62	56	55	25	44	58	61	85	69	---	619

The nature of these systematic differences between the generations is striking. One has heard a good deal, since the end of World War II, about a movement toward Individualism among the younger generation in Japan. This "revolt" against the older generation, as it is often called, has not materialized in our data on family life, although in political life such a movement does seem to be occurring (see below). Rather, the emphasis among the young which differentiates them from their elders in the sphere of family life takes the form of a greater preference for first-rank Collateral orientations. Indeed, it is among the old that a preference for Individualism in family life occurs, as well as the more expected emphasis on the "traditional" value orientation L>C>I.

A commitment by the young to the present and the past, to a greater extent than is true for the old, is reflected in the relative preferences for the orientations Pa>Pr>Fu, Pa>Fu>Pr, and Pr>Pa>Fu, all of which are more heavily endorsed by the young (Table 6). The older group, by contrast, systematically has a greater proclivity for the orientation Fu>Pr>Pa. Though these contrasts may reflect differences in the phraseology of this item as it was administered to the young and the old, the nature of the emphasis placed upon the orientations by these two generations here is so similar to that in other behavior spheres, e.g., religious life, that we have reasonable confidence in its reality. In general, a greater emphasis upon first-rank Present orientations (Pr>Pa>Fu on Item T2) is a characteristic of Japanese youth today (see Schorer 1956; Matsumoto 1960) which our data support.

The only discernible effects of sex and place of residence on Items R3 and T2 were these: males seemed to prefer the I>C>L orientation more than females, and residents of Ome expressed a

greater disposition for the Pr>Pa>Fu orientation than did residents of Chiba or Tokyo.

In the family life behavior sphere, in fine, only generational differences, among the three variables with which we are dealing, exert a marked effect upon the patterning of value orientations. Youth presses for an emphasis on Collaterality and the Present; age for Individualism and the Future.

Political Life

As can be seen in Table 7 for Item R4, Choice of Delegate, the dominant orientation C>I>L for the total sample remains dominant for the six older and one of the younger sub-samples. The major variant I>C>L for the total sample becomes the dominant orientation for five of the six younger sub-samples and one of the older sub-samples (because of ties the number of older sub-samples does not add to six).

TABLE 7

Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations on *Relational* Item 4, Choice of Delegate, for Total Sample of 619 Respondents, Controlling for Generation, Place of Residence, and Sex

Ranking of Value-Orientation Positions	Old						Young						Total Sample	
	One (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		One (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Per cent	Number of Respondents
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
I>C>L	13	(21)	21	[26]	(20)	15	[28]	[39]	[36]	[38]	[28]	(17)	(25)	159
I>L>C	8	16	10	14	5	18	4	11	10	11	13	14	12	74
L>I>C	8	5	7	5	14	7	16	0	9	2	6	6	7	41
L>C>I	17	16	10	18	9	18	4	2	0	5	5	7	9	56
C>L>I	(25)	11	[28]	11	18	[20]	[28]	9	15	18	15	13	16	101
C>I>L	[29]	[26]	[28]	[26]	[30]	[20]	20	(36)	(28)	(26)	(26)	[32]	[27]	168
Incomplete Rankings	0	5	5	0	4	2	0	2	2	0	7	10	4	22
Total Per cent	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	99	100	100	100	99	100	---
Number of Respondents	24	38	42	62	56	55	25	44	58	61	85	69	---	619

As the effects of generation were so obviously potent on Item R4, dealing with political life, our interest centers on the two orientations just referred to, C>I>L and I>C>L, chosen respectively by 27 and 25 per cent of respondents. We took note of this item earlier as the only one on which we observed two orientations in competition for dominance, and we now learn that this competition is largely between generations, with the old preferring a first-rank Collateral position, and the young a first-rank Individualistic position. Such a one-distance shift seems in line logically with "normal" value-orientation change, but considerable dissension between the generations may accompany it.

In the Japanese political world of today, this dissension be-

tween the generations may be expressed in terms of two rather contradictory ideological grounds: first, Collaterality may be thought of as more "traditional" and Individualism as more "modern"; second, Collaterality may be thought of as more "socialistic" (or, in the versions of some scholars in Japan, as more "humanistic") and Individualism as more "democratic." On the first ground, the old would plump for Collaterality and the young for Individualism; on the second ground, the old would favor Individualism and the young Collaterality. Such a confusion seems to be evident on the contemporary scene, and it often appears to be resolved in particular cases on the basis of expediency; in some situations the old adopt Collaterality, while in others they chose Individualism, and *vice versa* for the young.

In general, however, we find the old preferring the orientation $C>I>L$, while the young prefer $I>C>L$. Among the other orientations on Item R4, generational differences appear in the greater relative preference of the old over the young for the orientations $L>C>I$ and $C>L>I$.

