Values, Attitudes, and Social Concepts of Japanese and American Children

MARY ELLEN GOODMAN
Tufts University

THE data reported here constitute one unit of a larger investigation. The whole investigation is focused upon children's values, attitudes, and social concepts, but different methods and subjects are used in each of three units. In the unit presently under discussion, value-attitude-concept systems are approached through analyzing the occupational aspirations of elementary school children in Japan and in the United States.[1]

What the children told us of their occupational aspirations and the reasons for them provides a basis for inferences concerning systemic features of the social views held by the young of the two nations. These features in turn suggest patterns and themes prominent in the cultures where the children's thinking has been shaped. In comparing responses of children in these culturally remote but increasingly connected areas, we have been able to identify aspects of Western-inspired culture in the views of Japanese children, and to get some measure of their relative magnitude.

In this study, as in the other units of the larger project to which it belongs, the methods of gathering and handling data reflect our assumption that children can serve as anthropological-style informants, being qualified like their elders by membership in a society and command of a limited part of that society's culture. It is reasonable to assume that children not only can but should be solicited to act as informants, since their very naïveté offers advantages. They can tell us first-hand and without retrospection what their society and culture look like through their eyes, or what childhood is like with respect to its perceptions of society and culture. With Powdermaker (1956), we assume that an informant is still such though he speaks through devices other than the field ethnographer's interview, and that data elicited through asking him to state some of his views in writing may be functionally equivalent to interview-elicted data.

The concept of the child as informant is not new, though it is seldom explicitly stated and has been minimally utilized. Data derived essentially in this frame of reference have been reported by Leighton and Kluckhohn (1947), Nadel (1937), Dennis (1940), Goodman (1952), and by others working less anthropologically.

The present study also assumes the importance of cross-cultural reference. We have solicited children's views through what might be called the "topic essay," a device which simplifies the gathering of directly comparative material, and one which can be readily extended for investigation of concepts other than vocational.[2] This device may help to meet a need recognized by Dennis (1943:634) when he comments that to determine whether his impres-

sions of Hopi children are correct "will require the application of inter-cultural methods of comparison which are not available at the present."

The materials discussed in this paper accrue from essays written by children in four Japanese and eight American schools. The topic of the compositions was: "What I want to be when I grow up, and why." Approximately 1250 Japanese (living in Central Honshu) and 3750 American children (of the Northeastern United States), in grades one through eight participated. In both countries these are children of urban or suburban residence, and most are of middle-class family background.

The children's responses have been classified by sex and age, since girls and boys differ markedly and children of grades one through four differ significantly in some respects from those of grades five through eight.[3]

Sex differences are no less among American than Japanese children, the greater traditional sex role differentiation in Japan notwithstanding. It is among the girls, in both countries, that one finds marked interest in the arts, in teaching, and in nursing. It is the boys of both countries who are often concerned with the professions, the trades, police work, and commercial sports.

In both Japan and the United States children in the lower grades show, as might be expected, relatively limited horizons with respect to occupational possibilities and associated values. Moreover, their statements about "what I want to be" often have the ring of identification with figures which to them are familiar, striking, or dramatic. To a greater extent than their seniors, the little boys picture themselves as policemen, bus drivers, street-car conductors, or cowboys (Americans only in this instance), and the little girls see themselves as teachers, musicians (Japan especially), or ballerinas (United States especially). The relative maturity of the fifth through eighth graders is marked by their greater range of occupational choices, by the general complexity of their thinking about training and about the "whys" of occupational choice, and by greater frequency of lofty ambitions. The professions, for example, are twice as popular among older boys. Older girls (United States particularly) are more professionally-minded too, and in Japan they show conspicuous interest in politics and public office.

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF JAPANESE AND AMERICAN BOYS

Boys like sports; that fairly patent fact is clearly enough documented here (Table 1), with no highly significant deviations between age or nationality groups.[4] Moreover, boys like baseball best of all sports, or at least this is true of nine-tenths of the sports-minded among American and five-tenths of those among Japanese boys. But in Japan imported baseball still has real competition from a native and traditional sport about which American boys know nothing; *Sumo* wrestling intrigues one-third of the sports enthusiasts in Japan, and they name their heroes as American boys rattle off the names of the baseball great.

Japanese and American boys share an indifference to the arts, although in both nations interest picks up among older boys (Table 1). Cartooning and

TABLE 1. OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF JAPANESE AND AMERICAN BOYS

	Japanese percent		American percent		Pct. chance that difference is due to sampling	
	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8
Business	21.8	21.8	6.2	7.3	<.001	<.001
Professions	11.4	25.5	25.0	50.4	.005	<.001
Military roles			8.5	6.7	.004	<.001
Manual and related	27.5	14.5	26.3	8.2	50.0	.047
Teaching	4.7	3.0	1.0	0.9	.0145	.373
Religious roles		0.2	1.7	1.7	5.74	2.46
Specialties	13.3	11.0	6.7	7.5	.137	3.26
Sports	12.8	10.8	16.3	9.2	21.18	37.0
Arts	2.4	6.1	3.5	5.3	41.25	50.0
Miscellaneous	6.2	7.0	4.9	2.8	—	—
Total	100.1	99.9	100.1	100.0		
N	211	427	923	899		

acting for the movies are especially popular on this side of the Pacific, while on the other side acting (sometimes specifically for movies) and vocal or instrumental music are favorites.

As might be expected, American boys show almost no interest in teaching. But even in Japan, where only now are men giving way to women in this field and the teacher's prestige remains high, there is notably little eagerness for pedagogy. The difference between Japanese and American boys is significant, however (Table 1).

The "manual and related" occupations, including the skilled trades (e.g., carpenter, electrician, mechanic) transport workers (e.g., bus or cab drivers, street-car conductors), police and firemen, farmers, ranchers, and cowboys attract about a fourth of the younger boys in both countries (Table 1). The American boys share the Japanese enthusiasm for police work and the trades, but are less avid for driving vehicles. The younger Americans would rather be firemen, while their counterparts in Japan are peculiarly (in view of the country's high incidence of fires) lacking in zest for this occupation.[5] Nor do boys in Japan show any interest in another role vital in their country—the role of the farmer. The equally citified American boys do occasionally aspire to be farmers, ranchers, or—more frequently—cowboys. Older Japanese boys are significantly more inclined than American toward the "manual and related" occupations, but within this category the preference patterns established among the younger boys continue among the older of both nationalities.

