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# A Comparative Analysis of Trust among Megacities: The Case of Shanghai, Seoul and Tokyo*

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*In recent decades, trust has become a major issue in social science as globalization has become pervasive. Hence the study of trust has become essential in understanding and coping with the serious impacts of globalization. This is especially true of contemporary globalized "megacities," where great numbers of people flow into and out of countries. The security and interpersonal trustworthiness of life in the village has been supplanted by something much different, where people move about and are now an amalgam from a variety of cultures and social systems. But today we observe that trust levels are declining among many industrialized nations. The present study uses the "Three-Item Rosenberg Scale," common to many general attitudinal surveys. Correspondence analysis, also used here, is a statistical technique especially useful for categorical data, yielding simple but elegant graphic displays. Data for the present study were collected based on nationwide attitudinal general social surveys among 19 nations in the Pacific region. The present study uses data from three megacities: Shanghai, Tokyo and Seoul. The trust structures of the megacities, analyzed using the Three-Item-Rosenberg Scale, are similarly consistent with respect to the locations of the three trust items. Trust was found to be associated with the social status characteristics of age, gender, and education, with younger people being distrusting and those over 50 being trusting. The present study also found that women are trusting and men are distrusting; that trusters are less educated; that optimism and well-being are associated with trust among the three megacities; and finally that informal social personal networks are associated with trust.*

***Keywords:*** *trust, comparative analysis, three megacities in Asia, survey data*

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In recent decades, trust has become a major issue in social science and the lay media, as globalization has become pervasive, in turn connecting peoples and nations more so than ever before. Accompanying this phenomenon is an apparent growing level of uncertainty about the trustfulness of strangers. Hence the study of generalized social trust has become essential in terms of the need to understand and cope with the serious impacts of globalization, especially as expressed through interpersonal communication.

This is especially the case for contemporary globalized "megacities," where great numbers of people flow both into and out of countries, such as newcomers coming to live in a new country or visitors conducting business or touring for leisure. While these people would certainly like to have the expectation that they will be safe, events in recent decades make that expectation less tenable. That is, for the most part, the security and interpersonal trustworthiness of life in the village has been supplanted by something much different, where people move about and are now an amalgam from a variety of cultures and social systems. The former social structure, the village (or smaller city), involves particularized (personal) trust, whereas the latter, i.e. mega-scale society, involves generalized trust as the personal element fades in the face of industrialization and globalization.

Trust, as addressed by sociologists such as Ferdinand Tönnies, Georg Simmel, Emile Durkheim, and Talcott Parsons, was deemed essential to social relationships. Simmel (1950, p. 326) stated that "trust is one of the most important synthetic forces in the society." Today, many scholars are taking yet another closer look at trust. For instance, Blau (1964, p. 99) stated that trust is "essential for stable social relationships." Many other scholars emphasize that trust plays a critical role in interpersonal and group relationships (e.g., Golembiewski and McConkie 1975; Lewis and Weigart 1985; Zucker 1986). Our economic system is in many ways entirely dependent upon trust because if there were no trust there could be no economic transactions (cf. Hirsch 1978). Thus trust has profound implications for interpersonal and social cooperation. Indeed, without trust, societies really could not exist (Bok 1978, p. 26). Nikolas Luhmann comes to mind as perhaps one of the most important scholars to have considered the role of trust in social systems, or in sociology for that matter. To Luhmann (1979, p. 8) trust "reduces [social system] complexity." Unquestionably, social systems are becoming increasingly complex and confounded, and for Luhmann this means that trust plays an ever-increasingly critical role.

Today, it has been observed that trust levels are declining among many industrialized nations (e.g., Dalton 2004; Hardin 2006; Putnam 1993), thus

calling for greater attention and concern. Social isolation brought about by modernization is frequently cited as one of many reasons to reexamine social trust. Other reasons include dramatic changes in demographics, politics, cultures, institutional structures and all that these influence.

As a consequence of trust's ostensibly unique position, there is often a temptation to leave it undefined. Of course, there is a considerable degree of complexity, and controversy, when it comes to defining trust. Should one merely attempt to define trust, or should one focus on its contextual implications and roles? Unquestionably, there has been a distinct lack of empirical studies of trust and its determinants (cf. Butler 1991). For instance, is trust perceptual or attitudinal at the individual level, or is it an essential component of the social structure itself? If the latter is true, then social trust must be looked upon with reference to social norms and expectations. Hence, trust must then be "understood sociologically, just as social institutions, social stratification, and social change must be" (Wuthnow 2004, pp. 151-2). Wuthnow (2004, p. 146) further stated that "Any investigation of trust must, therefore, pay attention not only to the behavior of individual actors but also to the norms and expectations embedded in the social settings in which these actors behave. The link between individual behavior and these embedded norms and expectations suggests that trust must be conceived of as an element of social structure."

There is a contextual element to trust as well. What is the context in which trust must be expressed? This gets at the importance of the underlying social structural context which plays an essential role in interpersonal and social relationships. And it must not be overlooked that quite often an important part of the underlying social structural context is the accompanying cultural context.

Numerous trust scholars have pointed out that what is considered trust in one culture may not be so in another, and by the same token, what is considered trustworthy in one culture may be considered untrustworthy in another (cf. Dietz, Gillespie, and Chao 2010). Since then, a number of cross-national studies of trust have been conducted (e.g., Delhey and Newton 2003, 2005; Paxton 2007; Gheorghiu, Vignoles, and Smith 2009; Sasaki and Marsh 2012). Dietz, Gillespie, and Chao (2010, p. 23) emphasize that empirical work and consequent theoretical models are sorely needed to attempt to bridge cross-cultural gaps in understanding the dynamics of social trust (also cf. Barber 1983 and Luhmann 1979).

There are two approaches to the study of trust. The first is the micro-societal approach and the second is the macro-societal approach, which is the

top-down approach to the properties of social systems (Delhey and Newton 2003). The present study targets the micro-societal approach to trust, which has two elements. The first element takes the view that trust is an individual property (Misztal 1996) and that "it is associated with individual characteristics, either core personality traits, or individual social and demographic features such as class, education, income, age, and gender" (Delhey and Newton 2003, p. 94).[1] This approach has been developed by Eric Uslaner (1999, 2000). To reinforce the point about the social psychological origins of trust, Uslaner argues that it is based on two other core personality characteristics: optimism and the capacity to control the world, or at least one's own life. Optimism, he writes, "leads to generalised trust" (Uslaner 1999, p. 138). Finally, Uslaner argues that "subjective measures of well-being are more closely associated with trust than objective ones related to economic circumstances. In other words, trust is more closely associated with the individual features of personality types and subjective feelings, than with the external circumstances of economic life" (Delhey and Newton 2003, p. 95). Also, regarding well-being, Inglehart (1999) and Putnam (2000) emphasize the association between social trust, health, and well-being.

The other element of the micro-societal approach is the personal network.[2] Today we are seeing phenomenal growth in personal social networks with an attendant fall of traditional structures. Cook, Levi & Hardin (2009, p. 71) have stated: "…understanding the way in which an actor is embedded in a social network or networks is crucial to understanding the ways in which an actor's greater social world influences their capacity to trust and be trustworthy." Field (2008, p. 3) also put it succinctly: "People's networks should be seen, then, as part of the wider set of relationships and norms that allow people to pursue their goals and needs, and also serve to bind society together." Field also mentioned that "researchers have uncovered an extraordinary range of ways in which people's networks can help make their lives better" (2008, p. 48).

