

CHANGES IN LIVING PATTERNS BROUGHT ABOUT BY TELEVISION

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Among changes that have entered the living patterns of the Japanese people in the postwar years, those that have been brought about through the rise in the living standards and through the introduction of American-style rationalism may be cited. Changes that have been brought about through a rapid popularization of television in the 1960's may also be mentioned as having been no less outstanding.

In order to clarify the impact of television on the national life, the characteristics of television popularization in Japan will first be clarified; then the changes in the time budget of the Japanese people through prewar and postwar years, together with differences between the pre-TV and post-TV years will be analyzed on the basis of data available. Finally, changes that have been brought about in the living patterns of the Japanese people will be discussed.

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF TV POPULARIZATION IN JAPAN

Television in Japan is characterized by nation-wide popularization in the comparatively short time after a full service commenced in 1953. Of particular note was the rapid growth in the 1960's, as can be seen in the following table which shows the numbers of NHK television-receiving contracts, and the rates of dissemination.

	No. of Receiving Contracts	Dissemination Rates
March 1960	4,148,000	23.1%
March 1961	6,860,000	33.2%
March 1962	10,222,000	49.5%
March 1963	13,378,000	64.8%
March 1964	15,663	75.8%
March 1965	17,132	82.9%
March 1966	18,224	75.6%*

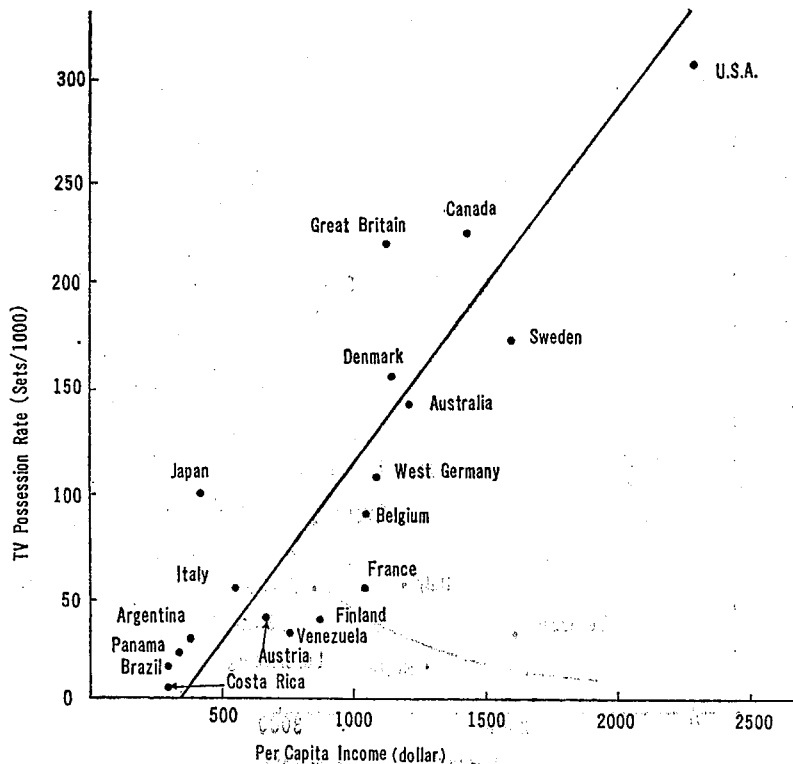
* For 1966 the dissemination rate, drops despite an increase in the number of contracts. This is because the denominator for calculating the rate was changed after the 1965 Census.

March 1967	19,247	79.8%
March 1968	20,270	84.2%
March 1969	21,220	88.1%

As is evident in the above figures, television sets rapidly spread among Japanese homes. No other household durable consumer goods have spread as rapidly as the television set. Though it was a period of rapid economic growth of Japan which supported the rapid spread of television, it was, nevertheless, an astonishing phenomenon. Moreover, the rate at which television spread among Japanese homes far outstripped the economic growth of the nation. Herein lies a remarkable feature of television in Japan. In other words, it can be said that television in Japan achieved popularization, on tiptoe and at a remarkably rapid pace, at the expense of the balance in the national life as a whole. The impact of television on the national life of Japan, therefore, was that much greater.