In the "specialities" (diverse occupations requiring considerable talent,

training, or both), Japanese boys are represented in significantly greater proportion than American (Table 1). Moreover, as shown in Table 2, the two groups differ markedly, and sometimes anomalously, in the distribution of interests represented in the category. It is peculiar that commercial photography as a vocation does not occur to the Japanese boys, though their countrymen are notoriously enamored of camera work both as business and hobby. It is not surprising that Japanese boys are comparatively eager for the sea and for ship captaincies, but it is surprising that they are comparatively indifferent to the air and the pilot's wings which so greatly intrigue boys in the United States (especially younger ones) that the number of aspiring American pilots would be almost doubled if we were to include those interested

TABLE 2. PROPORTION OF BOYS INTERESTED IN "SPECIALTIES" CHOOSING A PARTICULAR SPECIALTY

	Japanese percent		American percent	
	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8
Politics and public office	35.7	34.0	4.8	4.5
Communication (radio or TV announcer, newspaper reporter, etc.)	14.3	27.7	0.0	35.8
Airplane pilot (non-military)	25.0	12.8	87.1	32.8
Ship captain	17.9	19.1	3.2	3.0
Pharmacist	7.1	4.3	3.2	11.9
Photographer	0.0	0.0	1.6	7.5
Miscellaneous	0.0	2.1	0.0	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0
N	28	47	62	67

specifically in flying for the armed forces (counted in the category "military roles"). It is curious that radio, TV, and reporting are fields chosen by American boys of upper grades only, while Japanese of both age categories are aware and interested. Most curious of all, American boys are remarkably indifferent to politics and public office, while Japanese boys in comparatively large proportion aim toward careers in diplomacy, the Diet, as ministers of state or even prime minister, and—suggesting that the democratic concept has taken hold with a vengeance—one small boy aspires to become Emperor!

Among national differences none is more striking, however, than those which appear in Table 1 in connection with religious roles and military roles. Though few in number, the American boys who think of becoming priests, ministers, rabbis, or missionaries are significant by contrast; the Japanese boys, with one lone exception (a would-be Christian minister) totally ignore the sphere of religious activity. With respect to military roles the Japanese

/American disparity is remarkable: among Americans we find seven or eight boys in a hundred wanting nothing more than careers in the armed services (about half want to be pilots, the rest soldiers, "officers," sailors, or marines); among Japanese there is resounding silence, and never so much as a passing mention of the military. It is important to note also that in connection with military role choices the Americans express much patriotic sentiment and much concern for the national safety; in fact, they do a great deal of verbal flag-waving. We get absolutely nothing of the sort from the Japanese boys.

Quantitatively most important of the national differences are those having to do with business and the professions (as shown in Table 1).

Japanese boys more often choose a business-type than any other kind of vocation, and in this, and this only, they are consistent regardless of age. American boys infrequently choose business vocations; note that the military roles are more popular, and so are all other categories except teaching, religious roles, and arts. Concepts of business potentialities differ too; in Japan the boys speak of becoming a "company man" or "office man," or "president of the company," and they want to be bankers, factory or store owners, employees of a "trading company" or—better still—the founder of such a company. In the United States boys most frequently speak of becoming salesmen and of merchandising specific products (e.g., wholesale drugs, retail clothing).

The popularity of the professions among American boys is greater than that of any other category for either nationality. For both Japanese and Americans, it will be noted, boys of grades 5–8 are proportionately two-to-one over their juniors in frequency of professional aspirations.

Table 3 shows the distribution of specific professional interests. The strong preference for medicine, especially on the part of younger boys of both countries, is the most apparent feature of the distribution. It should be noted too that engineering in the United States and science in Japan rival medicine in popularity among older boys. Other conspicuous national differences are the relative indifference to law in Japan and to architecture in the United States.

Upon reading the boys' essays, one is also aware of a major qualitative difference between the nationalities. American boys discuss with sophisticated practicality the relative merits of careers in electronic as compared with electrical, or chemical as compared with civil engineering, while the Japanese boys are more given to dreamy contemplation of great things to be achieved through a nebulous "science." Moreover, the dreams of Japanese boys soar beyond the mundane level of superior picture tubes for color TV and such other specific engineering problems as are likely to engross Americans. The Japanese is inclined toward vast humanitarian goals, to "make a machine which will protect from the dangers of atomic or hydrogen bombs," to "invent a machine to cure disease by radio-activity," or to "explore the universe." He also inclines toward scientific hero-worship, and not a few Japanese boys aspire to "win a Nobel prize, like Dr. Yukawa." Nobel prize-winners are more numerous in the United States, but the American boys who seem to know of their existence and aspire to be like them are conspicuous by their absence.

OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF JAPANESE AND AMERICAN GIRLS

The girls of the two nations are alike in their negligible interest in the military roles, the religious roles, and sports (Table 4). But these likenesses are unlikenesses to a degree, since American girls—especially the older ones—are represented more frequently in all three categories. Future United States WACs and WAVEs have no counterparts in Japan; neither do future American "sisters" or nuns; future American ice-skaters are unparalleled in Japan, where feminine interest in sports is limited to a few vague references to "sports" as such.

In neither national group is any great enthusiasm expressed for domestic "careers," for business, or for the professions (Table 4).

TABLE 3. PROPORTION OF BOYS INTERESTED IN PROFESSIONS CHOOSING A PARTICULAR PROFESSION

	Japanese percent		American percent	
	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8
Doctor	62.5	33.0	57.1	34.7
Engineer*	4.2	14.7	14.3	33.8
Scientist	20.8	33.9	18.2	16.8
Lawyer	4.2	1.8	7.4	9.5
Architect	0.0	13.8	2.2	4.2
Professor	8.3	2.8	0.4	0.7
Miscellaneous	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
N	24	109	231	453

* Includes "electronics," of which there were none in the Japanese sample.

