October 2000 - 1 -

家族と宗教

――価値志向の視座から――*

真 鍋 一 史** Wolfgang Jagodzinski***

Ⅰ はじめに――問題の所在――

現代社会論のテーマの一つとして、家族の問題 が取りあげられるようになって、すでに久しい。 その場合、しばしば「家族の崩壊」ということに 焦点が当てられてきた。「家族の崩壊」がどう定 義され、どう測定されてきたかについてはしばら く措くとして、このような現象をめぐるさまざま な「事実(fact)の報告」と「言説(discourse)の展 開」が論壇を賑わしてきたことは否定できない。 このような議論は決して日本だけの現象ではな い。むしろ西欧社会においては、この問題はある 意味において、より深刻な意味合いを持っている といえるかもしれない。それは、西欧社会におい ては宗教が深く人びとの心の奥にまで浸透すると ともに、広く人びとの日常生活の隅々までを規定 してきたが、それがいわゆる「世俗化 (secularization)の波|とともに、大きく変化することに なってきたからである。つまりこのようなコンテ キストにおいては、家族のあり方をめぐる価値観 や倫理観もそのルーツは宗教にあった(と考えら れてきた)のであり、そうだとするならば、少な くとも論理的には、宗教離れの「世俗化」の方向 とともに、そのような価値観がまさに根底から揺 さぶられることになるからにほかならない。こう して「家族と宗教」というテーマは、とりわけ西 欧社会においてはきわめてアクチャルな問題と なっているのである。

さて、以上においては、「世俗化」という問題 に焦点を合わせたが、それは単に西欧キリスト教 社会だけに該当するものではない。たとえば、ここでの議論は、ユダヤ教社会イスラエルにもまったく同じように当てはまる。この領域におけるすぐれた理論的・実証的研究として E. Katz と M. Gurevitch による Secularization of Leisure, Faber & Faber, 1976をあげることに異論を唱える者はいないであろう。

ただ、ユダヤ教社会の問題については、別の機 会に譲り、ここでは「家族と宗教」の関係につい ての理論的・実証的な検討をとくにドイツ社会に 限定して進めていきたい。そしてその検討に際し ては単にドイツ社会の現状(歴史も含めて)を記 述するというのではなく、それを日本社会と比較 するという視座をとる。それは、ドイツ社会を日 本社会と比較するということで、その問題の所在 がより鮮明になると考えるからにほかならない。 真鍋と Jagodzinski の仮説からするならば、日本 の宗教は、一方においてその宗教性がことさら強 く意識されることが少なく、また他方において宗 教が人びとの日常生活の価値観や倫理観の直接の ルーツになることが少なかったという意味で、日 本はまさにドイツの場合とは対照的な事例といえ るからである。

さて、以下の議論は真鍋が関西学院大学特別研究期間の制度を活用し、2000年度春学期ドイツ・ボン大学に客員教授として滞在する機会が与えられた際に、ケルン大学教授・実証的社会科学の中央データ・アーカィヴ(Central Archive for Empirical Social Research: ZA)所長・応用社会調査研究所(Institute for Applied Social Research: IFAS)所長の Wolfgang Jagodzinski 氏と実施した

^{*}キーワード:宗教、道徳にかかわる価値観、家族にかかわる価値観

^{**}関西学院大学社会学部教授

^{***}ドイツ・ケルン大学社会学部教授、実証的社会科学のための中央データ・アーカィヴ 所長、応用社会調査研究所所長

共同研究の成果の一部である。

Ⅱ 宗教現象

Jagodzinski は、まずドイツと日本で「宗教」 は大きく異なるので、同じ「宗教」という用語を 使いながら、それは同じものとして議論すること ができるのであろうかという問題を提起する。真 鍋の考え方からするならば、この問題はいうまで もなく、何も「宗教」だけに限ったことではな い。比較ということについては、それは異なるも のを比べるから意味があるのか、それとも異なる ものを比べるなどということはそもそも意味をな さないことなのか、が問われ続けてきた。この議 論はいわゆる「不可知論 | につながる恐れを含ん でいる。われわれの立場はつぎの点にある。それ は、社会科学における比較の意味は何かという問 いである。比較は「目的」でなく、「手段」であ る。目的は、どこまでもある社会「現象」を広い コンテキストと深いダイメンジョンにおいて分析 し、解釈し、理解するということである。そのた めに比較という手段が用いられるのである。

Jagodzinski は、ドイツと日本の宗教について 以下のような点を指摘する。

- 1.ドイツの宗教が排他的(exclusive)であるのに対して、日本の宗教は排他的でない(nonexclusive)。具体的にいえば、ドイツで宗教といえば、それは「どの宗教にも属さない(belong to no religion)」か、それとも「どれか一つの宗教に属する(belong to only one religion)」か、のいずれかの選択ということになる。ところが日本では多くの場合、「一人の人間(または家族)が同時あるいは交互に複数の宗教の儀式に参加する」(『対訳 日本事典』講談社インターナショナル、1998年、p. 481)。
- 2. ドイツの宗教がカトリック教会とプロテスタント教会の二つに高度に組織化されている(organized)のに対して、日本の宗教はそれほど組織化されておらず、多くの小さな宗教団体(religious organizations)に分かれている(石井研士『データブック現代日本人の宗教』新曜社、1997年、pp.101-122)。
 - 3. ドイツの宗教は実証科学的な意味で予測可

能性(predictable)が高い。たとえば、以下のような先行研究の諸知見がそれを示している。

①「カトリック」「プロテスタント」「無宗派 (religiously unaffiliated group)」に区別するならば――この三つのグループの区別について、ここでは denomination という用語を用いる――、カトリックはプロテスタントよりも、そしてプロテスタントは無宗派よりも、それぞれ教会への関与 (church involvement)、たとえば礼拝 (religious service) への出席 (attendance) の度合いなど、が高い。

②教会への出席(church attendance)は、宗教上の信仰(religious belief)の精度の高い予測指標(predictor)といえる。人は教会への出席の頻度が高くなるほど、「神(God)」「罪(sin)」「天国(heaven)」「地獄(hell)」などを信じる度合いが高くなる。じつは「宗教的信仰」と「宗教的実践(religious practice)」が、「宗教心(religiosity)」あるいは少なくとも「教会宗教心(church religiosity)」と呼ばれる潜在的次元(alatent dimension)の指標(indicators)であると考える理由がここにある。具体的にいえば、潜在的次元のレベルが高くなればなるほど、宗教的信仰と宗教的実践のレベルが高くなるということである。

③宗教心は多くの――すべてでないにしても――「道徳的態度(moral attitude)」のすぐれた予測指標である。たとえば、宗教的な人ほど、性的な事柄(sexual matter)に関して放縦な態度はとらない(less permissive)ということである。

④宗教心は中絶(abortion)や離婚(divorce)などの「家族にかかわる価値観」との相関関係を示している。

⑤宗教心は「社会資本(social capital)」や「社会行動(social behavior)」とも関連している。たとえば、宗教的な人は社会により強く統合されており、子供の数が多く、制度や人への信頼の程度が高く、ボランティア活動への参加の頻度が高く、幸福感のレベルも高い。

⑥宗教的な人ほど、キリスト教政党――たとえば CDU、CSU など――に投票する傾向がある。

さて、以上のような諸知見を詳細に検討するならば、ドイツの宗教現象については、因子分析的

October 2000 - 3 -

なアイディアを援用して、さまざまな個別の現象のなかに一つの共通の要素(a factor)といったものを見ることができるといえるのである(G. E. Lenski, The Religious Factor: A Sociological Study of Religion's Impact on Politics, Economics and Family Life, Erschienen bei Doubleday and Company, 1961)。

以上のような Jagodzinski の議論に対する真鍋 のコメントはつぎのとおりである。まず、1と2 についてはしばらく措くとして、3についてはド イツにおける先行研究の諸知見が整理されるにと どまっているという点である。日本の諸知見と比 較することで、はじめてドイツの宗教現象の予測 可能性の高さが主張できることになる。真鍋の考 え方からするならば、両国の先行研究の諸知見を 比較するということがまさに操作的な実証研究の 出発点になる。そこに見られる類似点あるいは相 異点がつぎの分析の段階への確実な手がかりとな るのである。ここで仮説的な議論を進めるなら ば、それはドイツの予測可能性の高さ――いうま でもなく実証科学的な観察可能性という点からし ての――に対する、日本の予測可能性の低さとい うことになるであろう。しかし、ここで重要な点 は、それはドイツ「的」な方法での操作化による 予測可能性の低さということであって、日本 「的」な方法での操作化が開発されるならば、そ れによって日本でもその予測可能性は高まるとい うことも当然ありうるということである。むし ろ、そのような日本「的」な方法――具体的にい えば、「信頼性 (reliability)」と「妥当性 (validity)」の点からして納得のいく宗教現象の観察の 指標――の開発こそが、今回のプロジェクトの最 終目標といえるのである。