Comparison of television popularization in Japan with that in other countries by relating the ratio of TV ownership to per capita income and per capita calorie intake gives the following Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1. Relation of Per Capita Income to TV Possession



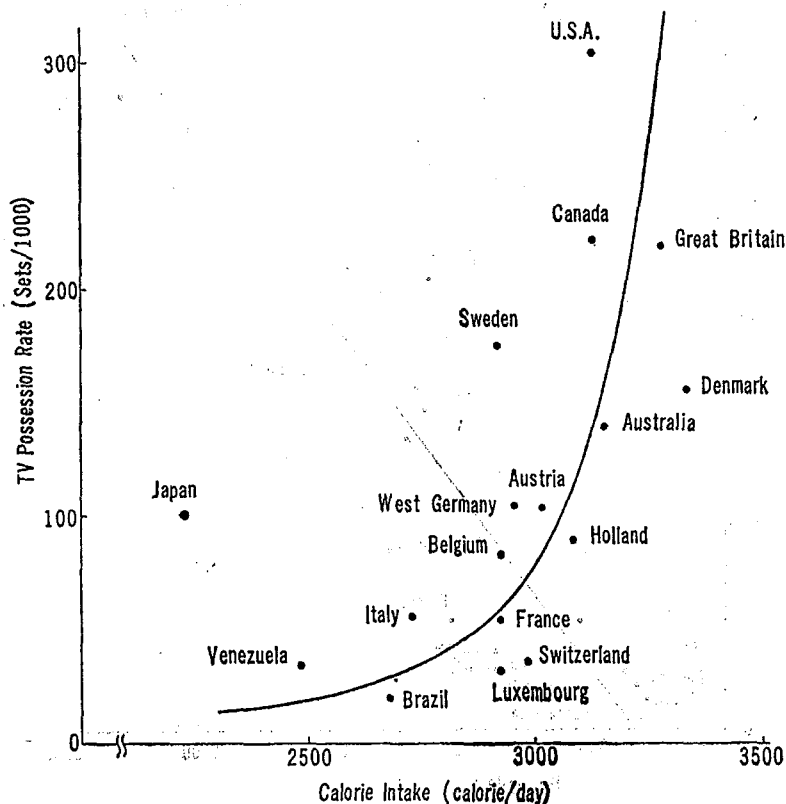
Source: Keizai kikaku chō (Economic Planning Agency), Keizai hakusho (Economic White Paper), 1963, p. 27.

These graphs appear to indicate clearly the state of television popularization in Japan. In the countries with high per capita income, such as the U.S.A which occupies the apex of the pyramid, Canada and Sweden, the percentage of television ownership is comparatively high. On the other hand, in the countries where per capita income is low, such as those in Latin America, the rate of television possession is low. Among the Asian countries, only a few were operating television services. As a result, they are not included in the graphs.

Per capita income and the ratio of television ownership in various countries have high correlation and the relationship can be plotted on a straight line. Japan is an exception, however, and can, in fact, be plotted a short distance from the straight line on which the other countries are plotted. In other words, the ratio of television ownership in Japan is abnormally high for its level of per capita income.

Similar conditions are indicated in relating per capita calorie intake and the ratio of television ownership. In this case, too, the U.S.A. ranks

Figure 2. Calorie Intake and TV Possession Rate



Source: Keizai kikaku chō, Zuzetsu keizai hakusho (Illustrated Economic White Paper), 1963, p. 33.

at the top with the highest calorie intake and rate of television ownership, while countries with a low per capita intake also show low rate of television ownership. However, unlike the case of per capita income, there is not a linear proportion; the graph has to be plotted on a line similar to a second-degree curve instead of on a straight line. Here again, Japan is an exception. Although Japan is among the countries with low per capita calorie intake, its ratio of television ownership is ranked rather high.

It should not be overlooked, therefore, that in Japan there were large numbers of viewers hungry for TV despite a distorted consumer life. This also indicates the depth of interest of the Japanese people for television.

Of course, the enormous efforts of the broadcasting stations to popularize television must also be taken into consideration. But since the spread of television among homes was far more rapid and widespread than the broadcasting stations envisaged, it can be said that the energy of the viewers was greater than that of the broadcasting stations.

It can also be said that the impact of TV on the national life was significant, since the viewers willingly accepted it.

II. CHANGES IN THE TIME BUDGET OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

(I) —Changes From The Prewar to Postwar Years—

While the framework of 24 hours for a day of life has not changed at all, people's appropriation of behavior time within the 24 hours has undergone considerable changes as time passed. Let us, therefore, observe how their time budget has changed in recent years. For this purpose, data obtained from the NHK 1941, 1960 and 1965 "How-do-people-spend-their-time" surveys, will be used. Incidentally, as NHK makes it a rule to undertake the "How-do-people-spend-their-time" survey every five years, the next survey will take place in 1970.

