

Moral Values and Social Characteristics of Japanese Christians

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AT A PURELY IDEOLOGICAL or philosophical level of analysis, one would expect the ethical values of Japanese Christians to be influenced by their religious faith—especially in view of the allegedly major ideological differences between the moral standards of Christianity and those which are dominant within Japanese culture (e.g., Corwin 1967, 141, 150–51). Moreover, those who think that behavior generally reflects beliefs would also assume that the moral conduct of Japanese Christians is likely to differ from that of their Buddhist, Shinto and non-religious countrymen—at least on a statistical level, even allowing for imperfections in living up to one's own moral standards.

Interwoven with this issue is a widespread stereotype which seeks to explain certain moral differences between Japan and the so-called "Christian" West by arguing that the latter is associated with moral sanctions based on "guilt" whereas Japanese society is associated more with moral sanctions based on "shame" (e.g., Benedict 1946, 223). Missionaries to Japan have often believed this generalization through reading Benedict's work, but are unaware that from an anthropological perspective her approach is questionable (Lewis 1993, 230). For instance, she did not conduct fieldwork within Japan itself but among Japanese immigrants in America who might have presented her with a somewhat over-idealized picture of Japanese social values. Some missionaries are aware of theoretical shortcom-

ings in Benedict's approach (e.g., Offner 1982), but many others continue to regard an allegedly reduced sense of guilt among the Japanese as a major hindrance to their evangelistic efforts.¹

SUBJECTIVE ASSESSMENTS OF "SIN" AND "SHAME" FEELINGS

Discussions about concepts of "sin" and "guilt" in very different cultural and linguistic environments tend to be rather theoretical, largely because it is extremely difficult to test such ideas in real situations. How can one person really know what is going on inside the mind and heart of another human being—especially when it concerns intimate feelings like shame and guilt? Ultimately such questions are probably unanswerable—at least by mortals. However, a "second best" approach is to ask individuals concerned what they themselves think that they feel in various situations, and whether or not they consider themselves to have feelings of shame or guilt. Such an approach is far from perfect, but it at least gives us some concrete data by which we can attempt to answer these theoretical debates.

From 1981 to 1982, and again from 1983 to 1984, I conducted anthropological fieldwork in two urban neighborhoods of a medium-sized city in the Kansai region of Japan (Lewis 1986b, 167–68; Lewis 1993, xv–xvii). One part of my research involved the distribution of a questionnaire which

included some questions on moral values. These items sought to elicit informants' own opinions on whether or not they would have feelings of guilt or shame in various situations.

Such methods do have various shortcomings, and the responses are still a little theoretical, in so far as many people might not have actually been in all the situations mentioned in the questionnaire. Nevertheless, I also included common and relatively "trivial" items, such as illegal parking or breaking the speed limit, which many people will have done. Other situations mentioned in the questionnaire, such as stealing or lying, are those which are regarded as wrong kinds of behavior both by Christians and also by most Japanese. I also included in the questionnaire some items which are generally regarded as having a strong emphasis in traditional Japanese ethics, such as caring for one's parents and showing loyalty to one's group or to one's superior. Another popular stereotype is that the Japanese will help out

other members of their own group with whom they have relationships of mutual obligation or dependency, but they are much less likely to help strangers in need (Dore 1958, 386).² I therefore distinguished feelings that people might have about not helping a friend in need from those they might have about not helping a stranger in need.

Table 1 tabulates the replies which were given on my questionnaire in response to the question, "In which of the following circumstances would you feel ashamed, if the deed were known to others?"

On the whole, these figures suggest that most Japanese do feel a sense of shame if they are publicly known to have committed these kinds of acts (Lewis 1993, 231). As is probably true also of the West, fewer people report feelings of shame about illegal parking or speeding than they do about theft or lying.

