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*Achievement, Culture and Personality: The Case of the  
Japanese Americans*

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INTRODUCTION

MUCH of the literature on achievement has focused on the importance of hereditary or learned individual abilities, as in the relationship between IQ scores and educational or occupational success. In these studies, when discrepancies occur in expected predictions, the discrepancies are attributed to "other factors." For example, Terman and Oden (1947) use the added factor of individual personality traits to distinguish between otherwise matched groups—their high achievers being greater in "prudence and foresight," "self-confidence," "will-power and perseverance," and "desire to excel." Recent workers have gone on to emphasize that such traits should be seen not only within the framework of the individual personality structure, but that these traits are also related to cultural values receiving very different emphases in lower and middle class levels of American society (Davis et al., 1951; Havighurst and Taba 1949).

Some attention has also been given to the factor of ethnic background in accounting for differences in achievement. For example, Terman and Oden (1947) found that their Jewish subjects, while not differing significantly in mean IQ scores from the total group, had higher grades in college, received a higher income, and were concentrated more heavily in professional occupations. Thus, the indication is for something specific in Jewish culture to account for these differences, but beyond allusion to its probable importance, this factor has received little systematic elaboration.

Early psychological studies of Japanese American children compared with other social and racial groups in California public schools (Darsie 1926; Clark 1927; Fukuda 1930; Bell 1933; Kubo 1934; Strong 1934; Sandiford 1936) give indication of a cultural factor at work which was not fully recognized or explored at the time. Strong (1934), in summarizing the achievement tests, grades obtained in school, and Binet IQ scores of Japanese American pupils in comparison with other groups in California schools, asks: "How shall we explain the fact that the Japanese pupils in Los Angeles have about the same IQ as the average pupil and score about the same on educational tests but obtain strikingly better grades? It may be that they possess to a greater degree than whites those qualities which endear pupils to a teacher; that is, they are more docile, occasion less disciplinary trouble, and give the appearance of being busy and striving to do their best. . . . Another explanation would be that they come from poorer homes than the average and early realize that they must make their own way in the world; in consequence, they are better

motivated to do their best." Strong does not develop the further question of why the Japanese Americans, out of the numerous low income ethnic groups in California at the time these studies were done, should show this remarkable striving and intensity of purpose.

The burden of this paper is that much further study of the cultural variable in achievement is needed in terms of understanding: (1) the achievement goals that are emphasized in the value system of the specific culture from which the subjects are drawn; (2) the processes by which these goals are implemented in the interpersonal behavior of individuals in the family, the peer group, the school, on the job, and in leisure time activities; and (3) the range and most frequent types of individual personality adjustment to these goals within the context of the specific culture, rather than a consideration of personality traits solely as an independent variable. The methods used in the research reported below were both quantitative analysis of data on the groups in question, and intensive clinical analysis of testing, interview, and psychotherapeutic data on specific individuals.

#### THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS IN CHICAGO

Between 1943 and 1946, approximately 20,000 Japanese Americans arrived in Chicago from relocation camps set up by the federal government when all persons of Japanese ancestry were evacuated from the Pacific Coast shortly after the United States entered World War II. Roughly a third were Issei—first generation immigrants who came to America during the early part of the century; the other two-thirds were Nisei—second generation, who are American citizen children of the Issei. The cultural and personality adjustment of this group to life in Chicago was studied for three years (1947–1950) by an interdisciplinary team from the University of Chicago.<sup>1</sup> Although the problem of achievement was not a central focus of the research, the data serve to point up the success of the Japanese Americans in this regard, and to show the necessity of a thorough consideration of cultural factors in the further study of achievement.

In terms of the usual sociological or anthropological approach, there are many reasons why the 342 Japanese American families represented in the Chicago research, or the Japanese American group in general, should experience great difficulty in achievement in the United States. Traditionally, Japanese culture, social structure, values, and religion are thought of as alien to those of America. Moreover, the Issei had a background of rural, peasant, subsistence farming, and came to the United States with only temporary settlement in mind. Most important of all, the Japanese are a racially visible group to race-conscious Americans.

Yet the data show that by 1947 the Nisei, almost as a group, held white collar and skilled trade jobs within the general employment market of the city. White employers and fellow employees accepted the Nisei and were enthusiastic in their praise of them. The median level of education for the Nisei in Chi-

Chicago was, as it had been on the Pacific Coast, beyond high school graduation.<sup>3</sup> Almost all who did not go on to college took vocational training in order to become secretaries, laboratory technicians, beauty operators, or skilled workers. It must be noted, however, that the Issei had a surprisingly high level of education for immigrants—a median of 10 years.<sup>3</sup> A summary of Japanese American educational data may be seen in Table 1.

TABLE 1. EDUCATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS COMPARED WITH AMERICAN SAMPLE

Education Level	Issei (277 persons) pct.	Nisei (488 persons) pct.	Chicago Americans (60 persons) pct.
Elementary School			
Uncompleted	7	0	0
Graduated	34	2	12
Secondary School			
Uncompleted	10	8	35
Graduated	32	56	40
College			
Uncompleted	11	21	10
Graduated	6	13	3
Total	100	100	100

Note: Includes all persons who had completed their education as of January 1, 1947 from 342 Chicago families. Vocational & Trade School training not included. Right hand column is a normal control sample.