Ⅲ 宗教の道徳 (moral) への影響

道徳的な価値(value)・態度(attitude)・行動(behavior)に対する宗教の影響(influence、impact)といったことを実証科学的に観察する(observe)のための必要条件(necessary conditions)としては何が考えられるであろうか。Jagodzinski はつぎのものをあげる。

1. 道徳的な規則 (moral rules) といったもの

が、宗教的信仰の体系(system)の不可欠な部分となっていなければならない。宗教的物語・説話(religions stories)が道徳的忠告(moral advice)を含むものであるならば、宗教的に社会化された子供(religiously socialized children)は、そうでない子供に比べて、道徳的な態度・行動が異なるはずである。いわゆる「世界宗教(world religion)」といわれるものは、たとえば「聖書の十戒(the ten commandments of the Bible)」や「儒教の五教(the five basic moral rules of Confucianism)」——人の守るべき五つの教え:「父子親あり、君臣義あり、父婦別あり、長幼序あり、朋友信あり」(『書経』)——などのように、いずれもそのなかに道徳的な規則を含んでいる。

2.操作的にいえば、道徳性(morality)に対する宗教の影響というのは、宗教ごと、あるいは宗教の有無で、人びとが異なる道徳的な態度や信念(beliefs)を示すという場合においてのみ観察可能なものとなる。異なる道徳的な態度や信念が示されない場合には、その影響を観察することは不可能である。そこで、ある社会ですでにいわゆるコンセンサス(consensus)が形成されている問題(の側面)については、宗教の影響を見ることがむつかしくなる。

ここでコンセンサス(合意形成)という現象に ついて実証的に検討しようとするならば、つぎの 二つのポイントが重要となる。

①たとえば、規範(norm)というものを考えるにして、それを「一般的な規範(general norms)」と「特殊的な規範(specific norms)」に区別するならば、コンセンサスは前者で高く、後者で低いという結果になるであろう。具体的な例をあげるならば、すべての世界宗教には「汝殺すなかれ(Thou shalt not kill)」という規範が含まれている。人びとは、一方でこの一般的な規範を支持するものの、他方で軍人が戦場で人を殺すことをその規範の例外として是認する。また「人の命はかけがえのないもの」としながらも、妊娠の「中絶」は容認する。

こうしてみると、道徳に対する宗教の影響という問題を分析するためには、「特殊的な規範」の 側面に目を向けなければならない。具体的にいえば、「生命の尊重」という問題でなく、「妊娠中 絶」という問題を、そして「平等」というテーマ ではなく、「家庭のなかでの男女の性役割」とい うテーマを取りあげなければならない。

②コンセンサスという概念が有効な概念となるためには、それが表明された(articulate)ものでなければならない。さらに単に外部に表明されたものというだけでなく、心から表明されたものでなければならない。沈黙のもたらすコンセンサス、あるいは心のなかとは裏腹の心にもないコンセンサスということでは、宗教との関係は測定が困難になる。因みに、この前者の側面は、いうまでもなく、E. Noelle-Neumannが「沈黙の螺旋理論」という用語によって見事に描き出した人間現象の真実である(池田謙一訳『沈黙の螺旋理論』、ブレーン社、1988年)。

3. ある宗教が特定の規範を持っており、人び とがその宗教に高度に統合されている(highly integrate)とするならば、人びとの道徳的態度は、 当然その宗教の影響を受ける。しかし人びとがあ る宗教(教会)に高度に統合されていなくても、 その影響を受けるということがある。じつはドイ ツも含めて、ヨーロッパの多くの国ぐにがこの例 に当てはまる。カトリックあるいはプロテスタン トの教会は、いずれも地域的な独占 (regional monopolies)という形態で組織化されてきた。 つまり、ある地域においては、すべての人びとが 同一の教会に所属する。加えて、教会は独自の幼 稚園、学校、大学、マス・メディア、労働組合、 企業主協会などの設立にも乗り出す。こうして地 域全体が教会を中心に一つの「閉じたシステム (closed system)」として構成される。このような システムは「宗教的柱石 (a religious pillar)」と 呼ばれるが、こうした柱石化された(pillarized) 社会では、とくに教会があえて影響を行使するま でもなく、すでにしてその環境のすべてが同質的 な規範によって統一されており、その社会の成員 であるかぎり、その影響を免れるということはあ りえないのである。

4. 宗教は社会に影響を与えるだけでなく、社会の側からも影響を受ける。宗教が社会のなかに深く統合されているとするならば、宗教はすでに社会の、とくに社会の支配的エリート層(the ruling elite)の規範を広く取り入れていると考え

られる。そしてそれらの規範がいったん宗教のなかに取り入れられると、それは宗教という手段 (means) をとおして人びとの心のなかに広く植え付けられていく。具体的にいえば、これらの規範は「神の意思 (will)」であるとの宣言によって「神聖 (sacrosanct)」なものとされ、その規範への不服従は神によって罰せられるところの重大な罪 (sin) であると見なされる。これは、宗教が、道徳の社会化 (moral socialization) の過程で、その影響力を最大に発揮する典型的な仕方であった。

さて、以上の Jagodzinski の議論に対して、ここではドイツと日本の比較に焦点を合わせた実証的研究のための準備作業として、つぎの点を指摘しておきたい。

1については、宗教の影響という問題を実証的 に捉えようとするならば、少なくともつぎの二点 についての検討が必要となる。

①宗教に道徳的規則・忠告が含まれているかど うかの分析だけでなく――これはいわゆる「内容 分析」(content analysis)の方法で捉えられる― 一、人びとがそのことを認知しているかどうか、 あるいは意識しているかどうかの分析が併せて必 要となるであろう。なぜならば、とくに日本にお いては、宗教が求められる場合、「戒め」よりも 「赦し」のほうがより強く意識されてきたと考え られるからである。仏教徒の従うべき戒律に比べ て、「善人なをもて往生をとぐ、いはんや悪人を や」(『歎異抄』) のほうが日本人の心をより強く 惹きつけてきたというのが真鍋の仮説である。 『Visual Human Life The 日本』にはつぎのような 記述がある。「西方浄土におわします阿弥陀さま も常に人とおわします地蔵さまも、つまりは免 罪、贖罪の神であるといえないか。」(講談社、 1986年、p. 852)

②宗教に道徳的規則・忠告が含まれているかどうかに関しても、それが「直接的な形式」でか、それとも「間接的な形式」でかが問われなければならない。たとえば、和辻哲郎はつとに『竹取物語』に仏教の影響を認めているが、それは現世の権力――帝や皇族や兵隊によって象徴される――を超えた超自然界の存在――人間界のものでないかぐや姫とその帰っていく「月の世界」によって

October 2000 - 5 -

象徴される――が示唆されている点において明らかであるという(和辻哲郎『日本精神史研究』岩波文庫、1992年)。そうだとするならば、この物語は人びとに間接的な形式で現世の権力への追従だけがすべてでないことを教えているといえないであろうか。

2についても、つぎの二点が指摘されよう。

①宗教の影響を捉えるためには、「一般的な規 範」よりも「特殊的な規範」に目を向けるのが得 策であるという提案に対しては、たしかにこの二 つの側面の区別は、これまでの「態度構造論」の 系譜に立つアイディアであり、きわめて有効なも のといえる。しかし、それは前者の側面を捨て、 後者の側面のみでよしとするにとどまらない。む しろ両者の乖離現象をどう指数化し、それと宗教 意識との関連をどう測定するかというアイディア に発展させられてこそより有効なものとなるとい わなければならない。それは、日本についていえ ば、この「特殊的な規範」についても、さらにい わば「特殊的事情への配慮」とでもいうべき装置 ―たとえば「中絶」についての「水子観音や水 子地蔵」など――が考案されてきており、その場 合はその「特殊的事情への配慮」の意識がすでに して「一般的な規範」をも規定していると考えら れるからである。「たてまえはたてまえ」という いい方がなされるのはまさにこうしたコンテキス トにおいてである。つまり、このような状況下に あっては、「一般的な規範意識」と「特殊的な規 範意識 | との乖離はじつはそれほど大きなもので はない。こうして、この乖離現象の指数化がきわ めて興味深い課題となるのである。