A sex difference involving a conflict similar to that between generations also appears in the sphere of political life. Males prefer the orientation $L>I>C$ more often than do females, while the converse is true for $I>L>C$. This may reflect the postwar struggle between males and females over the rights of women in the political sphere, in which males tend to take a more "conservative" position ($L>I>C$) and women a more "radical" one ($I>L>C$).

These two differences, the one generational and the other sexual, were the only systematic effects which our variables had upon the patterning of value orientations in the behavior sphere of political life.

Occupational Life

The dominant value orientation on Item R2, Help in Case of Misfortune, is $I>C>L$, and it remains dominant over all twelve of the sub-samples. The major variant orientation $I>L>C$ remains the same for the six older and one of the younger sub-samples, while in four other younger groups $C>I>L$ becomes the major variant. On Item R5, Wage Work, the dominant orientation $C>I>L$ remains dominant for eleven of the twelve sub-samples, and the major variant $I>C>L$ persists for ten of the twelve sub-samples. Finally, for Item MN3, Use of Fields, the dominant pattern $O>W>S$ is also dominant for eleven of the twelve sub-samples, and the major variant $W>O>S$ remains the same for eight of the twelve sub-samples.

The three orientations $I>L>C$, $I>C>L$, and $C>I>L$ are the most interesting in the configuration of responses to Item R2, dealing with rural occupational matters, and Item R5, dealing with urban occupational concerns. Both old and young groups have

TABLE 8

Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations on *Relational* Item 2, Help in Case of Misfortune, for Total Sample of 619 Respondents, Controlling for Generation, Place of Residence, and Sex

Ranking of Value-Orientation Positions	Old						Young						Total Sample	
	One (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		One (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Per cent	Number of Respondents
I>C>L	[58] [37]	[69] [52]	[47] [36]	[56] [27]	[58] [71]	[52] [52]	[51]	[318]						
I>L>C	(25) [29]	(17) [35]	(25) [35]	8 11	5 10	6 14	4	[23]						
I>C>I	4 5	2 3	3 5	8 7	2 2	1 4	2	[14]						
I>I>C	0 3	0 2	5 5	0 7	0 0	2 3	7	[52]						
C>I>I	4 13	2 3	2 7	8 (25)	9 2	8 3	14	[55]						
C>I>L	4 8	7 5	13 5	(20) 20	(24) (16)	(20) (14)	4	[27]						
Incomplete Rankings	4 5	2 0	5 5	0 2	2 0	11 9	4	[27]						
Total Per cent	99 100	99 100	101 98	100 99	100 101	100 99	100	---						
Number of Respondents	24 38	42 62	56 55	25 44	58 61	85 62	---	619						

I>C>L as their dominant orientation on Item R2, with the major variant among the old being I>L>C, while among the young it is C>I>L. With the shift to an urban situation (in Item R5), both old and young groups have C>I>L as dominant and I>C>L as the major variant. Thus, as one goes from rural to urban matters, a shift toward first-rank Collaterality, led by the young, takes place at an accelerating rate from I>L>C through I>C>L to C>I>L.

The effects of generation upon relational orientations in the occupational world support the hypothesis of a movement toward Collaterality led by the young. The old prefer I>L>C on both Items R2 and R5 more than do the young, while the opposite effect occurs with respect to C>I>L on these items. In addition, the old

TABLE 9

Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations on *Relational* Item 5, Wage Work, for Total Sample of 619 Respondents, Controlling for Generation, Place of Residence, and Sex

Ranking of Value-Orientation Positions	Old						Young						Total Sample	
	One (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		One (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Per cent	Number of Respondents
I>C>L	(41) (13)	(36) (21)	[47] (25)	(32) 5	(19) (11)	(14) (13)	(21)	[132]						
I>L>C	0 8	5 2	5 5	0 0	0 0	1 0	2	[13]						
I>I>C	0 0	2 0	0 2	0 0	0 0	0 0	0	[2]						
I>C>I	0 3	2 0	2 4	0 0	0 0	1 3	1	[8]						
C>I>I	4 3	2 11	4 9	0 7	2 7	0 6	5	[28]						
C>I>L	[50] [60]	[48] [66]	(43) [49]	[68] [86]	[77] [82]	[68] [70]	[64]	[43]						
Incomplete Rankings	4 13	5 0	0 5	0 2	2 0	15 9	5	[32]						
Total Per cent	99 100	100 100	101 99	100 100	100 100	99 101	98	---						
Number of Respondents	24 38	42 62	56 55	25 44	58 61	85 62	---	619						