Interest in "housewife" and "mother" roles declines from younger to older groups in both countries. Moreover, it should be noted that the 5th to 8th graders in Japan show just as little interest in domesticity as do their age mates in the United States, and that the 1st to 4th graders in the United States are significantly more home-and-family minded than little girls in Japan. But none of these figures is necessarily too reliable, since the children probably understood (correctly) that they were asked to write about their future job interests, if any. There may have been a good many girls who felt, without making it explicit, as did an American sixth-grader: "I want to be a housewife, but if I have to go to work I will be a social worker." In Japan, moreover, the girls very likely accept housewife and mother roles as taken-for-granted features of adult womanhood, and therefore not requiring comment.

In both national samples business interests increase somewhat with age, and the frequencies do not differ greatly as between Japanese and American

girls. Among the former, however, business means primarily shopkeeping, as might be expected in a nation whose predominant business unit is the small, family-run enterprise. For nine-tenths of the American girls business means secretarial work, and hence a degree of independence by no means implicit for women who become shopkeepers, i.e., usually assistants to their fathers or husbands.

Girls of both societies are less inclined toward the professions than toward business. Age seems not to affect the extent of professional orientation in Japan, but it is different in the United States, and older girls here are signifi-

TABLE 4. OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES OF JAPANESE AND AMERICAN GIRLS

	Japanese percent		American percent		Pct. chance that difference is due to sampling	
	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8
Specialties	6.6	15.3	33.4	39.0	<.001	<.001
Manual and related	6.6	9.1	3.3	2.0	2.78	<.001
Teaching	46.4	31.5	21.4	17.3	<.001	<.001
Arts	20.4	20.0	18.3	12.8	48.39	.137
Professions	4.6	4.9	3.1	8.3	29.43	4.1
Military roles			0.5	1.1	30.81	5.38
Sports	1.0	0.3	1.2	1.4	50.0	8.05
Religious roles	0.5		0.8	0.4	50.0	21.55
Business	7.7	9.4	5.2	11.4	18.71	31.73
Domestic (housewife or mother)	4.1	3.9	9.7	3.9	1.08	50.0
Miscellaneous	2.0	5.7	3.0	2.5	—	—
Total	99.9	100.1	99.9	100.1		
N	196	406	967	949		

cantly more directed toward the professions than are their age mates in Japan. A breakdown of professional choices, shown in Table 5, reveals a heavy concentration on medicine (as among the boys). This preoccupation only increases with age among the Japanese girls, while the opposite is true for American girls. In the upper grades the latter show a considerable range of interests, with "science" (e.g., archeology, chemistry) still in high favor.

The "manual and related" occupations, mainly trades, are of very little interest to girls in this country. It is different with Japanese girls, who are about as much inclined to the trades as they are to business, and the more so as they grow older (Table 4). Dress-making, often specifically Western-style, is very popular in Japan but not in the United States. Girls of both nations like hair-dressing (almost the only area of overlapping interests in the "man-

TABLE 5. PROPORTION OF GIRLS INTERESTED IN PROFESSIONS CHOOSING A PARTICULAR PROFESSION

	Japanese percent		American percent	
	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8
Doctor	66.7	85.0	70.0	54.4
Scientist	11.1		30.0	31.6
Lawyer	22.2			7.6
Architect				2.5
Engineer				2.5
Professor		15.0		
Miscellaneous				1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.9
N	9	20	30	79

ual . . . " category). American girls also want to be telephone operators, dental assistants, and (younger ones especially) "cowgirls." In Japan there are some aspirations to be policewomen or "bus girls" (assistants to the drivers of excursion buses, who lecture and guide the tourists).

The arts are attractive to all the girls, but their great popularity among the younger ones of both nations is paralleled among the older only in Japan. The art interests of Japanese girls are about divided between traditional drawing, painting, flower-arranging, dance, or music, and Western-style music (especially piano), or dance (especially ballet). American girls are most often attracted to the dance, greatly preferring ballet or "toe," and this particularly when they are quite young.

Among girls the two quantitatively important occupational categories are teaching and the specialties, with Japanese girls greatly preponderant over Americans in the former category and the reverse even more marked in the latter category (Table 4). It should be noted, however, that in both societies older girls are more interested in specialties and less interested in teaching than are younger ones.

Teaching aspirations are either unspecified (e.g., "I want to be a teacher"), linked to a particular grade (e.g., "I want to be a kindergarten teacher"), or specified in terms of subject or type (e.g., "I want to teach mathematics /music/dance" or " . . . to teach the blind/mentally retarded"). The unspecified and particular-grade aspirations are most frequent in both countries. A degree of traditionalism appears in Japan, where girls sometimes specify their goals as the teaching of "Japanese dance" or music, calligraphy, tea ceremony, or flower-arranging.

Specialties cover a diverse range of occupations, as shown in Table 6.[6] The striking feature of this distribution is the great (though declining with age)

popularity of nursing. American girls are much more intrigued with nursing than with teaching (453 choose nursing, 371 teaching). Though Japanese girls pay comparatively little attention to nursing relative to teaching (30 choices against 219), even this degree of interest is noteworthy in a society where the nurse is just beginning to attain a status of "respectability."