②沈黙のもたらすコンセンサス、あるいは心のなかとは裏腹のコンセンサスがある場合に、質問紙調査(questionnaire survey)という方法で宗教の影響を捉えることは困難になるという考え方に対して、真鍋の日本の場合についての仮説はやや異なる。それは、実際の日常生活のなかでの意見の表明(articulation)にくらべて、質問紙調査という人工的な装置をとおしたそれの方で人びとはより明確に――そしてその結果として、より分極化した――意見の表明を行うのではなかろうかというものである。

3については、日本においても、ドイツと同じ

ように「柱石化 (pillarization)」の現象が観察できるかどうかの検討が必要となる。この点に関しては、藤井正雄による宗派教団の地域分布の研究が注目される (『現代人の信仰構造』評論社、1974年、pp. 19-65)。この調査結果からするならば、日本においても宗派教団のかなりの偏在性・地域差が見られることがわかるが、しかしそれがドイツにおけるような柱石化の現象につながるものなのかどうかは明らかではない。その意味で、この調査もここでの問題関心に完全に答えるものとはいえない。広範な文献研究と独自の調査研究が要請されることになる。これはもう一つの新しいプロジェクトの提案といえよう。

4に関しては、ここでのJagodzinskiの命題は、日本の宗教現象についても提起されてきた事柄である。しかし問題は、宗教が特定の社会の、そしてとくにその社会の支配エリート層の規範のすべてを取り入れたのか、あるいはそこでも何らかの選択原理が働いていたのか、さらにそのメカニズムはどのようなものであったのか、ということである。このような分析を踏まえて、宗教と規範・道徳との関連をさらに探求していくという試みは、きわめて興味深い課題といえよう。

Ⅳ 宗教の家族への影響

1. 宗派教団 (denomination) の影響

ドイツにおいては、少なくとも第二次大戦の終結までは、宗派教団がさまざまな道徳的規範に強い影響を与えていた。

16世紀の宗教改革(the reformation)の後、ドイツの宗教はプロテスタントとカトリックに分裂した。両者は30年におよぶ宗教戦争を続けたばかりでなく、いわゆる地域的な独占(regional monopolies)——具体的にいえば、プロテスタントあるいはカトリックのいずれかによって完全に支配(dominate)された地域(areas)——を確立していった。19世紀までは、被統治者(subordinates)は統治者(sovereign)の宗教を持たなければならないという規則(rule)が定められていた——したがって統治者がその宗教を別の宗教に変えたならば、被統治者も同じように宗教を変えなければならなかった——が、その結果として宗

教的に同質的な地域(homogenous religious regions)といったものが形成されることになった。19世紀には、こうして宗教上の分割(religious division)が安定したものとなった。たとえば、南ドイツとライン川以西の地方はカトリック、北ドイツと東ドイツはプロテスタントというのがそれである。これら二つの宗派教団がそれぞれの支配地域で独自に幼稚園、学校、大学、マス・メディア、労働組合、事業主協会を組織し、こうしてそれらの地域の人びとは宗教という点からして同質的な社会的世界(a religiously homogeneous social word)に完全に組み込まれてしまうのである。すでに述べたように、このような閉鎖的なシステムが「宗教的柱石(religious pillar)」と呼ばれるものにほかならない。

ドイツにおいては、カトリックはプロテスタントよりもさらに柱石化を進めた。プロテスタントとの対立・抗争の過程で、真にカトリック的な組織の「強固なネットワーク(a strong network of genuinely Catholic organizations)」を築きあげていった。この点は、E. Durkheim が「カトリックはプロテスタントよりも自殺率が低い」という有名な命題の定立にあたって、宗派教団と自殺率との関係の背後にある変数としてカトリックの「社会的結合」の高さに注目したことを想起させる(宮島喬訳『自殺論』、中央公論社、1968年)。

しかし、だからといってプロテスタントの地域に何の特徴も見られなかったというわけでは決してない。プロテスタントの地域もそれなりに同質的な文化、つまりいわゆる「プロテスタントの社会一道 徳 的 環 境 (Protestant socio-moral milieus)」を作りあげていった。

もっとも、以上のような状況も、ドイツが「流動社会(mobile society)」へと移行していくにつれて、徐々に変化していった。西ドイツにおいては、この変化はとくに1950年代の終わり頃から顕著なものとなった。プロテスタントの教会は、「個人の良心(the individual conscience)」を重視する伝統を継承してきたので、いわゆる社会の「道徳的な教え(moral teaching)」に影響を与えるということが少なかった。このような傾向は、多くのプロテスタントの教会離れが進むなかでさらに促進された。カトリック教会も、やや遅れて

同じような経緯をたどることになった。

東ヨロッパにおいては、擬似宗教(a quasi-religion)としての社会主義が、伝統的な宗教との対立を続けてきた。社会主義統一党(SED)は家庭と学校における宗教的社会化(religious socialization)をほとんど抑圧してしまった。こうして、東ドイツの人びとの教会離れが進行していった。しかしその結果は、宗教の道徳への影響の低下という点では、世俗化の進んだ西ドイツの場合と大きく異なるものとはいえないかもしれない。

以上から、宗派教団の道徳的規範に対する影響は、ドイツの東西において、同じように弱くなってきていると考えられるのである。

2. 宗教心 (religiosity) の影響

C. Glock と R. Stark は宗教心という概念をつぎの五つの次元 (dimensions) に区別した (C. Glock and R. Stark, Religion and Society in Tension, Rand McNally, 1965)。

- ①信仰 (belief)
- ②実践 (practice)
- ③知識 (knowledge)
- ④経験 (experience)
- ⑤道徳(moral consequence of religions behavior)

以上のうち、「道徳」というのは、宗教的な行動をすると、それが道徳(心)にどのような結果をもたらすかということで、他の次元とはまったく異なる側面といえるので、ここでは取りあげない。またこれまでの先行研究から「知識」と「経験」とに相関は見られないし、さらにこれらが「家族にかかわる価値観」に影響を与えるという予測も成り立たないので、この二つの次元も取りあげない。

こうして、以下の考察では「信仰」と「実践」の二つの次元のみを扱う。つまり、この二つの次元を宗教心の構成要素(components)と考えるからである。これまでの先行研究から、これら二つの次元を捉える諸指標(indicators)間の相関は、西ヨーロッパにおいては高いものであることがわかっている(W. Jagodzinski と K. Dobbelaere, Religious and Ethical Pluralism, in J. W. Van Deth and E. Scarbrough eds., The Impact of

October 2000 - 7 -

Values, Oxford University Press, 1995).

現在では、ドイツの二つの教会――つまりカト リック教会とプロテスタント教会――がそれぞれ のメンバーのすべてに対して同じように影響を及 ぼすということはなくなっている。書類上だけで 教会に属している (affiliate themselves only on paper)多くのキリスト教徒は、自分たちの教会 の教え (teachings) にまったく意を介さない。 このような状況のなかにあって、宗教心というも のは、人びとがそれぞれの教会の宗教的・道徳的 な教義 (dogma) を支持し、それぞれの教会の司 祭・牧師 (priests) の影響を受けているというこ との一つの明確な「しるし (indication) | である といわなければならない。そこで、人は宗教心が 強くなればなるほど、その宗教の道徳的規範 (moral norms) を支持するようになると考えら れるのである。たとえば、ドイツのカトリック教 会は、「結婚の神聖さ (sanctity of marriage)」 「夫婦の貞節 (marital fidelity)」「中絶の否定 (inadmissibility of abortion)」などの伝統的な家族 の価値観をいつもきわめて強く強調してきた。こ うしてカトリック教徒で宗教心の強い人たちは、 宗教心という一つの連続体のちょうど反対の極に ある人たち (those at the apposite end of the religiosity continuum)、つまり無宗派の人たち (the religiously unaffiliated) とは、これら家族の 価値観に関して、かなり異質であると考えられる のである。