TABLE 10

Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations on *Man-Nature* Item 3, Use of Fields, for Total Sample of 619 Respondents, Controlling for Generation, Place of Residence, and Sex

Ranking of Value-Orientation Positions	Old						Young						Total Sample	
	Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Per cent	Number of Respondents
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
O>W>S	[50]	[45]	[79]	[69]	[54]	[47]	[44]	[32]	[57]	[52]	[65]	[44]	[54]	336
O>S>W	13	(16)	5	8	13	5	(28)	18	10	10	7	7	10	24
S>O>W	0	13	2	0	2	4	12	5	0	2	1	0	3	15
S>W>O	0	5	5	5	2	5	0	2	3	2	0	4	3	13
W>S>O	8	8	5	0	5	2	8	7	2	3	2	7	4	26
W>O>S	(29)	8	2	(18)	(23)	(35)	8	[36]	(28)	(30)	(15)	(36)	(23)	144
Incomplete Rankings	0	5	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	9	1	2	15
Total Per cent	100	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	100	101	99	99	99	---
Number of Respondents	24	38	42	62	56	55	25	44	58	61	85	62	---	619

prefer the I>C>L orientation more than do the young on Item R5. Thus we encounter again the difference centering about first-rank Collaterality versus first-rank Individualism which divides old and young in family life as well as here in the occupational world. The only remaining generational effects find the old, on Item MN3, more disposed toward S>W>O and O>W>S than the young, who prefer the orientation O>S>W.

The most interesting sex differences show females, on Item R2 which has the more rural content, preferring L>C>I and I>L>C; these orientations are also supported by the old on this item. In Item R5 with a more urban content, however, the allegiance of females shifts to C>I>L and C>L>I, and females find strong support here in the greater relative preference given C>I>L by the young. This reflects, probably, the reality of the situation for females relative to males in these two different occupational domains; they are still bound to the older generation in rural concerns, but are struggling, together with the young, in an urban setting to bring about change in ways of earning a living. In Item MN3, a female emphasis upon W>O>S, versus a male emphasis on O>W>S, is the final systematic effect of sex as a determinant in occupational life.

The effects of place of residence occur primarily in the *man-nature* area in a way which makes sense in the occupational sphere. The systematic variation on Item MN3, Use of Fields, occurs in two orientations, O>W>S and O>S>W, which have in common the Mastery-Over-Nature position as a first-rank position. Ome residents prefer O>S>W to a greater extent than do the residents of Chiba or Tokyo, while the reverse is true for O>W>S. Since the content of this item is directly pertinent to rural life, it is interesting that the actual rural people, residents of Ome, see themselves more Subjugated-to-Nature than do urban dwellers (that is,

as between the two orientations residents of Ome prefer the one which has Subjugated-to-Nature ranked higher). The urban dwellers take a more benign, perhaps even classical Japanese, position toward nature and see themselves more in harmony with it (because, one might surmise, their livelihoods are less dependent on its whims).

Religious Life

The data from the three items in the sphere of religious life are presented in Tables 11-13. Both the dominant orientation $Pr>Fu>Pa$ and the major variant orientation $Fu>Pr>Pa$, for Item T3, Philosophy of Life, remain dominant and variant respectively for all twelve sub-samples. On Item T4, Ceremonial Innovation, the dominant orientation $Pr>Fu>Pa$ remains dominant for nine of the twelve sub-samples, while the major variant orientation $Fu>Pr>Pa$ persists for seven of the twelve sub-samples. Finally, for Item MN5, Length of Life, the dominant orientation $O>W>S$ remains dominant for all twelve sub-samples, and the major variant orientation $W>O>S$ is also the major variant for eight of the twelve sub-samples.

TABLE 11

Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations on *Time* Item 3, Philosophy of Life,
for Total Sample of 619 Respondents, Controlling for Generation,
Place of Residence, and Sex

Ranking of Value-Orientation Positions	Old						Young						Total Sample	
	Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Per cent	Number of Respondents
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
$Pr>Fu>Pa$	(25) [26]		(21) [23]		(25) [20]		(12) [9]		(29) [23]		(21) [19]		(21)	133
$Fu>Pa>Pr$	3	11	5	2	0	5	4	2	0	2	0	4	3	16
$Pa>Fu>Pr$	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	4
$Pa>Pr>Fu$	0	3	-0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	4
$Pr>Pa>Fu$	21	3	10	10	11	16	(12)	0	5	3	11	1	8	49
	[46] [55]		[62] [64]		[63] [49]		[68] [69]		[64] [72]		[58] [61]		[62]	368
Incomplete Rankings	0	3	2	0	2	4	0	0	2	0	11	12	4	23
Total Per cent	100	101	100	101	101	100	100	100	100	100	101	99	100	---
Number of Respondents	24	38	42	62	56	55	25	44	58	61	85	69	---	619

Differences by generation occur on Items T3 and T4 in the *time* area, while differences by sex are more pronounced on Item MN5 in the *man-nature* area. The young endorse the orientation $Pr>Fu>Pa$ more than do the old on both Items T3 and T4, while the reverse is true for $Pr>Pa>Fu$ on Item T3, and $Fu>Pr>Pa$ on Item T4. This emphasizes again the general preference for first-rank Present orientations by the young, and for first-rank Future orientations by the old.