Table 6 points up a number of disparities between the national samples. Pharmacy, which is of no interest to American girls, is of considerable interest

TABLE 6. PROPORTION OF GIRLS INTERESTED IN "SPECIALTIES" CHOOSING A PARTICULAR SPECIALTY

	Japanese percent		American percent	
	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8	Grades 1–4	Grades 5–8
Politics and public office		11.3		0.3
Communication (mainly news reporter)		6.5		3.2
Airline stewardess		6.5	13.0	12.7
Nurse	69.2	33.9	83.9	49.2
Pharmacist	23.1	11.3		
Dietitian or Nutritionist		6.5		2.4
Dress designer	7.7	21.0	0.6	9.5
Geisha		1.6		
Social worker		1.6	0.3	6.5
Laboratory technician				3.0
Occupational or physical therapist				4.9
Interior decorator			0.3	3.8
Model			0.9	4.3
Librarian			0.9	0.3
Total	100.0	100.2	99.9	100.1
N	13	62	323	370

to Japanese—especially the younger.[7] Dress-designing, mainly Western-style, is greatly liked by older Japanese girls and less popular among their age mates in the United States. American girls, regardless of age, are often attracted to the glamor role of the airline stewardess, a role of which older Japanese girls are not unaware. It is notable that American girls, in small numbers at least, are aware of roles which do not figure at all in the considerations of Japanese girls, i.e., those of the interior decorator, therapist, laboratory technician, librarian, and model. However, the most striking Japanese-American disparity is the interest shown by the Easterners in politics and public office, and the almost complete lack of comparable interest among the Western girls.

REASONS FOR OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES

In reading the children's essays on "what I want to be when I grow up, and why," one is impressed by the fact that the "whys" nearly always imply either that the writer is thinking especially of himself and of what *he* wants, likes, or finds satisfying, or that he is thinking more of some other person or persons and of what might satisfy, please, aid, or benefit others. Since such implications were so pervasive, and since they may be assumed to be culturally as well as idiosyncratically determined, we have classified the "whys" in terms of the two basic categories, "self-orientation" and "others-orientation."

Five varieties of self-orientation reasons are distinguishable. As shown in Table 7, the varieties most frequently offered are of the "I like . . . " kind, and the kind in which personal satisfaction considerations of one or another sort are given primary emphasis. The former type includes, in addition to the simple " . . . because I like/want to . . . (play baseball, dance, etc.)" statements, such variations as " . . . because I'm suited for it/good at it . . . " or " . . . interested in it." The latter (personal satisfactions) type includes such statements as these: " . . . because I think it will be fun . . . ," " . . . because it will bring me happiness . . . ," " . . . because it will be a good way to express myself. . . . " Three more types of self-orientation reasons occur: those which stress concern (1) for the economic welfare of the self (prosperity or security), (2) for personal prestige or fame, and (3) for personal satisfaction or improvement by travel.

Others-orientation reasons are of two major types, here labeled "societal" and "individual" (Table 7). In stating societal reasons the child stresses a concern for the welfare of a particular social category (e.g., the poor, the sick, or children), for the welfare of the nation, or for that of humanity at large. Reasons focusing upon an individual most often have to do with obliging or pleasing a parent or both parents, or—less frequently—another relative or a friend.

OTHERS-ORIENTATIONS

In giving others-oriented reasons, the children of the two nations are alike in that both groups more frequently stress social than individual welfare, and both, when they do concern themselves with individuals, think mainly of parent or parents. In both groups, boys more often than girls show consideration for parents (or other individuals), and for accepting their advice, acceding to their wishes, emulating or succeeding, gratifying, helping, or pleasing them. It is noteworthy that such considerations increase somewhat with age among Japanese children and decrease with age among American children.

The tenor of Japanese concern for parents (and family) is conveyed in such statements as these:

Boy: "I want to work at a bank [because] I want to make my parents' life an easy, happy life [so as] to repay the good done me." (Note here the explicit expression of the traditional *on*, i.e., duty and obligation to parents for life and nurture.)

Girls: "I want to be a teacher of dressmaking [and] make dresses for my family and relatives."

"I will study cooking and run a restaurant [and] help my mother who is running a restaurant."
"I will be a singer [because] I want to make family members happy."

For Japanese girls the happiness and pleasure of parents and other family members are the most stressed of individual-centered considerations. Japanese

TABLE 7. REASONS FOR OCCUPATIONAL CHOICES AS GIVEN BY JAPANESE AND AMERICAN BOYS AND GIRLS

	Boys						Girls					
	Japanese percent		American percent		Pct. chance D due to sampling		Japanese percent		American percent		Pct. chance D due to sampling	
Grades:	1–4	5–8	1–4	5–8	1–4	5–8	1–4	5–8	1–4	5–8	1–4	5–8
Self-orientations												
Like to/want to	16.2	24.4	25.0	39.7			25.8	35.0	24.5	30.2		
Personal pleasure, etc.	25.2	4.5	27.6	23.3			30.8	8.1	32.5	35.2		
Prosperity/security	3.8	2.6	4.3	5.1			4.0	2.0	8.2	1.5		
Travel	1.4	4.5	1.5	1.9			0.5	2.2	1.2	1.9		
Fame, respect, etc.	8.6	3.8	0.4	1.1			8.6	2.7	0.5	0.4		
Total self-orientations	55.2	39.7	58.8	71.1	34.8	<.001	69.7	50.0	59.5	69.2	.69	<.001
Others-orientations												
Societal:												
Particular social category	10.5	10.4	15.0	11.4			4.0	16.9	24.6	20.7		
National	2.4	11.4	3.8	3.3			0.5	3.7	0.3	0.7		
Humanity	6.2	12.1	0.5	1.9			2.5	7.1	0.5	1.6		
Total societal	19.1	33.8	19.3	16.6	50.0	<.001	7.1	27.6	25.4	23.0	8.2	7.0
Individual:												
Parents advise, desire, etc.	1.4	1.7	0.2	0.4			1.0	1.2	0.3	0.1		
Child emulates, succeeds, etc.	8.6	9.0	8.9	6.9			7.1	2.7	4.9	4.0		
Child gratifies, helps, etc.	2.4	5.0	0.5	—			2.5	8.1	0.6	0.1		
Total individual	12.4	15.6	9.6	7.4	20.1	.004	10.6	12.0	5.8	4.2	1.3	<.001
Total others-orientations	31.5	49.4	28.9	24.0	46.0	<.001	17.7	39.6	31.2	27.2	.014	.003
Miscellaneous or no reason	13.3	10.9	12.3	5.0			12.6	10.5	9.2	3.6		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1			100.0	100.1	99.9	100.0		
N	210	423	934	909			198	409	976	951		

