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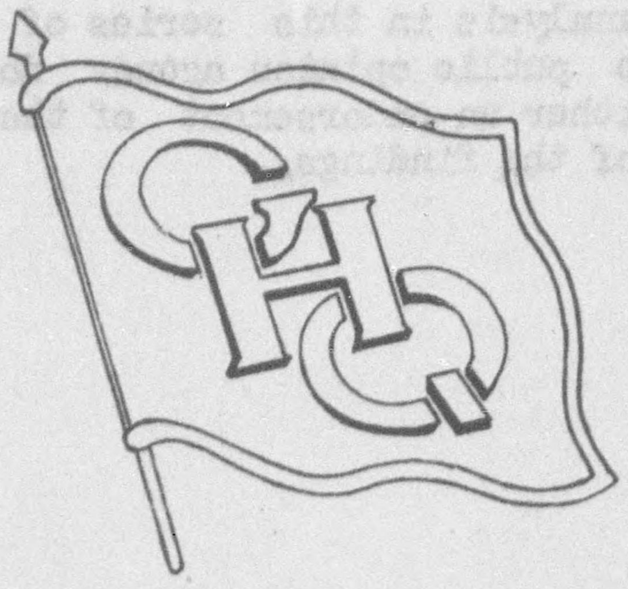
GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section

CURRENT JAPANESE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

NO. 14 27 SEPTEMBER 1948



Public Opinion and Sociological Research Branch
Research Unit

ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH DIVISION

FOREWORD

In this series of Current Japanese Public Opinion Surveys, Civil Information and Education Section presents brief analyses of surveys by Japanese agencies of the attitudes of the Japanese people toward significant current issues. In some cases, discussion of these findings will have appeared in the Japanese press. In this series, each public opinion survey which is reported is evaluated from the point of view of general reliability both of techniques and of findings. This evaluation is intended as an indication of the acceptability of the surveys as measures of Japanese attitudes.

The analysis in this series of a survey by a Japanese public opinion agency does not constitute either an endorsement of that agency or approval of the findings.

ATTITUDES OF RESETTLERS TOWARD THE LAND RECLAMATION PROGRAM

Association for Public Opinion Science
January-April, 1948[1]

THE SURVEY

THE PROBLEM

One of the most necessary steps in the revival of Japanese economy is the cultivation of all available arable land. The present domestic agricultural production, no longer supplemented by vast shipments from Japan's former overseas possessions, will not feed her millions. The country cannot depend indefinitely upon her former enemies to make up the deficit. Furthermore, since the end of the war, the repatriation of millions of Japanese from overseas areas has made the food problem more acute.

The urgent need for cultivating all available arable soil has resulted in an expanded program of land reclamation and resettlement which was put into effect in November, 1945 in accordance with the provisions of a ministerial memorandum of that date.[2] Because of the shortages of agricultural implements, fertilizer, seed, capital, and food, the execution of the program has met with many difficulties. Consequently, resettlement is still a problem of great concern to agencies responsible for the program.

THE SURVEY

At the request of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry, the Association for Public Opinion Science (Yoron Kagaku Kyokai) conducted a survey of the attitudes and problems of resettlers and of their progress in reclamation. The survey was concerned primarily with obtaining information on the problems resettlers are encountering in their work, the characteristics of people engaged in resettlement, and their future

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1. The survey findings were made available by the Association for Public Opinion Science during June and July 1948.
2. Cabinet Memorandum (Kakugi), November 1945, "Main Points in the Enforcement of Urgent Resettlement Work" (Kinkyu Kaitaku Jigyo Jisshi Yoryo).

intentions.3

The field work began on 10 January 1948. However, because many of the respondents lived in remote or snowbound sections of the country, the interviewing was not completed until approximately 30 April 1948.

A representative cross section was selected from approximately 100 resettlement communities throughout Japan, exclusive of Hokkaido. Responses were obtained from 2,453 persons. Direct interviewing methods were not used; questionnaires were distributed to respondents who filled them out individually and delivered them to the field workers, often at group meetings.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Only one out of 10 of the respondents had completed his reclamation program at the time of the interview. Most respondents reported that the work was proceeding more slowly than they originally had estimated. The principal reason given was the lack of funds.

In spite of many difficulties, 83 percent of the resettlers expressed the definite intention of continuing their work. Of those who had not already completed their reclamation projects and were able to provide an estimate, 61 percent believed it still would take four years or more to complete the reclamation. It was suggested frequently that

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3. Land reclamation activities are under the central direction of the Land Reclamation Bureau of the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry. Land reclamation bureaus of the prefectural agriculture departments direct the local work. Applications for reclamation land are made to the prefectural offices, where a committee determines the fitness of the applicant for the work and estimates the probability of success. According to estimates of the ministry, only one out of three applicants is accepted. Once the applicant is accepted, he receives a sum of ¥45,000 for the building of a house. In Hokkaido, because of the cost differential, the amount is ¥60,000. Indirect subsidies in the form of road construction, irrigation facilities, and water supply are believed to cost approximately ¥500,000 per tan of reclamation land. As the cash sum for house-building is inadequate, the reclaimer must borrow money from other sources if he has none of his own. Government and private bank loans are available. Under the terms of the agreement between the reclaimer and the Government, the reclaimer rents the land from the Government for 20 years. At the end of that time, the land becomes his freehold. For the first five years of the term, the reclaimer operates the land rent-free, after which time he begins to pay an annual installment.

The term "reclaimer" is used for all persons engaged in reclamation, while the term "resettler" is reserved for those who come from other areas to reclaim land. The respondents in this survey were resettlers.

government subsidies would be most effective in aiding resettlers.

RELIABILITY OF THE FINDINGS

The sampling design employed by the Association for Public Opinion Science in this survey seems technically sound. However, the method of direct interviews with predesignated respondents was not used. Some persons did not fill in their questionnaires at all, and others failed to complete them. While this may affect the reliability of the sample design, the number of such failures was so small that the survey findings were accepted as indicative of resettlers' attitudes toward the land reclamation program.

SURVEY FINDINGS

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESETTLERS

Age and Marital Status

Fifty-five percent of the respondents were between the ages of 26 and 45; 18 percent were youths of 17 to 25 years of age; and the remaining 27 percent were men over 45 years. Seventy-six percent were married, 24 percent single.

Previous Occupation and Agricultural Experience

A majority of the respondents, 59 percent, were engaged in non-farming occupations prior to resettling; however, 72 percent reported some agricultural experience. Of those with previous agricultural experience, 57 percent said they had had more than six years of such experience.

Previous Occupation

Farmer	41%
Laborer	18
Office worker	9
Professional military	8
Government worker	6
Small businessman	2
Technician	2
Business executive	1
Student	1
Fisherman	1
Other	5
No occupation	6

Main Reason for Reclaiming Land

Forty-nine percent of the resettlers listed economic pressures, such as unemployment, the shortage of food, insufficient income, and the housing shortage, as their reasons for engaging in land reclamation. Expressed desires to establish a branch family or to become a farmer accounted for 23 percent of those undertaking resettlement.

Food shortage	26%
National policy	21
Unemployment	16
Desire to establish branch family	13
Desire to become farmer	10
Housing shortage	4
Insufficient income	3
Don't know	7

Work Methods

Eighty-five percent reported operating individually, and the remaining 15 percent are working on a cooperative basis with other members of the reclamation union or with neighborhood groups.

RATE OF PROGRESS

Nearly all of the resettlers surveyed began their reclamation work after the war: 15 percent in 1945, 54 percent in 1946, and 27 percent early in 1947. Only a fraction of the land had been reclaimed before resettlement; only four percent reported that more than one chō —2.45 acres— had been previously reclaimed.

Since the land was allotted, reclamation has been going slowly. Only 11 percent reported that they had completed their reclamation work and 9 percent that they had reclaimed no land.

To some extent the rate of progress is indicated by a comparison of responses to questions on the length of time originally estimated for the completion of the reclamation and on the additional time required to complete the work from the time of the survey. While the median of the original estimates of time needed for completion was 5.75 years, at the time of the interview the median estimate of additional time required was 4.73 years.

	Original estimate	Estimate of additional time
Less than 1 year	1%	5%
2-4 years	20	34
4-6 years	33	30
6-9 years	36	23
9-11 years	8	7
Over 11 years	2	1

Only 26 percent of the resettlers felt that work was proceeding as they had expected originally. A small percentage stated that the work was progressing faster than anticipated, but the greatest number reported that it was slower than they had estimated.

DIFFICULTIES

The majority of the respondents reported lack of funds as the chief difficulty encountered in reclamation.

Lack of funds	60%*	Poor land and climatic conditions	17%
Insufficient food	39	Inadequate clothing	14
Insufficient farm equipment	21	Other	29
Insufficient fertilizer	18	Don't know	2

* The percentages add to more than 100 percent because respondents were permitted to give more than one answer.

About 9 out of 10 respondents reported that they had neither work animals nor mechanical equipment to assist them in their work.

Draft Animals or Mechanical Equipment Available

None	87%
Work animals	5
Tractors	4
Other	4

FUTURE OF THE RECLAMATION PROGRAM

Most of the respondents plan to continue their reclamation efforts. Only two percent expressed a desire to discontinue.

Will continue	83%
Want to continue but may be unable	13
Will discontinue	1
Want to discontinue but cannot	1
Don't know	1
Other	1

Necessary Aids

Of the various aids which resettlers believe would help them in reclamation work, the proposal for a government subsidy constituted 25 percent of all responses. Seven percent of the respondents favored government loans. In the following table, suggestions for assistance are expressed as percentages of the total number of responses given, rather than as percentages of the respondents.

	Percent of total suggestions
Government subsidy	25%
Increased food rations	16
More fertilizer	8
Increased work clothing ration	7
Government loan	7
Smaller grain collection quota	6
More large livestock	5
Road and ditch construction	3
More small livestock	3
More modern conveniences	3
More seed	3
More small farm equipment	2
Other	12

RECLAIMERS' ASSOCIATIONS

Under the Agricultural Cooperative Law,[4] 15 or more farmers may form a cooperative association. It is no longer necessary for farmers to belong to the single community agricultural association. The majority of the resettlers considered that the problems of reclamation and resettlement are sufficiently unique to justify separate organizations of their own, independent of the associations of nonreclaiming farmers.

Question: Within the next few months the agricultural assoiations throughout the country are going to be dissolved. From now on any 15 persons may form an agricultural cooperative and engage in various kinds of activities on their own behalf. Do you think that a reclamation agricultural cooperative union consisting of reclaimers alone should be formed, or do you think a general agricultural cooperative union together with all farmers in the district should be formed?

Reclaimers only	73%
Both reclaimers and farmers	17
Undecided	6
Don't know	3
Other	1

Of those who wanted an association for reclaimers alone, the majority desired that membership be limited to resettlers rather than include all reclaimers.

Question: Should this reclamation cooperative be restricted to resettlers, or should it include local farmers who engage in reclamation also?

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4. Agricultural Cooperative Law (Nogyo Kumiaiho), Diet Law 132, 19 November 1947, Article 55.

Resettlers only	71%
All reclaimers	25
Undecided	2
Don't know	1
Other	1

In spite of the expressed desire to have a separate association of resettlers, the majority thought that it was important for them to be allowed membership in the general cooperative association of farmers as well.

Question: If the kind of union that you want to see is formed, do you think it is necessary for you to enter the general community cooperative as well?

Yes	69%
No	21
Undecided	7
Don't know	3

A large majority considered a prefectural association of reclaimers necessary to coordinate the work of the local associations.

Question: If local reclamation cooperatives are formed, do you think they should band together to form a prefectural association for the purpose of strengthening and coordinating the operations of the local unions?

Yes	93%
No	2
Don't know	5

EVALUATION

The sample design planned for this survey was technically sound and representative. However, the fill-in questionnaire technique, which is less definite than the direct interview method, was used. Some respondents failed, as usual, to return the questionnaire, and others neglected to complete it. If the assumption can be made that the failure to fill out a questionnaire or to answer a question was random and equally distributed throughout all groups, the sample will not be affected. But, if there is reason to believe that there is some systematic bias in the failures to respond, in whole or in part for example, and if a high proportion of persons with low education level or those in old-age groups failed to answer, then some effect on the reliability of the sample may be assumed.

A further difficulty which arises in the interpretation of failure to reply is that some persons may not answer because they do not notice

the question. Others may not respond because they do not know, are undecided, do not understand the question, or do not consider it applicable to themselves. Another problem is the tendency of respondents to give only positive answers and to omit negative ones.

For these reasons it is impossible to be absolutely confident of the reliability of the findings. However, since in no instance does the failure to answer exceed 10 percent of the cases, the general trends reported can be accepted as substantially correct.

CURRENT JAPANESE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

Analyses of surveys prepared to date by
Civil Information and Education Section

No. 1	Attitudes of Tokyo Residents toward the Ashida Cabinet	29 May 1948
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No. 13	Attitudes toward Higher Denomination Currency	21 September 1948
No. 14	Attitudes of Resettlers toward the Land Reclamation Program	27 September 1948

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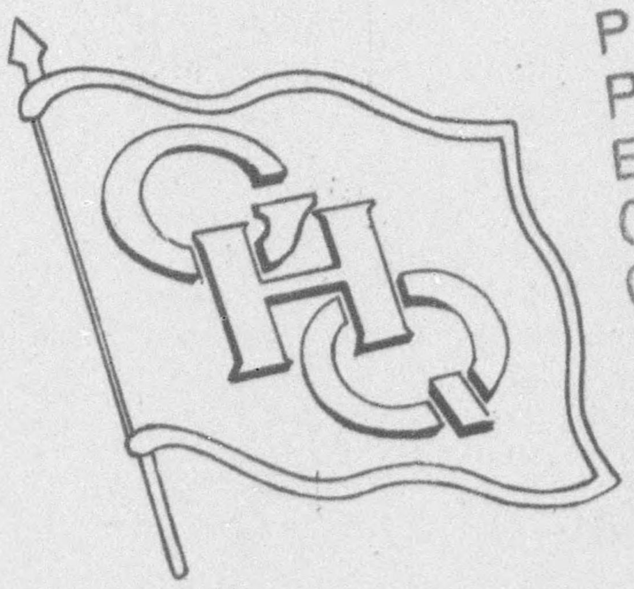
Civil Information and Education Section

CURRENT JAPANESE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

NO. 13 21 SEPTEMBER 1948



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Public Opinion and Sociological Research Branch
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ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH DIVISION

ATTITUDES TOWARD HIGHER DENOMINATION CURRENCY
Jiji News Agency Public Opinion Room, September 1948

THE SURVEY

THE PROBLEM

In spite of the tremendous increase in money circulation attendant upon the postwar inflation in Japan, currency still continues to be issued in denominations no higher than ¥ 100. Since normal daily transactions, both in business and in the lives of ordinary Japanese people, now require hundreds and thousands of yen, the proposal has been made frequently that notes of higher yen denomination be issued. Although the situation is still very different from that in China where even ordinary transactions require trunkloads of currency, a Japanese must carry a purse bulging with inflated currency, as business transactions require a considerable exchange of notes.