However, are there feelings of guilt in addition to those of shame? Are Japanese people more likely to report feelings of shame

Table 1
Expressed Feelings of Shame in Various Circumstances

	Yes (%)	No (%)	Neither (%)	Number of respondents
Stealing	99.1	0.5	0.5	659
Lying	94.7	1.7	3.6	658
Adultery	92.9	1.7	5.4	632
Premarital sex	56.4	24.2	19.4	640
Disloyalty to a superior	76.5	6.4	17.0	652
Betrayal (of one's group)	93.5	1.5	5.0	658
Not repaying a debt	93.5	2.7	3.8	657
Speeding in a vehicle	55.1	21.6	23.3	644
Neglecting one's parents	87.6	3.6	8.9	643
Illegal parking	56.0	21.4	22.5	639
Having an abortion	77.9	8.1	14.0	592
Forcing one's wife to have an abortion	75.0	10.3	14.7	496
Not helping a friend in need	83.9	3.8	12.3	652
Not helping a stranger in need	74.5	6.2	19.3	648

Table 2
Expressed Feelings of Guilt in Various Circumstances

	Yes (%)	No (%)	Neither (%)	Number of respondents
Stealing	98.6	0.6	0.8	662
Lying	83.1	4.6	12.3	657
Adultery	88.7	3.5	7.9	635
Premarital sex	44.4	30.9	24.7	644
Disloyalty to a superior	69.8	8.2	22.1	648
Betrayal (of one's group)	94.8	0.6	4.6	657
Not repaying a debt	96.8	1.1	2.1	657
Speeding in a vehicle	47.2	27.5	25.3	651
Neglecting one's parents	85.4	3.6	11.0	644
Illegal parking	54.1	23.1	22.8	649
Having an abortion	78.5	5.6	15.8	606
Forcing one's wife to have an abortion	77.8	7.2	15.0	487
Not helping a friend in need	81.7	2.6	15.7	656
Not helping a stranger in need	68.7	5.2	26.1	654

than feelings of guilt? Might they feel both? Table 2 tabulates the responses of the same people to the question, "In which of the following circumstances would you experience a feeling of guilt, even if the act were not known to anyone else?"

In general, it can be seen that most people report feelings of both shame and guilt for each of these items. If they feel shame, then they also feel guilt, and vice-versa. There are relatively few people who feel shame but not guilt. In general, these figures could be used as evidence to indicate that it is misleading to characterize Japan as a "shame society," if this expression has the further implication that a sense of guilt is not so strongly present. Instead, Japan appears to have characteristics of both a "guilt" and a "shame" society (Lewis 1993, 232).

The Japanese term *tsumi no ishiki* was used in the above question to elicit responses about "a consciousness of guilt," but the word *tsumi* can be translated as either "sin"

or "crime." However, by focusing on the consciousness of it, and feelings associated with it, I tried to elicit responses describing what in the West might be termed "guilt." In the wording of the question, shame was assumed to be public whereas guilt can be private (MacLeod 1982, 9, 13; Sytsma 1982, 48). It is significant that these respondents said they would feel a sense of guilt *even if their actions were not known to others*.

RESPONSES OF JAPANESE CHRISTIANS

In my book *The Unseen Face of Japan* I have already discussed the implications of these findings in terms of the debate about "shame" versus "sin" cultures (Lewis 1993, 239-45). However, the issue which I want to address here concerns possible differences in moral attitudes between Christians and non-Christians. Are the responses of Japanese Christians in any way different from those of other Japanese?

In the same questionnaire I had asked respondents whether or not they had a religion. Almost three-quarters of my respondents either left the question blank or else wrote in the margin next to the question that they had no religion. Such people do not feel any particularly close attachment to any of the formal religious groupings even though they participate at times in both Shinto and Buddhist ceremonies (Lewis 1993, 59–61, 268–70). Out of 667 questionnaire respondents, 491 people (74 per cent of the total) had no particular religion. Those who did claim to have a religion were often those possessing a Buddhist household altar (*butsudan*) or a Shinto god-shelf (*kamidana*). Overall, there were 104 Buddhists, 29 Shintoists, 38 Christians and five adherents of “another religion” such as Tenrikyō or Ōmotokyō.³ For analytical purposes, I excluded these five in the “miscellaneous” category while I cross-tabulated responses among the other 662 people.

For some items on my questionnaire, such as stealing and lying, almost everybody said they would feel both ashamed and guilty about such behavior. There was therefore no difference according to religious groups either. However, even for some items in which there is a greater spread of opinions there was actually no statistically significant difference between Christians and non-Christians. This lack of differentiation applied to feelings of guilt about disloyalty to a superior, speeding, illegal parking, having an abortion, not helping a friend in need and not helping a stranger in need. It continued to apply also in the responses to questions on feelings of shame regarding disloyalty to a superior, having an abortion, not helping a friend in need and not helping a stranger in need.