To begin with, an outline of this "How-do-people-spend-their-time" survey will be given. The principal object of NHK's planning this type of survey was to obtain basic data that will serve as a reference to understand the daily behavior of the people and to provide them with broadcasts that will justly meet their desires and requirements. For this reason, the surveys were designed to find out what people did at different times of the day, how many hours people worked, and how long they spent viewing television programs; the aim being to establish the facts about the people's everyday life. Nation-wide surveys are conducted because NHK, which operates nation-wide networks, needs to have data on all the people of the country. The results of these surveys, moreover, are utilized not only for this original

purpose but also for various other purposes. In particular, since these surveys have been undertaken both before and after the war, an analysis of the time-series data would reveal how the living patterns of the Japanese people have changed during these years. As the 1941 survey took place before the random sampling method now generally used in public opinion surveys was adopted in Japan, it was not possible to investigate the behavior time budget of the entire Japanese people. For this reason, the earliest survey differs somewhat from the 1960 and 1965 surveys made on samples fairly representative of the entire Japanese people. It is to be understood, therefore, that there should be certain restrictions in the use of data for comparing prewar and postwar years.

When the life of the Japanese people of today is compared with that in prewar days, the most outstanding change is found in the shortening of working hours. This is particularly noticeable with farm workers and retail shop employees. The 1941 survey revealed working hours to be 9 to 10 hours, but by 1960 this had been reduced to about 8 hours. Such a reduction in working hours took place principally in night work, and the evening hours of the working people soon began to be spent in viewing television programs.

The second characteristic as compared with prewar days is a marked reduction in housewives' household chores. In the 1941 survey, not a few housewives were found to be spending more than 10 hours daily on such chores, but the 1960 survey showed that this had been reduced to about 7 hours. This also involved a marked reduction in evening chores, and the free evening hours also came to be spent in viewing television programs.

The most outstanding change in contemporary Japanese life as compared with prewar days can be resolved into the above two points, but viewed from another aspect, it can be said that today people have greatly increased leisure hours. This is particularly noticeable with farm workers, retail shop workers and operators, and housewives. Meanwhile, little change is seen between prewar and postwar days for salaried workers. In other words, since these people were working for so many hours a day even in the prewar days, they have always had the evening hours to themselves, and this has continued up to today.

In prewar days, there were considerable differences between the life of farm workers and retail shop workers on the one hand and salaried workers on the other, but today the living conditions of these classes of people have become similar. In prewar days, the housewife had to keep herself busy with chores in the evening even while the husband rested, leading to a considerable difference in their respective time budgets. Today, however,

the whole family sits before a television set to enjoy some programs. This shows that the time budget of the family members has become similar.

Aside from changes in living habits as described above, the fact that changes have been made also in the living cycle must be mentioned. When prewar and postwar living habits are compared, it is found that today people rise later and retire later than in prewar days. In general, farm people rise early and retire early, but those who live in larger cities rise late and retire late. Even though farm people still rise early and retire early, their living cycle as a whole has shifted toward later evening hours. This applies also to urban people.

That the living cycle has shifted toward later evening hours can be considered in relation to the existence of large numbers of people staying up late viewing television programs, but this point will be developed later.

III. CHANGES IN THE TIME BUDGET OF THE JAPANESE PEOPLE

(II) —Difference Between Pre-TV and Post-TV Life—

The development of new technology drastically shortened the time required for work. For instance, the New Tōkaidō Line has shortened the time required for travel between Tokyo and Osaka to 3 hours and 10 minutes as compared with the 6 hours the express trains used to take. Electric washing machines and vacuum cleaners have also served to reduce the many hours which housewives needed to do their housework.

While such marked changes have taken place, the time individuals require for filling their physiological needs remains practically unchanged. In other words, the 7 to 8 hours which human beings need for sleep have not changed since early days.

In short, changes in the time budget are, after all, limited to reducing working hours and the time required for household chores, this nevertheless, has increased total leisure hours. In days when leisure hours were very short, all the people could do was to rest themselves in preparation for tomorrow's work. But as leisure hours increased, qualitative changes in the manner of spending prolonged time have been introduced. In the circumstances, it appears pertinent to consider changes in the time budget of the Japanese people in pre-TV and post-TV days, with the manner in which leisure hours were spent as the center of interest.

In the preceding section, features of contemporary life were compared with those of prewar days. But since differences in the sampling methods used the 1941 survey and the 1960 or 1965 surveys made statistical comparisons impossible, no more than the general trends could be considered.

However, statistical comparisons of the results of the 1960 and 1965 surveys, made under the same sampling method, allows detailed analysis of how time budgets have changed. Incidentally, since the interval between the two surveys corresponded to the period in which TV was rapidly popularized, it may be appropriate to clarify the changes in the living habits of the Japanese people were brought about.

1. Changes in the Time Budget of Young Men

Men in their twenties are taken as typical young men, and the time they spent in various activities during a normal day is compared for 1960 and 1965. The result is as shown in Figure 3. In this case, the time spent in various activities exceeds 24 hours, since the time spent doing two things simultaneously, e. g., doing something while viewing a television program, is tabulated as two separate activities.