On the other hand, some people think that the use of higher denomination notes would tend to have a bad psychological effect in increasing inflation consciousness among the people.

THE SURVEY

Questions relating to this problem were submitted to a national cross section of business enterprisers and laborers by the Jiji News Agency Public Opinion Room in July 1948. A total of 2,833 business enterprisers, in agriculture, forestry, fishery, mining, industry, and commerce, and 4,500 laborers were interviewed.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The majority of those interviewed, in all groups except in mining, industrial, and commercial enterprises, opposed increasing the denomination of currency issues. The principal reason offered in opposition to the plan was fear that the intrinsic value of the currency would be lowered. The majority of those favoring the plan did so because they considered that notes of higher denomination would be more convenient in the paying of bills. Respondents favoring the issuance of higher denomination currency generally expressed preference for the ¥ 1,000 note.

RELIABILITY OF FINDINGS

The findings of the survey may be considered representative of the views of the population groups whose members were interviewed. No inferences concerning the opinions of other sections of the population can be made.

SURVEY FINDINGS

The majority of the respondents were opposed to the issuance of notes of higher denominations, but business enterprisers were somewhat more favorably disposed toward this proposal than were laborers. While in general rural respondents viewed this suggestion more favorably than urban respondents, rural businessmen did not.

Respondents were fairly certain of their personal opinions, but there was slightly greater uncertainty when they were requested to give an opinion from the standpoint of national conditions, as shown by the increase in "don't know" responses.

Question: From your personal point of view, do you think that currency of denominations higher than ¥ 100 should be issued or not?

	Total	Enterprisers	Laborers
Yes	40%	42%	39%
No	56	53	58
Cannot judge	1	2	1
Don't know	3	3	2

By Urban-Rural Areas

	Urban	Rural
Yes	38%	41%
No	58	55
Cannot judge	1	2
Don't know	3	2

By Occupation and Rural-Urban Areas

	Urban		Rural	
	Labor	Business	Labor	Business
Yes	36%	45%	42%	41%
No	59	53	57	53
Cannot judge	1	1	1	2
Don't know	4	1	0	4

By Type of Enterprise

	Agriculture, forestry, and fishery	Mining and industry	Commerce
Yes	32%	63%	51%
No	59	37	47
Cannot judge	3	0	1
Don't know	6	0	1

Question: Putting aside your personal point of view, do you think that currency of denominations higher than ¥ 100 should be issued, in view of present-day Japanese conditions?

	Total	Enter-prisers	Labor-ers
Yes	40%	43%	39%
No	53	48	55
Cannot judge	1	2	1
Don't know	6	7	5

WHY PEOPLE FAVOR HIGHER DENOMINATION CURRENCY

The principal reason offered by those in all groups who favor the issuance of higher denomination currency was that it would be convenient in the payment of bills. That public thinking on this problem is highly crystallized is indicated by the fact that virtually all respondents had a positive reason for their opinion.

Question: (To those who favored larger denominations) What is your main reason for favoring this?

	Total	Enter-prisers	Labor-ers
Convenience in payment of bills	48%	56%	28%
Business simplification	24	17	28
Rise in unit of transaction	18	19	17
Prevention of crime	4	3	4
Other	2	2	3
Don't know	0	0	1

WHY PEOPLE OPPOSE HIGHER DENOMINATION CURRENCY

The opponents of the proposal were also fairly definite in their opinions. Only three percent of the respondents failed to offer a specific reason for their opposition. The majority of the opponents of the proposal feared that the issuance of higher denomination currency

would result in the lowering of its intrinsic value. Fourteen percent feared the bad psychological effects of such a move. Mining and industrial enterprisers, as well as urban enterprisers in general, were the groups most fearful of psychological effects. Many rural respondents were afraid that the measure would tend to encourage an undue concentration of currency in the hands of a small group or of special groups in the population.

Question: (To those who oppose increase of currency denominations) What is your main reason for opposing the increase?

	Total	Enterprisers	Laborers
Lowering of intrinsic currency value	66%	62%	69%
Bad psychological effects	14	14	14
Encouragement of undue currency concentration	8	14	4
Inconvenience	4	4	3
Other	5	3	6
Don't know	3	3	4

By Urban-Rural Areas

	Urban	Rural
Lowering of irtrinsic currency value	70%	64%
Bad psychological effects	16	12
Encouragement of undue currency concentration	4	10
Inconvenience	3	4
Other	4	6
Don't know	3	4

By Occupation and Urban-Rural Areas

	Urban		Rural	
	Labor	Business	Labor	Business
Lowering of intrinsic currency value	73%	62%	64%	63%
Bad psychological effects	15	22	14	11
Encouragement of undue currency concentration	3	6	5	16
Inconvenience	2	6	5	4
Other	4	3	8	3
Don't know	3	1	4	3

By Type of Enterprise

	Agriculture, forestry and fishery	Mining and industry	Commerce
Lowering of intrinsic currency value	62%	66%	62%
Bad psychological effects	11	25	17
Encouragement of undue currency concentration	19	1	8
Inconvenience	3	0	7
Other	2	3	4
Don't know	3	5	2

PREFERRED DENOMINATION

The ¥ 1,000 note was preferred by those who favored the higher denomination currency. The ¥ 500 note ranked as the second choice. The issuance of notes of higher than ¥ 1,000 was favored most frequently by mining and industrial enterprisers and by urban labor. It is interesting to see that more laborers than businessmen favored the higher note issues.

Question: (To those who favored higher currency issue) If notes higher than ¥ 100 are issued, what denomination would you favor?

	Total	Enterprisers	Laborers
Below ¥ 500	9%	11%	7%
¥ 500	34	34	34
¥ 1,000	50	48	51
Over ¥ 1,000	6	6	7
Don't know	1	1	1

By Urban-Rural Areas

	Urban	Rural
Below ¥ 500	8%	9%
¥ 500	31	35
¥ 1,000	53	48
Over ¥ 1,000	8	6
Don't know	0	2

EVALUATION

The sample employed in the survey was selected by systematic random methods from tax rolls. While the sample does not purport to

represent the views of the entire population in Japan, it may be regarded as representative of the views of the special population groups surveyed.

The survey questions were clearcut and did not allow ambiguous answers.

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
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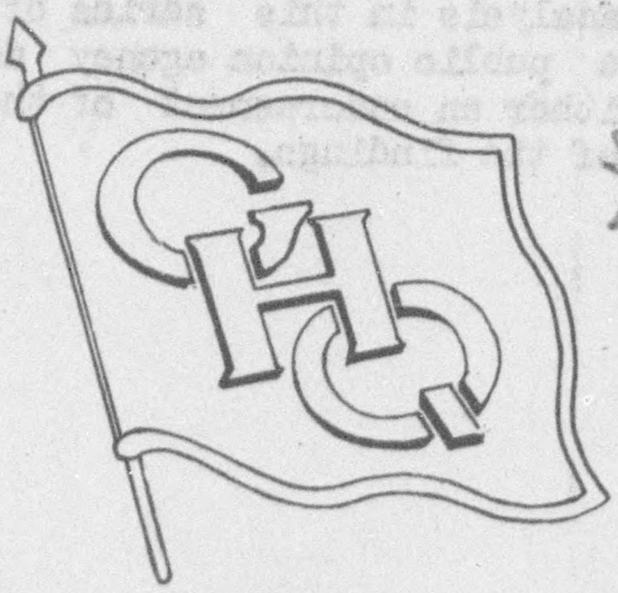
CURRENT JAPANESE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

NO. 12 18 SEPTEMBER 1948



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ATTITUDES TOWARD THE EMPEROR SYSTEM
Yomiuri Shimbun Yoron Chosabu, July 1948

THE SURVEY

THE PROBLEM

Under the old Constitution of Japan, the Emperor, as the representative of a "dynasty unbroken for ages eternal," was defined as a being of "inviolable sanctity," and as the "ruler" of the Japanese Empire.[1] With the end of the war, the position and powers of the Emperor were brought into sharp question both by the victorious allies and by some Japanese. While the constitutional position of the Emperor was unsatisfactory from the standpoint of democratic government, the retention of the Emperor system in some form was clearly favored by the majority of the Japanese people.[2] Under the new Constitution, which became effective in May 1947, the Emperor was redefined as the "symbol of the State and of the unity of the people, deriving his position from the will of the people with whom resides sovereign power."[3] According to the redefinition of his authority, "he shall not have powers related to government."[4]

Although the constitutional status of the Emperor system has been settled, some people still contend that the present Emperor should abdicate in favor of the Crown Prince. There has been a good deal of public discussion and speculation over this suggestion.

THE SURVEY

In order to ascertain public attitudes toward the Emperor system and toward the proposed abdication of the present Emperor, the Yomiuri Newspaper Public Opinion Section (Yomiuri Shimbun Yoron Chosabu) interviewed 3,080 persons throughout the country between 1 and 3 July 1948. Respondents were selected by systematic random methods from lists of voters in sample areas.

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1. Constitution of the Japanese Empire, Chapter I, Articles 1-4.
2. Public opinion surveys throughout the year 1946 indicated that between 86 and 92 percent of the adult population consistently supported the Emperor system.
3. The Constitution of Japan, Chapter I, Article 1.
4. Ibid., Chapter I, Article 4.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The retention of the Emperor system was favored by nine out of 10 respondents. All sections of the population supported the system in approximately the same proportions, except Communists, who were overwhelmingly opposed.

While 69 percent of the respondents favored the continuance of the present Emperor in office, 22 percent favored his abdication. The majority of those favoring abdication of the Emperor desired that he be replaced by the Crown Prince.

RELIABILITY OF THE FINDINGS

The sampling procedure employed in the survey was technically sound, and the findings may be accepted as representative of the opinions of the Japanese people.

SURVEY FINDINGS

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE EMPEROR SYSTEM

Support of the Emperor system was expressed by 90 percent of the respondents. Only four percent favored the abolition of the system. All sections of the population supported the Emperor system in approximately the same proportion except for the Communists, of whom only 11 percent expressed support.

Question: Under the new Constitution the Emperor has been defined as the "wish of the people,"[5] the "symbol of the nation." How do you feel about this Emperor system?

Should be retained	90%
Should be abolished	4
Don't know	6

Analysis of responses, broken down according to political affiliation, occupational grouping, and education level, revealed the following to be the only groups of which significant percentages advocated abolition of the Emperor system:

Communists	89%
Professionals	10
Higher-education group	10

5. "Kokumin no akogare." The term akogare may be rendered variously as desire, yearning, longing, love, hope, or wish.

ATTITUDES TOWARD ABDICATION OF THE PRESENT EMPEROR

The continuance in office of the present Emperor is favored by 69 percent of the respondents. Abdication is favored by 22 percent including 18 percent who expressed the belief that the crown should be transferred to the Crown Prince and four percent who favored the abdication of the present Emperor and also the abolition of the Emperor system.

Question: How do you feel about the abdication of the Emperor?

Should continue in office	69%
Should abdicate and transfer authority to the Crown Prince	18
Should abdicate, and Emperor system should be abolished	4
Don't know	9

Statistical breakdowns of those who advocate the abdication of the Emperor--both those who would transfer the authority to the Crown Prince and those who believe the Emperor system should be abolished--indicate some significant variations in the attitudes of occupational, educational, and political party groups. Abdication of the Emperor is advocated more frequently by professionals, persons with higher education, and Communists than by other groups. Nearly all Communist Party supporters believe the present Emperor should abdicate.

Occupation	Should abdicate
Professionals	33%
Commerce and industry	26
Salaried workers	26
Industrial labor	24
Unemployed	10
Farmers and fishermen	18

Educational	Should abdicate
Higher school	35%
Middle school	26
Primary school	20

Political Party Supported	Should abdicate
Communist	94%
Social Democrat	26
People's Cooperative	24
Liberal Democrat	22
Democrat	17

EVALUATION

From the standpoint of sampling procedure, the findings of the survey may be regarded as representative of the opinions of the Japanese people.

The question concerning attitudes toward the Emperor system seems, however, to be somewhat weighted in a direction favorable to the Emperor. The question specifies that the Emperor has been defined in the new Constitution as the "wish of the people," the "symbol of the nation." The use of such honorific and favorable terms seems to give a definite bias to the expected response. However, it may be that Japanese attitudes toward the Emperor system are so fixed that they cannot be affected by the wording of a question, in which case the fact that the question is weighted makes no difference.

The intent of the question was to determine the attitudes of the people toward the present Emperor system, as defined in the Constitution. It is very doubtful, however, whether a single question can discriminate between attitudes toward the present system and attitudes toward the Emperor system in general. For many respondents, support of the Emperor system may mean support of the continuation of the Emperor system in any form and with any powers. For others, the support may be limited to the present system in which the Emperor has restricted powers.

It cannot be inferred, therefore, from the present survey that the Japanese people favor the present Emperor system as defined in the Constitution. All that can be inferred safely is that the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people support the Emperor system in general. But it is also possible that this majority is somewhat overestimated by the present survey.