Although there was no statistically significant difference between Christians and non-Christians in their responses to the question on feelings of guilt regarding illegal parking or speeding, those who answered

“Yes” to this question accounted for 65.5 percent of the Shintoists, 54 percent of the Buddhists, 47 percent of the Christians and 43 percent of the “non-religious” majority. It is noticeable that the Christians’ responses were more like those of the non-religious people. The same pattern is found in the responses to the question on whether or not people have feelings of shame in these situations. Their responses are tabulated in table 3 (next page).

For illegal parking, the difference between the religious groups is almost, but not quite, statistically significant, but for speeding in a vehicle it does turn out to be a statistically significant difference.⁴ What it means is that Buddhists and Shintoists are more likely to feel ashamed of speeding or of parking illegally, in contrast to Christians and non-religious people, who are less likely to feel shame about such actions.

Neglecting one’s parents is one other item in which Buddhists in particular, and to some extent Shintoists, stand out as having significantly different values from others.⁵ This is not particularly surprising in view of the close connection between Japanese Buddhism and ancestral rites. The willful neglect of a responsibility for maintaining the Buddhist rites for the family’s deceased ancestors is often regarded as shameful. Even though my question was intended to elicit feelings about the neglect of living parents, in the Japanese cultural context it is clear that attitudes towards parents are colored to some extent by the ancestral cult (and vice-versa), and that this is more likely to be an influence on the Buddhists.

Only in their attitudes towards premarital sexual relationships did Japanese Christians stand out as being significantly different from others, by being much more likely to express feelings of both guilt and shame in response to this question. Statistically, the correlation is highly significant.⁶ The relevant figures are presented in table 4.

Table 3
Feelings of Shame Regarding Illegal Parking or Speeding⁷

	Yes (%)	No (%)	Neither (%)	Blank (%)
a) Illegal parking				
Shintoists	62	17	14	7
Buddhists	68	15	14	2
Christians	47	24	24	5
Non-religious	50.5	21	24	4.5
b) Speeding in a vehicle				
Shintoists	72	10	10	7
Buddhists	67	14	16	2
Christians	42	26	26	5
Non-religious	50	22	24	4

Even though Christians are conspicuously different from others in their expressed feelings about guilt or shame regarding premarital sexual intercourse, it is unlikely that this difference has very much to do with their religious beliefs. Instead, this apparent difference between religious groups is much more likely to reflect male-female differences, in so far as women are much more likely than men to express feelings of guilt or shame about such activities. Christians accounted for less than 6 percent of my total sample but about 10 percent of the women

represented in it. This can be seen from table 5 (next page).

Elsewhere I have discussed some of the possible reasons for the high proportion of Japanese Christians who are women (Lewis 1993, 277-80). The same pattern of greater female participation is also seen in several Japanese "new religions" (White 1970, 62; Davis 1980, 161; Lebra 1976, 235). Nevertheless, if my sample of Christians is at all representative, the fact that 68 percent of them are women is still rather higher than the proportion of women in New Religions such as the Sōka Gakkai or Mahikari.

Table 4
Feelings Associated With Premarital Sexual Intercourse

	Yes (%)	No (%)	Neither (%)	Blank (%)
a) Expressed feelings of guilt				
Shintoists	59	24	14	3
Buddhists	47	23	26	4
Christians	68	5	24	3
Non-religious	40	33	24	3.5
b) Expressed feelings of shame				
Shintoists	62	24	10	3
Buddhists	66	15	15	3
Christians	74	5	18	3
Non-religious	50	26	20	4.5

Table 5
Sexual Distribution Among Those With Religious Affiliations

	Shintoists	Buddhists	Christians	Others	Non-religious
Men	3.9%	15.5%	2.9%	1.2%	76.0%
Women	5.0%	15.1%	10.1%	0.0%	69.8%

Statistically, the correlation between guilt or shame feelings regarding premarital sex is as significant for male-female differences as for religious differences.⁸ It seems likely that the apparent differences according to religious affiliation merely reflect differences between the sexes themselves, in view of the high proportion of Japanese Christians who are women (Lewis 1993, 282–83).