The present study focuses on the comparative analysis of trust among three "megacities" (Shanghai, Seoul, and Tokyo) and addresses the following: (a) What kinds of trust structures can be identified among them? (b) Can optimism (as one of the personality characteristics) and individual properties such as age, gender, education and well-being be associated with trust? (c)

[1] The individual property approach to social trust regarded trust, in the 1950s and 1960s in the United States, as a core personality trait of individuals (Delhey and Newton 2003).

[2] The terms "personal networks," "social networks," and "informal social networks" are used interchangeably in the present study.

Are personal networks associated with trust? And if so, what kinds of networks are associated with it? Studies on trust from comparative perspectives can no doubt illuminate what is really happening with regard to trust in large-scale urban-industrial megacities such as Shanghai, Seoul and Tokyo in the era of globalization. The present study will use available survey data to pursue the above mentioned three objectives.

## Methodology

There have been many general attitudinal surveys conducted throughout the world which include one-, two- or three-item questions regarding the assessment of levels of trust. These questions were first formulated by Rosenberg (1956) and developed by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan and are known as the "Three-Item Rosenberg Scale" or "Misanthropy Measures." They are "widely viewed as being essential for both individual and societal well-being" (Wilkes 2011, p. 1596) and focus intensively on trust from various perspectives. Paxton (1999, p. 105) also points out that "Although only one of the variables uses the word 'trust,' all three reflect the trustworthiness or integrity of others." This measurement of trust is regarded as a "quite good measure of the underlying theoretical concept" (Bjornskov 2006, p. 3). Also, several studies have stated that the General Social Survey's one-item question ("In general, do you think that most people can be trusted, or that can't you be too careful in dealing with people?"), which has a long history of use,[3] is a rather imprecise, ambiguous, and possibly invalid or unreliable measure of trust (cf. Yamagishi, Kikuchi, and Kosugi 1999; Schwarz, 1999; Glaeser et al. 2000; Miller and Mitamura 2003; Reeskens and Hooghe 2008; Yoshino and Osaki 2013; Yoshino 2015). Reeskens and Hooghe (2008, p. 530) claim that

> …one cannot recommend measuring generalized trust with just a single item, as is often done in comparative research.… We can be quite confident that a single item does not provide us with a reliable measurement of generalized trust. The two-item solution included in the General Social

[3] According to Ermisch et al. (2009, p. 750) "this question (i.e., generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?) has been used to measure trust in around 500 references that analyze the economic effects of trust" (according to Sapienza et al. 2013).

Survey[4] solves this problem to some extent, but self-evidently a three-item scale allows for a more precise measurement.

In analyzing European Social Survey data, Reeskens and Hooghe (2008, p. 515) stated that a three-item scale on general trust can be considered as a reliable and cross-culturally valid concept. According to Reeskens and Hooghe (2008, p. 519) "It is not advisable to measure basic attitudes with just one item." And Smith (1988)[5] stated: "Especially in cross-national research it is suggested that at least three items are necessary to measure a construct in a valid manner."

The present study uses a three-item general trust scale (i.e., the "Three-Item Rosenberg Scale"), which has been used quite often, mainly in general attitudinal surveys in the west. These questions ask respondents for judgments about the trustworthiness of others and their estimates of the trustworthiness of the society around them (Putnam 2000, p. 138; Newton 2001, pp. 203-4).

For the analysis, correspondence analysis, utilized in the present study, is a statistical technique especially useful for those who collect categorical data; for example, data collected in social surveys. "It is commonplace to speak of correspondence analysis as 'Bourdieu's statistical method.'" In sociology, multiple correspondence analysis has figured prominently in the work of Pierre Bourdieu (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2010, p. viii and p. 4). The method is particularly useful in analyzing cross-tabulated data in the form of numerical frequencies, and it results in elegant but simple graphic displays in Cartesian coordinates, thereby facilitating holistic understanding of the data (cf. Greenacre and Blasius 1994). The basic outcomes of these geometric methods show a multidimensional pattern of relative degrees of similarity between items or objects, in the technical sense that they do not depend on the size of the data set (Le Roux and Rouanet 2010, p. 2).

## Data

The data for the present study were collected based on nationwide attitudinal general social surveys including trust items among nine nations in the Pacific

[4] In the World Values Survey, generalized trust is measured with just one item. The General Social Survey includes two items. The European Social Survey has three generalized trust items.

[5] See also the revised article in *IASSIST Quarterly* 12 (4): 18-24, 1988.

region conducted by three institutions under the leadership of Ryozo Yoshino at the Institute of Statistical Mathematics of Tokyo (financially supported by the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, JSPS).

The present study uses data from three megacities, samples extracted from nationwide data for South Korea and Japan. Personal (face-to-face) interviews were used for all three surveys. For the Shanghai data, the survey, using a quota sampling method, was conducted among persons 18 years of age and over between November and December of 2011, in collaboration with the East China University of Political Science and Law (ECUPL); 1,000 Shanghai samples were used for the present analysis. For the South Korean data, the survey, using a quota sampling method, was carried out among persons 18 years of age and over between October and November of 2012 by Gallup Korea; 214 Seoul samples were used for the analysis. For the Japanese data, the survey, using a two-stage stratified random sampling of residential or voter lists, was carried out among persons 20 years of age and over in December of 2010 by the Shinjoho Center of Tokyo; 55 Tokyo samples were used for the analysis. Because this sample size was too small to represent the population of Tokyo, nationwide Japanese survey data (with a sample size of 852) were also used (for reference) for all the analyses in the present study, as a means for comparison with the other two megacities.

Did individuals in Shanghai, South Korea and Japan interpret the questions asked in the same way? This of course is a crucial issue. The data set using pretest samples in Shanghai, South Korea and Japan, utilizing the back translation technique, confirmed nearly equivocal interpretation of the questions (see pp. 332-372 of http://ismrepo.ism.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10787/974/4/kenripo105.pdf for the Chinese questionnaire; pp. 359-94 of http://ismrepo.ism.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10787/2927/4/kenripo110.pdf for the Korean questionnaire; and pp. 172-86 of http://ismrepo.ism.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10787/902/4/kenripo103.pdf for the Japanese questionnaire).

## Research Findings

*The trust structure among three megacities*

For the present study, cross-tabulations and correspondence analyses were conducted. The three questions and their response categories, i.e., the Three-Item Rosenberg Scale, used for the present study appear in Table 1. The

**TABLE 1**
**Survey Questions and Response Categories Used for the Analysis**

Question 1. Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

1. Try to be helpful
2. Look out for themselves
3. Other
4. Don't know

Question 2. Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?

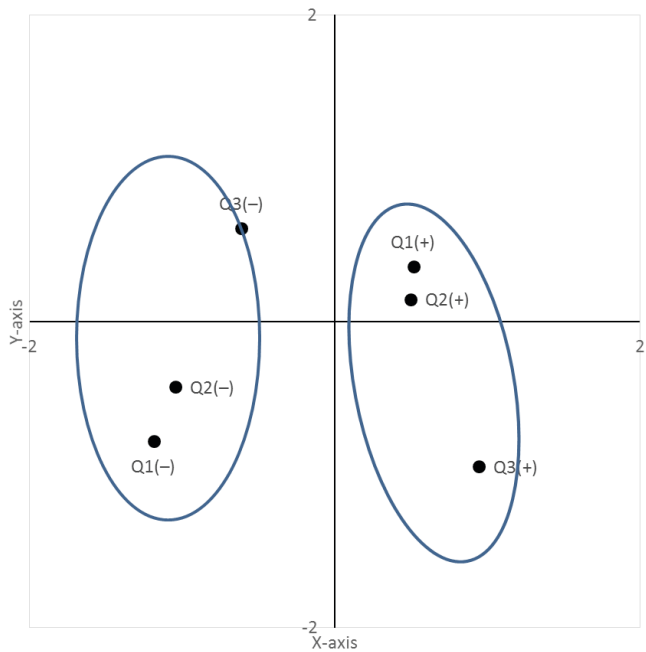
1. Take advantage
2. Try to be fair
3. Other
4. Don't know

Question 3. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

1. Most people can be trusted
2. Can't be too careful
3. Other
4. Don't know

cross-tabulations of the responses to the three questions by the three megacities and Japan are shown in the Appendix, Table A.