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No. 10 Attitudes in the Kansai District toward Democratization of Securities — 26 August 1948

No. 11 Attitudes toward the Inflation Problem — 3 September 1948

No. 12 Attitudes toward the Emperor System — 18 September 1948

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GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section

CURRENT JAPANESE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

NO. 11 3 SEPTEMBER 1948

Public Opinion and Sociological Research Branch
Research Unit

ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH DIVISION

FOREWORD

In this series of Current Japanese Public Opinion Surveys, Civil Information and Education Section presents brief analyses of surveys by Japanese agencies of the attitudes of the Japanese people toward significant current issues. In some cases, discussion of these findings will have appeared in the Japanese press. In this series, each public opinion survey which is reported is evaluated from the point of view of general reliability both of techniques and of findings. This evaluation is intended as an indication of the acceptability of the surveys as measures of Japanese attitudes.

The analysis in this series of a survey by a Japanese public opinion agency does not constitute either an endorsement of that agency or approval of the findings.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE INFLATION PROBLEM
Shimbun Yoron Chosa Remmei
June 1948

THE SURVEY

THE PROBLEM

Inflated prices continue to be a major problem facing the Japanese people. Various anti-inflationary measures, such as price control, are in force, and, efforts are being made to make more goods available through increased production and the expansion of foreign trade.

At present, several other measures to halt the rise in prices are under discussion. Prominent among them are proposals to bring in foreign investments and a decision by the Government to raise official prices in order to divert the flow of goods from the black market into official channels. Although the official price will be higher, the total cost will be lower for the consumer, since the average price is compounded of both black-market and official prices.

THE SURVEY

A nation-wide survey was conducted from the 21st to the 24th of June, 1948, by the Newspaper Public Opinion League (Shimbun Yoron Chosa Remmei) under the technical guidance of the Jiji News Agency Public Opinion Room (Jiji Tsushinsha Yoron Chosa Shitsu) to determine the attitudes of the general public toward these proposals. The Newspaper Public Opinion League is made up of regional newspapers and the Jiji News Agency which together conduct surveys throughout Japan. Each member agency interviewed respondents in its section of the country, thus reducing both the length of time required to complete the survey and the cost of the operation. In all, 6,854 persons, constituting a cross section of the adult population, were interviewed. An area sample with random selection was employed.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Most of the respondents expected that prices would continue to increase[1] and showed little confidence in the Cabinet's ability to cope

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1. At the time of writing of the present report it is too early to determine what the actual effects of official price rises on black market prices have been. There have been some rises, but these may be explained by seasonal variations in supply.

with the situation.

A large majority of the respondents reported that living is more difficult this year than last, and more than three-fourths expected black-market prices to go still higher with the increase in official prices.

About half the people interviewed thought the Cabinet could not stop inflation by bringing in foreign investments.

The majority of the respondents did not expect any relief to result from the economic policies of the Cabinet.

RELIABILITY OF THE FINDINGS

The general findings of this survey and some of the major breakdowns are fairly reliable. However, the finer statistical subdivisions are based on too few cases to be considered reliable and therefore have been excluded from this report.

The sampling plan was set up on an area basis by random methods, and, if followed exactly, should have obtained a reliable national cross section of the adult population. Doubt as to the exact meaning of one of the questions is discussed in the evaluation.

SURVEY FINDINGS

LIVING CONDITIONS

Nearly two-thirds of the respondents consider that their living is more difficult this year than last, while only 11 percent find it easier. The fact that only two percent of the respondents were unable to answer indicates that this question touches upon a problem of widespread concern.

Question: Have things become easier or harder for you since this time last year?

Easier	11%
No change	23
Harder	64
Cannot answer	2

OPINIONS ON THE EFFECT OF OFFICIAL PRICE RISES

The majority of the respondents felt that when official prices go up black-market prices will rise only slightly. Twenty-four percent expect a large increase. Twelve percent feel that the change will not affect the black market.

Question: Controlled prices are about to go up a great deal. What do you think will happen to black-market prices as a result?

Go up a great deal	24%
Go up slightly	54
Will not rise	12
Don't know	10

By Region

There was a slight variation in responses by region. A larger percentage of the Kanto respondents than those of other areas expected a sharp rise in prices rather than a slight increase. Nearly 75 percent in each region expected some rise consequent upon the upward movement of official prices.

By Sex

Although three times as many women as men were undecided, the tendency of both groups is the same. Three-fourths of both groups expect black-market prices to increase with official prices.

By Urban-Rural Areas

Urban and rural groups agree closely in thinking that a rise in controlled prices will be accompanied by at least some rise in black-market prices.

By Occupation

While the general response was very similar for all occupational groups, somewhat larger percentages of government workers and professionals, salaried employees and labor than other groups expected a rise in black-market prices as a consequence of the rise in official prices.

	Greatly	Slightly	No rise	Don't know
Salaried employees and labor	31%	57%	8%	4%
Government workers and professionals	27	62	8	3
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	22	51	13	14
Commerce, industry, business management	21	54	19	6
Other	26	51	7	16

OPINIONS ON ANTI-INFLATION MEASURES OF THE CABINET[2]

The findings seem to indicate that a plurality of the respondents lack confidence in the ability of the Cabinet to bring in foreign investments; however, about one-third of those interviewed were unable to express an opinion. There were no significant regional differences in the responses to this question.

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2. Some doubtful aspects of the meaning of this question are discussed in the evaluation, page 5.

Question: There is a movement to bring in foreign investments to increase production and to check inflation. Do you think the present Cabinet will succeed in stopping inflation by bringing in foreign capital?

Yes	16%
No	50
Don't know	34

By Sex

Men were more positive than women on this question. Although fully one-half of the women were unable to express an opinion, the ratio of "yes" answers to "no" answers was the same for men and women, about one to three.

	Men	Women
Yes	20%	12%
No	59	38
Don't know	21	50

By Occupation

A strikingly high percentage of Government workers and professionals believe the Cabinet will be unable to halt inflation by bringing in foreign investments. The percentage of business men expecting this Cabinet policy to be successful is higher than that of other occupational groups.

	Yes	No	Don't know
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	14%	50%	36%
Commerce, industry, business management	25	55	20
Salaried employees and labor	15	59	26
Government workers and professionals	9	74	17
Other	14	53	33

ATTITUDE TOWARD ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE CABINET

Only a small number of respondents were optimistic about the economic policies of the Ashida Cabinet. The majority were inclined to expect nothing or were unable to answer the survey question.

Question: Looking at the matter generally, do you expect anything from the economic policies of the Ashida Cabinet?

Yes	8%
No	61
Don't know	31

By Sex

Women were far less decided than men, but few of either sex indicated that they expected anything from the economic policies of the

Cabinet.

	Men	Women
Yes	8%	6%
No	74	46
Don't know	18	48

EVALUATION OF THE FINDINGS

The sample design and field work procedures employed in this first survey conducted by the newly formed Newspaper Public Opinion League, were planned by a very reliable agency, the Jiji News Agency Public Opinion Room. The survey questions, however, were formulated by a committee of the League.

The instructions sent to each member of the League by Jiji were quite comprehensive and, if followed exactly, should have helped to make uniform the work of the different agencies. However, since the experience of the member agencies varies considerably, many of them having had no previous polling experience, the results probably are not of uniform quality. It is impossible to determine how much influence these variations in technique may have had upon the findings.

The sample used for this survey was large enough for the major conclusions drawn. The national breakdowns by sex, region, and occupation are also based upon an adequate number of cases for reliable inference.

The question on the ability of the Cabinet to halt inflation by bringing in foreign investments illustrates some of the cardinal errors of questionnaire formulation in public opinion research. This type of question, frequently called "double-barrelled," offers several possible meanings, and it is often impossible to determine in which sense the respondents understood the question. The full question asks: "There is a movement to bring in foreign investments to increase production and to check inflation. Do you think the present Cabinet will succeed in stopping inflation by bringing in foreign capital?" If a respondent answers "no" to this question, it is apparent that he can mean at least one of six different things: the present Cabinet cannot bring in foreign investments and stop inflation; it cannot stop inflation by bringing in foreign investments; it cannot bring in foreign investments, but it may be able to stop inflation by other means; it cannot stop inflation by any means, even though it may be able to bring in foreign investments; no Cabinet can stop inflation by bringing in foreign investments or by any other means; foreign investment cannot stop inflation. It is very likely that a large number of respondents were expressing their general confidence or lack of confidence in the Cabinet rather than a judgment on such a complex technical issue as the relationship of foreign investments to inflation.

Aside from this question, the survey was well conceived. Cooperative surveys by a large number of newspapers with different ideas and varying levels of training and experience must result inevitably in some irregularities in standard field procedures. It may be expected, however, that with the accumulation of joint experience and with the continued guidance of the Jiji News Agency Public Opinion Room, the Newspaper Public Opinion League surveys will improve rapidly in method and technique.

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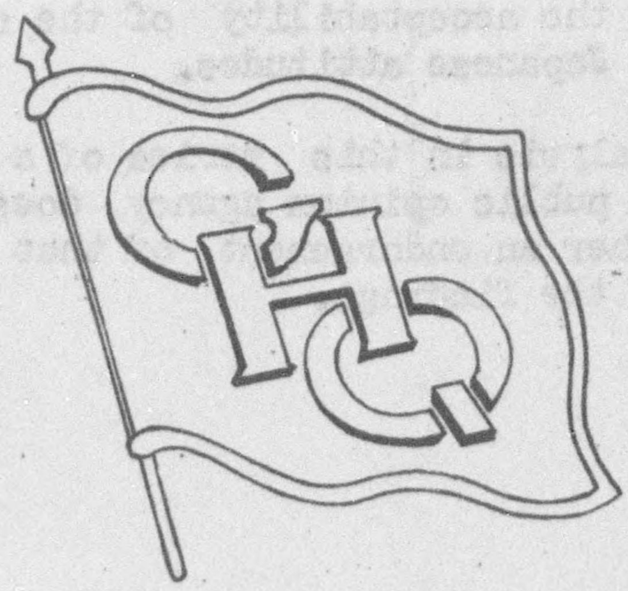

Public Opinion and Sociological Research Branch
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ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH DIVISION

FOREWORD

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ATTITUDES IN THE KANSAI DISTRICT TOWARD
DEMOCRATIZATION OF SECURITIES
Jiji News Agency, April 1948

THE SURVEY

THE PROBLEM

In conformity with the policy of decentralizing economic power, the Japanese Government has enacted legislation to make securities more attractive to the public. In December, 1947, the Imperial Ordinance[1] which restricted dividends to five percent of the profits, was superceded by the Diet Law,[2] which permitted unlimited dividends to investors. On 7 May 1948, the Government began the enforcement of the further revision provided in the Securities Exchange Law,[3] which is patterned after the American system and affords greater protection to investors than the original Diet law. At the present time a tax reduction for juridical persons, which would give added incentive to the public to invest in securities, is under consideration.

Information on the degree of interest in and understanding of the movement for the "democratization of securities," that is, the movement for wider dissemination of stock ownership among the general public, can aid in the evaluation of some of the factors that affect the carrying out of the general program of economic decentralization.

THE SURVEY

A survey was conducted between 15 and 25 April 1948 by the Osaka Branch of the Jiji News Agency Public Opinion Room (Jiji Tsushinsha Yoron Chosa Shitsu) to determine the degree of interest in and understanding of the securities democratization program. A sample of 3,000 persons was selected by random methods in Osaka, Kyoto, Hyogo, Wakayama, Nara, Shiga, and Fukui prefectures, constituting the Kansai District. The survey was designed to cast some light on the type of legislation needed to insure the success of the program and to assist the Government,

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1. Imperial Ordinance (Chokurei) No. 243, 27 April 1946, Law for the Prohibition and Restriction of Corporation Dividends (Kaisha Haitoto Kinshi Seigen Rei).
2. Diet Law (Horitsu) No. 190, 16 December 1947, Special Law Concerning Corporation Dividends (Kaisha Rieki Haitoto Rinji Sochi Ho).
3. Diet Law (Horitsu) No. 25, 13 April 1948, Securities Exchange Law (Shokan Torihiki Ho).

stock brokers, and management in formulating future policies. Findings of the survey were made available to Civil Information and Education Section 25 May 1948.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The majority of persons interviewed expressed little interest in stock purchase. The principal reasons cited were lack of money and lack of experience with financial affairs. Fifty-nine percent of the respondents apparently were completely unaware of the securities democratization program. Twenty percent of the respondents reported current ownership of stocks and 28 percent reported that they intended to purchase stocks. Opinions volunteered by the respondents included the following: that stocks should be made available in smaller denominations; that speculation should be controlled; and that the quality of stock brokers should be improved.

RELIABILITY OF THE FINDINGS

The present survey was conducted in accordance with acceptable techniques of area and random sampling, and the results may be accepted as reliable.

SURVEY FINDINGS

WAYS OF UTILIZING EXTRA CASH

In order to determine the extent of spontaneous interest in stock purchase, respondents were asked what they would do with extra cash. Only 9 percent stated that they would purchase stocks. The majority of respondents appeared to be thinking in terms of less speculative uses for their money.

Question: If you had any extra cash, what would you do with it?

Buy stocks	9%
Buy goods	28
Deposit in bank	25
Engage in business	18
Keep cash	16
Other	4

By Sex

Approximately twice as many men as women reported that they would buy stocks if they had extra cash.

	Men	Women
Buy stocks	13%	6%
Buy goods	28	29
Deposit in bank	21	28
Engage in business	22	14
Keep cash	12	19
Other	4	4

By Occupation

There was far greater interest among management in purchasing stocks than among other occupational groups.

	Buy stocks	Buy goods	Deposit in bank	Engage in business	Keep cash	Other
Management	22%	27%	18%	24%	8%	1%
Professionals	14	26	22	22	11	5
Teachers & students	14	28	24	13	16	5
Government workers	13	27	27	21	10	2
Small & medium businessmen	11	28	24	24	11	2
Laborers	11	30	22	18	14	5
Farmers	6	31	27	12	21	3
Unemployed	5	27	27	15	21	5
Fishermen	2	37	22	22	13	4

By Class[4]

The upper class reported almost twice as much interest in buying stocks as the middle class and almost three times as much as the lower class.