Time required for sleep and work, which accounts for the largest percentage in the normal everyday life of men in their twenties, shows practically no change between 1960 and 1965. If any difference must be found, it may be said that the working hours have been slightly reduced in the latter survey.

The most conspicuous change is the increase of televiewing time from 50 minutes to 2 hours and 20 minutes, which represents a three-fold increase. This change, however, does not mean that an individual, who has been viewing television for less than 1 hour, began to view more than 2 hours. Rather, it is the result of three-fold increase in viewers who have installed television sets in their homes.

With such a marked increase in televiewers, radio listeners have decreased. Average radio listening time has thus decreased over five years from 1 hour and 20 minutes to 40 minutes.

Other items of time budget remain about the same for 1960 and 1965, with no marked change. In spite of the fact that the number of televiewers has greatly increased and the time spent in televiewing out of a 24-hour day has increased, there has been little change in the people's activities other than radio listening. This was due to more doubled-up activities, such as doing something else while viewing television.

In short, since sleeping time has undergone no change and working hours have been shortened only slightly, leisure hours show practically no quantitative change in the time budget of young men for normal weekdays. In spite of this fact, televiewing has markedly increased and has come into the people's life as a simultaneous additional activities. Herein is found the most outstanding characteristic of the change.

Young men's time budget for Sundays shows two conspicuous changes, aside from televiewing and radio listening. The first is the reduction in average working hours. Five years ago, young men in their twenties were working an average of 6 hours on Sundays, but this has been reduced to 4 hours and 20 minutes, or by 1 hour and 40 minutes. Such a reduction in Sunday working hours is the result of more people not working on that day. In other words, nearly half the young men in their twenties are free from Sunday work, and the trend is toward an increasing number of people being free from Sunday work.

The second outstanding change is an increase in the time for hobbies. Including sports and hiking excursions, the average time available for hobbies has increased from 1 hour and 30 minutes in 1960 to 2 hours and 10 minutes in 1965. This is the result of an increasing number of young men engaging in hobbies on Sundays. While the average time young men in their twenties spend in televiewing increased from 1 hour and 10 minutes five years ago to 3 hours and 40 minutes (more than three-fold due to increased numbers of televiewers), one feature is the increasing number of comparatively younger men actively engaging in various leisure activities on Sundays despite the general trend toward uncompromising devotion to television as a means of spending leisure hours.

2. Changes in the Time Budget of Young Women

Women in their twenties are taken as typical young women and the time they spent in various activities during a normal day is compared for 1960 and 1965. The result is shown in Figure 4.

Figure 3. Changes in the Time Budget of Men in Their 20's (Normal Weekday)

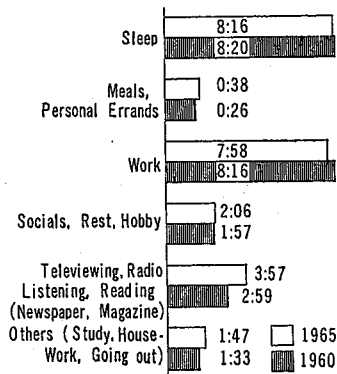
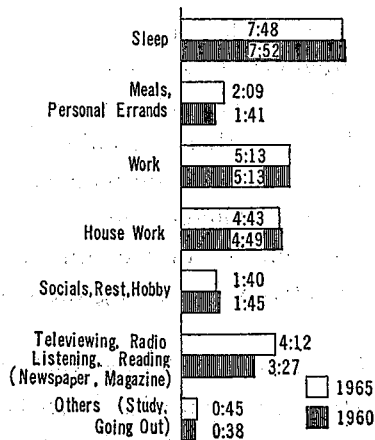


Figure 4. Changes in the Time Budget of Women in Their 20's (Normal Weekday)



Time required for sleep, work and household chores, which accounts for the largest percentage in the normal everyday life of young women in their twenties, shows practically no change between 1960 and 1965.

The most outstanding change in these five years is the increase of televising time from 1 hour to 3 hours and 10 minutes, which represents a gain of more than three-fold. On the other hand, radio listening time has decreased from 2 hours to a mere 30 minutes in the five-year period. As in the case of men, such changes in connection with televising and radio listening arose from marked increase in the number of people installing television sets in the homes and viewing programs.

When speaking of the normal time budget of young women in their everyday life, it must be said that their televising time only has increased, since their sleeping, working and housework hours have not changed and, hence, their leisure hours have not increased to any extent. Analysis of this phenomenon leads to the conclusion that more time is spent in viewing television program while taking meals or doing housework. Consequently, it is evident that television has become as much part and parcel of women's life as in the case of men, or even more.