TABLE 12

Percentage Distributions of Value Orientations on *Time* Item 4, Ceremonial Innovation, for Total Sample of 619 Respondents, Controlling for Generation, Place of Residence, and Sex

Ranking of Value-Orientation Positions	Old						Young						Total Sample	
	Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Per cent	Number of Respondents
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
P>P>Pa	[46]	[37]	[36]	[40]	(27)	(29)	[40]	14	(17)	(36)	17	(22)	(28)	173
P>-P>Pr	4	3	5	2	4	9	0	2	5	2	1	4	3	21
Pr>P>Pr	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pr>P>Fu	4	3	0	6	5	7	16	0	5	3	4	4	4	28
P>P>Fu	13	13	7	18	20	13	8	(18)	(17)	10	(18)	(22)	16	98
Pr>Fu>Pa	(33)	(37)	(42)	(34)	(36)	(35)	(36)	(64)	(52)	(44)	(45)	(33)	(41)	257
Incomplete Rankings	0	3	5	0	7	5	0	2	3	5	17	14	6	40
Total Per cent	100	101	101	100	101	100	100	100	99	100	102	99	98	---
Number of Respondents	24	32	42	62	56	55	25	44	58	61	85	62	---	619

On Item MN5, the greater relative preference of the old for O>S>W, and of the young for W>O>S, reflects the content of this item, which is concerned with lengthening life via scientific means; the Mastery-over-Nature position most strongly affirms this possibility. The responses may thus indicate a lesser concern of the young about the problem of death. Despite the high suicide rates found among both old and young in Japan (Okazaki 1958), our data point to a less resigned attitude about death, at least among the old, than these rates might lead one to suspect. The minor trends just mentioned, however, occur in the context of a rather overwhelming preference for first-rank Mastery-over-Nature orientations among both generations.

TABLE 13

Percentage Distribution of Value Orientations on *Man-Nature* Item 5, Length of Life, for Total Sample of 619 Respondents, Controlling for Generation, Place of Residence, and Sex

Ranking of Value-Orientation Positions	Old						Young						Total Sample	
	Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Ome (rural area)		Chiba (city)		Tokyo (metropolis)		Per cent	Number of Respondents
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
O>B>S	[79]	[42]	[64]	[56]	[72]	[40]	[68]	[36]	[58]	[64]	[64]	[48]	[56]	352
O>S>W	6	(21)	(11)	16	3	6	8	(20)	12	7	8	(17)	14	66
S>O>W	0	16	0	6	0	5	0	9	3	5	4	9	5	14
S>B>O	0	3	0	3	0	5	0	5	2	2	4	1	3	15
B>S>O	0	3	0	3	0	5	0	2	0	2	0	4	2	12
W>O>S	(13)	11	12	(18)	7	(20)	(20)	(20)	(14)	(21)	(12)	14	(15)	23
Incomplete Rankings	0	0	2	0	4	4	0	7	7	0	9	6	4	24
Total Per cent	100	101	99	99	101	99	100	99	99	101	101	99	99	---
Number of Respondents	24	36	42	62	56	55	25	44	58	61	85	62	---	619

Females seem to prefer value orientations emphasizing a Subjugated-to-Nature position more than do males in the sphere of religious life. This is seen most clearly in the two orientations, O>S>W and O>W>S, where the orientation with a second-rank Subjugation-to-Nature position is preferred by females more than males, while the reverse is true for the orientation with a second-rank Harmony-with-Nature position. There were no systematic effects according to place of residence.

CULTURE CHANGE AND VALUE ORIENTATIONS

We turn now to a more detailed consideration of questions of culture change, using the same items as in the preceding section on behavior spheres and omitting Item T2, the one administered in a different form to the two generations. Throughout our discussion so far we have referred to questions of culture change indirectly, particularly when speaking about differences between generations. If we assume that, within the structure of the family, most parents wish to instill in their children values similar to their own, then some summary expression of the success of parents in this task is one indicator of the persistence (and, obversely, of the change) of values over time in a society.