As the response categories for the three questions are binary choices (excluding "Other" and "Don't know," categories regarded as "junk"; Le Roux and Rouanet 2010, p. 62), we assign a positive value (1) for Question 1's first response category (i.e., most of the time people try to be helpful), and a negative value (2) for the second category (i.e., they are mostly just looking out for themselves). By the same token, we assign a positive value (1) for Question 2's first response category (i.e., they would try to be fair), and a negative value (2) for the second response category (i.e., most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance), and we assign a positive value (1) for Question 3's first response category (i.e., most people can be trusted) and a negative value (2) for the second response category (i.e., you can't be too careful in dealing with people).




Q1(+) = Try to be helpful Q2(+) = Try to be fair Q3(+) = Most people can be trusted
Q1(–) = Look out for themselves Q2(–) = Take advantage Q3(–) = Can't be too careful
Question 1: Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?
Question 2: Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance; or would they try to be fair?
Question 3: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

**Fig. 1-1.**—Trust Structure: Three-Item-Rosenberg Scales for Shanghai

The correspondence analysis was conducted to determine response patterns for the three questions for the three megacities and Japan. From Figure 1, we can see that the X-axis partitions the response categories of the first three questions (Questions 1, 2 and 3). Inertia (i.e., chi-square/total N) for the X-axis is 0.517 for Shanghai, 0.469 for Seoul, 0.486 for Tokyo, and 0.499 for Japan (simply for reference), indicating that the contribution of the X axis is significant for this partition.

The results indicate that in Figures 1-1 through 1-4, the positive (right) half of the X-axis reveals scatter plots of the three positive responses for trust in the three megacities and Japan (for reference). The negative (left) half of

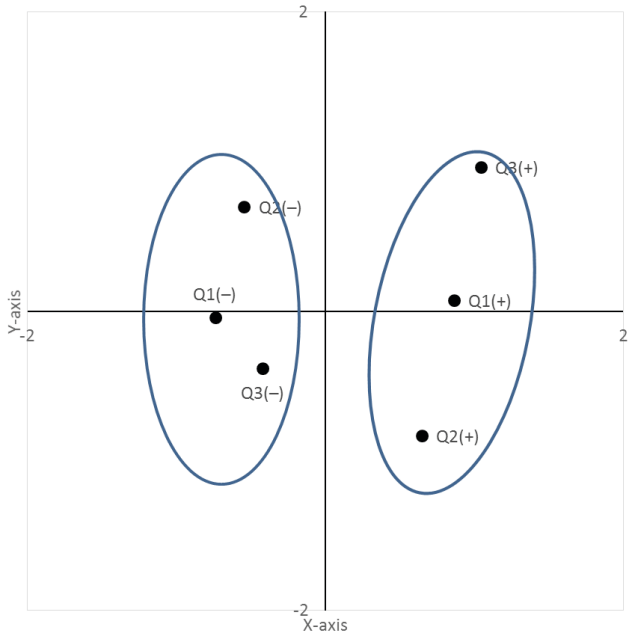



**Fig. 1-2.**—Trust Structure: Three-Item-Rosenberg Scale for Seoul

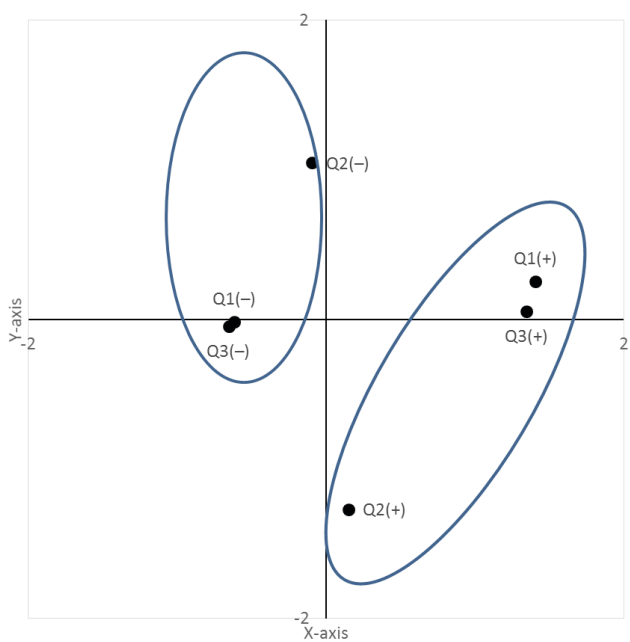



**Fig. 1-3.**—Trust Structure: Three-Item-Rosenberg Scale for Tokyo

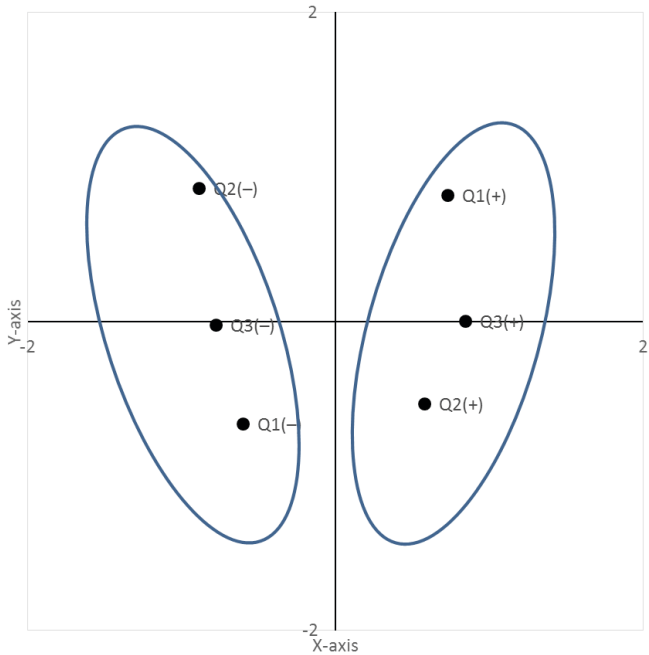



**Fig. 1-4.**—Trust Structure: Three-Item-Rosenberg Scale for Japan

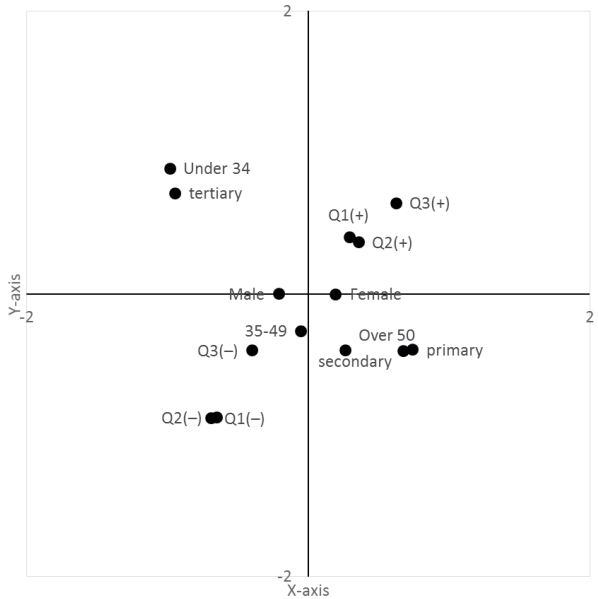
the X-axis reveals scatter plots of the three negative responses for trust in the three megacities and Japan (for reference).