Further evidence that these feelings about premarital sex are common among many Japanese women and not confined to Christians, comes from the case of a young couple belonging to the Sōka Gakkai. My wife and I had gotten to know this couple about six months before I conducted my survey using the questionnaire. On one occasion while we were at their home, the husband very openly commented on the fact that their first child was conceived about three months before this couple married. He had no particular need even to mention the fact, let alone point it out after a relatively short acquaintance with us. In fact, he even appeared proud of it. By contrast, his wife blushed conspicuously and averted her eyes. Six months later, when we asked on our questionnaire whether or not they would feel ashamed about premarital sexual relations, and whether or not they would feel guilty about it, the husband replied “No” to both questions but his wife independently answered “Yes” (Lewis 1993, 233).

Of course, in all these statistics we still face the question of whether or not informants’ responses are consistent with their real life experiences. This cannot be an-

swered with any certainty, but in the case of this Sōka Gakkai couple there is at least some circumstantial evidence to suggest that responses to my questionnaire did in fact reflect real feelings.⁹

OTHER MORAL ATTITUDES

In another question, I asked respondents to give their opinions on a variety of topics, including pinball machines (*pachinko*), which are a popular form of petty gambling, and “no-panty coffee shops” where the waitresses wear mini skirts without underwear underneath (Buruma 1984, 111–12). Some explanation might be required for my inclusion of cartoons (*manga*). The term covers a wide variety of cartoons, many of them innocuous or satirical, but some comic strips “have introduced sado-masochism..., overt eroticism..., and realistically portrayed violence.... In both boys’ and girls’ comics, scenes of nudity, kissing, lovers in bed, homosexuality, and scatology are frequent.” Another strip “always involves defecation and the toilet” (Lent 1989, 234).

Table 6 shows the overall pattern which emerged: the items at the top of the list are on the whole regarded as more acceptable than those at the bottom.¹⁰

The first three or four items can be classified as forms of recreation which tend to be viewed as matters of personal choice and as usually involving one individual alone (Lewis 1993, 239). The extent to which others are affected is not immediately obvious. The next five items, however, do involve two or more people who voluntarily participate in some act and should in theory face

Table 6
Moral Values and Attitudes

	Good (%)	Bad (%)	Neither (%)	Don't Know (%)
Cartoons (<i>manga</i>)	31.6	3.7	60.7	4.1
<i>Pachinko</i>	27.4	5.8	63.4	3.5
Betting [on horses]	12.3	18.8	62.6	6.2
Pornography	8.7	25.6	55.9	9.8
Premarital sex	7.1	27.8	55.7	9.5
Drunkenness	7.3	40.2	48.2	4.3
Divorce	3.3	34.0	48.8	13.8
No-panty coffee shops	5.8	45.6	37.1	11.6
Homosexuality	2.7	48.1	24.8	24.4
Abortion	2.3	60.1	28.8	8.8
Bribery	1.7	78.4	16.3	3.7
Adultery	1.2	79.5	13.5	5.7

the consequences themselves without involving others. Some of my informants wrote in comments on their questionnaires that these practices were acceptable as long as no third party were involved.

Such a third party is involved in the three items regarded as the worst offenses on the list. Adultery involves the breaking of an existing formal promise and might therefore be regarded as rather more serious than using a bribe in order to obtain a particular agreement in the first place. In Japan, both adultery and bribery are on the whole viewed as somewhat more serious than violating the rights of an unborn child—especially as some people try to rationalize such violations by recourse to medical or economic reasons for having an abortion. Nevertheless, it has been shown earlier that many people do admit to guilt feelings about abortions, probably because, whatever their rationalizations, they still consider it to be a form of murder.¹¹

By cross-tabulating these moral attitudes with professed religious affiliations, it was found that for cartoons, pachinko, drunkenness, abortion and bribery there was no significant difference according to religious identifications. For no-panty coffee houses

the difference was not statistically significant either, but it was very close to being so.¹² Christians, and to a large extent also Buddhists, tended to see no-panty coffee houses as “bad,” whereas the Shintoists and the non-religious tended to have more neutral attitudes towards them.

There was a statistically significant correlation regarding betting on horses, however. Christians in particular, and to some extent Buddhists, were much more inclined than the non-religious to consider betting as “bad.”¹³ By what might be simply a statistical quirk in a relatively small sample of Shintoists, they turned out to be more in favor of this form of gambling than other groups. It must remain a matter for conjecture whether or not this has any connection at all with the way in which *mikuji* oracles at Shinto shrines are selected by a random choice, in which one hopes to pick a “lucky one” (Lewis 1986a, 129; Lewis 1993, 173–75).