Our sample was collected with this idea in mind. Among the 619 respondents are 253 identifiable parent-child pairs. A father and his son constitute 109 of these pairs, and a mother and her daughter the remaining 144. Our criterion of the success of the parent in instilling his values in his child is the *distance* between the value orientations of the parent and the child (see the previous discussion of Figure 1). Parent-child pairs which are a zero-distance apart represent the greatest success by the parent in transmitting his values to his child. Such success decreases progressively as parent-child pairs are a one-distance, a two-distance, and a three-distance apart. The distance between the members of a parent-child pair is taken as a measure of the amount of *change* which has occurred from the orientation of the parent to that of the child. The extent to which Japanese parents have been successful in transmitting their value orientations to their children is expressed in Table 14.

On the whole, Japanese parents have been highly successful in transmitting their value orientations to their children. Considering only the most extreme definition of success—a zero-distance change for an item—the average proportion of parent-child pairs achieving this degree of success on any one item is 42 per cent, or two and one-half times the average chance expectancy (16 per cent). If we liberalize our criterion of success to include pairs at a one-distance in addition to those at a zero-distance, the average rate of success becomes 81 per cent, as compared with the average chance expectancy of 50 per cent. Before the construction of Table 14,

TABLE 14

Percentage Distribution of All Identifiable Parent-Child Pairs from the Total Sample According to the Distance Between the Value Orientations of Parent and Child on Selected Items from the Schedule

Item Number	Distance between Parent and Child (distance increases from 0 to 3)				Total Per cent	Number of Parent-Child Pairs
	0	1	2	3		
R2	36	40	18	6	100	<u>236</u>
R3	42	33	19	5	99	<u>236</u>
R4	23	42	26	9	100	<u>238</u>
R5	53	39	8	0	100	<u>227</u>
T3	51	39	9	1	100	<u>237</u>
T4	35	45	17	3	100	<u>224</u>
MN3	43	36	15	6	100	<u>243</u>
MN4	51	35	9	5	100	<u>233</u>
Average Per cent of Pairs at Each Distance	42	39	15	4		

moreover, we ascertained that there are no differences in these respects between father-son and mother-daughter pairs.

A second question concerning shifting value orientations between the generations is: "In what areas have parents had the least success in holding their children to their value orientations?" Table 15 rearranges some of the data from Table 14 in a manner designed to provide an answer to this question.

TABLE 15
Items Arranged According to Decreasing Percentage of Very Distant* Parent-Child Pairs

Item Number	Per cent Very Distant Pairs
R4	35
R2	24
R3	24
MN3	21
T4	20
MN5	14
T3	10
R5	8

* Percentage of very distant parent-child pairs is defined simply as the percentage of parent-child pairs a distance of 2 or 3 apart, according to our value-orientation distance concept.

The items in Table 15 are arranged in order of decreasing percentage of very distant parent-child pairs on an item. We define a *very distant pair* as one with a two-distance or a three-distance between the orientations of parent and child. Thus, under the assumption that distance equals change, the items range from those in which there has been a great deal of change in orientations between parents and children to those in which there has been very little. With the data in this form, we can test in an exploratory way several hypotheses about possible correlates of this ordering in the attempt to discover where parents have had the least success in value transmission.

We first grouped the eight items in Table 15 according to value-orientation areas, and ascertained that the mean rates of change for items in the *relational*, *man-nature*, and *time* areas are, respectively, 23, 18, and 15 per cent. Second, we grouped the same items according to behavior sphere, and found the mean rates of change for items in the *political* (R4), *familial* (R3), *occupational* (R2, R5, MN3), and *religious* (T3, T4, MN5) spheres to be, respectively, 35, 24, 18, and 15 per cent. Tentatively, the behavior spheres, more than the areas, seem to separate the items according to the rates at which orientations are changing from parents to children, but many more items in all areas as well as spheres would be needed before definitive conclusions could be reached.

The nature of the variance of children from their parents in the several behavior spheres will now receive attention. Almost all differences noted in the preceding section turn out to be, in fact, movements away from parental orientations. By controlling for family membership, however, we begin to discern the actual process of movement—first in terms of its sheer extent, as was done in our discussion of Tables 14 and 15, and second in terms of its content and direction, as we now undertake through a consideration of Tables 16-23. Our estimate of the expected distribution of orientations held by the children on an item is simply the actual distribution held by their parents on that item. Several other models for computing the expected distribution for children were tried and discarded because they yielded no more information about the nature of change than does the model we are using.