In these figures we can see that for the three megacities, responses with positive values and those with negative values are partitioned and gathered on the first principal axis. As the inertia of the first dimension is close to 0.5 for the three megacities, we can display the trust and distrust clusters in the first dimension for all three megacities and Japan (for reference) (see Greenacre and Blasius 1994). Accordingly, the trust structures analyzed using the Three-Item-Rosenberg Scale are similar among the three megacities and Japan (for reference).

*Individual circumstances*

a) Age, gender, and education

The trust scale and the three status characteristics of age, gender, and education were utilized for the analysis because all three status characteristics seem to have bearing on trust (Delhey and Newton 2003). Cross-tabulations



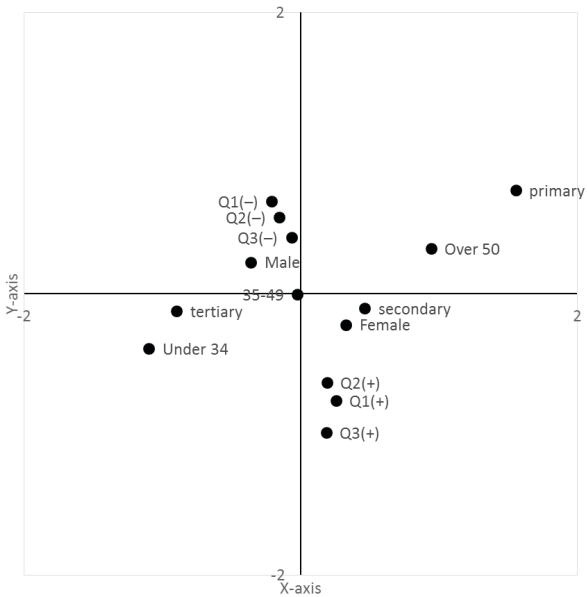

NOTE.—In the figure, primary means elementary (including less than one year) or junior high school; secondary means high school; and tertiary means 4-year college or graduate school.

**FIG. 2-1.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Age, Gender and Education for Shanghai

of the three status characteristics by the three megacities and Japan are shown in the Appendix, Table B.

Figures 2-1, 2-2, and 2-4 show the results of the correspondence analysis for Shanghai, Seoul, and Japan. For the case of Tokyo, education was excluded from the analysis as its sample size was too small to carry out reliable correspondence analysis in combination with the trust scale; therefore, only age and gender are shown in Figure 2-3 which is the result of rotating both axes 90 degrees in a clockwise direction.

From these figures we can see that Shanghai, Seoul and Tokyo, as well as Japan, have homogeneity for females and for those over the age of 50 as they locate on the trust side, whereas males and those under 34 locate on the distrust side. Those 35-49 years old locate on the side of distrust for Shanghai, Tokyo, and Japan. For Seoul, those aged 35-49 located quite closely to the origin of the X and Y axes, meaning that this Seoul age group is neutral (i.e.,




Note.—In the figure, primary means elementary or junior high school; secondary means high school; and tertiary means 4-year college or graduate school.

**Fig. 2-2.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Age, Gender and Education for Seoul

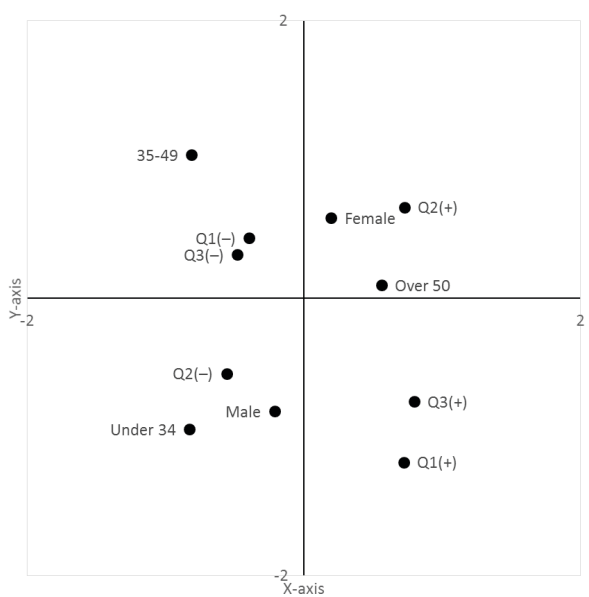
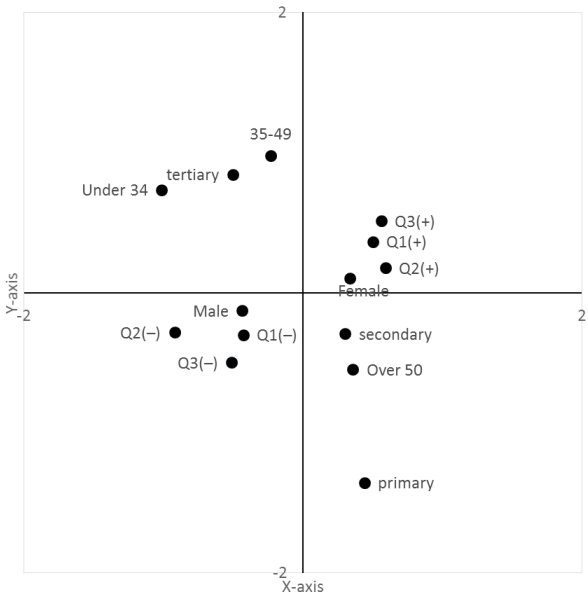



**Fig. 2-3.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Age and Gender for Tokyo




Note.—In the figure, primary means elementary or junior high school; secondary means high school; and tertiary means junior college, professional school, 4-year college, or graduate school.

**Fig. 2-4.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Age, Gender and Education for Japan

it is between trust and distrust).[6]

For education, university graduates (showing as tertiary in Figures 2-1 and 2-2) for Shanghai and Seoul, and junior college graduates (showing as tertiary in Figure 2-4) for Japan are located on the side of distrust. High school graduates and non-high-school graduates (showing as primary and secondary in Figures 2-1, 2-2, and 2-4, respectively) for Shanghai, Seoul and Japan are located on the side of trust.

From Figures 2-1 through 2-4, the results of the analysis are summarized in Table 2.

b) Optimism as one of the personality characteristics, and well-being

To examine whether trust and optimism and well-being are associated, four questions and their response categories are used for the analysis, as shown in

[6] To determine whether this finding for Seoul was different from that of South Korea, we analyzed the data for South Korea and found that those under 34 years old are located on the distrust side.