In their views about pornographic literature, Christians were much more negative than the other groups, to such an extent that the correlation was very significant. However, this too could be attributed to the high proportion of Christians who are women, in

so far as women also had much more negative views than men about pornography.¹⁴ Christians were also somewhat more negative than others in their views about premarital sexual relationships. However, this again could be attributed to the much stronger links with male-female differences, because on this issue women expressed considerably more negative views than men.¹⁵

Regarding divorce, the attitudes of Shintoists and of Christians were close to the statistically expected values, given their proportions in the overall sample. Buddhists, however, expressed much more negative attitudes. Comparing the Buddhists with all other groups combined, the difference is highly significant.¹⁶ Might it be that Japanese Buddhists place a greater emphasis on family relationships than do other Japanese people? Certainly the fact that most of these Buddhists have a Buddhist ancestral altar (*butsudan*)—the upkeep of which in many households is the wife's responsibility—at least indicates that Japanese Buddhists have regard for the preservation of some kind of relationship with deceased relatives. Might something of the same psychology also affect their attitudes to relationships among living family members?

All those who claimed to have a religion, but especially the Christians, tended to see homosexuality in morally worse terms than was the case for non-religious people. In this case, it might be helpful to cite the actual percentages (table 7).

A similar pattern can be seen in responses towards the item about adultery, whereby religious people tend to see it in morally worse terms than do non-religious people. The relevant percentages are displayed in table 8 (next page).

For both homosexuality and adultery, the differences are statistically significant.¹⁷ This raises questions about Ronald Dore's comment that "matters of sexual conduct... are not made the center of Japanese morality as they frequently are of the Christian" (Dore 1958, 386). At a doctrinal level, this may well be the case.¹⁸ However, it would appear as if those professing to have a religion, whether it be Shinto, Buddhism or Christianity, do have stronger views about these areas of sexual conduct than do the non-religious majority. Perhaps it is simply that the majority who claim no particular religious affiliations also tend to be less definite about their moral views.

CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE CHRISTIANS

Finally, it is important to ask exactly who these Japanese Christians are, and why they call themselves "Christians." Answers to this question shed considerable light on their moral values, especially regarding their lack of differentiation from other groups.

Firstly, it should be pointed out that several sociological surveys, including my own, have shown that a somewhat higher percentage of the Japanese population call themselves "Christians" than attend church (Basabe 1968, 53; Lewis 1993, 268). This is

Table 7
Moral Attitudes Towards Homosexuality¹⁹

	Good (%)	Bad (%)	Neither (%)	Don't Know (%)
Shintoists	3.4	51.7	20.7	20.7
Buddhists	4.8	52.9	15.4	25.0
Christians	0.0	65.8	15.8	18.4
Non-religious	2.4	44.4	27.1	24.6

Table 8
Moral Attitudes Towards Adultery

	Good (%)	Bad (%)	Neither (%)	Don't Know (%)
Shintoists	6.9	86.2	3.4	0.0
Buddhists	1.9	82.7	7.7	4.8
Christians	0.0	89.5	7.9	2.6
Non-religious	0.8	75.4	15.1	6.1

because many of those who have attended a Christian school or university feel more identified with Christianity than with any other religion (Agency for Cultural Affairs 1972, 75–76). In questionnaires they often continue to identify themselves as Christian.

Secondly, the religious practices of these Christians are not particularly different from those of the majority of the Japanese population, whether or not they claim to have a religion. For example, Shintoists accounted for about 4 percent of my sample, Christians for about 5 percent and the non-religious for about 74 percent, but among those who possess a *mamori* charm the percentages are virtually the same—proportional to the size of each group. This is shown by table 9 (next page).

For the most part, there is relatively little association between practice and claimed religious affiliation beyond fairly obvious connections, such as those relating to the possession of Shinto or Buddhist domestic altars. For most other religious practices, their overall distribution is approximately proportional to the overall distribution of these religious groups. Most of the Christians had also been involved in various kinds of fortune-telling and other practices associated with Shinto or Buddhism. Many of them had continued to do so while still professing to be Christians.²⁰

For example, one of these Christian families regularly attends the local church of the United Church of Christ in Japan (*Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan*). I asked the wife why they

have *mamori* safety charms and subscribe to other non-Christian practices. She appeared embarrassed by my question and said that she knew the Bible prohibits such things “but my own opinion is that it is important to follow these traditional customs too.” Most Christian denominations regard such practices as contrary to their Christian faith, citing scriptures such as Deuteronomy 18:10–12 in support of this view. In contemporary Christian exorcisms, demons are often discerned to have entered a person as a result of these kinds of occult activities (Wimber and Springer 1986, 130–32; Lewis 1989, 116–28).