boys are especially focused upon emulating or succeeding a senior male in the family. American boys are almost equally given to emulate/succeed thinking, but with a marked qualitative difference. The characteristic American attitude is stated by the boy who says: "*I got the idea* [of being an engineer] from my uncle [who is an engineer]" (emphasis supplied). That is, the American child *elects* a relative's or friend's occupation, and apparently without thought of assuming a responsibility or of meeting someone's expectations in doing so. He freely chooses, and happens to do so because proximity and acquaintance

have brought this occupation to his favorable attention. Such cases are so much a matter of Ego and his personal decision that we are perhaps hardly justified in counting them among the "others-orientation" cases. Certainly they do not reflect concern for others or obligation to others as does this point of view: "I *feel it my duty* to follow in my father's footsteps" (emphasis supplied). That this particular statement happens to have come from an American boy makes it no less representative of the characteristic tone of the Japanese comments, while it is very rare among the American.

Of the three types of "societal" reasons, it is the first (welfare of a particular social category) which commands most attention (Table 7). However, older Japanese boys are about equally concerned with the second and third types (national welfare and that of humanity generally).

American children, especially girls, are strongly inclined to give societal reasons in particular-social-category terms, and in statements which are—relative to the Japanese—quite specific about means as well as ends. The Americans are especially preoccupied with "the sick," and with health and sanitation in connection with social welfare. Their choices of medicine and nursing are often explained, with only minor variations in the formula, by the statement, "I want to help the sick." The high frequency of American girls among children advancing particularistic welfare reasons reflects the fact that they so often choose nursing or teaching, and that the former choice is so often explained by the "want to help the sick" formula and the latter choice by the statement, "I want to help children." The particularistic-societal reasons advanced by Japanese children cover a wide range of social categories, with emphasis upon "the poor" as well as upon the sick and upon children (the focus upon children comes primarily from older girls).

National welfare considerations are at a minimum among American girls and at a maximum among Japanese boys of grades five to eight. For the Japanese, national welfare is linked to careers which the children think will contribute to national health, prosperity, and peace. Americans, on the other hands, strongly incline toward defining national welfare in terms of national defense, and to link this goal with military roles. Occasionally a would-be American doctor, nurse, scientist, engineer, or teacher sees the proposed career as "the only real way to help my country" or "the best way to help this country." But typically, the American child wants to help by "fighting for my country," "protecting the country from Communism," "serving the country (in the air force, etc.) to keep it free," or a variation on these themes. The Japanese child totally ignores the military in thinking about the welfare of the nation (as in all other contexts). He stresses peace and roles related to it, e.g., an aspiring member of the Diet proposes to "serve for the peace of Japan and of the world." A future carpenter finds it possible to relate his work to international harmony; he will help to "build wonderful buildings in Japan [and] invite foreigners to Japan [to see the buildings?]—and be friendly with all the peoples in the world."

Japanese children also demonstrate an awareness of Japan's specific

national problems. The population problem, for example, is in the mind of the young scientist who hopes to "explore the universe, with the aim to emigrate people to the moon, stars, etc." But the aims are not always so grandiose. A future plasterer thinks it especially important to work on "tall buildings, [so as to] make best use of space, as Japan is very small." Economic problems receive attention, as from the boy who wants to "work in a trading firm, [as] trade is important to Japan and to the world at large, [and] I want to contribute what I can."

Among societal reasons of the humanity-at-large type, the majority are vague as to means and grandiose as to goals. American children make relatively few statements of this kind, and the American boy who wants to "discover some things to help mankind" or "invent something which would benefit all mankind," speaks like a Japanese. Not so, however, the would-be American missionary, who aims to help by "saving them [non-Christians] from an eternal Hell." The Japanese children never propose human betterment via religion, and are indeed much inclined to science as the means. This connection between science and human welfare is often left extremely tenuous, as by the Japanese boy who hopes, in some unspecified way, to help "establish a peaceful world" in the course of his career as a scientist. But occasionally a Japanese child is quite explicit about the relation he sees between science and human welfare, as is the boy who says, "I want to make the world peaceful by utilizing atomic energy for peaceful purposes."

SELF-ORIENTATIONS

With age, self-orientations decrease in frequency among Japanese children, while among the American such responses increase (Table 7). Therefore, though in primary school years the boys of the two nations show but negligible difference with respect to self-orientation frequency, boys of the upper grades are markedly and very significantly different. The same trend occurs among the girls. However, Japanese girls in both age categories are markedly more given to self-orientation than are their male age mates, while American girls differ little from boys.

The like to/want to and the personal pleasure/satisfaction kinds are much the most common of self-orientation reasons. The figures in Table 7 suggest, however, that the latter is the more naive response (i.e., typical of the young child, since with the exception of American girls it decreases in frequency with age). Since the difference between grades 1 to 4 and 5 to 8 in this respect is very strongly marked in Japan, we infer that socialization pressures operate with increasing potency to curb the naive inclination to put personal pleasure and satisfaction considerations first in vocational choice. Conversely, the like to/want to reasons increase in frequency with age among the children of both nations, suggesting that, regardless of culture, awareness of one's own interests or talents becomes an increasingly important factor in making vocational choice.

American children find it possible to identify personal pleasure/satisfaction

components in a remarkable variety of roles and in remarkably numerous guises. The following quotes may illustrate the point:

Actress: "It gives me pleasure."
Actress: "Acting in my opinion is the greatest way of expressing oneself."
Social worker: "It is a job that is personally rewarding."
Baby Nurse: "Babies are so cute and fun to take care of."
Nurse: "You always feel good if you save someone's life."
Teacher: "Because as you teach you learn new things."
Designer: "I have proof of my talent and want to express it."
Secretary: "I would like to have an exciting job,—you help at the boss's parties and other things I think I'd enjoy. It's not a boring job. . . . "
Archeologist: " . . . Adventurous and exciting life."
Doctor: "It would be a great thing to know that you have the power to actually save a person's life."
Writer: "Through writing I can express my feelings and ideas."
Test pilot: "Because of the excitement and to know that I had done something no other man had done."
Marine: "It has action in it. . . . It will probably be fun."
Gas station man: "Then I won't have much work to do."
Priest: "I would enjoy saying mass, and I would like to go in the war and bless the men that are dying."
Doctor: "Because it is fun and you get a good week's pay."
Accountant: "Because I am brilliant in mathematics."
Engineer: "Because I am smart in math and I know a lot about engineering."