What is the nature of change in the behavior sphere of political life? As can be seen in Table 16, on Item R4, Choice of Delegate, the two orientations with a first-rank Individualism, considered together, gained the most in the movement from parent to child. The orientation $I > C > L$ increased among the children relative to its frequency among their parents to become the dominant orientation for the children. The orientation $I > L > C$ maintained its standing. Among the remaining four orientations, increase or decrease in relative frequency from parents to children depended upon whether Individualism was in a second-rank or third-rank position. Thus, between the two orientations, $L > I > C$ and $L > C > I$, which de-

TABLE 16

Frequency Distribution of Value Orientations Among Children Controlling for
 Value Orientations Among Parents over 238 Parent-Child Pairs on
Relational Item 4, Choice of Delegate

Value Orientations of Parents	Value Orientations of Children						Distribution of Parents
	D>C>L	D>I>C	I>P>C	I>P>I	C>P>I	C>P>L	
D>C>L	[19]*	9		2	6	14	50
D>I>C	14	[4]	1	1	1	7	26
I>P>C	5	2	[5]		3	6	21
I>P>I	6	2	3	[2]	9	15	37
C>P>I	12	5	2	2	[8]	11	40
C>P>L	24	5	2	3	12	[16]	62
Distribution of Children	80	27	13	10	39	69	238 Total †

* The frequency of identical child-parent value orientations is indicated by a set of brackets, [], for each value orientation in Tables 16-23.

† Totals for number of children, number of parents, and number of pairs are identical, of course, within each table, for Tables 16-23.

creased their frequency from parents to children, L>I>C decreased less than did L>C>I. And between the two orientations, C>I>L and C>L>I, the orientation C>I>L gained more. We have already discussed the possible causes of this increasing emphasis upon Individualism in the sphere of political life among the young.

In the behavior sphere of family life, represented by Item R3, Family Work Relations, in Table 17, a substantial gain occurs in

TABLE 17

Frequency Distribution of Value Orientations Among Children Controlling for
 Value Orientations Among Parents over 236 Parent-Child Pairs on
Relational Item 3, Family Work Relations

Value Orientations of Parents	Value Orientations of Children						Distribution of Parents
	D>C>L	D>I>C	I>P>C	I>P>I	C>P>I	C>P>L	
D>C>L	[7]			2	18	12	39
D>I>C	2	[]			8	3	13
I>P>C			[2]	1	2		5
I>P>I		2		[3]	19	9	33
C>P>I	7	1	1	5	[69]	22	105
C>P>L			1	4	18	[18]	41
Distribution of Children	16	3	4	15	134	64	236 Total

Collaterality in the movement from parents to children. That is, both $C>L>I$ and $C>I>L$ increase in the children's responses. Among the four orientations, $C>L>I$, $C>I>L$, $I>L>C$, and $I>C>L$, the Lineal position also plays an important secondary role. In both pairs of orientations having the same first-rank position— $C>L>I$, $C>I>L$, and $I>L>C$, $I>C>L$ —the orientation with a second-rank Lineality in each pair gains more or loses less than does the orientation with a third-rank Lineality.

With reference to this secondary emphasis on Lineality among the children in the sphere of family life, it must be remembered that orientations with first-rank Lineality lost consistently in the movement from parents to children, while orientations with first-rank Collaterality gained consistently. What we are saying, to phrase it in more metaphorical terms, is that the children rejected Lineality when it was presented to them in a blatant form and chose Collaterality instead, but in so doing a certain covert fondness for Lineal value orientations rode along with the dominant Collaterality. Thus the younger generation in Japan, so often vociferous in its rejection of "traditional" values, may not be so "modern" as it would like to appear, at least in the sphere of family life.

Occupational life is represented here in Tables 18-20 by Items R2, R5, and MN3, which are, respectively, Help in Case of Misfortune, Wage Work, and Use of Fields. As can be seen in Table 18, there is a consistent gain in Collaterality among the children on Item R2, and both first-rank Collateral orientations increase their representation. A secondary trend occurs in the other four orientations when they are compared in terms of pairs of orientations having the same first-rank position. Between $I>C>L$ and $I>L>C$, the orientation $I>C>L$ gains, while the orientation $I>L>C$ loses

TABLE 18

Frequency Distribution of Value Orientations Among Children Controlling for
Value Orientations Among Parents over 236 Parent-Child Pairs on
Relational Item 2, Help in Case of Misfortune

Value Orientations of Parents	Value Orientations of Children						Distribution of Parents
	$D>C>L$	$D>I>C$	$I>D>C$	$D>C>I$	$C>D>I$	$C>P>L$	
$D>C>L$	[70]	8	5	3	7	25	115
$D>I>C$	40	[10]	2	6	13	71	
$I>D>C$	5	1	[1]	1	3	1	12
$I>C>I$	3		1	[]	1	1	6
$C>D>I$	7			1	[1]	3	12
$C>P>L$	9	2		2		[4]	17
Distribution of Children	134	21	9	5	20	47	236 Total