主に18世紀のフランス啓蒙主義運動以来、ヨロッパの国ぐにでは、「不可知論者(agnostics)や「無神論者(atheists)」などの世俗的な人びとが多くなってきた。19世紀になって、さらに「物質主義者(materialists)」や「共産主義者(communists)」がそれに加わった。これらの「世界観(world views)」や「擬似宗教(quasi-religions)」によれば、宗教は人びとにとっての「迷信(superstition)」あるいは「阿片(opiate)」にすぎず、伝統的な家族のイメージも否定されるべきものであった。かれらはヒエラルヒカルな社会の秩序(hierarchical order of society)は権威主義的な家族構造(authoritarian family structure)を反映したものであり、逆に権威主義的な家族構造はヒエラルヒカルな社会秩序を反映したものである

と考えた。こうしてドイツ (とくに東ドイツ) においては、カトリック教徒と「無神論者・不可知論者」との差異はきわめて大きなものであり、プロテスタントはこの両者の中間のややカトリックよりのところに位置付けられるのである。

さて、以上において、Jagodozinski はいわゆる 家族をめぐる価値観といったものに対する宗教の 影響を分析するための枠組として、宗教という変 数を「宗派教団」と「宗教心(とくに信仰と実 践)」に区別して、議論を進めてきた。では、こ のようなドイツと、いわゆる宗教的な背景と伝統 をまったく異にする日本を、国際的に比較すると いう視座を取ろうとするならば、われわれはどの ような概念的な装置を準備しておかなければなら ないのであろうか。

日本との比較を射程にいれた方法論的な提案については、すでに前のセクションでも述べたところであり、それと重複しない点についてのみ若干記しておきたい。

まず1の宗派教団の影響については、すでに触れたように、日本においてはそもそも宗教教団というものが必ずしも排他的な(either-or)関係にあるわけではないという点を確認しておかなければならない。たとえば、家庭に「神棚」と「仏壇」の両方があるということはいうまでもなく、浄土真宗の檀家の人が同時に真言宗の八十八ヵ所の巡礼に出るということも決して珍しいことではない。こうして、日本の場合は、宗派教団の違いということはそれほど意味を持つものとは思われない。むしろ、いわゆる「既成の宗派教団」と「新興の宗派教団」との比較が興味深い課題といえるが、この点についてはNHK世論調査部の「生活意識に関する国際比較調査」(1998年)では明確な区別がなされていない。

つぎに2の宗教心の影響については、日本におけるこれまでのさまざまな「宗教意識調査」の結果の比較検討から、以下のような知見が得られている。それは、「『信仰の有無』を問う質問に対しては、ほぼ三割の肯定的回答が示される。しかしながら、神や仏の存在を信じるかという質問になると『はい』と答える人の割合はかなり高くなる。さらに、『人間や自然を超えた何か大きなもの』といった、特定の対象にこだわらない宗教観

を尋ねると、肯定的回答率はいっそう高くなることがわかっている」(石井研士『データブック現代日本人の宗教』新曜社、1997年、p. 6)ということである。こうして、日本人の宗教心を捉えるインディケーターズの開発ということが、この研究領域における最も重要な今後の課題となってくるのである。真鍋は、現在、Jagodzinski 教授とともに、上述のNHK調査の質問諸項目(country specific items)を用いて、そのようなインディケーターズ作成の試験的な試みを進めているところである。

√ ドイツと日本の国際比較のための準備作業

宗教の「道徳心をめぐる価値観」と「家族をめぐる価値観」に対する影響という問題を、実証的に分析するためには、以上のような理論的考察を踏まえて、つぎにどのような作業が具体的に必要となるであろうか。

それは、いうまでもなく、理論的な仮説を検証するためのデータ・セットの準備という作業である。ここで、データ・セットの準備という場合、まずつぎの二つの検討課題から始めなければならない。

1. どのような質問紙調査 (questionnaire survey) のデータ・セットを準備するかということである。ここではドイツと日本の比較ということがねらいとなっているので、いうまでもなく、国際比較の調査データでなければならない。

現在、質問紙調査法(questionnaire method)によって実施されている多数の国ぐにを対象とする大規模な国際比較調査(large scale multinational surveys)の双壁として、米国ミシガン大学の Ronald Inglehart が主宰する「世界価値観調査(World Values Survey=WVS)」とともに、世界の――といってもヨーロッパの国ぐにが多数を占める――30数カ国が参加している「国際社会調査プログラム(International Social Survey Programme=ISSP)」をあげることに異議を唱える者はいないであろう。

前者の WVS は、R. Inglehart が広く各国の研究 機関・調査機関の協力を得て行なってきたもので あり、1981年、1990年、1995年と調査はすでに三 回実施され、現在は1999年—2000年の第四回目の 実査が各国で進められている。これまで世界の60 カ国(地域)以上を対象に調査がなされてきた。

後者の ISSP は、もともとドイツ・マンハイムの「世論調査の方法と分析のための研究センター(ZUMA)」が二年に一回行なっている一般社会調査 (ALLBUS)と米国シカゴ大学の「全国世論調査研究センター(NORC)」が毎年行なっている総合社会調査(GSS)の二つのプロジェクトが中心となり、そこに各国の大学・研究所・調査機関などが加わり、1984年に設立された国際比較調査プログラムである。

日本とのかかわり合いについては、まず前者については(財余暇開発センターが1981年度の調査から、そして(株)電通総研と(財余暇開発センターが共同で1990年度の調査から参画している。つぎに後者については、NHK(放送文化研究所・世論調査部)が1992年度から正式のメンバーとして参加している。

じつは、以上のような国際比較調査プロジェクトでの出会いが契機となって、今回の真鍋とJagodzinski 教授との「家族と宗教をめぐる国際比較」のプロジェクトも始められることになったのである。こうして、ここでは、この世界的な二大調査のデータ・セットの活用を試みるのである。

2. データ・セットという場合、それは具体的 にどのようなものかということである。

それは、一般に、

- ①質問紙 (調査票:questionnaire)、
- ②コード・ブック (code book)、
- ③素データ (raw data)、
- の三点セットからなる。

今回の作業では、WVS (1990年度) と ISSP (1998年度の Religion の Module) の二種類の調査について、それぞれこの三点セットを準備した。

以下においては、これらの作業の副産物である。ISSP Religion Moduleの Master Language Questionnaire と Target (Japanese) Language Questionnaire (日本語調査票から真鍋が literal translation を行ったもの) との比較を付録として

October 2000 - 9 -

掲載しておきたい。ISSPでは、Master Questionnaireが、それぞれの調査対象国に適合するよう にそれぞれの言語に翻訳されているが、それにし てもこの結果から見るかぎり、両者にはかなり大 きな違いがあるといわなければならない。ここか ら翻訳の等価性の検討が大きな課題として浮び上 がってくるのである。

〈付記〉

今回の共同研究は、関西学院大学(特別研究 費)と、ドイツ・ケルン大学と、(株)日本リサーチ ・センターからの研究助成にもとづいてなされた ものである。㈱日本リサーチ・センター取締役調 査研究本部長の飯嶋建治氏には、いつも暖かいご 支援をいただいている。また今回の共同研究も、 ドイツ・ボン大学への客員教授としての招聘とい うことがあって、はじめて可能になったものとい わなければならない。その意味でボン大学教授・ 近現代日本研究センター所長の Josef Kreiner 先生 には筆舌に尽くしがたいご厚情をいただいた。さ らに、ボン大学への招聘が東京財団の「教員海外 派遣プログラム」によって財政的に支援されたも のであることも記しておかなければならない。と くに Ellen Mashiko さん、小田早苗さん、内田晴 子さんには大変お世話になった。これらすべての 方々、関係機関に対し、改めて心から感謝の意を 表したい。