Aside from changes connected with televising and radio listening, the Sunday time budget for young women shows the following:

(1) Reduced working hours, as in the case of young men.—For women in their twenties, average working hours on Sundays have been reduced from 3 hours and 50 minutes to 2 hours and 40 minutes (a reduction of more than 1 hour) as a result of increasing numbers of women taking Sundays off.

(2) A slight increase in sleeping time and time spent on personal errands.—For women in their twenties, this increase over five years is not more than 20 minutes, but such an increase in sleeping time and time for personal errands among young women is evidence that for young women their previous burden of work and household chores has been eased and their leisure hours have increased.

However, there was almost no increase in the time spent on hobbies, despite a change in the Sunday time budget, as was the case with young men; young women seem to spend most of the time gained from work and household chores in viewing television programs. They are not moving toward actively increasing their own leisure activities.

3. Changes in the Time Budget of Middle-Aged People

Men in their forties have been taken as typifying middle age. When their normal weekday time budget for 1960 and 1965 is compared, the

Figure 5 is obtained.

The time budget of men in their forties shows no essential difference from that of men in their twenties. For instance, compared with five years before, their televising time has markedly increased, their radio listening time has greatly decreased and their working hours have been somewhat shortened.

The difference between the time budget of men in their forties and men in their twenties is evident in their contact with mass-communications media. In other words, men in their forties now view television for 2 hours and 50 minutes (more than a three-fold increase over 50 minutes five years before), but the time they spend in listening to radio has decreased from 1 hour and 30 minutes to only 20 minutes. This differs little from the tendency shown by men in their twenties, but the breadth of change is much greater. Today, there are many middle-aged and aged people who depend only on television among mass-communications media. On the other hand, there are still considerable numbers of men in their twenties who use radio.

Time spent in reading newspapers, magazines and books also differed little between those in their forties and those in their twenties five years ago. Today, however, more in their twenties are coming in contact with reading materials than those in their forties. While those in their forties and above depend only on television, the younger generation in their twenties tend to make use not only of radio and television but also of newspapers, magazines and books as well.

There is an outstanding difference between the Sunday time budget of men in their forties and those in their twenties. While Sunday working

Figure 5. Changes in the Time Budget of Men in Their 40's (Normal Weekday)

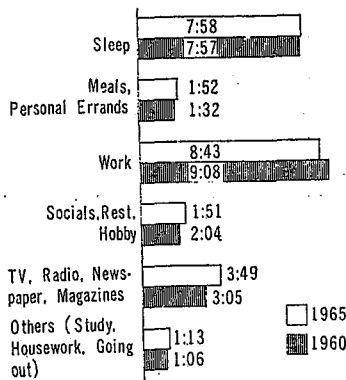
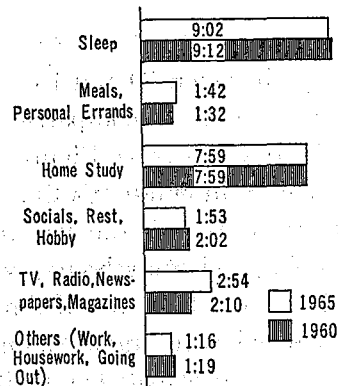


Figure 6. Changes in the Time Budget of Children (Normal Weekday)



hours of those in their twenties have shown a drastic decrease of 1 hour and 40 minutes as compared with five years before, the decrease for those in their forties has been limited to a mere 20 minutes. In other words, the trend toward work-free Sundays and engaging in leisure activities is seen only among young men; no such trend is visible among middle-aged and older men.

In the case of women, there is no basic difference in the time budget between the middle-aged and younger age groups. With respect to changes over five years, there are a number of common points between the two groups. In other words, the time budget changes shown above for women in their twenties for a normal weekday apply commonly to all female age groups.

However, there is a considerable difference between the Sunday time budgets for women of different age groups. While the Sunday working hours of women in their twenties were shown as 1 hour and 20 minutes less than five years before, those of women in their forties show no change over five years. If we take the total for women's working hours and the time required for doing household chores (their non-leisure hours), the difference between the total for women in their forties and those in their twenties, had increased from less than 1 hour in 1960 to 1 hour and 30 minutes by 1965. In other words, the non-leisure hours of women in their forties are longer by 1 hour and 30 minutes than those for women in their twenties.

In short, the tendency toward a marked increase in Sunday leisure is a phenomenon seen only in the younger age group of both men and women. No similar tendency is evident for middle-aged and older groups, however, the fact that women are given to longer viewing television regardless of their age group is a characteristic common to their time budgetting.

4. Changes in the Time Budget of Children

Boys between 10 and 15 years of age were selected as typifying children in this case. A comparison of their 1960 and 1965 time budgets for normal weekdays gives Figure 6.