TABLE 19

Frequency Distribution of Value Orientations Among Children Controlling for
Value Orientations Among Parents over 227 Parent-Child Pairs on
Relational Item 5, Wage Work

Value Orientations of Parents	Value Orientations of Children						Distribution of Parents
	D>C>L	D>I>C	D>C>I	D>C>I	C>P>I	D>P>L	
D>C>L	[12]	1			3	50	66
D>D>C		[]				9	9
I>D>C	1		[]			1	2
I>C>I				[]	1	2	4
C>D>I	1			1	[3]	12	17
C>D>L	19			1	4	[105]	129
Distribution of Children	33	1	0	2	11	130	227 Total

considerably; and between L>C>I and L>I>C, the orientation L>C>I loses less than the orientation L>I>C. In other words, in both pairs of orientations, that with a second-rank Collaterality gains more or loses less than that with a third-rank Collaterality. In general, however, on Item R2, the orientation I>C>L with a first-rank Individualistic position remains dominant for both parents and children.

As revealed by Item R5, Wage Work, in Table 19, both parents and children strongly endorse Collaterality, in the orientation C>I>L, with the children laying the heavier emphasis upon it. It is interesting that, although the total distributions of responses

TABLE 20

Frequency Distribution of Value Orientations Among Children Controlling for
Value Orientations Among Parents over 243 Parent-Child Pairs on
Man-Nature Item 3, Use of Fields

Value Orientations of Parents	Value Orientations of Children						Distribution of Parents
	O>P>S	O>S>W	S>O>W	S>W>O	W>S>O	W>O>S	
O>P>S	[79]	15	1	1	7	39	142
O>S>W	9	[7]				6	22
S>O>W	4		[]			5	9
S>W>O	3	1		[1]	1	4	10
W>S>O	5	2			[1]	3	11
W>O>S	19	7	4	2	1	[16]	49
Distribution of Children	119	32	5	4	10	73	243 Total

over the orientations look very different on Items R2 (in Table 18) and R5 (in Table 19), the same movement toward a greater emphasis on Collaterality for the children can be discerned on both items.

On Item MN3, Use of Fields, in Table 20, the most noticeable shift between parents and children is the increase in concentration among the children on the first-rank Harmony-with-Nature orientation, W>O>S, mainly at the expense of the first-rank Mastery-over-Nature orientation, O>W>S. The latter remains, however, the dominant orientation in both generations.

In the behavior sphere of religious life, in Tables 21 and 22, the children move away from first-rank Future orientations, and toward

TABLE 21

Frequency Distribution of Value Orientations Among Children Controlling for
Value Orientations Among Parents over 237 Parent-Child Pairs on
Time Item 3, Philosophy of Life

Value Orientations of Parents	Value Orientations of Children						Distribution of Parents
	Fu>Pr>Pa	Fu>Pa>Pr	Pa>Fu>Pr	Pa>Pr>Fu	Pr>Pa>Fu	Pr>Fu>Pa	
Fu>Pr>Pa	[16]				2	39	57
Fu>Pa>Pr		[1]				10	11
Pa>Fu>Pr	1		[]			1	2
Pa>Pr>Fu				[]		2	2
Pr>Pa>Fu	4	1			[2]	18	25
Pr>Fu>Pa	29	1	1	1	7	[101]	140
Distribution of Children	50	3	1	1	11	171	237 Total

TABLE 22

Frequency Distribution of Value Orientations Among Children Controlling for
Value Orientations Among Parents over 224 Parent-Child Pairs on
Time Item 4, Ceremonial Innovation

Value Orientations of Parents	Value Orientations of Children						Distribution of Parents
	Fu>Pr>Pa	Fu>Pa>Pr	Pa>Fu>Pr	Pa>Pr>Fu	Pr>Pa>Fu	Pr>Fu>Pa	
Fu>Pr>Pa	[30]	1		2	13	38	84
Fu>Pa>Pr	4	[]		1	1	1	10
Pa>Fu>Pr			[]				0
Pa>Pr>Fu	1			[1]	2	7	11
Pr>Pa>Fu	7	3		2	[4]	20	36
Pr>Fu>Pa	17			6	16	[44]	83
Distribution of Children	59	4	0	12	36	113	224 Total

TABLE 23

Frequency Distribution of Value Orientations Among Children Controlling for
 Value Orientations Among Parents over 223 Parent-Child Pairs
 on *Man-Nature* Item 5, Length of Life

Value Orientations of Parents	Value Orientations of Children						Distribution of Parents
	O>W>S	O>S>W	S>O>W	S>W>O	W>S>O	W>O>S	
O>W>S	[94]	14	2	3	2	22	137
O>S>W	18	[11]	3	1	7	40	
S>O>W	2	1	[4]	1	2	10	
S>W>O	3			[]	1	4	
W>S>O	4		1	1	[]	1	7
W>O>S	20	2	2	1	1	[9]	35
Distribution of Children	141	28	12	6	4	42	233 Total

the first-rank Present orientation $Pr > Fu > Pa$, on both Item T3, Philosophy of Life, and Item T4, Ceremonial Innovation. Although, on Item MN5, Length of Life, as presented in Table 23, there are some slight shifts in frequency from parents to children on several of the orientations, the distributions of the two generations are very similar.