1998 ISSP Religion Module の Master Questionnaire と Japanese Questionnaire の比較

	Master Questionnaire	Japanese Questionnaire
Q1 (V4)	1 Very happy	1 Very happy
- () //	2 Fairly happy	2 Somewhat happy
	3 Not very happy	3 Not so happy
	4 Not at all happy	4 Not at all happy
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q2		Do you think it is or it is not the
Q2	should or should not be the	government's responsibility to
	government's responsibility to	government's responsibility to
A (V5)	1 Definitely should be	1 It is
A (V3)	2 Probably should be	2 Rather it is
		3 Rather (it is) not
	3 Probably should not be	
	4 Definitely should not be	4 It is not
D (MC)	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
B (V6)	1 Definitely should be	1 It is
	2 Probably should be	2 Rather it is
	3 Probably should not be	3 Rather (it is) not
	4 Definitely should not be	4 It is not
()	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q3 (V7)	1 Always wrong	1 Absolutely wrong
	2 Almost always wrong	2 Somewhat wrong
	3 Wrong only sometimes	3 Not so wrong
	4 Not wrong at all	4 Not wrong at all
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q4 (V8)	1 Always wrong	1 Absolutely wrong
	2 Almost always wrong	2 Somewhat wrong
	3 Wrong only sometimes	3 Not so wrong
	4 Not wrong at all	4 Not wrong at all
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q5 (V9)	And what about sexual relations	And what about sexual relations
		between two persons of the same
	sex, is it	sex, is it
	1 Always wrong	1 Absolutely wrong
	2 Almost always wrong	2 Somewhat wrong
	3 Wrong only sometimes	3 Not so wrong
	4 Not wrong at all	4 Not wrong at all
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q6	Do you personally think it is	What do you think about an
20	wrong or not wrong for a woman	
	to have an abortion	
A (V10)	1 Always wrong	1 Absolutely wrong
11 (10)	2 Almost always wrong	2 Somewhat wrong
	3 Wrong only sometimes	3 Not so wrong
	4 Not wrong at all	4 Not wrong at all
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q6 B (V11)	If the family has a year low	If the family has a very low
QUB (VII)	income and connot afford any	income and cannot raise children
	more children	income and carnot raise children
		1 Absolutely wrong
	1 Always wrong	
	2 Almost always wrong	2 Somewhat wrong
	3 Wrong only sometimes	3 Not so wrong
	4 Not wrong at all	4 Not wrong at all
07	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q7	Do you agree or disagree	Do you think yes or no
A (V12)	1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so

October 2000 — 11 —

	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree 5 Strongly disagree	4 Rather I don't think so 5 I don't think so
B (V13)	8 Can't choose 1 Strongly agree	8 I don't know 1 I think so
D (V13)	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
		5 I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree 8 Can't choose	8 I don't think so
00	Do you agree or disagree	Do you think yes or no
Q8 A (V14)	1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
A (V14)	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
B (V15)	1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
B (V 13)	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q9		What do you think about the
4 2	below. Do you feel it is wrong	
	or not wrong if	
A (V16)	1 Not wrong	1 Not wrong
	2 A bit wrong	2 A bit wrong
	3 Wrong	3 Quite wrong
	4 Seriously wrong	4 Seriously wrong
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
B (V17)	1 Not wrong	1 Not wrong
• •	2 A bit wrong	2 A bit wrong
	3 Wrong	3 Quite wrong
	4 Seriously wrong	4 Seriously wrong
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q10 (V18)	How often do you think that	Do you think that people would
	people would try to take	try to take advantage of you if
	advantage of you if they got the	they got the chance or that they
	chance and how often would	would not try to do so?
	they try to be fair?	
	1 Try to take advantage almost	1 Try to take advantage always
	of the time	of the time
	2 Try to take advantage most of	2 Try to take advantage most of
	the time	the time
	3 Try to be fair most of the time	3 Don't try to take advantage
	4 Try to be fair almost of the	
	time	4 Don't try to take advantage
	8 Can't choose	always of the time
		8 I don't know
Q11 A (V19)	Generally speaking, would you	8 I don't know Would you say that people can
Q11 A (V19)	Generally speaking, would you say that people can be trusted or	8 I don't know Would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be
Q11 A (V19)	Generally speaking, would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in	8 I don't know Would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with
Q11 A (V19)	Generally speaking, would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?	8 I don't know Would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
Q11 A (V19)	Generally speaking, would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in	8 I don't know Would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? 1 People can always be trusted
Q11 A (V19)	Generally speaking, would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? 1 People can almost always be trusted	8 I don't know Would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?
Q11 A (V19)	Generally speaking, would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? 1 People can almost always be trusted 2 People can usually be trusted	8 I don't know Would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? 1 People can always be trusted 2 People can be trusted in most cases
Q11 A (V19)	Generally speaking, would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? 1 People can almost always be trusted 2 People can usually be trusted 3 You usually can't be too	8 I don't know Would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? 1 People can always be trusted 2 People can be trusted in most cases 3 You better be careful in
Q11 A (V19)	Generally speaking, would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? 1 People can almost always be trusted 2 People can usually be trusted	8 I don't know Would you say that people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? I People can always be trusted 2 People can be trusted in most cases 3 You better be careful in dealing with people in most

Q12 A (V20)	1 Complete confidence	8 I don't know
	2 A great deal of confidence 3 Some confidence 4 Very little confidence 5 No confidence at all 8 Can't choose	1 A great deal of confidence 2 Quite a lot of confidence 3 Some confidence 4 Not very much confidence 5 No confidence at all 8 I don't know
Q12 B (V21)	1 Complete confidence 2 A great deal of confidence 3 Some confidence 4 Very little confidence 5 No confidence at all 8 Can't choose	1 A great deal of confidence 2 Quite a lot of confidence 3 Some confidence 4 Not very much confidence 5 No confidence at all 8 I don't know
Q12 C (V22)	Churches and religious organizations 1 Complete confidence 2 A great deal of confidence 3 Some confidence 4 Very little confidence 5 No confidence at all 8 Can't choose	Temples, Shrines, Churches, and religious organizations 1 A great deal of confidence 2 Quite a lot of confidence 3 Some confidence 4 Not very much confidence 5 No confidence at all 8 I don't know
Q12 D (V23)	1 Complete confidence 2 A great deal of confidence 3 Some confidence 4 Very little confidence 5 No confidence at all 8 Can't choose	1 A great deal of confidence 2 Quite a lot of confidence 3 Some confidence 4 Not very much confidence 5 No confidence at all 8 I don't know
Q12 E (V24)	1 Complete confidence 2 A great deal of confidence 3 Some confidence 4 Very little confidence 5 No confidence at all 8 Can't choose	1 A great deal of confidence 2 Quite a lot of confidence 3 Some confidence 4 Not very much confidence 5 No confidence at all 8 I don't know
Q13	How much do you agree of disagree with each of the following	or Do you think yes or no
A (V25)	1 Strongly agree 2 Agree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Disagree 5 Strongly disagree 8 Can't choose	1 I think so 2 Rather I think so 3 Can't say one way or the other 4 Rather I don't think so 5 I don't think so 8 I don't know
В (V26)	1 Strongly agree 2 Agree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Disagree 5 Strongly disagree 8 Can't choose	1 I think so 2 Rather I think so 3 Can't say one way or the other 4 Rather I don't think so 5 I don't think so 8 I don't know
Q14	Please consider the following	Please consider the following opinion and tell me what you think
A (V27)	1 Strongly agree 2 Agree 3 Neither agree nor disagree 4 Disagree	I I think so 2 Rather I think so 3 Can't say one way or the other 4 Rather I don't think so