We can conclude, therefore, that most of those whom I have here described as “Christians,” according to their own designations, are those whom other Christians would regard as “nominal” Christians. Few of them are regular church-goers, but in the past they have had some Christian connections. Sometimes the children of Christians continue to call themselves Christians too, even though it is many years since they attended a church. In theory, the Christians in my sample belonged to a variety of different denominations, including Roman Catholic, Russian Orthodox, *Nihon Kirisuto Kyōdan*, Methodist and Non-Church denominations, but in practice few of them actively participated in their churches.

It is therefore not surprising that their moral views are not particularly distinctive from the non-religious majority, except in a few attitudes, particularly towards sexual

Table 9

Claimed Religious Affiliations, or None, Correlated With Various Religious Practices²¹

	Shintoists (Number = 29)	Buddhists (N = 104)	Christians (N = 38)	Non-religious (N = 491)
Possession of a <i>kamidana</i> (N=162)	11.7%	17.9%	1.2%	68.5%
Possession of a <i>butsudan</i> (N=152)	5.3%	34.2%	2.6%	57.9%
Possession of a safety charm (N=431)	3.7%	14.8%	4.6%	76.1%
Having drawn a <i>mikuji</i> (N=579)	4.3%	15.5%	4.5%	75.1%
Having "done astrology" (N=168)	4.2%	14.3%	6.0%	75.0%
Having consulted a palmist (N=185)	7.0%	14.6%	5.4%	73.0%
Having consulted a name diviner (N=146)	8.2%	19.2%	1.4%	70.5%
Visited a shrine at New Year (N=510)	4.3%	16.5%	2.7%	75.7%
Conducted a grave visit at <i>bon</i> (N=410)	4.4%	17.6%	3.9%	73.7%
Pay attention to <i>yakudoshi</i> ²² (N=322)	4.3%	17.4%	3.7%	73.6%
Having prayed by oneself [at a time of crisis rather than out of habit] (N=349)	6.9%	17.2%	9.5%	65.9%

matters, in which the statistics are affected by the relatively high proportion of women among these (nominal) Christians. There is little doubt that different results would be obtained if the sample were to include only regular churchgoers or "committed" Christians.

Nevertheless, this material demonstrates some of the moral values and religious practices of those who regard themselves as in some way "Christian." It is significant that they are nevertheless still willing to identify themselves with the minority Christian religion in a social context where most people subscribe to Buddhist or Shinto practices—although also tending to dissociate

themselves from having a formal attachment to any particular religion. The very fact that a substantial number of people identify themselves with Christianity in itself says something about either a respect accorded to the Christian religion or at least an unwillingness to dissociate oneself entirely from a religion with which one has been connected in the past, either through family links or through the choice of a Christian educational establishment. At present these people are not actively involved in Christian churches but in sociological surveys they emerge as "hidden Christians"! What is not clear at this stage, however, is whether such people will be more responsive than other

members of the Japanese population to Christian evangelistic efforts, or whether they have been "inoculated" with enough Christianity that they are now immune to further efforts to bring them into the churches.

NOTES

¹ For instance, the twenty-third Hayama Men's Missionary Seminar (January 5-7, 1982) had as its title "Can the Gospel Thrive in Japanese soil? Guilt, Shame, and Grace in a Unique Culture" (Beck 1982).

² A possible exception to this might be the attitude towards Westerners, whereby "if a Japanese is accosted by a Westerner in the street and asked the way, the Japanese will often go out of his way to show the stranger how to get to his destination" (Kawasaki 1969, 16).

³ Those belonging to Buddhist-based New Religions, such as the Sōka Gakkai, called themselves "Buddhist."

⁴ For the correlations given in table three for illegal parking, the "chi-square" significance level is such that $\epsilon=12.5793$, with six degrees of freedom (when the "Neither" and Blank responses are amalgamated) which is just marginally short of the $\epsilon=12.6$ level at which $p=0.05$. For speeding, however, the correlation is statistically significant, whereby $p<0.025$. $\epsilon=16.7429$ with six degrees of freedom, again amalgamating the "Neither" and Blank responses.