**TABLE 2**
**Summary Of Three-Item Rosenberg Scale With Gender, Age, And Education For Three Megacities And Japan**

| | Shanghai | Seoul | Tokyo | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Gender** | | | | |
| Male | Distrust | Distrust | Distrust | Distrust |
| Female | Trust | Trust | Trust | Trust |
| **Age** | | | | |
| Under 34 | Distrust | Distrust | Distrust | Distrust |
| 35-49 | Distrust | Neutral | Distrust | Distrust |
| Over 50 | Trust | Trust | Trust | Trust |
| **Education** | | | | |
| Primary | Trust | Trust | - | Trust |
| Secondary | Trust | Trust | - | Trust |
| Tertiary* | Distrust | Distrust | - | Distrust |

* For Shanghai and Seoul, tertiary means beyond university graduation; for Japan tertiary means beyond junior high school graduation.

Table 3. For optimism (Q4, i.e., one's living conditions will be better or worse over the next five years) and for well-being (Q5 through Q7, i.e., satisfaction with one's health, satisfaction with one's family life, and satisfaction with one's life) were used.

Cross-tabulations of the response categories to the four questions by the three megacities and Japan are shown in the Appendix, Tables C-1 through C-4. For the case of Tokyo, Q7 (How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?) was excluded from the analysis as its sample size was too small to carry out reliable correspondence analysis when putting it together with the trust scale.

For the correspondence analysis for Question 4 (Over the next five years do you think your living conditions will be better or worse?"), we combined[7] "much better" and "slightly better" into "better," and "much worse" and "slightly worse" into "worse." For Question 5 ("For your age, how satisfied are you with your health?), "very satisfied" and "fairly satisfied" were combined into "satisfied," and "very dissatisfied" and "fairly dissatisfied" were combined into "dissatisfied." For Question 6 (All things considered, how satisfied are

[7] It is recommended to construct questions having about an equal number of categories, possibly after grouping (Le Roux and Rouanet 2010, p. 38).

**TABLE 3**
**Four Questions and Response Categories for Optimism and Well-Being**

Q4. Over the next five years do you think your living conditions will be better or worse?

1. Much better
2. Slightly better
3. About the same
4. Slightly worse
5. Much worse
6. Other
9. DK

Q5. For your age, how satisfied are you with your health? Would you say…?

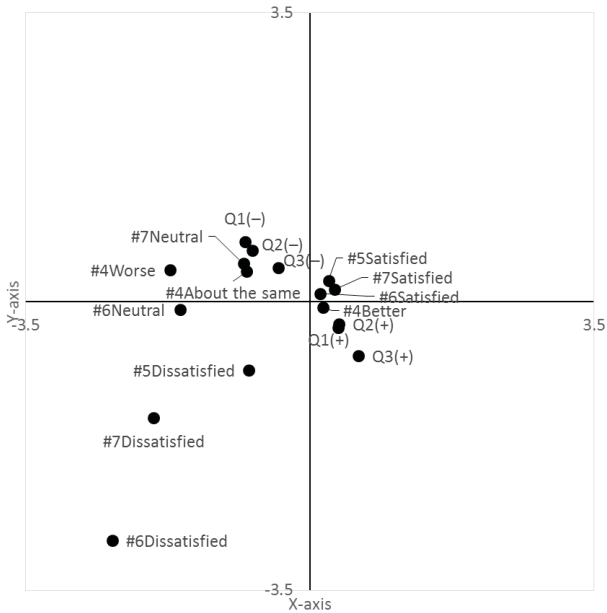
1. Very satisfied
2. Fairly satisfied
3. Fairly dissatisfied
4. Very dissatisfied
8. Other
9. DK

Q6. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your family life – the time you spend and the things you do with members of your family?

1. Satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (neutral)
4. Somewhat dissatisfied
5. Dissatisfied
8. Other
9. DK

Q7. Now I would like to ask about your life as a whole. How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?

1. Satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (neutral)
4. Somewhat dissatisfied
5. Dissatisfied
8. Other
9. DK




#4= (Q4. Over the next five years do you think your living conditions will be better or worse?)
#5= (Q5. For your age, how satisfied are you with your health?)
#6= (Q6. All things considered, how satisfied are you with your family life – the time you spend and the things you do with members of your family?)
#7= (Q7. Now I would like to ask about your life as a whole. How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?)

**Fig. 3-1.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Q4, Q5, Q6, and Q7 for Shanghai

you with your family life – the time you spend and the things you do with members of your family?), "very satisfied" and "somewhat satisfied" were combined into "satisfied," and "very dissatisfied" and "somewhat dissatisfied" were combined" into "dissatisfied." For Question 7 (How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?), the responses were combined as for Question 6. Figures 3-1 through 3-4 show the results of the analyses. Figure 3-2 is the result of rotating both axes 56 degrees in a clockwise direction.

From Figures 3-1 through 3-4, the results of the analysis are summarized in Table 4.

To sum up, the three megacities, as well as Japan (for reference), exhibit homogeneity regarding locations of the response categories for the four questions (one question was not used for Tokyo and "about the same" of Q4 for Japan is located on the trust side) for the trust and distrust sides.