October 2000 — 13 —

	not enough in religious faith	lack in religious faith
	1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
015	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q15	And do you agree or disagre	e What do you think about the
A (V29)	with the following statements?	following opinion? 1 I think so
A (V29)	1 Strongly agree 2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
B (V30)	1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
2 (130)	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
C (V31)	[Britain] would be a bette	r Japan would be a better country
	country if religion had les	s if religion had less influence
	influence	
	1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
016 A (3/22)	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q16 A (V32)	Political activities (neipin	g: such activities as helping
*	movement election committee	political parties, election s, campaigns, citizen's movements,
	etc.)	etc.
	1 No	1 No
	2 Yes, once or twice	2 Once or twice
	3 Yes, 3-5 times	3 3-5 times
	4 Yes, 6 ore more times	4 6 ore more times
B (V33)		g: such activities as helping the
	the sick, elderly, poor, etc.)	sick, elderly, poor, etc.
	1 No	1 No
	2 Yes, once or twice	2 Once or twice
	3 Yes, 3-5 times	3 3-5 times
	4 Yes, 6 ore more times	4 6 ore more times
C (V34)	: Religious and church-relate	d: such activities as helping
	activities (helping churches an	d temples, shrines, churches, and
	religious groups)	religious groups
	1 No	1 No
	2 Yes, once or twice	2 Once or twice
	3 Yes, 3-5 times	3 3-5 times
D (V35)	4 Yes, 6 ore more times 1 No	4 6 ore more times
D (V33)	2 Yes, once or twice	2 Once or twice
	3 Yes, 3-5 times	3 3-5 times
·	4 Yes, 6 ore more times	4 6 ore more times
Interviewer instruction:	For example if you wer	e For example, if you were
Interviewer msudetton.		g involved in charitable activities
	for candidate endorsed by	a say bazaars, endorsed by a
		church, you would report it
	would report it under a political	under b. charitable activities and
ı	, would report it under a. pointie	a and or orientation activities and

	activities not under c. religious and church-related activities	not under c. religious and church-related activities
Q17 (V36)		Do religious organizations in this
Q17 (¥30)		country have too much power or
	country have too much power of	
	too little power?	too nine power:
	1 Far too much power	1 Too much power
	2 Too much power	2 Rather much power
	3 About the right amount of	3 About the right amount of
	power	power
	4 Too little power	4 Rather little power
	5 Far too little power	5 Too little power
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q18 (V37)		What do you think about God in
	below comes closest to	
	expressing what you believe	
	about God	
	1 I don't believe in God	1 I don't believe in the existence
	2 I don't know whether there is a	
		2 I don't know whether there is a
	any way to find out	God and I don't believe there is
	3 I don't believe in a persona	
		3 I don't believe in the existence
	Power of some kind	of God but I do believe in a
	4 I find myself believing in Goo	supernatural power
	some of the time but not a	4 I find myself believing in the
	others	existence of God some of the
	5 While I have doubts, I feel that	
	I do believe in God	5 Even when I have doubts I do
	6 I know God really exists and	
	have not doubts about it	6 I know God really exists and I
0.40 /		have not doubts about it
Q19 (V38)		Comparing now and then, which
	about God?	best describes your opinion about
	1.1.4.1.1	God?
		1 I don't believe in God now and
	I never have	I never have
		2 I don't believe in God now, but
	I used to	I used to
		3 I believe in God now, but I
	didn't used to	didn't used to
	always have	4 I believe in God now and I
	8 Can't choose	always have 8 I don't know
Q 20	Do you believe in	Do you think that the following
Q 20	Bo you believe in	exists?
A (V39)	1 Yes, definitely	1 Definitely exists
(122)	2 Yes, probably	2 Probably exists
	3 No, probably not	3 Probably does not exist
	4 No, definitely not	4 Never exists
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
B (V40)	1 Yes, definitely	1 Definitely exists
	2 Yes, probably	2 Probably exists
	3 No, probably not	3 Probably does not exist
	4 No, definitely not	4 Never exists
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
C (V41)	1 Yes, definitely	1 Definitely exists
○ \ ₹ 11/	2 Yes, probably	2 Probably exists
	3 No, probably not	3 Probably does not exist
	4 No, definitely not	4 Never exists
•	14 140, demillery not	THE THOUGH CAISIS

October 2000 — 15 —

	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
D. (V42)	1 Yes, definitely	1 Definitely exists
	2 Yes, probably	2 Probably exists
	3 No, probably not	3 Probably does not exist
	4 No, definitely not	4 Never exists
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q21	Do you agree or disagree wit the following?	h What do you think about the following?
A (V44)	There is a God who concern	s There is a God for everybody
	Himself with every human bein	g
	personally	
	1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
D (3745)	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
B (V45)		There is little that people can do
	to change the course of their	to change their rate
	lives 1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
C (V46)	1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
D (V47)	In my opinion, life does no	t There is no purpose in life
	serve any purpose	
	1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other 4 Rather I don't think so
;	4 Disagree 5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
E (V48)	1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
F (V49)	1 Strongly agree	1 I think so
	2 Agree	2 Rather I think so
	3 Neither agree nor disagree	3 Can't say one way or the other
	4 Disagree	4 Rather I don't think so
	5 Strongly disagree	5 I don't think so
Q22 (V50)	8 Can't choose	8 I don't know
Q22 (V30)		Due to a new and personal
		e commitment to religion there has t been a turning point in your life
	to religion?	t occir a turning point in your life
	1 Yes	1 Yes
	2 No	2 No
Q23 A (V51)		s What was your mother's religion
	preference when you were	
	procession whom you work	a,

	child?	
	1 Protestant 2 Catholic 3 Jewish 4 Orthodox (such as Greek of Russian Orthodox) 5 Moslem 6 Other (please specify) 7 No religion 8 Don't know	1 Tenday/Shingon Buddhism 2 Jodo/Jodo Shinshu Buddhism 3 Zen Buddhism (Rinzai/Soto sect) 4 Nichiren Buddhism 5 Soka Gakkai Buddhism 6 Rissho Kosei-kai 7 Any other main line of Buddhism 8 Buddhism (denomination not clear) 9 Shinto or Shinto-based religion 10 Christianity or Christian-based religion 11 Other 12 Not sure which religion she belonged to 13 Had no religion 14 Had no mother 98 Don't know
Q23 B (V53)	What was your father's religioupreference when you were child?	s What was your father's religion
	1 Protestant 2 Catholic 3 Jewish 4 Orthodox (such as Greek of Russian Orthodox) 5 Moslem 6 Other (please specify) 7 No religion 8 Don't know	1 Tenday/Shingon Buddhism 2 Jodo/Jodo Shinshu Buddhism 3 Zen Buddhism (Rinzai/Soto sect) 4 Nichiren Buddhism 5 Soka Gakkai Buddhism 6 Rissho Kosei-kai 7 Any other main line of Buddhism 8 Buddhism (denomination not clear) 9 Shinto or Shinto-based religion 10 Christianity or Christian-based religion 11 Other 12 Not sure which religion he belonged to 13 Had no religion 14 Had no father 98 Don't know
Q23 C (V55)	raised in? 1 Protestant	u What was your religion when you were a child? 1 Tenday/Shingon Buddhism
	2 Catholic 3 Jewish 4 Orthodox (such as Greek of Russian Orthodox) 5 Moslem 6 Other (please specify) 7 No religion 8 Don't know	2 Jodo/Jodo Shinshu Buddhism 3 Zen Buddhism (Rinzai/Soto sect) 4 Nichiren Buddhism 5 Soka Gakkai Buddhism 6 Rissho Kosei-kai 7 Any other main line of Buddhism 8 Buddhism 8 Buddhism (denomination not clear) 9 Shinto or Shinto-based religion 10 Christianity or Christian-based religion

		11 Other 12 Not sure which religion I belonged to 13 Had no religion 98 Don't know
Q24 A (V57)	What is your husband's/wife religious preference?	s What is your spouse's religion?
	1 Protestant 2 Catholic 3 Jewish 4 Orthodox (such as Greek of Russian Orthodox) 5 Moslem 6 Other (please specify) 7 No religion 8 Don't know	4 Nichiren Buddhism 5 Soka Gakkai Buddhism 6 Rissho Kosei-kai 7 Any other main line of Buddhism 8 Buddhism (denomination not clear) 9 Shinto or Shinto-based religion 10 Christianity or Christian-based religion 11 Other 12 Not sure which religion he/she belongs to 13 Has no religion 14 Had no spouse
Q24 B (V58)	What is your religious preference?	98 Don't know What is your religion?
	1 Protestant 2 Catholic 3 Jewish 4 Orthodox (such as Greek of Russian Orthodox) 5 Moslem 6 Other (please specify) 7 No religion 8 Don't know	4 Nichiren Buddhism 5 Soka Gakkai Buddhism 6 Rissho Kosei-kai 7 Any other main line of Buddhism 8 Buddhism 8 Buddhism (denomination not clear) 9 Shinto or Shinto-based religion 10 Christianity or Christian-based religion 11 Other 12 Not sure which religion I belong to 13 Have no religion 98 Don't know
Q25 A (V59)	often did your mother atten religious services?	When you were a child, how often did your mother attend religious services offered by shrines, temples, or churches?
	1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week	1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week