⁵ For both shame and guilt feelings, $p<0.05$. However, this result is obtained only by amalgamating the "No," "Neither" and "Blank" responses and then comparing these with the "Yes" replies.

⁶ For both shame and guilt feelings, $p<0.005$.

⁷ Percentages do not always add up to 100% owing to rounding and truncation errors.

⁸ For both shame and guilt feelings, $p<0.005$.

⁹ Other factors connected with the ways in which the questionnaire was administered also give us confidence that in many other cases, if not all, the questionnaire responses do reflect actual feelings which have been felt in real-life situations (Lewis 1993, 233-34).

¹⁰ However, men and women gave conspicuously different answers to certain items. Women tended to have a more negative view of abortion,

adultery, premarital sex, pornography, drunkenness, gambling and "no-panty coffee houses." Divorce, however, did not fit this pattern: almost half of both men and women evaluated it as "neither good nor bad," but of the other half slightly more men than women viewed it as "bad." (The difference is not very great: 36.6 percent of the men versus 29.9 percent of the women.) This tendency possibly reflects the gradual increase in opportunities for women to enter various parts of the labor market both before and after marriage, although they still suffer from discrimination in salaries and promotion prospects. Younger and more educated women tend to give views about divorce in the "Neither" or "Don't Know" categories.

There is little difference between the sexes in attitudes towards bribery, but those who consider it to be "Good" are mainly aged between 26 and 44. They are people who are more likely to gain favors from superiors through the giving of substantial seasonal gifts.

¹¹ At a Buddhist temple in Kyoto, I attended a *mizuko kuyō* (memorial rite for aborted or miscarried babies). Afterwards one of the women who attended the rite said that she had wanted to keep the child but her husband had "made her" have the abortion. Three years later her conscience had been pricked by seeing advertisements for the *mizuko kuyō* which she felt that she "ought to attend."

¹² $\epsilon=12.4973$ with six degrees of freedom; $p=0.05$ when $\epsilon=12.6$. This can be regarded as statistically "noticeable," whereby a correlation might turn out to be statistically significant if a larger sample were obtained.

¹³ $p<0.025$.

¹⁴ Correlating with religion, $\epsilon=19.0705$ with six degrees of freedom. When correlated with the sex of the respondents, $\epsilon=23.2276$ with three degrees of freedom. In both cases the correlation is so significant that it goes off my cumulative chi-square distribution chart. (One simply states that $p<0.005$ in both cases.) However, the actual significance level for the correlation by sex is far greater than by religion, indicating that the correlation by sex is the more significant variable. In both cases, these figures have been reached by amalgamating the "Neither," "Don't know" and Blank responses. This was partly because of the smaller numbers in these categories and partly because there was a tendency for women to prefer "Neither" and for men to prefer "Don't know." However, when these two categories were combined, the responses by each sex were very close to expected values.

¹⁵ For links with religion, $p < 0.01$, > 0.05 , which means that the difference is statistically noticeable but not statistically significant. Correlating attitudes to premarital sex with male-female differences, however, the result is highly significant: $p < 0.005$. ($\epsilon = 19.3496$ with three degrees of freedom, omitting fifteen blank replies, or else $\epsilon = 14.6988$ with two degrees of freedom if the "Neither," "Don't know" and Blank replies are all amalgamated.)

¹⁶ $p < 0.005$.

¹⁷ For homosexuality, $p < 0.05$. For adultery, $p < 0.025$.

¹⁸ Dore (op. cit.) also observes that in Japan "feelings of guilt are not often expressed in a religious form," possibly reinforcing the impression of Western Christians that the Japanese lack a sense of "sin."

¹⁹ In tables 7 and 8, where percentages do not add up to 100%, it is because of blank responses.

²⁰ Other studies have also shown that a substantial proportion of Japanese Christians continue to observe practices connected with Buddhism, Shinto or folk religion, including prayers directed to the sun or moon (Reid 1989, 264, 269; Berentsen 1985, 139-41; Morioka 1975, 130-31).

²¹ Reproduced from Lewis 1993, 270. The Shinto shrine visits and the grave visits at *bon* (the midsummer festival when ancestors are said to return to this world) refer to practices conducted during 1981.

²² Ages in one's life when a person is thought to be particularly susceptible to illness or misfortune (Lewis 1986b, 168-80).

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