The personal pleasure/satisfaction reasons given by American children are not always without an element of orientation toward others as well as the self. This is illustrated in some of the above quotes, and in this comment from a would-be nurse who says, "I feel very good when I help people." But the primary emphasis is on the "I," recalling Gillespie and Allport's observation (1955:15) that "Americans who express an interest in social problems may do so in terms of self-reference rather than social-reference."

The personal pleasure/satisfaction reasons offered by Japanese children suggest rather different goals and values for the self. For example:

Driver of police patrol car: "Can run around the streets with high speed."
Bank clerk: "Counting money makes my hands dextrous. Dextrousness enables me to make anything."
Tennis player: "Can learn good sportsmanship."
Bus driver: "The driver looks happy."
University professor: "Pleasure in study and in enlightening others."
Judo expert: "Like to catch bad people."
Actor: "Can see lots of movies and enjoy life."
Teacher: "Can be loved by all [children]."
Marry into rich family: "Can buy anything. Can eat anything I like. Can do anything I like. Can play without working."
Nurse: "Can wear white dresses."

These statements are notably lacking, as are the Japanese compositions generally, in expressions suggesting a high valuation of self-expression, excitement, fun, adventure, or novelty. The Japanese compositions also lack expressions of conviction concerning unusual talent possessed by the writer, as well as the tone of superb self-confidence often conveyed by the American children.

Among the less common self-orientation reasons it should be noted that prosperity/security considerations decline in frequency with age except among American boys, that for all categories of subjects travel interests increase with age but markedly so only among Japanese boys, and that fame /respect concerns are relatively important among Japanese children but much more so when these children are young.

Prosperity/security reasons for occupational choice include all statements in which pecuniary considerations figure more prominently than any others. Though often mentioned, such considerations are rarely so preeminent. In both Japan and the United States primary motivations are infrequently of the "get rich" type. Both boys and girls emphasize rather the "good salary" or "steady work with good pay" aspects of the jobs they contemplate, and the potential profit aspects of business. An American boy, for example, gives as his primary reason for aspiring to be an Army doctor: "Be sure that I wouldn't be out of a job." A Japanese boy thinks of running a "provision store" because the items he would stock would "sell quick." Motivations toward stardom in sports and arts are not infrequently pecuniary; e.g., the American boy who says, about his ambitions toward baseball: "Because if you prove yourself there's a lot of money in it." Some anticipations are highly unrealistic, like those of the would-be teachers and salesladies who expect to "make lots of money." Generally, however, realism prevails, and children aiming toward activities unlikely to be of the "big money" sort are concerned simply that they be "able to earn a living," or "earn money." American boys exceed Japanese not only in frequency of stress on pecuniary motivations, but also in degree of emphasis and elaboration. The boy who explains why he wants to be "a boss of builders" illustrates the American tendency; he says, "I would be rich with nothing but money all the time. I'd go to work in a big Plymouth. I'd have $20,000 in the bank!"

Among Japanese children the yearnings for travel are explained in terms of sheer curiosity about the wide world, in terms of personal economic advantage (e.g., the businessman in international trade), or in terms of self-improvement motivations. Japanese children are inclined to think of travel in connection with learning opportunities; American children, on the other hand, are inclined to associate travel with teaching opportunities—or even responsibilities. A future American civil engineer, for example, is attracted by the travel aspects of his chosen profession, and conceives it to be his job to improve farming know-how through teaching irrigation methods "all over the world." A future missionary, also inclined to enjoy travel, thinks of her opportunities to "teach people to believe in God."

The Japanese usually aspire to fame, respect, prestige, or importance in terms of scientific or professional achievement, whereas the American children seek such personal distinction in acting, professional sports, and other relatively glamorous pursuits. Six Japanese boys hope to win Nobel prizes; a Japanese girl aspires to be "a doctor of science and to get about five medals—like Mme. Curie." (There are no references at all to Nobel prizes, not to mention Mme. Curie, from American children.) Typical of the American comments are these: "I would like to be a great baseball player because I would like to be famous with children and be their idol"; (another baseball player) " . . . because I would get in the newspapers often"; (actress) "I will be somebody—be known for my talent or my beauty"; (cowboy actor) "because then I could make movies and have people watch me in theatres. I could possibly win an Oscar." From a sixth-grade, eleven-year-old American boy comes a statement so spectacular, and so completely unlike anything ever heard from a Japanese child, that we offer it in full below:

I would like when I grow up to be president or ruler of all the countries of the world united into a single Union. Which would under my leadership go out into space and take other planets, galaxies into our union.

The reason I would like to do this so that my name will go down in history and I would be credited with organizing the earth into a union, and conquering other planets. It would be the greatest thing in history. The uniting of the earth, the conquering of space. There would be no more wars among mankind as there would be no separate countries to fight also one could go all over, mail letters, have quicker ways of transportation without going through passports regulations between seperate countries and it would be credited to me. I would not rule alone I would have a senate courts governers the peoples vote to help me. I would have great armies, spaceships to help the earth conquer the Universe.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our survey of vocational aspirations among elementary school children of Japan and the United States opens a window on one aspect of the concept-value-attitude systems of these children, and so upon aspects of the cultural contexts in which these thought and feeling systems have been nourished and shaped.

Our data demonstrate that social concept-value-attitude systems in children are complex and extensive to a degree not generally appreciated. The children of this study are aware of a phenomenal range and variety of vocations and they express value judgments and attitudes in equally great profusion.