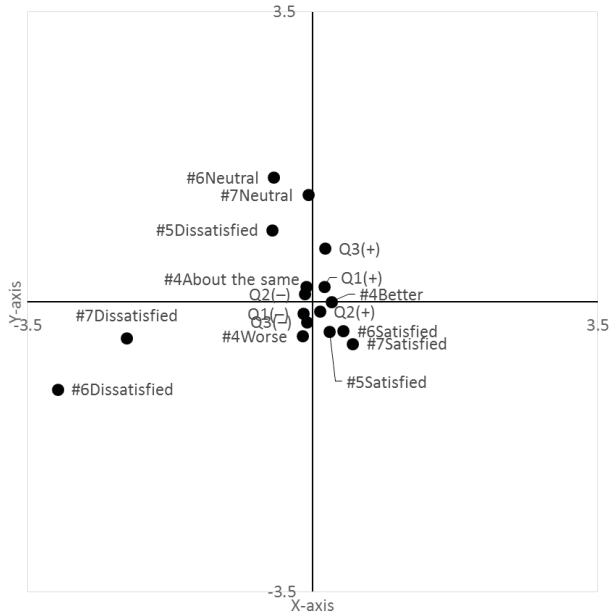



**Fig. 3-2.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Q4, Q5, Q6, and Q7 for Seoul

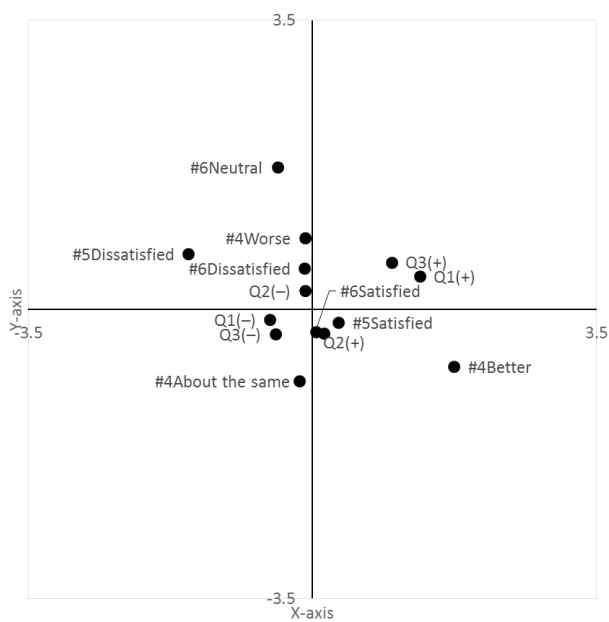



**Fig. 3-3.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Q4, Q5, and Q6 for Tokyo

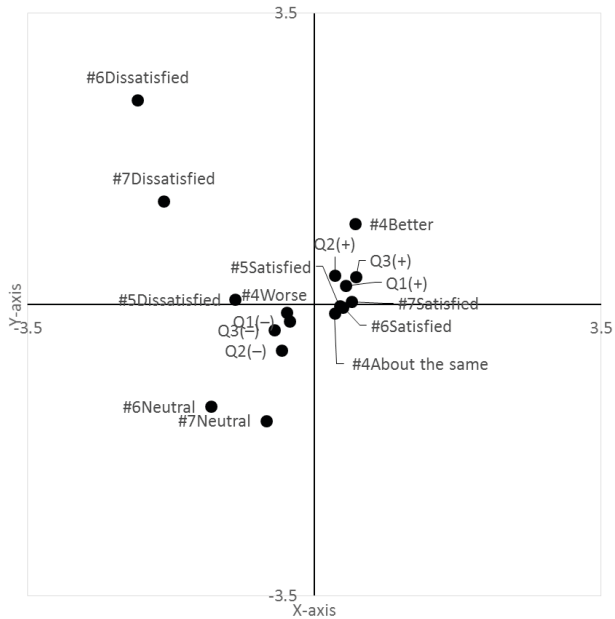



**Fig. 3-4.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Q4, Q5, Q6, and Q7 for Japan

**TABLE 4**
**Summary of The Results of Analysis for Questions, 4, 5, 6, and 7 for Three Megacities and Japan**

| | Q4 | | Q5 | | Q6 | | Q7 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Trust | Distrust | Trust | Distrust | Trust | Distrust | Trust | Distrust |
| Shanghai | Better | Worse | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | Satisfied | Dissatisfied |
| | | About the same | | | | Neutral | | Neutral |
| Seoul | Better | Worse | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | Satisfied | Dissatisfied |
| | | About the same | | | | Neutral | | Neutral |
| Tokyo* | Better | Worse | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | | |
| | | About the same | | | | Neutral | | |
| Japan | Better | Worse | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | Satisfied | Dissatisfied |
| | About the same | | | | | Neutral | | Neutral |

* Q7 was not used for the analysis.

**TABLE 5**
**Question 8 and Its Response Categories**

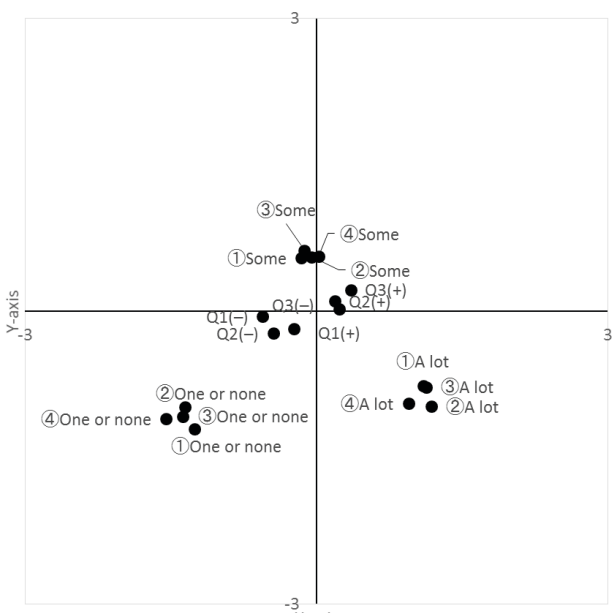
Q8 Including your family members, about how many people can you count on for each of the following?
Please use a four-point scale, where 1 means a lot, 2 means some, 3 means one, and 4 means none.

1. A lot 2. Some 3. One 4. None 9 D. K.

①=a. Lend you money, a helping hand, or anything you might need
②=b. Understanding your feelings and situation
③=c. Let you call or see them anytime to speak freely or seek advice
④=d. Highly appreciate and respect you

c) Personal networks

To determine whether personal networks were associated with trust, the question and the response categories are shown in Table 5.




① = Lend you money, a helping hand, or anything you might need
② = Understanding your feelings and situation
③ = Let you call or see them anytime to speak freely or seek advice
④ = Highly appreciate and respect you

**Fig. 4-1.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Q8 for Shanghai

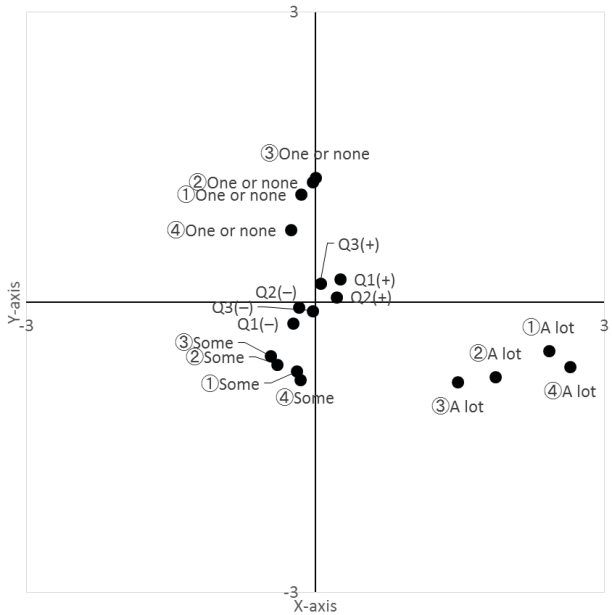



**Fig. 4-2.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Q8 for Seoul

For the correspondence analysis "one" and "none" were combined[8] into "one and none" for the response categories for all four questions. For the analysis of Tokyo, the response categories of "a lot" and "some" were combined into "some and more" due to the small sample size. Cross-tabulations of the responses to Question 8 by the three megacities and Japan are shown in the Appendix, Table D. Figures 4-1 through 4-4 show results of the analysis. Figure 4-2 is the result of rotating both axes 76 degrees in a clockwise direction. Figure 4-3 is the result of rotating both axes 130 degrees in a clockwise direction.

From Figures 4-1 through 4-4, the results of the analyses are summarized in Table 6.

From the summary in Table 6, we can see that for Shanghai, Seoul and Japan, "a lot" for all four questions is located on the trust side and "one or none" is located on the distrust side. For Tokyo,"more than some" is located

[8] It is recommended to construct questions having about an equal number of categories, possibly after grouping (Le Roux and Rouanet 2010, p. 38).