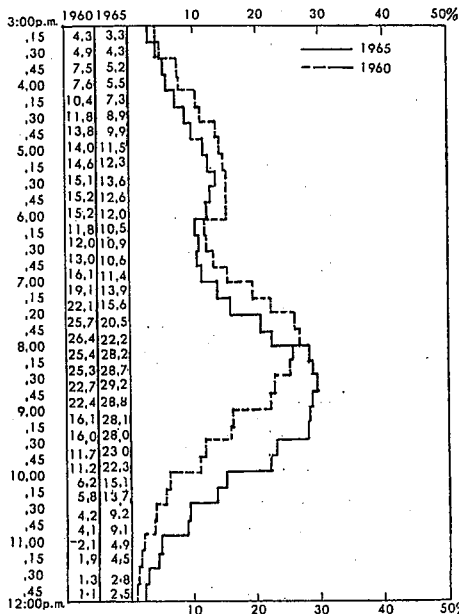
Changes in children's time budgets between 1960 and 1965 are less in time duration than is the case for adults. Practically no change is seen in the sleeping and study hours, which account for the largest share in children's daily life. In terms of time duration, the main changes are to be seen in their televiewing, radio listening and playing time as compared with five years before. For instance, while children were viewing television for an average of 1 hour on weekdays in 1960, this had increased to 2 hours and

30 minutes by 1965. On the other hand, radio listening time had decreased from 50 minutes to 10 minutes while their playing time had decreased somewhat from 1 hour and 30 minutes to 1 hour and 10 minutes. In the case of children, the rate of increase in televiewing time is lower than for adults, but this is more likely to be due to the fact that they were viewing television at their friends' homes even if their own homes were not provided with sets. On the other hand, the reduction in radio listening time because of televiewing is far more conspicuous with children than with adults.

Time budgetting by girls between 10 and 15 years of age has undergone changes similar to that of boys. Therefore, the foregoing is applicable not only to boys, but also to all children including girls.

On Sundays, children's study time shows a marked decrease compared with weekdays, while televiewing and playing time markedly increase. This tendency is common to both 1960 and 1965. However, while televiewing time in 1965 shows a marked increase over that in 1960, playing time shows some decrease. As a result, the time children spend in televiewing and radio listening on Sundays was found to be even longer than their playing time in 1965, though the time spent for the same purpose was more than two hours shorter in 1960.

Figure 7. Changes in the Time of the Day Where Children Do Home Study (Normal Weekday)



Children's study time in 1965 shows an increase of 30 minutes over 1960. This endorses the view that longer televiewing time is not necessarily a factor reducing children's study time.

In considering changes in children's time budget, it should be noted that there has been an important change that cannot be brought to light merely by the time durations cited above. This is the change in the time of the day during which children do their home study. As has already been stated, children's study time on weekdays showed practically no change between 1960 and 1965. However, when children's home study hours between 3:00 and 12:00 p.m. on weekdays are compared at different

hours, Figure 7 is obtained.

The ratio of children doing their home study begins to rise around 4.00 P.M.; it drops for a time from around 6:00 P.M. because of the evening meal, but it rises again from about 7:00 P.M. Such a trend is evident both in 1960 and 1965, but after 8:00 P.M. a wide difference appears between 1960 and 1965. In other words, before 8:00 P.M. the ratio of children doing their home work is lower in 1965 than in 1960, but after 8:00 P.M., the ratio rises noticeably above that of 1960. The ratio is lower by more than 5 per cent, when compared with 1960, between 7:00 and 8:00 P.M., but it becomes higher by more than 10 per cent between 9:00 and 10:00 P.M., thus showing a marked difference. Five years before, 10:00 P.M. was the retiring time for most children and the ratio of those still studying dropped to less than 10 per cent. Today, however, 10 per cent of children are studying till nearly 11:00 P.M. As will be stated later, here again is an aspect of changes brought about by television.

5. Changes in Rising and Retiring Hours

As has already been described, time budgets showed little change between 1960 and 1965, apart from marked changes introduced into their televisioning and radio listening durations. There are, however, cases where the time of the day at which certain activities occur changes, even though the time spent for the same activity may not change. Children's home study time is an example, and changes in the rising and retiring time are also an important instance.