Among the American children, however, there is notably greater sophistication concerning vocations characteristic of an extremely urban-technological society. Some of these, e.g., laboratory technician, physical or occupational therapist, interior decorator, do not appear at all among aspirations of Japanese children, and in general it is apparent that the Japanese children are less familiar with subspecialities (e.g., psychiatry and pediatrics within medicine), with the specific functions attached to many of the roles of which they speak,

and with the training necessary for these roles. A certain vagueness and broad generalization which characterizes statements from Japanese children we attribute in part to this relative unfamiliarity and in part to linguistic and other cultural devices conducive to diffuse and abstract statements.[8]

We find children of the two countries interested in much the same range of occupations (with a few exceptions noted just above). Moreover, it is primarily the younger children in both Japan and the United States who yearn to be policemen, bus drivers, teachers, cowboys (in the United States only), and the like. Apparently it is a characteristically "young child" thing to "want to be" what is familiar and dramatic, and perhaps it is more a matter of identification than of occupational aspiration.

The traditional sharp sex role differentiation of Japanese society notwithstanding, boy/girl difference in occupational outlook is no less among American than among Japanese children. In both countries it is mainly girls who are interested in the arts, in teaching, in nursing, etc., and mainly the boys who gravitate toward the professions, business, sports, and the like. It appears that cultural differences notwithstanding, urban-industrial occupations tend to follow a common pattern of allocation by sex.

The most striking aspects of boys' aspirations are the remarkable popularity of the professions in both countries, especially of medicine and others high in scientific-technical components, and the equally remarkable lack of popularity of business pursuits among American as compared with Japanese boys. We infer from these findings that business retains its traditional high prestige and promise of reward in Japan, where the professions, along with scientific-technical values, are just reaching the same prestige and promise levels. Conversely, it appears that for American boys the values which have long supported business vocations are feeble in comparison with those attached to the professions. From this fact and the many other evidences of a fervid interest among American boys in research, maintenance, operation, or repair of anything from the human body to a TV set, we infer a major value constellation which might be called the "scientific-technical."

A second major value constellation can be inferred from the prevalent vocational choices of American children of both sexes. It might be called the "glitter" pattern, since we infer it from the popularity of such vocations as are high in glamor-drama-excitement-publicity components, and the phrasing of these vocational choices in terms of stellar roles. The American child inclines strongly to see himself a star, whether in ballet or baseball, in outer space or the operating room.

From the occupational aspiration statements of Japanese children we infer a pair of major value constellations identifiable respectively with traditional Japanese culture on the one hand and recent accretions of Western origin on the other. Representative of these old-new alignments is the interest of Japanese boys in sports, where they are divided between imported baseball and traditional sumo wrestling. Among the girls a similar dichotomy appears with respect to the arts, in which Western-style instrumental music and ballet vie

in popularity with traditional dance or flower-arranging. In sports and the arts, Western-inspired vocations have something of an edge in popularity, but this is compensated by the persistence of the traditional in other areas. The interest of the boys in Japan's long-vital business concerns is a case in point, with their emphasis upon trade and shop-keeping. This latter interest is shared by Japanese girls, who support another tradition by their interest in teaching. We conclude that vocational interests and associated values and attitudes among today's children in Japan move almost equally in new-old channels, with marked evidences that the two are merging and cross-cutting. The more radical departures from tradition are evident in the aspirations of girls for roles in the professions, in politics and public office, and in other areas rarely accessible to women in the past of Japan.

In some of their vocational interests Japanese children appear more Western than those of the West, or at any rate they conform more closely than do American children to what might be expected of Western-culture products. For example, Japanese children show somewhat more interest in the mass media than do American children, specifically in journalism, in radio, and in TV (writing, announcing, acting, etc., rather than in the technical aspects of these fields). Even more striking is the fact that Japanese children show much more interest in politics and public office, with aspirations toward careers in diplomacy, the Diet, as ministers of state, and even as prime ministers. This relative enthusiasm in Japan need not be entirely attributed to Westernization, and might equally be attributed to recent national events with their heavy focus upon the governmental system through talk of "democratization" and the enfranchisement of women.

Most striking of all Japanese/American contrasts are those having to do with the military and religious roles.

If what the children say does indeed accurately reflect their concept-value-attitude systems, then we must conclude that the Japanese child conceives of a society dedicated to peace and peacetime pursuits exclusively, since he totally ignores all roles related to the military or to the national defense, and discusses national welfare solely in terms of health, peace, and prosperity. This is distinctly not true of the American children, among whom seven and a half percent of boys and almost one percent of girls exhibit a lusty enthusiasm for the armed services and the activities they entail, along with a vigorous nationalism and patriotism.

Along with this cross-cultural paradox goes the less marked but statistically significant difference between Japanese children who are almost wholly concerned with the secular activity system, and American children who are not infrequently concerned with the roles of priest, minister, rabbi, nun, or missionary.

It appears that a total cultural eclipse has come upon the once glorious tradition of the *Samurai* and of his modern prototype who played the game of war with battleships and Zeros, and that in a temple- and shrine-studded land

its children are indifferent to the roles of those who tend and teach in sacred precincts.

The largest common denominator of the reasons advanced for occupational choice lies in their focal point with respect to people; i.e., in whether the reason has to do primarily with the self or with others. We find Japanese children, and boys particularly, more inclined than American children to offer reasons having to do with others, and to phrase statements in such a way that they minimize self-considerations.

As might be expected, it is Japanese children who show the greater inclination to justify occupational choice in terms of the welfare or wishes of parents or other adults important in their orbits, or in terms of family occupational continuity. However, we suspect a weakening of traditional values to be shown by the lesser frequency of such reasons as compared with reasons having to do with a particular segment of society (e.g., the poor, the sick), with society generally, or with the nation or humanity. Certainly humanitarian-compassionate values and attitudes, sometimes explicitly pan-human in scope, are in remarkable frequency among the Japanese children and in excess of similar expressions from American children. But a qualitative difference should be noted: the Japanese, in their often lofty and grandiose aspirations for "saving the world" from war, disease, and other afflictions and catastrophes by self-sacrifice and dedication, demonstrate a dreamy emotional-sentimental orientation reminiscent of traditional literature and drama. Conversely, the similar American expressions tend to be, if at all detailed, quite realistic, practical, and specific about means if not about ends.