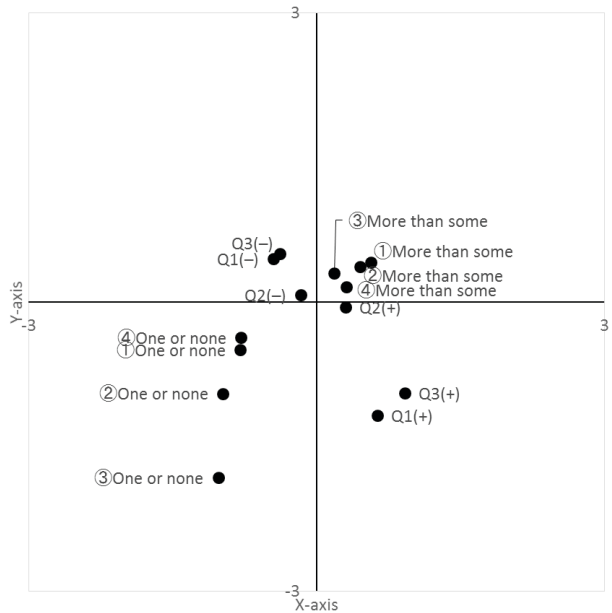



**Fig. 4-3.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Q8 for Tokyo

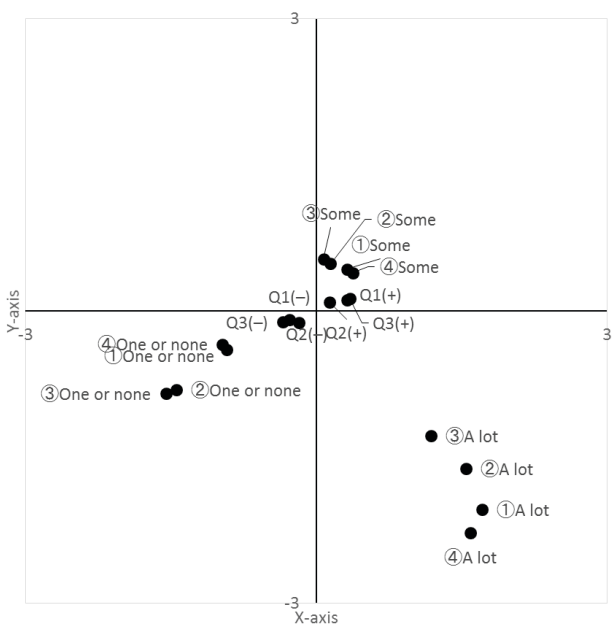



**Fig. 4-4.**—Three-Item Rosenberg Scale with Q8 for Japan

**TABLE 6**
**Summary of Trust and Personal Networks Among Three Megacities and Japan**

| Q8 | ① | | ② | | ③ | | ④ | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Trust | Distrust | Trust | Distrust | Trust | Distrust | Trust | Distrust |
| Shanghai | A lot | Some | A lot | Some | A lot | Some | A lot | |
| | | One or none | | One or none | | One or none | Some | One or none |
| Seoul | A lot | Some | A lot | some | A lot | Some | A lot | Some |
| | | One or none | | One or none | | One or none | | One or none |
| Tokyo* | More than some | One or none | More than some | One or none | More than some | One or none | More than some | One or none |
| Japan | A lot | One or none | A lot | One or none | A lot | One or none | A lot | One or none |
| | Some | | Some | | Some | | Some | |

* Response category d was not used for the analysis.

on the trust side and "one or none" is located on the distrust side.

## Conclusion

The literature on trust has many conflicting empirical findings on both within-nation and cross-national research. In the present study, we compared and contrasted three megacities in which all three countries have been viewed as having a culture of collectivism. We set out to determine whether or not there are any variations in the relationship between trust and individual circumstances among the three megacities (see Choi and Han 2008 and Han and Choi 2012 who discussed trust in South Korea, and Liu 2008 for trust in China).

The following are the findings of the present study.

1) The trust structures of Shanghai, Seoul, Tokyo, and Japan (for reference), analyzed using the Three-Item-Rosenberg Scale, are similarly consistent with respect to the locations of the three trust items clustering on the positive side of the X-axis in Euclidean space and the locations of the

three distrust items clustering on the negative side of the X-axis in Euclidean space among the three megacities and Japan (for reference).

2) It was found that trust is associated with the social status characteristics of age, gender, and education. Regarding the association between trust and age (seen as one of the major demographic variables), it was found the young people are distrusting, while the elderly (i.e., over 50 years old) are trusting. This finding supports those of Glaeser et al. (2000) and Alesina and La Ferrara (2000).

With respect to the association between trust and gender (although gender makes little difference in western countries; Whiteley 1999 and Newton 2001), some findings (e.g., Delhey and Newton 2003) have confirmed that women are distrusting. The present study, to the contrary, found that women are trusting and men are distrusting. This contrary finding might be attributed to the fact that some surveys utilize only one question on trust (i.e., Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?) rather than the Three-Item-Rosenberg Scale. It might be speculated that the reason why women are trusting is due to their particularistic trust developed in close-knit circles as opposed to the large-scale generalized trust of everyday life. Women may perceive trust through or based on their close-knit personal relationships with neighbors, friends, and acquaintances as opposed to men where they have wider access to both official and unofficial contacts with various kinds of people, some of which may involve greater levels of suspicion and distrust. Why women are more trusting suggests considerable opportunities for future research.

With regard to the association between trust and education, positive relationships between them have been found previously (see, e.g., Knack and Keefer 1997; Warren 1999; Putnam 2000; Uslaner 2002). For instance, Yamagishi (2001, p. 127) states "…a positive relationship between level of formal education and generalized trust or distrust would provide intuitively convincing evidence against the popular belief that high trusters are naïve and gullible…." Moreover, Yamagishi (2001, p. 127) states "…the proportion of generalized distrusters (operationalized as those who believe they cannot be too careful in dealing with people) declines with formal education."

The present study does not support this claim and, on the contrary, the present study's finding indicate that trusters are less educated people. It is not clear whether or not this is due to naïveté or gullibility. It can be speculated that, like our finding that women are trusting, those who have low education have particularistic and limited personal networks and/or relationships and

do not have many opportunities to communicate with unfamiliar people and/or strangers. The reasons for this finding also beg further investigation.

3) The present study supports the claim of Uslaner that optimism (one's living situation will be better or worse over the next five years) is associated with trust among the three megacities and Japan and the findings of Inglehart (1999) and Putnam (2000) that well-being (in the present study, satisfaction with one's health, satisfaction with one's family life, and satisfaction with one's own life) is associated with trust among the three megacities and Japan (for reference), although Question 7 was excluded from the analysis of Tokyo because of its small sample size.

4) The present study confirms the findings of Delhey and Newton (2003) that informal social personal networks are associated with trust. For informal social networks, Delhey and Newton (2003) use (a) close friends (response category is yes or no), (b) number of close friends, (c) frequency of contacts, and (d) feeling lonely. For informal social networks, the present study used the broader and more concrete items: (a) lend you money, a helping hand, or anything you might need, (b) understanding your feelings and situation, (c) let you call or see them any time to speak freely or seek advice, and (d) highly appreciate and respect you.

Overall, the findings of the present study are identified as commonalities of the trust structure as analyzed by using the Three-Item Rosenberg Scale among the three megacities. They included optimism as one of the personality characteristics; social status of age, gender, and education; well-being; and personal networks, all as they are associated with trust among the three megacities. Hence, the present study empirically supported some of the speculations gleaned from the trust literature.

Putnam states that "In virtually all societies 'have nots' are less trusting than 'haves,' probably because haves are treated by others with more honesty and respect" (2000, p. 138). The present study supports this claim of Putnam, except with regard to gender and education.

Although national (and presumably cultural) differences in embedded norms and expectations among the three countries seem to be significant, because commonalities of trust attitudes and behavior were found in the present study among the three megacities, further studies are needed to determine whether the commonalities stem from characteristics of the megacities (such as being reinforced by and/or converging through urbanization, modernization, and globalization) or other determinants such as commonly embedded traditional cultural norms, social values, and/or the commonly regarded collectivist culture. For further study, it will be

worthwhile to seek other commonalities, like trust in the present study, which will be beneficial in bridging the gap between differences in attitudes and behaviors at present and in the future. Doing so will serve to enhance mutual understanding and promote good will in international relations among not only the three megacities but also the three countries, as well as other countries, in the age of globalization.