	Upper class	Middle class	Lower class
Buy stocks	17%	9%	6%
Buy goods	28	28	29
Deposit in bank	20	25	27
Engage in business	22	18	16
Keep in cash	11	16	17
Other	2	4	5

KNOWLEDGE OF DEMOCRATIZATION OF SECURITIES

It was found that less than half of the respondents were aware of the securities democratization program. Knowledge of the program was

4. A discussion of the determination of respondents' class level is included in the evaluation of this survey.

more widespread among younger than among older respondents, among men than among women, in urban areas than in rural areas, and among upper class than the middle and lower classes. Since the question did not discriminate degrees of information, it is probable that many persons who merely had heard of the program but did not understand it were included in the "yes" category.

Question: Do you know of the current program for the democratization of securities?

Yes	41%
No	59

By Urban-Rural Areas

Residents of urban areas were much more aware of the securities democratization program than those in rural districts.

	Have knowledge
Prefectural capitals	50%
Noncapital cities	46
Rural areas	33

By Sex

Twice as many men as women were acquainted with the program.

Men	55%
Women	27

By Age

There was a negative relationship between age and awareness of the program. The percentage of persons reporting knowledge of the program declined with increasing age.

	Have knowledge
21-30	48%
31-40	42
41-50	40
Over 50	33

By Occupation

Teachers, students, and management personnel seemed more aware of the campaign than other occupational groups.

	Have knowledge
Teachers and students	77%
Management	76
Government workers	70
Professionals	58
Laborers	54

(continued)

Small & medium businessmen	38%
Fishermen	25
Farmers	22
Unemployed	21

By Class

Knowledge of the program was most widespread in the upper class.

	Have knowledge
Upper class	64%
Middle class	41
Lower class	28

INTEREST IN SECURITIES

When respondents were questioned directly concerning their interest in stocks and securities, the great majority reported no interest. The principal reasons offered for disinterest were lack of money and unfamiliarity with stocks. However, a majority of management respondents and half of the upper class respondents expressed interest.

Question: Are you interested in stocks?

Yes	27%
No	73

Question: (Asked of those who answered "no") Why?

Lack of money	40%
Unfamiliarity with stocks	20
Unhappy experience with stocks	6
Too speculative	5
Inappropriate[5]	18
Other	11

By Urban-Rural Areas

There was much more interest expressed by urban than by rural respondents.

	Interested	Uninterested
Prefectural capitals	33%	67%
Noncapital cities	35	65
Rural areas	21	79

5. This category includes such responses as "It is unrelated to my mode of life," "I am only a woman," "I am only a student," etc.

By Sex

Men expressed much more interest in stocks than women.

Men	40%
Women	15

By Occupation

Interest was highest in the management group, followed by teachers and students. The least interest was expressed by the unemployed and farmers.

	Interested
Management	62%
Teachers & students	49
Government workers	38
Laborers	36
Professionals	34
Small & medium businessmen	26
Fishermen	20
Farmers	16
Unemployed	14

By Class

Interest in securities corresponded closely with class, the upper class being most interested.

	Interested
Upper class	50%
Middle class	27
Lower class	14

STOCK OWNERSHIP

One in five of the respondents reported stock ownership. (The highest rates of ownership were reported by management and by the upper class.)

Question: Do you own stocks at present?

Yes	20%
No	80

By Urban-Rural Areas

Cities other than prefectural capitals showed the highest rate of ownership.

	Own stocks
Prefectural capitals	21%
Noncapital cities	26
Rural areas	17

By Sex

More than twice as many men as women owned stocks.

	Own stocks
Men	28%
Women	13

By Occupation

Management ranked highest in percentage of ownership of stocks.

	Own stocks
Management	64%
Government workers	30
Professionals	27
Small & medium businessmen	24
Teachers & students	24
Laborers	19
Unemployed	15
Farmers	11
Fishermen	8

By Class

Stock ownership rose sharply with class.

	Own stocks
Upper class	53%
Middle class	20
Lower class	5

Types of Stocks Owned

The stocks owned by the respondents were distributed among a variety of types of enterprise. Railroad and mining stocks accounted for 40 percent of all stocks owned.

	Distribution of total stocks owned
Railroad	20%
Mining & related industries	20
Textile	15
Banks and trusts	15
Business enterprises[6]	10
Construction companies	5
Department stores	5
Other	10

Time of Acquisition of Stocks

It is significant that 60 percent of all stocks owned at present by the respondents were acquired since the end of the war, while 20 per-

6. Literally: business promotion (jigyo kogyo).

cent apparently have been held by the present owners for at least 13 years, and an additional 20 percent was purchased between 1935 and 1945.

	Distribution of total stocks owned
Before 1935	20%
1935 to 1945	20
1946	10
1947	20
1948	30

STOCK PURCHASE INTENTIONS

The majority of respondents reported that they do not intend to purchase stocks at present. However, approximately half of management, teachers and students, government workers, and upper class respondents reported intention to buy.

Question: Have you any intentions of acquiring new stocks?

Yes	28%
No	72

By Prefecture

Osaka and Kyoto led all other prefectures of the Kansai District in the percentage of potential stock buyers.

	Intend to buy
Osaka	37%
Kyoto	32
Hyogo	27
Fukui	25
Nara	21
Wakayama	20
Shiga	14

By Urban-Rural Areas

Urban areas reported greater interest in the acquisition of stocks than rural areas.

	Intend to buy
Prefectural capitals	31%
Noncapital cities	40
Rural areas	23

By Sex

Nearly two and one-half times as many men as women indicated an intention to purchase stocks.

	Intend to buy
Men	40%
Women	17

By Occupation

Management reported the highest interest in the acquisition of new stocks with students and teachers, and government workers next in order. Least interest was expressed by farmers and the unemployed.

	Intend to buy
Management	55%
Teachers & students	50
Government workers	47
Professionals	37
Laborers	37
Small & medium businessmen	33
Fishermen	22
Farmers	17
Unemployed	12

By Class

There was a far higher percentage of potential buyers among the upper classes than among the middle and lower classes.

	Intend to buy
Upper class	53%
Middle class	28
Lower class	17

TYPES OF STOCKS DESIRED

Textile stocks were most popular among potential buyers.

Textile	50%
Railroad	20
Amusement companies	10
Banks & trusts	10
Business enterprises	5
Others	5

OTHER FINDINGS

The information reported in the following additional findings of the survey is based upon an analysis of spontaneous suggestions, reasons, and explanations offered by respondents during the interviews.

Obstacles to Stock Purchase

The size of the unit of transaction (100 shares to a unit)[7] was considered by many respondents to be the chief obstacle to stock purchase by the general public. Inexperience with the stock exchange and distrust of stock brokers also were cited frequently as deterrents to stock purchase.

Opinions on the Democratization of Securities

Respondents offered many opinions and suggestions for improvement of the democratization of the securities campaign. A majority of persons giving opinions reported that lowering of the unit of transaction was essential to the success of the campaign. It was felt that desirable stocks are available at present only to the wealthy, and that equitable distribution of stocks can result only from lowering the unit of transaction, thus bringing stock purchases within the reach of ordinary people.

Another conviction frequently expressed was that it is necessary to educate the public to accept the idea that investment in stocks is important to industrial revival. The popularization of the securities democratization program in periodicals, movies, and lectures was advocated. Restraints on speculation and improvement of the quality of stock brokers also were considered important for encouraging stock investment.

A small number considered that the securities democratization movement would weaken capital and consequently hinder industrial revival. It was felt that in the present chaotic state of Japanese economy the securities democratization program was too idealistic to succeed.

EVALUATION

The sampling procedure of the survey was based upon principles of area and random sampling design. Since the field program was under capable direction and was conducted by a well trained staff of 60 experienced interviewers, it is reasonable to believe that the field sampling was carried out in accordance with the planned design.

In several cases the respondent was restricted to only one response, where an unlimited number of responses might have been more appropriate. For example, in the question on what stocks respondents wanted to buy, the limitation to one response results in an impression that is possibly

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7. The stipulation of 100 shares as the unit of transaction is not a matter of law. On 10 July 1946, securities dealers were instructed by the Stock Exchange to use a 100-share unit. However, shares of Zaibatsu corporations are sold at auction by the Securities Coordinating and Liquidating Committee (Shoken Shori Kyogikai) in any quantity.

misleading. Although a respondent may have been interested in both railroad and textiles stocks, only one of these was recorded. The data therefore can be construed only as indicating the first choice of the respondent.

Questions designed to determine how much the public knows about various government programs are important in public opinion research. The present survey does not succeed completely in providing such information. Since the question asks only whether people "know" of the program or not, it does not distinguish degrees of knowledge. Although the survey showed that 41 percent of the respondents had some awareness of the program, this figure probably overestimates the information level, since it includes persons who have no more than a hearing acquaintance.

The present survey is one of the few ever conducted in Japan which attempts to segregate answers by "class." In the United States public opinion agencies normally prefer a "class" analysis to an occupational analysis, but the occupational analysis has been more popular in Japan. The class categories used in the survey seem to have general validity, as evidenced by the fact that the class differences in response are in accordance with common sense expectations. However, the determination of class level of the respondent was left to the interviewers, who were given no instructions on the criteria to be employed in judgment. The successful use of class analysis in public opinion surveys requires the establishment of a set of rigid and objective criteria which leave minimum room for subjective interviewer judgment. The present survey does not meet this important condition.

The survey also attempted a further refinement of class analysis. An attempt was made to classify respondents within occupational groups by class. Teachers, businessmen, farmers and other occupational groups were rated as upper, middle, or lower class by the interviewers. While this procedure offers interesting possibilities, such refined judgments must be based upon detailed objective criteria or they are open to even more subjective bias than the determination of general class categories. For these reasons the data obtained from this analysis were excluded from the present report.

It may be expected that in the future such class ratings will provide information of considerable importance and interest, but the application of the technique as used in this survey does not permit confidence in the meaningfulness of the results.

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Attitudes of Tokyo Residents toward the Ashida Cabinet (Yoron Kagaku Kyokai, February 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 1 — 29 May 1948

Attitudes in Kyoto toward Coeducation in the New Lower Secondary Schools (Nagasue Public Opinion Research Institute, March 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 2 — 5 June 1948

Attitudes toward the Ashida Cabinet and Related Political Matters (Asahi Newspaper Public Opinion Room, March 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 3 — 12 June 1948

Attitudes of Union Members in the Tokyo Area (Yoron Kagaku Kyokai, March 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 4 — 28 June 1948

Attitudes in Osaka toward Current Political Problems (Osaka Public Opinion Research Institute, March 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 5 — 30 June 1948

Attitudes in Tokyo toward the New Lower Secondary Schools (Yoron Kagaku Kyokai, March 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 6 — 17 July 1948

A National Survey of Attitudes toward the Ashida Cabinet (Mainichi Shimbun Yoron Chosa Shitsu, March 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 7 — 9 August 1948

Attitudes of Tokyo and Kyoto Residents toward Strikes of Government Workers (Yoron Kagaku Kyokai, Tokyo; Nagasue Yoron Kenkyujo, Kyoto, April 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 8 — 10 August 1948

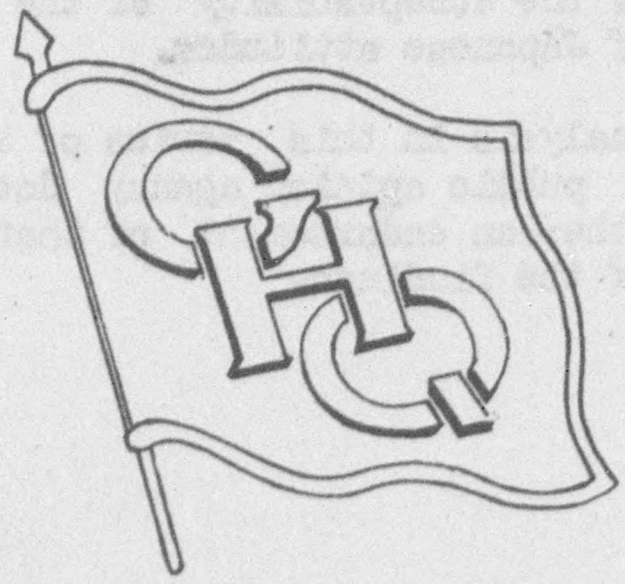
Attitudes of Osaka Consumers toward Vegetable Rationing (Osaka Yoron Chosa Kenkyujo, April 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 9 — 11 August 1948

Attitudes in the Kansai District toward Democratization of Securities (Jiji News Agency)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 10 — 26 August 1948

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
SUPREME COMMANDER FOR THE ALLIED POWERS
Civil Information and Education Section

CURRENT JAPANESE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

NO. 9 11 AUGUST 1948



Public Opinion and Sociological Research Branch
Research Unit

ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH DIVISION

FOREWORD

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ATTITUDES OF OSAKA CONSUMERS
TOWARD VEGETABLE RATIONING
Osaka Yoron Chosa Kenkyujo, April 1948

THE SURVEY

THE PROBLEM

The rationing of vegetables in Japan began during the war. Since then the fair and efficient working of the rationing system has been a continuous problem for Japanese Government officials and the people in general. The satisfactory distribution of available vegetables has been difficult, especially in the larger urban centers. Detailed information about the actual working of the distribution system and consumers' attidues toward current rationing practices can be of use to government officials and other persons concerned with food and rationing problems.

THE SURVEY

The Osaka Public Opinion Research Institute (Osaka Yoron Chosa Kenkyujo) conducted a survey of 2,031 sample households in Osaka City in April 1948 on several aspects of vegetable distribution and consumers' attitudes toward vegetable rationing. The survey was intended to be a cross section of all households in the city of Osaka. Several cho (administrative districts) were selected at random, and the individual households to be polled within each cho were chosen by a method of random number selection. A responsible member of each selected household was chosen for interview.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

1. Less than one-fifth of the respondents reported that they were able to get along on rationed vegetables alone.

2. The black market was indicated as the principal means of making up vegetable shortages by most of the persons reporting shortages, but large families tended to rely principally on their own vegetable gardens.