Underlying and cross-cutting all our findings we see evidences of the vitality of strongly contrasting cultural themes in Japan and in the United States, themes long and pervasively built into the tissues of the two cultures. American children exhibit strong inclinations suggesting such themes as may be identified by the labels scientific-technical, urban-sophisticate, pragmatic-humanistic, and individualistic. The inclinations of Japanese children suggest themes which we might label commercial, sentimental-humanistic, and others-oriented.

We are impressed especially with the degree to which individualism—the "self-orientation" attitude as we have preferred to put it—is apparent in the statements from American children as contrasted with the Japanese. We refer to a constellation of attitudes very like those identified by Gillespie and Allport (1955) in their study of college-age youth and called by them "privatism," i.e., a constellation focused upon considerations of private or personal rather than public or social welfare. American culture, with all its emphasis upon the autonomy of the individual and his rights with respect to self-expression, self-fulfillment, and self-satisfaction, finds unmistakable expression among the children of this study. Among the Japanese children there is expressed with equal clarity features repeatedly commented upon by observers of Japanese culture past and present, rural and urban (e.g., Norbeck 1954; Haring 1949;

Caudill and DeVos 1956); i.e., the Japanese individual does not think of himself as autonomous, and it is his duties and obligations rather than his rights which are stressed; his attention is deflected away from self and toward family, community, and the wider society.

Having found no body of observations comparable to those reported here, we cannot establish, but strongly suspect, that these traditional Japanese orientations with respect to self and others are in transition in the direction of the American modalities. There may well be less of others-orientation and more of self-orientation among today's Japanese children than a pre-war generation would have shown. But however that may be, the fact remains that the Japanese children are markedly less self-centered and egocentric than the American. This observation, coupled with our finding concerning the relative American preoccupation with war and with national interest conceived in terms of defense, may well give pause for thought on this side of the Pacific.

NOTES

[1] The study of values, attitudes and social concepts in Japanese children was carried out in 1954–55, during the writer's tenure as Fulbright Research Scholar in Japan. Analysis of data, and preparation of this publication, were carried out under a grant from the Public Health Service, National Institutes of Health.

For invaluable assistance with the research unit reported here the writer wishes to acknowledge gratitude and indebtedness to Mr. K. Ikenaga and Miss A. Saito, distinguished Japanese teachers. Deep appreciation is also extended to school officials and teachers in a number of Japanese and American schools.

[2] As the writer subsequently learned, what is called here the "topic-essay" data-gathering device was being used in this Japanese study while Powdermaker (1956) was using essentially the same device in her study of Rhodesian children. The coincidence extends to the fact that among the four essays which Powdermaker asked each of her subjects to write, there was one bearing upon vocational aspirations ("what would you like to do when you finish school? Include the kind of job. . . ." 1956:786).

[3] In summarizing occupational choices, as well as the reasons given by the children, only the first-mentioned or the most-stressed have been counted (in cases where more than one choice or reason was offered by a given child).

It should be noted that the occupational categories used here do not follow any conventional system. These categories were simply deduced, on a "common sense" basis, from the groupings into which the children's interests seemed to fall.

[4] Statistical significance has been calculated according to the usual formula for measuring significance of difference between proportions (Arkin and Colton 1956:122–123). As given in Table 1 and subsequently, the "percent chance that difference is due to sampling" is drawn from their Table 32a (p. 118), after calculation of the number of standard errors which the actual difference represents.

[5] This may in part be accounted for by the fact that the modern "professional" fireman is a recent phenomenon in Japan, and the traditional firefighter was often a community ne'er-do-well called upon only in emergencies.

[6] Note that almost no one wants to become a geisha. Japanese tell the writer that this is neither surprising nor does it necessarily indicate that this ancient role is on the way out, since girls usually do not become geisha out of choice. They do so because it is economically desirable, from a family point of view, and a certain proportion will presumably continue to become geisha so long as this condition holds.

[7] It may be, however, that the Japanese girl's idea of "pharmacy" often has to do with dispensing drugs and sundries, i.e., with selling, rather than with the role of the licensed technician.

[8] It has been suggested to the writer that the relative specificity of occupational statements from American children may reflect American cultural emphasis upon occupational self-determination, and upon occupation generally. For example, this emphasis is conveyed to children early and frequently through such practices as the adult habit of asking "what are you going to be when you grow up?" (This particular habit is probably less common in Japan.) American children are stimulated by such practices to think about vocational choice and may be relatively well prepared to write the essays for which we asked.

REFERENCES CITED

ARKIN, H. and R. R. COLTON
1956 An outline of statistical methods. New York, Barnes & Noble Inc.

CAUDILL, W. and G. DEVOS
1956 Achievement, culture and personality: the case of the Japanese-Americans. American Anthropologist 58:1102–1126.

DENNIS, W.
1940 The Hopi child. New York, Appleton-Century.
1943 The Hopi child. *In* Child behavior and development, R. G. Barker, J. S. Kounin and H. F. Wright eds. New York, McGraw-Hill.

GILLESPIE, J. M. and G. W. ALLPORT
1955 Youth's outlook on the future. Garden City, N. Y., Doubleday and Co., Inc.

GOODMAN, M. E.
1952 Race awareness in young children. Cambridge, Mass., Addison-Wesley Press.

HARING, D. G.
1949 Japan and the Japanese. *In* Most of the world, R. Linton ed. New York, Columbia University Press.

LEIGHTON, D. and C. KLUCKHOHN
1947 Children of the people. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.

NADEL, S. F.
1937 Field experiment in racial psychology. British Journal of Psychology. 28:195–211. Cambridge University Press.

NORBECK, E.
1954 Takashima. Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press.

POWDERMAKER, H.
1956 Social change through imagery and values of teen-age Africans in Northern Rhodesia. American Anthropologist 58:783–813.