Q25 B (V60) Q25 B (V60) Q25 B (V60) Q26 B (V60) Q27 B (V60) Q28 C (V61) Q28 C (V61) Q29 C (V61) Q20 C		9 Several times a week	9 Several times a week
Q25 B (V60) When you were a child, how often did your father attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember 99 Can't say/can't remember 99 Can't say/can't remember 99 Can't say/can't remember 90 Can		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
When you were a child, how often did your father attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services offered by shrines, temples, or churches? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember About how often do you pray? About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a veer 1 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a veer 1 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a veer 1 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a veer 1 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a			
often did your father attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember And what about when you were 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a veek 9 Several times a veek 9 Several times a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No answer 1 Never 1 Never 1 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No answer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No answer 1 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a oday 98 No answer 1 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No answer 1 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several	025 D (V(0)		
religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember Q25 C (V61) And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Don't know, don't remember 98 Don't know, don't remember 99 Several times a week 10 No father father no present 99 Several times a week 10 No father father no present 99 Several times a week 10 No father father no present 99 Several times a week 10 No father father no present 99 Several times a week 10 No father father no present 99 Several times a week 10 No father father no present 99 Several times a week 10 No father father no present 10 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 1 About once a month 10 Nearly every week 10 None a doy 11 Never 1 Never 1 Never 1 Never 1 Never 1 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 1 About once a month 10 Nearly every week 10 None	Q25 B (V60)		
1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 10 Never 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember 10 No father/father no present 98 Don't know, don't remember 10 No father/father no present 98 Don't know, don't remember 10 No father/father no present 10 No father/fath			often did your father attend
1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 One a day 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 One a day 11 Several times a week 1		religious services?	
2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Everal times a week 9 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Don't know, don't remember And what about when you were daround 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Don't know, don't remember About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a veer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a veer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a veer 12 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a veer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a veer 11 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a veer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a day 98 No answer 1 Never 1 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Everal times a veer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a veer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a veer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Everal times a year 9 Several times a veer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a veer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	shrines, temples, or churches?
4 Several times a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember Q25 C (V61) Q25 C (V61) And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 12 Several times a week 13 About once or twice a year 14 Se			1 Never
4 Several times a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember Q25 C (V61) Q25 C (V61) And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 12 Several times a week 13 About once or twice a year 14 Se		2 Less than once a year	2 Less than once a year
4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember 11 Never 12 Less than once a year 13 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 11 Never 12 Less than once a year 13 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 15 Never 16 Never 16 Never 17 Never 18 Never 18 Never 19 Several times a year 19 About once a month 10 Poerly every week 10 Nore a day 11 Never 11 Never 12 Less than once a year 13 About once a month 16 Nearly every week 18 Every week 19 Several times a year 19 About once a month 10 Poerly every week 10 Nore a day 11 Never 11 Never 11 Never 12 Less than once a year 12 Never 13 About once a month 14 Nearly every week 15 Never 16 Nearly every week 16 Nore a day 17 Nearly every week 18 Every week 19 Several times a year 19 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Never 21 Less than once a year 22 Less than once a year 23 About once or twice a year 24 Several times a week 25 Nour once a month 26 Nour once or twice a year 26 Nour once or twice a year 27 About once a month 28 No answer 29 Several times a week 29 Several times a week 20 Several times a week 26 Several times a week 27 Several times a week 28 Every week 29 Several times a week 20 Several times a week 21 Never 22 Less than once a year 23 About once or twice a year 24 Several times a week 25 Several times a week 26 Several times a week 27 Several times a week 28 Every week 29 Several times a week 20 Several times a week 21 Never 22 Less than once a year 23 About once a month 24 Several times a week 25 Sever		3 About once or twice a year	3 About once or twice a year
5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 10 No father/father no present 21 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 No and ther/father no present 10 No father/father no present 10 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a year 4 Several times a year 1 Nou often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Nort know, don't remember 10 Never 10 Never 11 Never 12 Never 12 Never 13 Never 14 Several times a day 15 Never 16 Never 18 Never 19 Never 19 Never 19 Never 10 Never 10 Never 10 Never 10 Ne			
6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Don't know, don't remember And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember About how often do you pray? About how often do you pray to God or to Buddha? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Severa		5 About once a month	5 About once a month
7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember 2025 C (V61) And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 No rather/father no present 10 No father/father no present 10 Nor father/father nor father did you attend religious services offered by shrines, temples, or churches? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Seve			
8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Carl' say/carl't remember 99 Carl say/carl't remember 99 Carl say/carl't remember 99 Carl say/carl't remember 90 Carl say/carl't remember 91 Never 92 Less than once a year 93 About once a month 94 Carl say/carl't remember 95 Carl say/carl't remember 96 Carl say/carl't remember 97 Carl say/carl't remember 98 Carl say/carl't remember 98 Carl say/carl't remember 99 Carl say/carl't remember 90 Carl say/carl't remember 90 Carl say/carl't remember 90 Carl say/carl't remember 90 Carl say/carl't remember 91 Never 92 Less than once a year 93 About once a month 94 Carl say/carl't remember 98 Carl say/carl't remember 99 Carl say/carl't remember 99 Carl say/carl't remember 99 Carl say/carl't remember 90 Carl say/carl't remember 90 Carl say/carl't remember 90 Carl say/carl't remember 90 Carl say/carl't remember 91 Never 92 Less than once a year 93 About once a month 94 Carl say/carl't remember 95 Carl say/carl't remember 96 Carl say/carl't remember 97 Carl say/carl't remember 98 Don't know, don't remember 98 Carl say/carl't remember 98 Carl say/carl't remember 99 Carl say/carl't remember 99 Carl say/carl't remember 90 Carl say/carl't remember 91 Never 92 Less than once a year 93 About once a month 94 Carl say/carl't remember 98 Don't know, don't remember 98 Don't know, don't remember 98 Carl say/carl't remember 98 Carl say/carl't remember 99 Carl say/carl't remember 99 Carl say/carl't remember 90 Ca			
9 Several times a week 10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 6 2-3 times a week 9 Several times a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a veex 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 1 Several times a year 1 Several times a year 2 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 S			
10 No father/father no present 98 Can't say/can't remember			
98 Can't say/can't remember around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a wear 4 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 4 Several times a year 7 Several times a year 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember 10 Once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a wear 1 Several times a year 1 Several times a year 2 Several times a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 6 About how often do you pray? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 11 Several times a day 12 Several times a day 13 Several times a day 14 Several times a day 15 Several times a day 16 Several times a day 17 Several times a day 18 Several times a day 19 Several times a day 10 Onc			
98 Can't say/can't remember around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a wear 4 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 4 Several times a year 7 Several times a year 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember 10 Once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a wear 1 Several times a year 1 Several times a year 2 Several times a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 6 About how often do you pray? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 11 Several times a day 12 Several times a day 13 Several times a day 14 Several times a day 15 Several times a day 16 Several times a day 17 Several times a day 18 Several times a day 19 Several times a day 10 Onc		10 No father/father no present	10 No father/father no present
And what about when you were around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? I Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a week 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember About how often do you pray? I Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a week 9 Several times a week 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a day 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a year 9 Several times a year 1 Never 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 1 Nev			
around 11 or 12, how often did you attend religious services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a year 2 Less than once a month 6 2-3 times a week 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a month 6 2-3 times a week 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a wear 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 1 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you raver 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you pray ra Several times a week 10 Once a month 6 2-3 times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you pray ro God or to Buddha? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you pray ro God or to Buddha? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you pray ro God or to Buddha? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you pray ro God or to Buddha? 1 Never a thou the week 9 Several times a year 1 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you fave pre limes a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About	O25 C (V61)		
you attend religious services offered by shrines, temples, or churches? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a vear 4 Several times a vear 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a vear 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 4 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a week 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a week 9 Several times a year 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a yea	` ` ` ` ` ` ` ` ` ` ` ` ` ` ` ` ` ` `		laround 11 or 12 how often did
1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 Never 2 Less than once a year 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Severa			
1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Nearly every week 8 Every week 8 Every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a veer 11 Never 11 Never 11 Never 12 Less than once a year 12 Less than once a year 13 About once or twice a year 14 Several times a year 15 About once a month 15 About once a		you attend religious services:	
1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember Q26 A (V62) About once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember About how often do you pray? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a year 4 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a veer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			
2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember About how often do you pray? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember About how often do you pray? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember About how often do you pray? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) Q26 B (V63) Q26 B (V63) Q27 B (V63) Q28 B (V63) Q29 B (V63) Q29 B (V63) Q20 B (V63)			
3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember Q26 A (V62) About once a week 98 Can't say/can't remember Q26 A (V62) About once a year 3 About once a year 3 About once a year 4 Several times a week 98 Con't say/can't remember About how often do you pray? About how often do you pray to God or to Buddha? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a for worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 4 Several times a week 10 Once a for worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a for worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a year 3 About once a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			
3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember Q26 A (V62) About once a week 98 Can't say/can't remember Q26 A (V62) About once a year 3 About once a year 3 About once a year 4 Several times a week 98 Con't say/can't remember About how often do you pray? About how often do you pray to God or to Buddha? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a for worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 4 Several times a week 10 Once a for worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a for worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a year 3 About once a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week		2 Less than once a year	2 Less than once a year
4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember Q26 A (V62) About how often do you pray? I Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 98 Don't know, don't remember About how often do you pray to God or to Buddha? I Never 2 Less than once a year 4 Several times a week 98 Don't know, don't remember About how often do you pray to God or to Buddha? I Never 2 Less than once a year 4 Several times a week 98 Don't know, don't remember About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a week 98 Don't know, don't remember 2 Less than once a year 7 About once a month 6 2-3 times a week 98 Don't know, don't remember 1 Several times a year 7 About once a month 6 2-3 times a week 98 Don't know, don't remember 1 Several times a year 1 Several times a wear 1 Several times a day 1 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week		3 About once or twice a year	3 About once or twice a year
5 About once a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several t			
6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember Q26 A (V62) About how often do you pray? About how often do you pray? I Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? I Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No denswer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? I Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember 2 Less than once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember 9 Several times a weer 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a ody 11 Several times a day 12 Several times a day 13 Several times a day 14 Several times a day 15 Several times a day 16 Several times a day 17 Several times a day 18 Don't know, don't remember 19 Several times a day 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 11 Several times a day 12 Several times a day 13 About once or twice a year 14 Several times a week 15 About once a month 16 2-3 times a month 17 Nearly every week 18 Every week 19 Several times a month 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 11 Several times a day 12 Several times a day 13 About once or twice a year 14 Several times a month 15 About once o		5 About once a month	
7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember Q26 A (V62) About how often do you pray? About how often do you pray? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 9 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 98 Don't know, don't remember 2 Less than once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember 9			
S Every week 9 Several times a week 98 Don't know, don't remember About how often do you pray to God or to Buddha?			
9 Several times a week 98 Can't say/can't remember Q26 A (V62) About how often do you pray? About how often do you pray? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 12 Several times a day 13 About once or twice a year 14 Several times a year 15 About once or twice a year 16 About once a month 17 Nearly every week 17 Nearly every week 18 Every week 19 Several times a week 10 Once a day 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 11 Several times a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 11 Several times a week 10 Orce a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 11 Several times a day 11 Several times a day 12 Several times a week 13 About once or twice a year 14 Several times a			
98 Can't say/can't remember 98 Don't know, don't remember			
About how often do you pray? About how often do you pray? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) About how often do you pray to God or to Buddha? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			
I Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No answer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No answer 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Nearly every week		98 Can't say/can't remember	
1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 5 About once or twice a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember 1 How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week	Q26 A (V62)	About how often do you pray?	About how often do you pray to
2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Several times a year 9 Several times a year 9 Several times a year 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			God or to Buddha?
3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Several times a year 9 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week		1 Never	1 Never
3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Several times a year 9 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week		2 Less than once a year	2 Less than once a year
4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			
5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			
6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? I Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week		5 About once a month	5 About once a month
7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			
8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a year 4 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			
9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			/ Nearly every week
9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			
10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 2 Less than once a year 3 About once a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			
11 Several times a day 98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			
98 No answer Q26 B (V63) How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week		11 Several times a day	11 Several times a day
How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week How often do you take part in the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week		98 No answer	
the activities or organizations of a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week the activities or organizations of a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week	O26 B (V63)		
a church or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week a shrine, temple, church, or place of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week	Q20 D (¥03)		
other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week of worship other than attending services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week			
services? 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Nearly every week			
1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Nearly every week		other than attending services?	of worship other than attending
2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Less than once a year 6 About once a month 7 Nearly every week			
2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Less than once a year 6 About once a month 7 Nearly every week		1 Never	1 Never
3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week		2 Less than once a year	
4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Nearly every week			3 About once or twice a year
5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Nearly every week			
6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 7 Nearly every week	[
7 Nearly every week 7 Nearly every week		Ţ.	
7 Nearly every week 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 8 Every week	Ē.		
8 Every week 8 Every week			/ Nearly every week
	†	8 Every week	8 Every week