3. Ration information was more frequently gained from newspapers than from radio broadcasts.

4. Most persons venturing opinions believed that vegetable dealers were engaged in illegal activities.

5. About one person in nine felt that official prices of vegetables were high compared to prices of other commodities.

RELIABILITY OF THE FINDINGS

The sample seems to have been selected with enough care to insure a fair degree of representativeness. Although there are some minor technical shortcomings in the survey, the findings presented in this report may be considered to be reliable.

SURVEY FINDINGS

NOTIFICATION AND DISTRIBUTION

The respondents were asked how they learned of each distribution of rationed vegetables. The great majority reported that they were notified by the vegetable dealers.

Question: By what means do you learn of rationed vegetable distribution?

Vegetable dealers' notification	81%
Notice board	11
From acquaintances	6
By asking for information from dealers	2

Methods of ration distribution have changed since the wartime neighborhood associations, which functioned as ration distribution agencies, were banned officially in 1947. A majority of consumers reported that they went to the authorized ration stores for their rations, but over a third reported that they depended on the neighborhood method of distribution in which the rations are delivered to some place in the neighborhood at which the consumers individually make their purchases.

Question: How do you get your vegetable rations?

At ration store	55%
Neighborhood delivery	37
Home delivery	8

ACCURACY OF MEASURE

Respondents were asked whether they received the full measure of their rations from their dealers. Although most of the persons polled did not venture an opinion, respondents who reported receiving their fair share far outnumbered persons replying in the negative.

Question: Do you receive the proper amount of rationed vegetables?

Yes	33%
No	8
Don't know	59

ADEQUACY OF THE VEGETABLE RATION

Most of the respondents reported that rationed vegetables supplied only a part of their needs. Less than one-fifth said they were able to get along on rationed vegetables alone, and of the remainder about one-half considered that rations were "somewhat short" and one-half reported that rations were "very short" of their needs.

Question: Are you able to get along on the vegetables ration?

Yes	19%
No, somewhat short	41
No, very short	40

By Occupation*

Persons living on wage incomes reported about the same amount of difficulty in getting along on the vegetable ration as persons whose incomes were derived from profits in business and industry.

	Wage earners	Business & industry
Yes	19%	20%
No, somewhat short	43	34
No, very short	38	46

By Size of Family

Larger families reported greater difficulty in getting along on rationed vegetables than smaller families.

	1 - 3 members	4 - 6 members	7 or more members
Yes	26%	18%	12%
Somewhat short	37	44	36
Very short	37	38	52

* Responses for the occupational categories, "liberal professions" and "other occupations," listed in the original data, were omitted from this report because of the small number of cases reported. The "wage earner" category includes all persons living on fixed wage incomes (kyuryo seikatsu sha), and "business and industry" covers persons who are in business for themselves.

SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCES OF VEGETABLES

Respondents who replied that they were unable to get along on the ration were asked how they supplemented their rations.

Question: How do you make up the shortage in vegetables?

Black market	59%
Private vegetable garden	41

By Size of Family

Small families tended to depend more on the black market to make up their shortages, while the very large families relied more on their private vegetable gardens.

	1 - 3 members	4 - 6 members	7 or more members
Black market	63%	61%	48%
Private vegetable garden	37	39	52

INFORMATION MEDIA

A large majority of the respondents reported that they read about rationing in the newspapers, but only about half of the respondents said they hear about it on radio broadcasts. The great majority said that they had never heard sound truck announcements of ration information.

Question: Do you listen to news about rationing on the radio, or read about it in the newspapers?

Newspapers		Radio	
Read	69%	Hear	49%
Don' read	31	Don't hear	51

Question: A sound truck is used to broadcast the type, quantity, and price of rationed vegetables. Have you ever heard it?

Yes	12%
No	88

VEGETABLE PRICES

A great majority of the respondents stated that they bought rationed vegetables at the official prices.

Question: Do you pay the official price for your rationed vegetables?

Yes	93%
No	7

Most of the persons polled reported that official prices of rationed vegetables were neither high nor low as compared with the prices of other commodities.

Question: As compared to other commodities, are the official prices of vegetables high?

Yes	11%
No	22
About the same	67

Although only 11 percent of the total respondents believed that the prices were high, the proportion of persons living on wage incomes who considered that prices were high was smaller than the proportion of those in business and industry.

By Occupation

	Wage earners	Business & industry
Yes	8%	17%
No	26	15
About the same	66	68

EVALUATION

The random sampling method employed in this survey and the relatively large number of persons interviewed indicate that the sample was adequately representative.

Irregularities in the number of responses were found in the tabulated results but were corrected in this report. These indicate some laxness in the control of field interview procedure and in the clerical tabulation. The occupational categories used in the cross tabulations are too general, so that the data classified by occupation are not as meaningful as might be desired. However, in view of the modest scope of the survey, these shortcomings do not seriously detract from the overall value of the findings.

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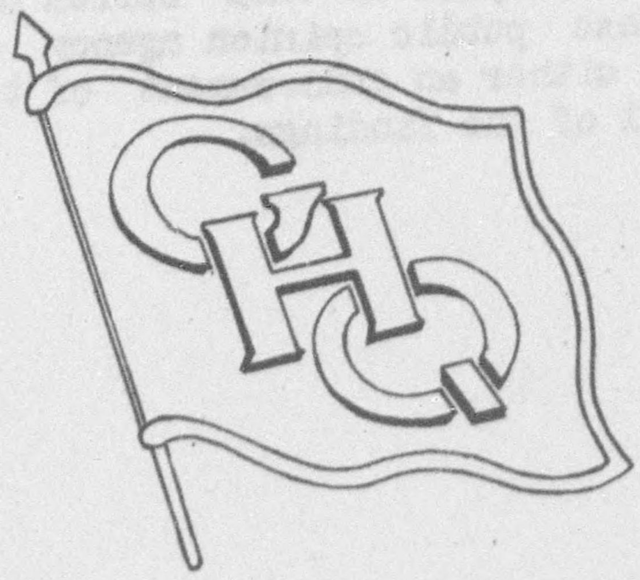

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ATTITUDES OF TOKYO AND KYOTO RESIDENTS
TOWARD STRIKES OF GOVERNMENT WORKERS

Yoron Kagaku Kyokai, Tokyo; Nagasue Yoron Kenkyujo, Kyoto

April 1948

THE SURVEY

THE PROBLEM

A series of disputes between government workers and the Government, which began in October of 1947, have agitated the Japanese labor scene. By March of 1948 these disputes had resulted in sporadic strikes or work stoppages, usually of relatively short duration, which involved government railroad workers, communications employees, tax collectors, telephone employees, and many other categories of government workers. On 29 March 1948, a memorandum from the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers directed that such "coordinated work stoppages" be ended.[1] The Government and the employees agreed to a wage standard of ¥ 2,920 per month.

These strikes and disputes caused considerable inconvenience to the Japanese people in the form of disrupted telephone and telegraph communications, train stoppages, and other interruptions in the flow of public service.

THE SURVEYS

Two surveys were conducted in April 1948, one in Tokyo and one in Kyoto, to find out what the Japanese people thought about these strikes and what they believed should be done about them. The Tokyo survey was conducted by the Association for Public Opinion Science (Yoron Kagaku Kyokai), and the Kyoto survey by the Nagasue Public Opinion Research Institute (Nagasue Yoron Kenkyujo). The two surveys did not cover exactly the same ground, but they can be compared to some extent.

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1. Economic and Scientific Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Memorandum to the Ministers of Communications and Labor, dated 29 March 1948--not to be confused with the letter from the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers to the Japanese Prime Minister dated 22 July 1948 which, in effect, requested the Japanese Government to take steps which would prohibit strikes of government workers.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Analysis of the attitudes of a cross section of the people of Tokyo and Kyoto showed that a majority of the respondents opposed the government workers' strikes and favored strong measures to halt them. Kyoto residents seemed to be more opposed to the strikes than Tokyo respondents.

Forty-six percent of the Tokyo respondents considered that the responsibility for the strikes lay in whole or in part with the Government, as compared with 47 percent who blamed the unions wholly or in part. Tokyo respondents also favored a wage for government workers higher than the Government offer to the unions, which suggests that while the public did not oppose the wage demands of the unions, nearly a majority of them were opposed to the method of strike for the attainment of the demands. It was also found that a majority of persons in Tokyo favored the continuation of wages during strikes.

THE TOKYO SURVEY FINDINGS

On 17 and 18 April, 1948, the Association for Public Opinion Science conducted a survey of attitudes of 1,390 persons, representing a cross section of the population of Tokyo, toward the government workers' strikes. The survey showed that almost a majority of the people were against the strikes. However, respondents did not consider the unions exclusively responsible; they blamed the Government as well as the unions for the situation. The great majority, however, favored increases in the wages of government workers in excess of the government proposal. A majority of respondents favored either complete prohibition of government workers' strikes or strengthening of restrictions.

Traditional Japanese concepts of the paternalistic relations between employers and employees were revealed in the fact that 50 percent of the respondents felt that wages should be paid during strikes. Thirty-three percent felt that wages should not be paid to strikers.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE STRIKES

Responses to the question regarding attitudes toward the strikes were coded in terms of "blame." However, it is possible to convert the responses into terms of "support" or "nonsupport" of the strikers. If the figures obtained in the survey are regrouped on the basis of the assumption that opposition to government workers' strikes was expressed by those who "blamed" the unions, or both the unions and the Government, for the strikes, it can be said that 20 percent supported the strikes, 47 percent tended to oppose them, and the remainder had no opinion or could not be classified.

Question: What do you think about the current strikes of government workers?

Government is wrong	20%
Unions are wrong	21
Both are wrong	26
Don't know	31
Other	2

By Sex

Women were far more undecided in their attitudes than men. About one-half of the women respondents were unable to make up their minds.

	Men	Women
Government is wrong	26%	14%
Unions are wrong	26	15
Both are wrong	31	20
Don't know	15	49
Other	2	2

By Age

Although the data are not statistically decisive, some difference in attitude according to age seems to exist. A smaller percentage of respondents in the younger age groups tended to hold the unions alone responsible. Persons under 30 tended to consider the Government at fault more frequently than did older persons.

	20-29	30-39	40-49	Over 49
Government is wrong	26%	18%	19%	14%
Unions are wrong	19	19	22	27
Both are wrong	26	27	23	24
Don't know	26	35	34	33
Other	3	1	2	2

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT THE STRIKES

The survey findings show that 76 percent of the respondents favored some kind of restriction on government worker strikes, 45 percent favored complete prohibition, 12 percent felt that no restrictions are necessary, and 12 percent were uncertain.

Question: Do you think that public service strikes or related actions should be permitted?

Prohibit completely	45%	No restrictions	12%
Strengthen restrictions	16	Don't know	10
Present restrictions sufficient	15	Other	2

By Sex

As in the previous question regarding "blame" for government workers' strikes, Tokyo women again were considerably less decided than men. However, despite the larger female "don't know" response, both men and women favored complete prohibition of strikes in approximately the same proportions.

	Men	Women
Prohibit completely	44%	46%
Strengthen restrictions	21	12
Present restrictions sufficient	18	12
No restrictions	13	12
Don't know	3	17
Other	1	1

By Age

Older people seemed to show more disfavor toward the government-worker strikes than younger people. Although the differences between the age-groups are not statistically significant, there is a slight and consistent rise with age in support of complete prohibition of the strikes.

	20-29	30-39	40-49	Over 49
Prohibit completely	43%	45%	46%	48%
Strengthen restrictions	17	15	16	18
Present restrictions sufficient	15	20	12	10
No restrictions	17	10	13	8
Don't know	6	8	13	15
Other	2	2	0	1

PROPER INCOME FOR GOVERNMENT WORKERS

One of the main issues of dispute between the government workers and the Government was the demand for higher wages. The workers' demand was countered with a government offer of a monthly ¥2,920 "wage standard," which, for a 30-year-old middle school graduate of 10 years work-experience, with a spouse and one child, provides about ¥3,000 per month.

In the survey, Tokyo residents were asked to indicate what they thought was a proper wage for government workers. The standard of a 30-year-old government worker with spouse and child was offered as a base for judgements. The survey findings show that 72 percent of the respondents proposed a wage higher than the Government's offer.

Question: What would be an appropriate monthly income for government workers?

Below ¥2,000	1%	¥6,000	5%
¥3,000	17	¥7,000	3
¥4,000	35	Don't know	10
¥5,000	29		

By Sex

Almost the same percentages of men and women, 72 and 71 respectively, supported a higher wage for government workers than was offered by the Government.

	Men	Women
Below ¥2,000	1%	1%
¥3,000	19	14
¥4,000	39	31
¥5,000	27	30
¥6,000	4	5
¥7,000	2	5
Don't know	8	14

PAYMENT OF WAGES DURING STRIKES

There is a good deal of controversy over the question of payment of wages during strikes. Employer-employee relations in Japan are of a paternalistic type. It is customary for the employer to assume certain responsibilities for his employees' welfare during bad times, even though it may result in operating at a loss for a period of time. It is quite common for an employer to continue to pay wages while his workers are striking against him. Recently there has been some dissatisfaction with this arrangement, and employers would like to feel free to suspend wage payments during strikes. The Tokyo respondents were asked their opinion of this matter. One-half of them felt that wages should continue to be paid during strikes.

Question: Do you think that wages should be paid during strikes?

Yes	50%
No	33
Don't know	17

By Sex

Women were less decided about the matter than men, although the tendency was the same for both groups.

	Men	Women
Yes	54%	46%
No	37	29
Don't know	9	25

THE KYOTO SURVEY FINDINGS

On 19 April 1948, the Nagasue Public Opinion Research Institute interviewed 339 persons to find out the attitudes of a cross section of the people of Kyoto toward the strike wave. The questions were more specifically directed toward the strikes of government transportation workers in the city, but cover the same general attitudes as covered by

the Association for Public Opinion Science in Tokyo.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE STRIKES

Respondents were asked to indicate their support or nonsupport of the Government transportation workers' strikes. A large majority stated that they did not support the strikes.

Question: There are strikes of the city streetcars and city busses. Do you support them?

Support	15%
Do not support	65
Undecided	20

By Sex

Very few women indicated support of the strikes; a larger majority of women than of men opposed them; and the "undecided" rate for women was somewhat higher than for men.