Figure 8. Rising Time (Normal Weekday) Upper: 1965 Lower: 1960

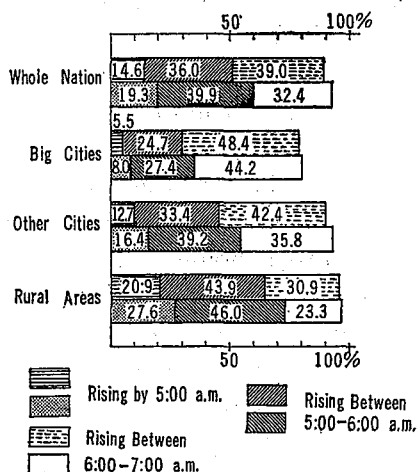
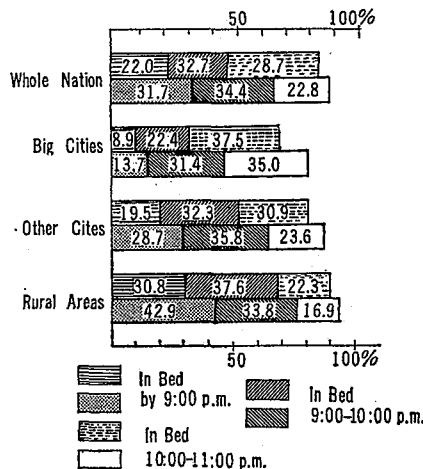


Figure 9. Retiring Time (Normal Weekday) Upper: 1965 Lower: 1960



A comparison of rising times in 1960 and 1965 by area, such as big cities, other cities and rural areas, against the national average, for those rising by 5:00 A.M., between 5:00 and 6:00 A.M. and those rising between 7:00 and 8:00 A.M. gives Figure 8.

In the national average, the ratio of people rising by 5:00 A.M. dropped from 19 per cent in 1960 to 15 per cent in 1965, and that of people rising by 6:00 A.M. dropped from 59 per cent to 51 per cent. In other words, the number of early risers has decreased, indicating shift of the rising time to later hours of the day.

Rising time in farming areas has always been early, while that in urban areas has been late. Even today, rural people generally rise earlier than city people. However, a comparison of rising time in rural and urban areas for 1960 and 1965 shows that in both areas rising time has become a little later.

With regard to the retiring time, a comparison of the national average against ratios of those who go to bed by 9:00 P.M., between 9:00 and 10:00 P.M. and between 10:00 and 11:00 P.M. by area gives Figure 9.

In the national average the percentage of those going to bed by 9:00 P.M. decreased from 32 per cent in 1960 to 22 per cent in 1965 and that of those going to bed by 10:00 P.M. decreased from 66 per cent to 55 per cent. In other words, the number of people going to bed early decreased, showing that the retiring time in general has become later. As in the case of the rising time, the trend toward later retiring time is common both to rural and urban areas. Consequently, urban people still go to bed later than rural people. This phenomenon may be considered largely due to television, since people view television till late hours and consequently rise later the following morning.

IV. CHANGES IN LIVING PATTERNS BROUGHT ABOUT BY TELEVISION

Having described changes in the time budget of various classes of people, an attempt is made to describe viewing changes brought into the time budgets of the Japanese people in prewar and postwar days and pre-TV and post-TV days, using data obtained in the 1941, 1960 and 1965 "How-do-people-spend-their-time" surveys. Among changes in the living patterns of the Japanese people, as shown by these data, are those arising largely from technological advances and rationalization of living patterns. Here, however, the focus will be on changes that have been brought about by television.

1. Double-Purpose Activities

One of the characteristics of contemporary life that can be cited is double-purpose activity, such as taking meals while viewing television or doing housework while viewing television. In particular, doing something while viewing television has now become firmly rooted in the daily life of the people. Double-purpose activities, such as studying while viewing television, which could not be conceived before, are not impossible these days.

Because the spread of television among homes in general was accomplished more quickly than was initially expected, television entered into people's living patterns before they had time to change the patterns appropriately. It is impossible to stop taking meals; meals must be taken regularly. Housework must also be done. But televising is desired. It may be pertinent to think that such situations must have given rise to double-purpose activities.

Even before the popularization of television, of course, it was common to see people doing something while listening to radio. It has also become a matter of course to do cleaning and washing at the same time because of the popularization of home electrical appliances. Such a thing, however, was inconceivable in the old days. Further, with the expansion of the range of part-time jobs, the value of time came to be generally recognized, and it is natural that people should wish to get 25 or even 26 hours out of a 24 hour day.

Meanwhile, it has been considered important to draw a clear line between activities, and it appears that doing two different things at the same time was considered ethically objectionable. The general conception of freedom liberated the people from such restrictions, and it is thought that this made people think that they were permitted to do anything they liked.

Partly because of such a social background, it became a general practice to do two acts simultaneously along with the wider popularization of television. This may be cited as the primary change brought about by television.

2. Trends toward Uncompromising Support of Television

After television spread throughout the entire Japan, it was frequently said that the Japanese people love television. In order to demonstrate this point, the following facts can be drawn from data made available in the aforementioned 1965 survey with respect to televising time during leisure hours:

Men above 20 years of age	: 42.9%
Women above 20 years of age	: 52.6%
Housewives	: 55.6%.

These figures indicate that men are spending more than 40 per cent of their leisure hours in televising, while women are spending more than a half. They also show how dependent housewives are on television.