Three facts about culture change in Japan can be stated as a result of the foregoing analysis. First, in terms of sheer amount, children have moved away from the value orientations of their parents relatively little. Second, this little movement is distributed unequally over the four behavior spheres; most of it occurs in political life, moderate amounts in family and occupational life, and only a slight amount in religious life. Third, by controlling for parental value orientation, we have been able to show how the generational differences which were found in the preceding section were the consequence of shifting value orientations as parents, with a greater or lesser degree of success, attempted to fulfill their roles as transmitters of culture.

CONCLUSION

In this article we have presented data on Japanese value orientations from a sample of 619 respondents. Both the schedule and the theory used originated in the work reported by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961). This theory enabled us to analyze some of the subtleties in Japanese values described by earlier writers, but for which they had neither the theoretical ideas to consider variation systematically nor the instrument with which to measure it. With-

out such a theory and instrument we could not have discerned some of the most interesting contrasts that appeared.

We wish to make one final comment concerning our concept of distance in relation to culture change. In the world of today one society often exerts a considerable influence upon another, and it would be useful to be able to predict the degree of success in such influence. So far as value orientations enter into such predictions, our analysis would indicate that it is not only a similarity or difference in first-rank positions that is involved but that second-rank and third-rank positions should also be taken into consideration.

For example, Americans (as exemplified by the Texans in Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961: 258) seem to prefer the orientation $I > C > L$ on both Items R3 and R5, which deal with Family Work Relations and Wage Work and fall, respectively, into the behavior spheres of family and occupational life. On the other hand, Japanese (as exemplified by our sample) seem to prefer the orientation $C > L > I$ on Item R3, Family Work Relations, and the orientation $C > I > L$ on Item R5, Wage Work. The first-rank positions on both of these items are Individualism for Americans and Collaterality for Japanese. Yet we would predict that Americans and Japanese would have more trouble eventually getting together on Item R3, Family Work Relations, than on Item R5, Wage Work. The reason for this is that, in terms of our concept of distance, the American orientation of $I > C > L$ on Item R3 is a two-distance apart from the Japanese orientation of $C > L > I$, whereas the American orientation of $I > C > L$ on Item R5 is only a one-distance apart from the Japanese orientation of $C > I > L$. If the two behavior spheres are indeed represented by these items, it should be easier for Americans and Japanese to get together on occupational matters than for them to do so on family life.

Finally, when one reads analyses of culture change, it often sounds as if the change came from "out of nowhere" into prominence in a society, whether from internal or external influences. Given an array of value orientations and a reasonable estimate of the proportion of people who hold to them, it is possible to see empirically that there is always some segment of the population that is congenial to the adoption of almost any change. Such a segment does not necessarily have to subscribe to the dominant or major variant value orientations of the society in order to make itself felt. We must forego a discussion of the complex problem concerning the place of minor segments of a population in the social and power structure of a society. What we do want to emphasize is that it does not make sense to consider value orientations, especially with regard to questions of change, in terms of "either-or" propositions. It is not, for Japan, merely a question of whether Collaterality or Individualism is the preferred value, but it is rather a question of the relative ranking of these positions in an array of value orientations, as these have been defined in this article.

NOTE

1. The data analyzed here were gathered under a contract with the Office of the Surgeon General in 1954-55. Further collection and analysis of data were done during 1958-59 under a research grant from the Foundations' Fund for Research in Psychiatry. All the final analysis of the data and the writing of this article were carried out after the senior author had, in July, 1960, joined the staff of the National Institute of Mental Health. During these various phases of the work, the junior author was at Harvard University. In terms of the content of this article, the senior author took major responsibility in the over-all design of the study, the gathering of data, and the final writing. The general analysis of the data was carried out jointly by both authors. The junior author, however, specifically developed the concept of distance between value orientations. Both authors are deeply indebted to Mieko Imagi Caudill, who played a central role in the collection, translation, and initial ordering of the data, and to Bruce Finnie, who critically read and commented upon an earlier draft of this article.

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