	Men	Women
Support	24%	7%
Do not support	61	70
Undecided	15	23

By Occupation

As might be expected, there was considerable variation among occupational groups in attitude toward the strikes. Workers and teachers tended to support the government workers, while all other categories tended to be opposed. Greatest opposition was expressed by "white collar" employees and students.

	Support	Oppose	Undecided
Workers	54%	38%	8%
Teachers	50	38	12
Liberal professions	29	57	14
Students	25	60	15
Commerce and industry	20	54	26
White Collar	13	69	18

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE ABOUT THE STRIKES

The Kyoto survey found a greater majority of the respondents opposed to government workers' strikes than did the Tokyo survey.

Question: What should be done about the strikes?

Leave them as is	9%
Stop them	82
Undecided	9

By Sex

A larger percentage of women than of men demanded the cessation of the strikes.

	Men	Women
Leave them as is	13%	2%
Stop them	79	86
Undecided	8	12

A COMPARISON OF THE RESULTS OF THE TWO SURVEYS

The surveys cannot be compared in detail because of differences in the questions asked, in the coding of answers, and in the breakdowns employed in analysis. However, they do touch on related matters, and some comparison can be inferred.

In both cities, opposition to the strikes was high. By grouping the survey figures obtained in Tokyo in terms of probable support and nonsupport, the people of Tokyo seemed slightly more sympathetic to the Government workers than the people of Kyoto.

	Tokyo	Kyoto
Support	20%	15%
Nonsupport	47	65
Undecided	33	20

If the figures are grouped in the same way, it is found that while the men of Tokyo and Kyoto had virtually the same distribution of attitudes, the women of Kyoto were decidedly more unsympathetic to the strikes than the women of Tokyo.

	Men		Women	
	Tokyo	Kyoto	Tokyo	Kyoto
Support	26%	24%	14%	7%
Nonsupport	57	61	35	70
Undecided	17	15	51	23

The question relating to strikes by government workers cannot be compared directly in the two surveys because of the difference in coding. However, they both show general opposition to such strikes, such opposition being considerably greater in Kyoto than in Tokyo.

EVALUATION OF THE SURVEY

The surveys presented in this report were conducted by agencies which in the past have demonstrated considerable ability and reliability in survey work. The Association for Public Opinion Science in the present survey employed the technique of randomizing by area sampling, a tech-

nique which in general is considered most satisfactory in American public opinion practice. The Nagasue Public Opinion Research Institute of Kyoto tends to use a quota-allocation system, based upon known and estimated census data, similar to the system employed in the Gallup polls in the United States. In general, Nagasue's findings in Kyoto surveys have been reliable.

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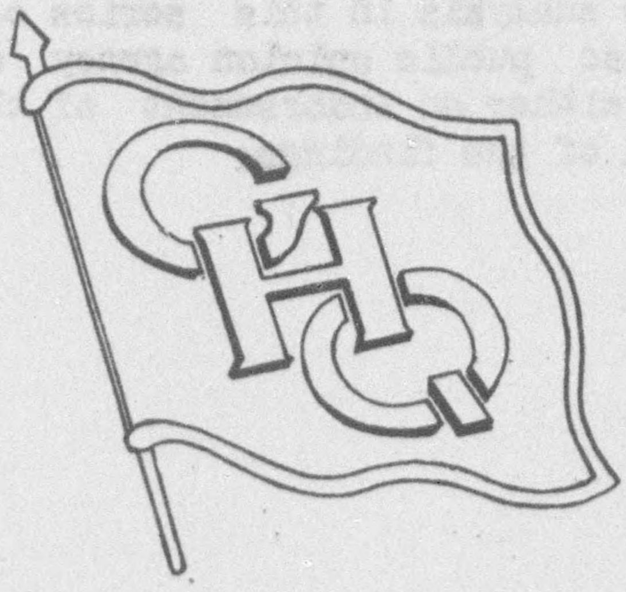

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A NATIONAL SURVEY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ASHIDA CABINET
Mainichi Shimbun Yoron Chosa Shitsu, March 1948

THE MAINICHI SURVEY

THE PROBLEM

The formation of the Ashida Cabinet in February 1948 was accompanied by a great deal of opposition and demands for the dissolution of the Diet and a new general election. While this opposition came from the more articulate elements of the population, there was a good deal of evidence from surveys of public opinion that these general views were held by a substantial proportion of the people.[1]

THE SURVEY

This survey, conducted by the Mainichi Newspaper Public Opinion Room (Mainichi Shimbun Yoron Chosa Shitsu) between 10 and 20 March 1948, on a cross section of approximately 5,000 persons throughout the country, attempted to determine the nature of public attitude toward the Cabinet and the Diet.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The findings of this survey seemed to confirm the general impression obtained from other surveys, showing that the Cabinet enjoyed considerably less than majority support in March, that a large part of the support was passive, and that a majority favored dissolution of the Diet and the holding of new elections. The survey also revealed that the largest number of respondents wanted the Cabinet to devote itself to the solution of the inflation problem as its most important task.

Comparison with the Findings of an Asahi Survey

Findings of the Mainichi survey are very similar to those obtained in a survey conducted during the same period by the Asahi Newspaper

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1. Civil Information and Education Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Attitudes of Tokyo Residents Toward the Ashida Cabinet, Public Opinion Survey, No. 1, Tokyo, 29 May 1948; Attitudes Toward the Ashida Cabinet and Related Political Matters, Public Opinion Survey, No. 3, Tokyo, 12 June 1948; and Attitudes in Osaka Toward Current Political Problems, Public Opinion Survey, No. 5, Tokyo, 30 June 1948.

Public Opinion Room (Asahi Shimbun Yoron Chosa Shitsu).[2] The proportion of respondents supporting the Cabinet was found to be virtually the same in the two surveys, 31 percent and 30 percent, respectively. However, the field procedures employed by Mainichi allowed more time for consideration of the questions asked and thereby obtained fewer "no opinion" responses than the Asahi survey. The lower incidence of "no opinion" response in the Mainichi survey was accompanied by a considerably higher figure of nonsupport than in the Asahi survey.

In answer to the question regarding the calling of a general election, Mainichi and Asahi obtained similar "election unnecessary" responses, while considerable difference existed in the "call election" response. The Mainichi survey indicated a considerably higher percentage of approval for the calling of a general election, and at the same time a lower "no opinion" response than the Asahi survey.

This report includes a comparison of the findings of the two surveys and a discussion of the different field procedures employed by the surveying agencies.

RELIABILITY OF THE FINDINGS

On the whole the Mainichi survey seems to be reliable in its general findings since it confirms the findings obtained by other surveys. As a consequence of certain aspects of the field procedure, however, some of the more detailed results may be questioned or must be interpreted with considerable care.

SURVEY FINDINGS

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE ASHIDA CABINET

The survey findings seem to show that the Ashida Cabinet did not enjoy majority support among the people.

Question: Do you support the Ashida Cabinet?

Yes	31%
No	49
No opinion	20

Respondents were asked to indicate their reason for support or nonsupport of the Cabinet. Responses indicating definite reasons for sup-

2. Civil Information and Education Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Attitudes Toward the Ashida Cabinet and Related Political Matters, Public Opinion Survey, No. 3, Tokyo, 12 June 1948.

port or nonsupport were designated as "positive," and those without such a reason were designated "negative" or passive. It was found that by these definitions the great majority of opponents of the Cabinet were "positive" in their reasons, while among supporters "negative" support was almost as frequent as "positive" support.[3]

Question: Why do you support or not support the Ashida Cabinet?

SUPPORT[4]		
Positive support		
Agree with policy	12%	
Like Ashida	8	
Support cabinet coalition	6	
It is a moderate party	6	
Was elected by the Diet	6	
Other	8	
Total		46%
Negative (passive) support		
Is in existence	16%	
All cabinets are same	15	
Other	9	
Total		40%
No reason		14%
Total support		100%
NONSUPPORT		
Positive nonsupport		
Do not agree with its policy	22%	
Prefer previous cabinet	20	
Unconstitutional formation	19	
Oppose coalition cabinet	11	
Want a new election	3	
Other	13	
Total		88%
Negative (passive) nonsupport		
All cabinets are same	1%	
Other	1	
Total		2%
No reason		10%
Total nonsupport		100%

3. This finding may be compared with the results of a survey conducted by the Asahi Newspaper Public Opinion Room which showed that 70 percent of those who reported support of the Cabinet supported it because "it can't be helped." Ibid., p. 2.
4. The classifications in this table are those of the Mainichi Newspaper Public Opinion Room.

By Sex

Although more women reported no opinion than men, the general tendency was similar for both sexes.

	Men	Women
Support	31%	29%
Do not support	56	43
No opinion	13	28

ATTITUDE TOWARD A NEW GENERAL ELECTION

The survey showed that a majority of the respondents felt that the present Diet should be dissolved and that a new election should be held.

Question: Do you think that the National Diet should be dissolved and a vote of confidence of the people sought by means of a general election?

Yes	58%
No	29
Don't know	13

By Attitude Toward the Cabinet

There was a close relationship between attitudes toward the Cabinet and attitudes toward the necessity for a new election. Of respondents who opposed the Cabinet, 88 percent tended to favor a new election, while 66 percent of the supporters of the Cabinet felt that new elections were unnecessary.

	Support	Oppose	Don't know
Call election	29%	88%	32%
Election unnecessary	66	8	21
Don't know	5	4	47

WHAT THE PEOPLE WANT THE ASHIDA CABINET TO DO

Respondents were asked to indicate the one thing they wanted the Cabinet to do most of all. The largest number indicated the solution of inflation as their most urgent desire. While this request was highest in all occupational groupings, it was reported most frequently by the professional and labor groups. The next major concern, livelihood stabilization, was expressed most frequently by salaried workers and laborers.

Solve inflation problems	30%	Abolish controls	2%
Stabilized livelihood	14	Speed up the peace conference	2
Increase food ration	6	Bring in foreign investment	2
Revive industry	4	Resign	1
Revise taxation system	4	Enforce policies	1
Increase fertilizer and agricultural implements ration	3	Other	18
Solve labor problems	2	Don't know	11

COMPARISON OF THE MAINICHI SURVEY WITH A SIMILAR SURVEY BY ASAHI

The Mainichi survey was conducted between 10 and 20 March 1948. During the same period, a survey on the same subject was conducted by the Asahi Newspaper Public Opinion Room. A comparison of the results of the two surveys shows some interesting similarities and differences.

In both surveys the proportion of respondents reporting support of the Cabinet was about the same, 31 percent and 30 percent, respectively. The rates of nonsupport and no opinion were reported quite differently however, by the two surveys.

	Mainichi	Asahi
Support	31%	30%
Nonsupport	49	31
No opinion	20	39

In the question dealing with the general elections, both surveys reported approximately the same proportion of "unnecessary" responses, 27 percent and 29 percent respectively, but again the "call election" and "no opinion" proportions differed significantly.

	Mainichi	Asahi
Election unnecessary	29%	27%
Call election	58	42
No opinion	13	31

In general there are four factors which could have caused the variation: a difference in time of the two surveys, a difference in the sample surveyed, or a difference in field procedures. The time difference must be excluded as a factor because the periods of survey overlapped. No difference existed in the phrasing of the questions. Asahi and Mainichi used identical question forms on support of the Cabinet.[5] The differences between the question forms on the dissolution of the Diet do not seem to be such as to bring about major variations in response.[6] The difference may have resulted from a difference in the sample surveyed. While both surveys were based upon cross sections of the country, the methods of selection of the cross section

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5. Both polls asked the same question identically-worded: "Do you support the Ashida Cabinet," ("Anata wa Ashida Naikaku o shiji shimasu ka?")

6. The Asahi question: "Do you want the National Diet to dissolve and general elections for the House of Representatives to be held at this time," (Kono sai Kokkai o kaisan shite Shugiin Giin no sosenkyo o nozomimasu ka?") The Mainichi question: "Do you think that the National Diet should be dissolved and a vote of confidence of the people sought by means of a general election," ("Kokkai o kaisan shite sosenkyo ni yori kokumin ni shinnin o toubeki da to omoimasu ka?")

differed. The extent of difference in the nature of the two population samples resulting from the difference in selection procedure cannot be estimated on the basis of the data included in the survey reports.

However, the most likely basis for the differences may be found in the respective field procedures of the two agencies. In the Mainichi survey procedure, the respondents were not interviewed personally. The questionnaires were delivered to the homes of the respondents, left for consideration for periods varying from one night to two days, and picked up by the field worker in a subsequent visit. In the Asahi survey, on the other hand, the respondents were interviewed in private and immediate record was made of the responses.

There seem to be two important consequences of this difference in procedure. First, the Mainichi procedure gave respondents more time to think out their responses. Persons who were somewhat undecided had time to come to a definite decision. That such effect actually was obtained may be seen in a comparison of the "no opinion" rates obtained for the two surveys. In the question on support of the Cabinet, the Asahi "no opinion" proportion was almost twice as high as that obtained by Mainichi. In the question on dissolution of the Diet, the Asahi "no opinion" rate was more than twice that of Mainichi. This variation is found in all breakdowns of the two surveys.

The second important consequence is the fact that the Mainichi procedure made it possible for persons to consult with others rather than give their own unaided and unguided opinion. If this was the case, then it could be expected that women (who in the sample were chiefly housewives) would tend to be influenced by their husbands. That such a possibility existed has been demonstrated by Mainichi itself in a survey of the influence of husbands on the attitudes of wives toward political questions.[7] It may be anticipated from this possibility that the Asahi procedure, maximizing as it does the real differences between the opinions of husbands and wives, would show a higher rate of difference than the Mainichi procedure.

An examination of the differences between the percentages of men and various women giving the same response relative to support of the Ashida Cabinet in the two surveys shows that this was the case. Where Asahi found a seven percent difference in support, Mainichi found only a two percent difference. All other differences indicate the same tendency toward closer correlation between the responses of men and of women in the Mainichi survey.

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7. Civil Information and Education Section, General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. The Mainichi Study of Women's Political Attitudes, Special Report, AR-300-PO-D-9, Tokyo, 28 November 1947.