Since the result of a similar survey undertaken by the University of Michigan in 1966 is available in the United States, it will be used to see what percentage of leisure hours is being spent by Americans in watching TV:

Job-holding men	: 21.4%
Job-holding women	: 18.7%
Housewives	: 23.6%.

In the case of Americans, dependency on television by housewives, who account for the highest percentage, is less than one-fourth total leisure hours. This is indicative of the fact that Americans have various other means of spending their leisure time besides televising.

Roughly stated, the percentage of leisure time the Japanese people spend on televising is twice as high as that of Americans. This fact alone shows that the Japanese people make televising practically the sole means of spending their leisure hours.

But what makes Japanese devote themselves so assiduously to televising? There are two aspects. One rests with the nature of Japanese viewers; the other rests with the characteristics of Japanese broadcasters. For viewers, trained to consider it a model of propriety to accept what have been told, television proved just the thing to satisfy their passive characteristics. It may be that in the U.S.A. where people are trained to consider expressing their ideas or opinions as of primary importance, a one-way communication medium like television contains some points that are not entirely satisfying.

With regard to broadcasters, Japanese television stations lost no time, after the service commenced in 1953, in absorbing what could be absorbed from other already established mass-communication's media and in establishing themselves in a firm position. Also, the stabilization of their economic foundation through the unexpectedly speedy dissemination of television sets meant they were able to meet the requirements of the viewers adequately.

Television thus succeeded in making Japanese life, leisure life in particular, single-mindedly dependent on itself, and as analyzed in the preceding section, the tendency is more conspicuous with middle-aged and aged groups of people. In the case of younger groups, younger men in particular, not the entire leisure hours, which are annually increasing, are necessarily spent in televising; active leisure activities other than televising are evident in large numbers of cases. This may be the result of more young people

becoming extraverts under the influence of new education. If this is the case, the single-minded dependency on television as brought about by telecasting is a very real problem for the present, but this may change in the future.

3. Drift in the Cycle of Time Budgetting

The ratio of people viewing television after 10:00 P.M. today is considerably higher than that of people who were listening to radio after 10:00 P.M. before television appeared. Meanwhile, the retiring time at night has become later than in the pre-TV days. When these facts are considered together, the tendency toward delaying retiring time because of televiewing is evident.

Also, data showing children's later study hours were indicated in the preceding section. At one time, children studied after the evening meal and went to bed shortly after they finished their study. Today, however, they view television programs for a while after the evening meal and then begin to do their home work. This delays the time at which they finish their study and consequently they tend to go to bed later than before.

It is thus possible to say that a change, such as a shift of the time budgetting cycle to later hours of the day, has been brought about by television. But when prewar life and postwar life are compared, a tendency toward rising and retiring at later hours of the day was indicated. Consequently, it is possible to imagine shift of time budgetting cycle to later hours of the day through changes in social life, even if television had not appeared on the scene.

In days when electric lights, which form the most fundamental part of today's life, were not in popular use, a day began at sunrise and ended at sunset. Progress in science and technology brought artificial light into man's life in addition to the sunlight, gave rise to various civilizations, and enriched the night life. These have been factors in directing the time budgetting cycle toward later hours of the day, and television may well be considered one of such factors.

Viewed from another aspect, daytime is for work and evening is for rest or leisure. And when leisure hours are enriched and come to be considered as important as working hours, the evening hours assume values similar to those of daytime and ultimately come to be considered more important than daytime. When the scope of evening activity is expanded, the time budgetting generally shifts to later hours of the day. Moreover, a considerable portion of the leisure hours of the Japanese people is devoted to televiewing. Though it may be the result of an overall repletion or ex-

pansion in the scope of life as a whole, phenomenally it is reflected as an effect brought about by television.

Conclusion

As a result of analyzing the impact of television on the national life of Japan on the basis of available data, it has been demonstrated that there have been several changes considered to have been brought about by television.

Paradoxically speaking, however, it may also be said that television is not affecting national life but merely enters in the Japanese life and appears to have brought about certain changes because the living mode of Japanese people was ripe for its acceptance.

Life is in no danger even if one does not view television programs, but there are many who say they cannot do without televiewing even for a single day. Aside from eating and sleeping, a behavior widely common to all Japanese today is televiewing. Even though television may be incidental to living, the fact that television has become part and parcel of the national life can be considered the greatest heritage which television has brought into the national life of Japan.

Incidentally, part of this report was published in "Television and Time Budget" (edited by NHK Public Opinion Research Institute and published by Nippon hōsō shuppan kyōkai, 1967) and "The Study of Time Budget in International Comparison" (Collection of Essays on the 20th Anniversary of NHK Radio and Television Culture Research Institute, 1967).