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# APPENDIX

**Table A**
**Cross-tabulations of the Response Categories to Question 1 by Three Megacities and Japan (for reference)**

Q1: Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?

| | Try to be helpful | Look out for themselves | Other | D.K. | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shanghai | 65.5% | 29.3% | 0.8% | 4.4% | 100% | 1,000 |
| Seoul | 45.8% | 53.3% | 0.0% | 0.9% | 100% | 214 |
| Tokyo | 23.6% | 56.4% | 5.5% | 14.5% | 100% | 55 |
| Japan | 41.0% | 50.1% | 1.5% | 7.4% | 100% | 852 |

Q2: Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, or would they try to be fair?

| | Try to be fair | Take advantage | Other | D.K. | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shanghai | 57.9% | 24.8% | 3.5% | 13.8% | 100% | 1,000 |
| Seoul | 44.9% | 52.3% | 0.0% | 2.8% | 100% | 214 |
| Tokyo | 41.8% | 47.3% | 1.8% | 9.1% | 100% | 55 |
| Japan | 56.8% | 36.2% | 0.0% | 7.0% | 100% | 852 |

Q3: Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

| | Most people can be trusted | Can't be too careful | Other | D.K. | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shanghai | 36.4% | 59.1% | 0.4% | 4.1% | 100% | 1,000 |
| Seoul | 28.0% | 71.0% | 0.5% | 0.5% | 100% | 214 |
| Tokyo | 27.3% | 56.4% | 7.3% | 9.1% | 100% | 55 |
| Japan | 43.9% | 48.0% | 2.2% | 5.9% | 100% | 852 |

**Table B**
**Cross-tabulations of Age, Gender, and Education by Three Megacities and Japan (for reference)**

| | Shanghai | Seoul | Tokyo | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Age | | | | |
| Under 34 | 27.9% | 30.0% | 21.8% | 16.4% |
| 34-49 | 30.0% | 35.0% | 16.4% | 22.3% |
| Over 50 | 42.1% | 35.0% | 61.8% | 61.3% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | 1,000 | 214 | 55 | 852 |
| Gender | | | | |
| Male | 49.6% | 48.1% | 40.0% | 43.5% |
| Female | 50.4% | 51.9% | 60.0% | 56.5% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | 1,000 | 214 | 55 | 852 |
| Education | | | | |
| Primary | 31.3% | 12.6% | 12.7% | 14.4% |
| Secondary | 32.5% | 43.0% | 49.1% | 45.7% |
| Tertiary | 34.3% | 44.4% | 38.2% | 39.9% |
| | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | 981 | 214 | 55 | 846 |

**Table C-1**
**Cross-tabulations of Response Categories to Q4 (Over the next five years do you think your living conditions will be better or worse?) by Three Megacities and Japan (for reference)**

| | Shanghai | Seoul | Tokyo | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Much better | 35.9% | 2.3% | 5.5% | 0.2% |
| Slightly better | 48.1% | 36.4% | 43.6% | 9.3% |
| About the same | 8.5% | 35.0% | 41.8% | 43.2% |
| Slightly worse | 3.4% | 22.0% | 7.3% | 37.0% |
| Much worse | 1.1% | 0.5% | 1.8% | 8.7% |
| Other | 0.6% | 0.5% | 0.0% | 0.1% |
| D.K. | 2.4% | 3.3% | 1.8% | 1.5% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | 1,000 | 214 | 55 | 852 |

**Table C-2**
**Cross-tabulations of the Response Categories to Q5 (For your age, how satisfied are you with your health?) by Three Megacities and Japan (for reference)**

| | Shanghai | Seoul | Tokyo | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Very satisfied | 17.3% | 15.9% | 23.6% | 17.0% |
| Fairly satisfied | 58.8% | 53.7% | 58.2% | 58.8% |
| Fairly dissatisfied | 16.8% | 28.0% | 16.4% | 18.5% |
| Very dissatisfied | 6.3% | 2.3% | 1.8% | 5.5% |
| Other | 0.6% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| D.K. | 0.2% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.1% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | 1,000 | 214 | 55 | 852 |

**Table C-3**
**Cross-tabulations of the Response Categories to Q6 (All things considered, how satisfied are you with your family life – the time you spend and the things you do with members of your family?) by Three Megacities and Japan (for reference)**

| | Shanghai | Seoul | Tokyo | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Satisfied | 61.1% | 18.7% | 54.5% | 49.8% |
| Somewhat satisfied | 32.2% | 53.7% | 29.1% | 32.3% |
| Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied | 3.4% | 21.0% | 10.9% | 10.9% |
| Somewhat dissatisfied | 2.6% | 5.6% | 3.6% | 4.5% |
| Dissatisfied | 0.3% | 0.9% | 1.8% | 2.1% |
| D.K. | 0.4% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.5% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | 1,000 | 214 | 55 | 852 |

**Table C-4**
**Cross-tabulations of Response Categories to Q7 (Now I would like to ask about your life as a whole. How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days?) by Three Megacities and Japan (for reference)**

| | Shanghai | Seoul | Tokyo | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Satisfied | 38.9% | 9.3% | 47.3% | 36.6% |
| Somewhat satisfied | 43.6% | 50.0% | 20.0% | 36.0% |
| Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied | 6.6% | 27.6% | 12.7% | 13.8% |
| Somewhat dissatisfied | 7.5% | 11.7% | 16.4% | 9.2% |
| Dissatisfied | 3.1% | 1.4% | 3.6% | 4.3% |
| Other | 0.1% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| D.K. | 2.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | 1,000 | 214 | 55 | 852 |

**Table D**
**Cross-tabulations of Response Categories to Q8 (Including your family members, about how many people can you count on for each of the following?) by Three Megacities and Japan (for reference)**

**Lend you money, a helping hand, or anything you might need**

| | Shanghai | Seoul | Tokyo | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A lot | 22.3% | 7.0% | 7.3% | 6.3% |
| Some | 60.0% | 53.7% | 47.3% | 58.6% |
| One | 2.6% | 15.9% | 12.7% | 8.8% |
| None | 9.8% | 22.0% | 25.5% | 22.4% |
| D.K. | 5.3% | 1.4% | 7.3% | 3.9% |

**Understanding your feelings and situation**

| | Shanghai | Seoul | Tokyo | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A lot | 19.6% | 12.1% | 9.1% | 11.4% |
| Some | 61.0% | 51.9% | 58.2% | 68.7% |
| One | 7.2% | 26.2% | 23.6% | 12.4% |
| None | 7.7% | 8.9% | 5.5% | 6.2% |
| D.K. | 4.5% | 0.9% | 3.6% | 1.3% |

**Let's you call or see them any time to speak freely or seek advice**

| | Shanghai | Seoul | Tokyo | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A lot | 23.7% | 16.4% | 10.9% | 17.1% |
| Some | 57.5% | 50.0% | 72.7% | 66.4% |
| One | 7.0% | 20.1% | 10.9% | 8.2% |
| None | 7.8% | 12.6% | 3.6% | 7.7% |
| D.K. | 4.0% | 0.9% | 1.8% | 0.5% |

**Highly appreciate and respect you**

| | Shanghai | Seoul | Tokyo | Japan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A lot | 20.1% | 7.5% | 5.5% | 5.4% |
| Some | 55.2% | 40.2% | 61.8% | 54.9% |
| One | 3.5% | 22.0% | 14.5% | 9.3% |
| None | 8.2% | 25.7% | 12.7% | 22.1% |
| D.K. | 13.0% | 4.7% | 5.5% | 8.3% |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | 1,000 | 214 | 55 | 852 |