	Mainichi			Asahi		
	Men	Women	Difference	Men	Women	Difference
Support	31%	29%	2%	33%	26%	7%
Do not support	56	43	13	40	20	20
No opinion	13	28	15	27	54	27

If both sets of results are considered to be valid, although obtained with different procedures, the differences and similarities between the two have a certain significance. In relation to responses concerning support of the Cabinet, this may be summarized as follows:

1. Those supporting the Cabinet constitute a group whose opinions do not seem to be affected by differences in polling technique.

2. Those who do not support the Cabinet probably include a group which tends to shift between opposition and "no opinion."

3. A considerable part of the "no opinion" group tends to be opposed to the Cabinet. Given more time to think about the matter, about one-half of the persons with "no opinion" tend to resolve their indecision in favor of opposition.

Since there was a high correlation between attitudes toward the Cabinet and attitudes toward dissolution of the Diet, the same conditions may be applied.

1. The group opposing dissolution of the Diet tends to be fairly well decided in its attitude.

2. The group favoring dissolution tends to shift between "dissolution" and "no opinion."

3. The "no opinion" group tends to favor dissolution of the Diet.

EVALUATION

On the whole, this survey shows considerable reliability. The consistency of the findings with those obtained by the Asahi Newspaper Public Opinion Room is more than mere coincidence. The differences between them seem to reflect differences in operating procedure only.

Nevertheless, some aspects of Mainichi's interviewing technique and coding need to be examined. In the question on support of the Cabinet, respondents who offered positive reasons were classified as

positive, and those without positive reasons were put into the negative group. However, these two major classifications of responses are not mutually exclusive, and the verbal or written reasons of the respondents are not necessarily indices of the intensity of their attitudes.

There seems to be a considerable overlapping in the coding of the answers on the question of what the respondents wanted the Ashida Cabinet to do most of all. For example, a respondent may have meant "stabilize livelihood" when he replied "increase food rations" or "revise the taxation system." "Stabilize livelihood" puts the answer in general terms, whereas the reply of increasing food rations or revising the tax system states specific steps to be taken to "stabilize livelihood," or to cope with the "inflation problem."

The two methods of direct interview and of leaving the questionnaire and having it filled in produce different results. The condition for response is the same for all respondents in the direct interview technique, whereas the other method makes for a wide variety of conditions under which replies are elicited. Some respondents may answer immediately on their own judgment; some will discuss the matter and be influenced by others; a woman's response may reflect the influence of her spouse. The two methods generally produce somewhat different results, but where opinions were solidly crystallized the two surveys obtained similar results. In the direct interview method used by Asahi, the results reflect the relatively uncrystallized opinions as they were at the moment. The Mainichi procedure of leaving the questionnaire overnight, with all its accompanying differences in the conditions for response, suggests how flexible and unformed opinions would be registered if people had sufficient time to think about and discuss the issue.

CURRENT JAPANESE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

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Attitudes in Osaka toward Current Political Problems (Osaka Public Opinion Research Institute, March 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 5 — 30 June 1948

Attitudes in Tokyo Toward the New Lower Secondary Schools (Yoron Kagaku Kyokai, March 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 6 — 17 July 1948

A National Survey of Attitudes toward the Ashida Cabinet (Mainichi Shimbun Yoron Chosa Shitsu, March 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 7 — 9 August 1948

Attitudes of Tokyo and Kyoto Residents toward Strikes of Government Workers (Yoron Kagaku Kyokai, Tokyo; Nagasue Yoron Kenkyujo, Kyoto, April 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 8 — 10 August 1948

Attitudes of Osaka Consumers toward Vegetable Rationing (Osaka Yoron Chosa Kenkyujo, April 1948)
Public Opinion Survey, No. 9 — 11 August 1948

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CURRENT JAPANESE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

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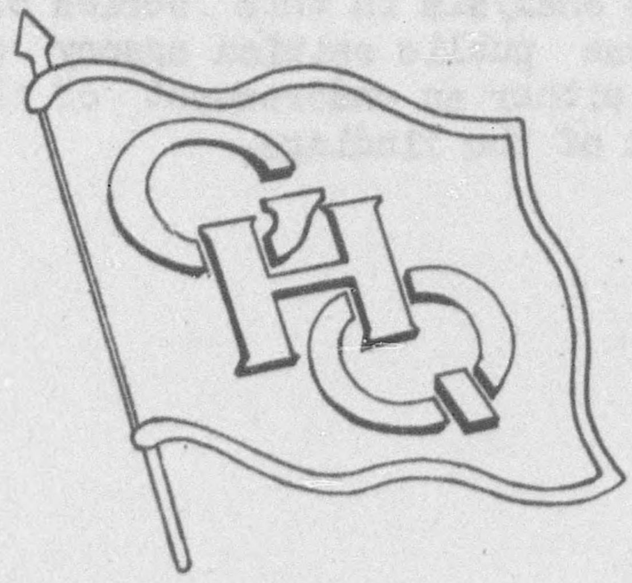

Public Opinion and Sociological Research Branch
Research Unit

ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH DIVISION

RESTRICTED

FOREWORD

In this series of Current Japanese Public Opinion Surveys, Civil Information and Education Section presents brief analyses of surveys by Japanese agencies of the attitudes of the Japanese people toward significant current issues. In some cases, discussion of these findings will have appeared in the Japanese press. In this series, each public opinion survey which is reported is evaluated from the point of view of general reliability both of techniques and of findings. This evaluation is intended as an indication of the acceptability of the surveys as measures of Japanese attitudes.

The analysis in this series of a survey by a Japanese public opinion agency does not constitute either an endorsement of that agency or approval of the findings.

ATTITUDES OF UNION MEMBERS IN THE TOKYO AREA
Yoron Kagaku Kyokai, March 1948

THE SURVEY

THE PROBLEM

Little precise information is available regarding the attitudes of Japanese workers toward the labor problems currently confronting them. Such information would be invaluable to management in its employer-employee relations programs, to government officials in drafting and administering labor law, to union leaders in formulating the policy of their organizations, and to other persons who have occasion to deal with labor problems.

THE SURVEY

In order to acquire some precise information, the Association for Public Opinion Science (Yoron Kagaku Kyokai) conducted a survey from the 10th to the 15th of March 1948 of the attitudes of organized workers in the Tokyo area, exclusive of those employed by the Occupation Forces, toward several current problems. Responses were secured by interview from a cross section of 529 union members selected by random sampling methods.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

It was found that 73 percent of the Tokyo union member respondents "thought a great deal" about the labor movement.

A majority, 56 percent, thought their own unions were democratic and sound; however, only 20 percent thought the same of unions other than their own.

When given a choice in designating the most important function for labor unions at the present time, 52 percent selected the movement for industrial revival, and 33 percent specified the struggle for higher wages.

Confidence in the Central Labor Relations Board was expressed by 46 percent of the respondents. Definite lack of confidence was expressed by 32 percent; 22 percent did not know whether or not they had confidence in the board. Forty percent of the respondents were unable to offer an evaluation of the Regional Labor Relations Board; however, of

the 60 percent who did, a slight majority expressed confidence.

A united front of Japanese labor was favored by a majority of the respondents, although only 27 percent expressed the belief that such a united front would come into existence soon.

Certain patterns of response are indicated in the attitudes expressed by the various groups. Responses of Communists differed significantly from those of all other political groups; higher education groups responded differently than lower educational groups; and in most instances responses of members of the National Congress of Industrial Unions differed very significantly from those of members of the Japanese Federation of Labor.

RELIABILITY OF THE FINDINGS

The general findings of this survey seem to be fairly reliable. Some question exists, however, regarding the structure of the sample and the design of the questionnaire employed. Many of the more specific or detailed findings cannot be accepted as reliable due to the small number of cases employed in the survey. Only a few of these detailed breakdowns of data have been included in this report.

SURVEY FINDINGS

INTEREST IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In order to ascertain the amount of interest held by union members in the Tokyo area regarding labor problems, respondents were asked whether or not they "thought a great deal" about the labor movement. The amount of interest expressed was generally high. The groups expressing the greatest interest were those with university training, Communist Party supporters, and those 40-49 years of age.

Nearly three-fourths (73 percent) of the respondents indicated that they "thought a great deal" about the labor movement. Of the 26 percent who said that they did not think much about it, 15 percent gave an unqualified "no" response, and 10 percent thought the labor movement was "too difficult" for them to understand.

Question: Do you think much about the labor movement?

Yes, a great deal	73%
No	26
Other	1

By Age

A majority of the youngest age group expressed themselves as having no great interest in the labor movement. Considerable interest was expressed by approximately 75 percent of those in the other age groups, the percentage so responding increasing to 87 percent in the case of the 40-49 year group.

	Under 20	20-29	30-39	40-49	Over 49
Yes, a great deal	42%	74%	75%	87%	75%
No	58	25	25	13	25
Other	0	1	0	0	0

By Educational Level

Responses did not vary significantly according to educational background except in the case of persons who had attended universities. The university group reported the most interest.

	Primary	Higher Primary	Youth School	Middle School	Higher School	University
Yes, a great deal	73%	69%	75%	73%	74%	95%
No	27	31	16	26	26	5
Other	0	0	9	1	0	0

By Political Party Support

Among the political party groups, Communists showed the highest interest in labor movement problems, 93 percent. No Communist respondent reported it "too difficult." The least amount of interest was expressed by Democratic Party supporters, only 56 percent of whom stated that they "thought a great deal" about the labor movement.

By Union Affiliation

The responses indicated no significant differences in interest between the unions affiliated with the two major national labor groups (the National Congress of Industrial Unions and the Japanese Federation of Labor)[1] and those not affiliated.

	NCIU	JFL	Other
Yes, a great deal	73%	70%	74%
No	24	30	26
Other	3	0	0

1. The two major national labor groups in Japan will hereafter be designated in the text and tables of this report by the following abbreviations: NCIU - National Congress of Industrial Unions (Sambetsu); JFL - Japanese Federation of Labor (Sodomei).

ATTITUDE TOWARD OWN UNION AND OTHER UNIONS

The Tokyo union member respondents' attitudes toward the character of other unions was quite different from their opinion regarding their own union. They seemed to show a fair amount of confidence in the union with which they were affiliated but could not express the same opinion regarding other unions.

Although 56 percent of the respondents thought their own union was democratic and sound, only 20 percent felt the same about other unions. Only 22 percent felt that their own union was dominated by its leaders, while 38 percent felt that other unions were leader-dominated. Thirteen percent expressed no opinion regarding the character of their own union, compared with 32 percent who expressed no opinion regarding other unions.

Questions: What do you think about the character of your union?
What do you think about the character of other unions?

	Own Union	Other Union
Democratic and sound	56%	20%
Leadership dominated	22	38
Company union	9	10
Don't know	13	31
No opinion	0	1

While some significant differences were found in the responses of the various groups to these questions, no systematic pattern of response was noted.

THE FUNCTION OF LABOR UNIONS

When asked to select one activity which in their opinion was the most important function of a labor union, a majority of the union member respondents in the Tokyo area chose the movement for industrial revival. The struggle for higher wages received only one-third of the total responses. Very little difference was noted in the responses of various age groups; however, some very significant variations from the general response are shown in the breakdowns by education level, political party support, and union affiliation.

Most respondents were able to designate the union activity they considered most important; only three percent did not express an opinion. The movement for industrail revival and the struggle for higher wages claimed 85 percent of the responses, leaving only 12 percent favoring prevention of layoffs, welfare and education, and cooperatives and health as the most important union activities.

Question: What do you think is the most important activity for labor unions at the present time?

Struggle for higher wages	33%
Movement for industrial revival	52
Prevention of layoffs	3
Welfare and education	4
Cooperatives and health	5
Don't know	3

By Educational Level

There seems to be a close relationship between amount of schooling and evaluation of the relative importance of higher wages and economic revival as union activities. Generally, the higher the educational level, the greater the support of activities directed toward economic revival; the lower the educational level, the higher support of wage increases as the most important activity of unions.

	Industrial Revival	Higher Wages
Primary	38%	47%
Higher Primary	39	38
Youth School	69	29
Middle School	54	33
Higher School	54	20
University	74	19

By Political Party Support

Supporters of the three major political parties favored the movement for industrial revival as the most important union activity at present. Greatest support of the movement came from Social Democrats. Communists were the only political group who felt that the struggle for higher wages was of greater concern to the unions than industrial revival.

	Industrial Revival	Higher Wages
Social Democratic	55%	32%
Liberal	47	36
Communist	35	48
Democratic	49	41
Undecided[2]	54	24

2. Data on supporters of the People's Cooperative Party are excluded from this and subsequent tables because their representation in the sample was too small for significant inference.

By Union Affiliation

There was a striking difference between the NCIU and the JFL on the relative importance of industrial revival and wage increases. While NCIU respondents favored wage increases as the immediate aim of labor unions, members of the JFL responded strongly in favor of the movement for industrial revival.

	NCIU	JFL	Other
Struggle for higher wages	48%	14%	27%
Movement for industrial revival	38	72	54
Prevention of layoffs	2	0	6
Welfare and education	4	4	5
Cooperatives and health	6	6	5
Don't know	2	4	3

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CENTRAL AND REGIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARDS

The Central Labor Relations Board was established at a national level as an arbitration and, to some extent, as an appeal agency. For the ordinary union members, the Regional (prefectural or metropolitan) Labor Relations Boards have a more direct effect upon the daily life of the worker. The effectiveness of these boards must depend to a considerable extent on the attitude of labor toward them.

A majority of the respondents who were able to state an opinion expressed confidence in both the Central and Regional Labor Relations Boards. They seemed, however, to have slightly more confidence in the Central Board. The "don't know" responses to the Regional Board question were nearly double those to the Central Board question which indicates a lack of knowledge of local board activities on the part of the workers. This may be due in part to the fact that the regional boards are a fairly recent development.

Questions: Do you have confidence in the Central Labor Relations Board?
Do you have confidence in the Regional Labor Relations Board?