October 2000 — 19 —

	9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day	9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day
Q26 C	98 No answer	98 Don't know, don't remember How often do you attend religious services offered by shrines, temples, and church (other than for hatsu mode, weddings, and funerals)?
		1 Never 2 Less than once a year 3 About once or twice a year 4 Several times a year 5 About once a month 6 2-3 times a month 7 Nearly every week 8 Every week 9 Several times a week 10 Once a day 11 Several times a day 98 Don't know, don't remember
Q27 (V64)	as	Do you have religious faith or not?
	11 Extremely religious 2 Very religious 3 Somewhat religious 4 Neither religious nor non-religious 5 Somewhat non-religious 6 Very non-religious 7 Extremely non-religious 98 Can't choose	1 A great deal 2 Quite a lot religious 3 Somewhat religious 4 Neither religious nor non-religious 5 Not so much religious 6 A little religious 7 Not at all religious 98 I don't know
Q28 (V65)	Which of the following statements come closest to your own views:	What do you think about
	1 There is very little truth in any religion 2 There are basic truths in many religions	1 There is no truth in any religion 2 There are truths in many religions 3 There is truth only in one religion 98 I don't know
Q29 A (V66)	Which statement comes closest to your belief about what your friend has a right to expect from	Which of the following comes closest to your thought about what your friend is expecting from you to say to his advantage?
	1 My friend has a DEFINITE right as a friend to expect me to testify that he was obeying the speed limit 2 My friend has SOME right as a friend to expect me to testify that he was obeying the speed limit 3 My friend has NO right as a friend to expect me to testify that he was obeying the speed limit 8 Can't choose	1 It is natural 2 Rather it is natural 3 It is not natural 8 I don't know
B (V67)	What would you do in this	What do you think to do in this

situation	n? situation?
1 Defir	nitely tell the police that I Definitely tell the police that
your fr	riend WAS going faster your friend WAS going faster
than the	e speed limit than the speed limit
2 Prob	ably tell the police that 2 Probably tell the police that
your fr	riend WAS going faster your friend WAS going faster
than the	e speed limit than the speed limit
3 Proba	ably tell the police that 3 Probably tell the police that
	riend WAS NOT going your friend WAS NOT going
	nan the speed limit. faster than the speed limit.
	nitely tell the police that 4 Definitely tell the police that
your fr	riend WAS NOT going your friend WAS NOT going
faster th	nan the speed limit faster than the speed limit
8 Can't	choose 8 I don't know

October 2000 — 21 —

Religion and Family Values: A Comparative Study of Japan and Germany

ABSTRACT

This paper is an interim report of our comparative and collaborative research on the relationship between religion and family values in Japan and Germany. The report is based upon a secondary analysis of large scale multi-national survey data, i. e. the World Values Survey 1995 and the ISSP (International Social Survey Programme) 1998 Religion Module.

This paper examines religion and religiosity on the one hand, and family values and family-related behavior on the other hand, in both countries. We begin with some theoretical and conceptual considerations based upon an extensive literature survey in this research field. We then describe the dependent variables of our analysis, i. e. family values and family-related behavior from a comparative perspective. Then we turn to the independent variables, i. e. religion, religiosity and religious behavior on the same line. Finally the impact of religion on family values is examined.

Religion in Japan and Germany are so different in terms of their history, structure, and nature that we first describe the country specific aspect of German religion, and then discuss it from a comparative perspective of Japanese religion. Our hypothesis is that religion should be a good predictor of many family values and family-related behavior in Germany, but it should be much less so in Japan.

In the appendix to this paper, the master language questionnaire and the target (Japanese) language questionnaire of the 1998 ISSP Religion Module are compared.

Key Word: religion, moral values, family values