	Central Board	Regional Board
Yes	46%	32%
No, it is capitalist ally	14	9
No, radical-led	6	6
No, too weak	12	13
Don't know	22	40

By Union Affiliation

Members of the JFL in Tokyo had a greater degree of confidence in both the Central and the Regional Boards than did Tokyo NCIU members. In the case of both major unions, however, less confidence in the Regional Board was indicated. "Don't know" responses were particularly

high among members of the JFL.

	Central Board			Regional Board		
	NCIU	JFL	Other	NCIU	JFL	Other
Yes, have confidence	40%	61%	49%	26%	35%	31%
No, it is capitalist ally	18	3	14	13	5	7
No, radical-led	8	3	4	10	1	5
No, too weak	12	4	13	16	8	13
Don't know	22	29	20	35	51	44

THE UNITED FRONT OF LABOR

In recent months there has been considerable agitation and discussion about the united labor front. The survey results suggest that organized labor in the Tokyo area at present is not pressing urgently for its formation.

Sixty-eight percent of the respondents seemed definitely to favor a united front for labor; however, only 27 percent expressed the opinion that such a united front would be realized soon. Twelve percent of the respondents were opposed, preferring unions organized on a company unit basis.

Question: What do you think about the united front of Japanese labor?

Union should be organized on a company basis and uninfluenced by outside elements	12%
Should be left to natural course of events and not forced	11
Ideal, but cannot be realized at present	41
It is the wish of the masses and will be realized soon	27
Don't know	9

Variations in Group Responses

Responses of the various age groups tend to follow the same general pattern with only minor exceptions. Among the educational groups, however, there were more distinct differences. Fairly high percentages of the respondents in the lower educational groups, 42 percent of those with primary school and 31 percent of those with higher primary school backgrounds, felt that the united front would be realized soon. The more highly educated groups, on the other hand, did not anticipate a united front in the near future. Only 19 percent of those with university background and 21 percent of those with higher school background believed that a united front would be achieved soon.

Considerable variation also existed among the supporters of different political parties. The Social Democrats were more inclined than either the Liberals or Democrats to state that a united front was ideal

but could not be realized at present. A majority of the Communists, 54 percent, also expressed that opinion; the other 46 percent thought that a united front would be realized soon. A large percentage of Democrats, 28 percent, did not express an opinion.

By Union Affiliation

NCIU respondents indicated a greater degree of support for the united front than either JFL respondents or members of other unions. The idea of company unions was supported by 21 percent of the JFL members, three times the support it received from the NCIU.

	NCIU	JFL	Other
Union should be organized on a company basis uninfluenced by outside elements	7%	21%	14%
Should be left to natural course of events and not forced	11	7	14
Ideal, but cannot be realized at present	46	42	37
It is the wish of the masses and will be realized soon	30	17	28
Don't know	6	13	7

WHAT RESPONDENTS WOULD LIKE TO KNOW ABOUT THE LABOR MOVEMENT

When asked to indicate the one item about which they wanted to know most, the respondents' replies were fairly evenly distributed among five items.

Question: What would you like to know about most on labor problems?

Simple explanation of labor movement	21%
The Labor Law	12
Facts on Japanese unions	20
Union movements abroad	16
Union economic improvement activities	21
Marxist labor theory	6
Other	4

EVALUATION OF THE SURVEY

The survey was conducted by an agency of considerable reliability. There are a number of features of the present survey, however, that raise some question as to the degree of reliability of the results.

There seem to be some inconsistencies between the characteristics of the union population of the Tokyo area and the characteristics of the sample employed in the survey. Higher educational groups and union officials appear to have been overrepresented in the sample.

The number of cases used in the survey (529) is not large enough to provide reliable results in the finer breakdowns of the data. It is large enough, however, to provide a fair degree of reliability for the more general findings wherein the number of cases per category-response is substantial. In the finer breakdowns, variation in responses would have to be considerable before they could be interpreted as significant.

The questionnaire procedure employed in the survey also raises a number of important questions. In most cases the respondents were asked the question and requested to select a single response from a pre-coded list. In some cases the alternative responses were not sufficiently mutually exclusive for an easy choice. In some cases the respondents' true attitude might have been expressed equally well by either of two alternative responses offered; in others, the respondent might have held simultaneously two or even more of the opinions offered.

In the question concerning attitude toward other unions, the term "other unions" did not clearly define the frame of reference of the question, so that some respondents answered in terms of a generalized "other union," some in terms of all unions other than their own, and some in terms of specific unions that they knew. The responses are not strictly comparable unless it is known that all respondents were answering in terms of the same frame of reference.

Among the findings of the survey was one which appears very unusual. When the responses to the questions regarding the Central and Regional Labor Relations Boards were broken down by political party support it was found that inexplicably high percentages of Communist respondents, 9 percent and 12 percent, reported lack of confidence in the Central and Regional Labor Relations Boards because they were thought to be led by radical elements. Percentages indicating lack of confidence in the Boards because they were "radical-led," were as follows:

	Central Board	Regional Board
Communist	9%	12%
Social Democratic	4	6
Liberal	11	1
Democratic	0	1
Undecided	9	10

It is rather unlikely that any Communist would object to an agency of this type because it was too radical. A number of explanations are possible.

It may be that some Communist supporters were naive and did not

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know the meaning of the term "radical."[3] It may be that respondents, in hastily reading the questions and answers, saw only the part about not having confidence in the board and failed to see the part that said "because it is led by the radical elements." A third possibility is that a clerical error might have been made in the tabulation of the findings. Since it is not possible to check these various alternatives, no satisfactory explanation can be given.

While certain features of the survey might seem questionable and while certain of the more detailed breakdowns and cross tabulations are apt to possess a low degree of reliability, the survey was, nevertheless, conducted on a scientific basis and acceptable random sampling techniques were employed. It is doubtful that any of the points in question would have affected seriously the overall findings of the survey. It seems possible, therefore, to accept the more general findings presented as reliable and indicative of the attitudes of union members in the Tokyo area on the questions asked.

3. The Japanese term used, "kyushin bunshi," means radical elements.

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CURRENT JAPANESE PUBLIC OPINION SURVEYS

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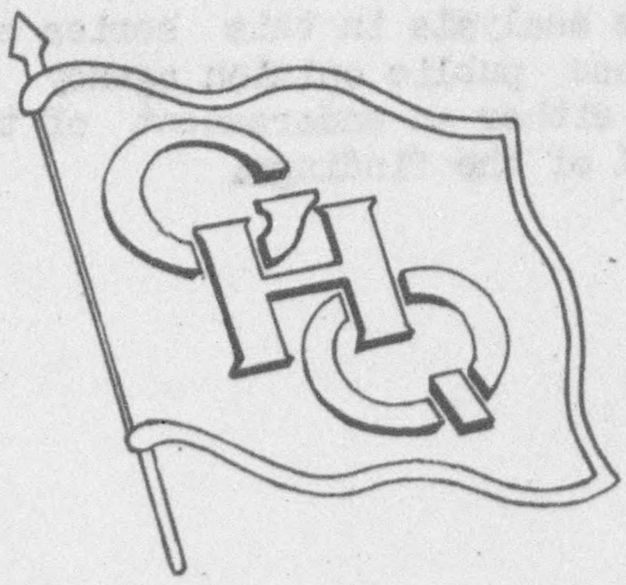

Public Opinion and Sociological Research Branch
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ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH DIVISION

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ATTITUDES TOWARD THE ASHIDA CABINET AND RELATED POLITICAL MATTERS

Asahi Shimbun Yoron Chosa Shitsu, March 1948

THE SURVEY

THE PROBLEM

During the early weeks following the election of Prime Minister ASHIDA on 21 February 1948, public controversy over his election and proposals that the Diet should be dissolved and new elections held to redetermine the will of the people continued to be expressed.

THE SURVEY

The Asahi Newspaper Public Opinion Room (Asahi Shimbun Yoron Chosa Shitsu) conducted a public opinion survey on these and related political matters 16-18 March 1948. The survey was designed to cast some light on popular feeling about some of these problems. A representative cross section of the national population was selected. Responses of 3,194 persons were tabulated.

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Analysis of the survey data seems to show that support and non-support of the ASHIDA Cabinet were evenly divided at the time of the survey. A feeling of resignation seemed to predominate. It also seems that while the majority of the people did not favor dissolution of the Diet at that time, the majority of those with definite opinions did. Finally the data seem to confirm the general impression of gathering public strength for the Liberal Party and corresponding weakening of the Social Democratic and Democratic Parties.

RELIABILITY OF THE FINDINGS

The Asahi Newspaper Public Opinion Room has been a very reliable agency. In the April 1947 elections they were able to predict the outcome of the Diet elections in the two prefectures surveyed within but a slight amount of error. In this survey, care was taken to secure and maintain a genuinely random sampling of the national population. Comparison between distribution of the sample population and that of total 1946 census population according to major factors indicates that the sampling was highly representative. The sample size is sufficient for the inferences drawn except in the case of support

indicated for such political parties as the Communist and People's Co-operative, where the small number of cases makes generalizations difficult.

SURVEY FINDINGS

SUPPORT OF THE ASHIDA CABINET

Almost identical percentages of the respondents expressed themselves as in support (30 percent) and not in support (31 percent) of the ASHIDA Cabinet. Of those supporting the Cabinet, 70 percent did so simply because there seemed to be no alternative, while only 12 percent supported the Cabinet because they thought it was a good Cabinet.

Question: Do you support the ASHIDA Cabinet?

Yes, support the Cabinet		30%
Reasons for support:		
It has a good policy	12%	
It cannot be helped	70	
Other	6	
No reason	12	
	100	
No, do not support the Cabinet		31%
Reasons for nonsupport:		
Its policy is bad	30%	
Cannot approve of the way it was formed	24	
It's no change at all	37	
Other	5	
No reason	4	
	100	
No opinion		39%
Reasons for no opinion:		
Cannot judge without seeing how it operates	41%	
Have no interest in politics	15	
Simply don't understand	44	
	100	

By Sex

Nonsupport of the Cabinet was expressed by twice as great a percentage of men as of women. At the same time, no opinion was expressed by twice as great a percentage of women as of men. Women reported no opinion more frequently than they did either definite support of or opposition to the Cabinet.

	Men	Women
Support the Cabinet	33%	26%
Do not support the Cabinet	40	20
No opinion	27	54

By Age

There was no clear difference between the various age-groups except for the greater amount of uncertainty and the lesser amount of opposition in the oldest group.

	20-29	30-39	40-49	Over 49
Support	30%	33%	31%	26%
Do not support	36	32	33	24
No opinion	34	35	36	50

By Education Levels

There were no important variations in the percentages of respondents expressing support among groups of different educational levels. However, percentages of nonsupport increased sharply with higher education, while the "no opinion" rate decreased with the increase of education.

	Primary	Middle	Higher
Support	28%	34%	32%
Do not support	26	43	54
No opinion	46	23	14

Urban - Rural Differences

Urban and rural respondents did not disagree very sharply except that uncertainty was higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas.

	Urban	Rural
Support	32%	29%
Do not support	34	29
No opinion	34	42

Occupational Groups[1]

The most significant fact revealed by the occupational breakdown of responses is that salaried labor was less undecided than any of the

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1. The occupational groupings used in this survey were condensed categories of the Japanese census. The Asahi Newspaper Public Opinion Room defined the classifications for the field interviewers in the following manner.

a. Industrial labor: includes factory laborers; laborers in Government enterprises such as railroads, communications, etc.; day laborers; journeymen carpenters; etc. (Skilled and unskilled wage labor.)

b. Salaried workers: includes clerical workers; Government employees;

other groups in its political attitudes. Differences between the percentages of support and nonsupport accorded by the several groups were nonsignificant except in the case of Commerce and Industry. Business interests expressed the greatest nonsupport.

	Support	Do Not Support	No Opinion
Industrial labor	33%	26%	41%
Salaried labor	37	38	25
Commerce and industry	27	42	31
Agriculture and fishery	27	25	48
Unemployed	25	21	54
Other	34	27	39

Political Party Preference

The Democratic Party supporters were the strongest supporters of the Cabinet. The People's Cooperative and Social Democratic Parties ranked next, but support of the Cabinet was not the majority position in these parties. The Communists and Liberals were most opposed to the Cabinet.

	Support	Do Not Support	No Opinion
Liberal	22%	51%	27%
Social Democratic	40	32	28
Democratic	67	5	28
People's Cooperative	41	27	32
Communist	5	73	22

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teachers; writers; lawyers; shop clerks; etc. (Administrative and clerical, semi-professional, and some professional employees.)

c. Commerce and industry: includes medium and small commercial and industrial management; business management; landowners; net owners; master carpenters; hotel and restaurant owners; doctors; brokers; etc. (Business owners, management, and independent professionals.)

d. Farmers and fishermen: includes all persons engaged in farming and fishing except landowners and net owners.

e. Unemployed: persons without regular employment at the time of the survey.

f. Other: includes priests; dividend holders; maids; etc. (Includes all persons not included in other categories.)

The instructions to the interviewers further specified that housewives, students, and nonworking women were to be listed in the occupational grouping of the heads of their households. Net owners, as used by the Japanese, has a general meaning and includes all types of owners, such as boat owners, fishing right owners, etc.

DISSOLUTION OF THE DIET

The survey also queried people as to their attitude toward the much-discussed dissolution of the Diet. While dissolution of the Diet did not command a majority, it secured a plurality among the respondents.

Question: Do you favor the dissolution of the Diet?

Yes	42%
No	27
No Opinion	31

PRESENT POLITICAL PARTY SUPPORT

The survey also concerned itself with the present distribution of political party support. The Liberal Party emerged as the strongest single party, although one-fourth of the people were still uncertain.

Question: For what party would you vote right now?

Liberal	40%
Social Democratic	19
Democratic	13
People's Cooperative	1
Communist	1
None	1
Don't know	25

By Sex

Women tended to show less definite political conviction than men, although the rank order of support was the same.

	Men	Women
Liberal	46%	34%
Social Democratic	21	17
Democratic	13	13
People's Cooperative	1	1
Communist	1	1
Independent	1	0
Don't know	17	34

By Age

The younger age-groups tended to be clearer in political attitude than the older age-groups. While there was no significant difference between the age-groups in support of the Liberal Party, there was more preference for the Social Democratic Party among the