The Japanese Americans first found housing in some of the least desirable sections of Chicago. However, they disliked living in these sections and many families soon moved into predominantly white upper-lower and lower-middle class neighborhoods. The Japanese Americans were accepted in these areas. Neighbors and landlords liked them because they improved the property, paid their rent promptly, and were quiet and courteous. In their clothing and general appearance the Nisei were almost stereotypes of the American middle class. This was particularly true for the women, who invariably appeared well-groomed, in conservative but chic dresses, blouses always snow white, nylons, and high heels. In their attitudes and aspirations the Nisei were oriented toward careers, white collar work, or small businesses. They wanted little to do with factory jobs. They saw in unions a block to rapid advancement through individual achievement. In their social life the Nisei tended to stay within their own group. While they interacted freely with their white fellow workers on the job and in casual social intercourse at lunch, they had not yet achieved

close intimate social contact with the white middle class they emulated. Yet they had achieved more in the space of four years in Chicago than other ethnic groups who had long been in the city, and who appear far less handicapped by racial and cultural differences.

Since occupation (as well as education) is a major avenue to achievement in America, it is worthwhile to look in a little more detail at the Japanese American data in this respect. The jobs the Japanese Americans were first able to obtain in the city were menial, unskilled, and poorly paid. Very shortly they left such jobs for semi-skilled factory and service work at which the Issei stayed, while the Nisei, having higher aspirations, moved on rapidly to better employment. By 1947, the Japanese Americans showed the occupational distribution presented in Table 2, where it can be seen that 19 percent of the Issei and 60 percent of the Nisei fall in the categories of skilled workers, white collar workers, small business owners, or managerial and professional jobs.

TABLE 2. OCCUPATIONS OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

Occupation Category	Issei (197 persons) pct.	Nisei (383 persons) pct.
Unskilled Workers and Laborers	1	1
Domestic and Service Workers	24	7
Semi-skilled Workers	56	32
Skilled Workers	2	10
White Collar Workers	2	35
Small Business Ownership	13	6
Managerial and Professional	2	9
Total	100	100

Note: Includes all members from 342 Chicago families who were employed as of January 1, 1947.

There were some interesting job differences between men and women. The Issei men were concentrated in semi-skilled factory and service jobs. In the factories they worked on the assembly lines, as machine operators, or at such jobs as carpentry workers in trailer manufacture. Their service jobs were as kitchen helpers, cooks, waiters, elevator operators, and janitors. There was also a considerable percentage of Issei men in building ownership and management, but the buildings were deteriorated and were operated as cheap hotels, or rooming and boarding houses. Even more than the Issei men, the Issei women were found in semi-skilled factory and service jobs. Forty-three percent of all Issei women in the sample worked in the garment trades.

The Nisei men tended to be spread throughout all occupational divisions. Their major concentration was in apprentice and skilled trade jobs, and also in the white collar field. In the skilled trades the Nisei men worked as printers,

welders, electricians, mechanics, and jewelry and watch repairmen. Some of these Nisei men had achieved jobs as foremen and supervisors, where they had authority over white workers. In the white collar field the Nisei men worked as clerks, draftsmen, laboratory technicians, commercial artists, and studio photographers. The percentage of Nisei men in managerial and professional positions was of considerable significance. As managers they worked in personnel departments, as laboratory heads, and as editors. As professional men they were doctors, dentists, lawyers, pharmacists, research workers, and teachers.

Nisei women were concentrated in white collar work, with 49 percent of the sample so employed. Here they were evenly distributed between secretarial-stenographic and clerical duties. Nisei women were also in the garment trades, but much less so than Issei women. Other important jobs for Nisei women were beauty operators, social workers, and registered nurses.

The aspirations of the Nisei indicated that small businesses would become increasingly important. In the sample, Nisei men owned grocery stores, garages, and cleaning shops, while the Nisei women owned such businesses as beauty parlors. All of these served the general public rather than merely the Japanese American community.

It must be remembered that the sample had been in the city for only a few years, and that the Nisei are young—clustering between 20 and 30 years of age—and have not yet reached their occupational peak.

Alan Jacobson and Lee Rainwater (1951-1952) investigated employers' evaluations of their Japanese American employees from 79 firms. These were owned by white business men, within the general economic and industrial structure of the city, and drew their employees from the general employment market. Firms owned by Japanese Americans were excluded, as were such organizations as social agencies, which might be expected to be somewhat more liberal in their employment policies. Better than two-thirds of the employers were very positive in their evaluations of Japanese Americans as workers; they considered them to be as good as the best employees they had ever had. The remaining one-third of the employers considered Japanese Americans to be no better and no worse than their average employees. An occasional negative evaluation usually took the form of criticizing the Nisei for being too ambitious and wanting to move on to a better job too quickly. In general, Japanese Americans were praised for their technical abilities such as speed and efficiency, and for their character traits of honesty, punctuality, willingness to work overtime, general moral standards, personal appearance, and so forth. They were also praised for the way they got along with other workers in informal relations. Japanese Americans had been up-graded in job and salary in 46 of the 79 firms, and in five others in salary alone. Seventeen Nisei were promoted to jobs which gave them authority over white workers.

Why was this so? How was it possible for the children of an immigrant group to succeed as well as the Nisei have in Chicago in approximating the

American middle class way of life, when the culture of their parents seems to diverge in so many respects from the American pattern?

Certainly relocation was a factor. No matter how well the Nisei were prepared in attitudes, behavior, and education for living a middle class life, it seems unlikely that they would have been able to do so on the Pacific Coast because of anti-Oriental prejudice. Also, the Japanese Americans on the Coast had formed tight, self-contained communities controlled by parental authority and strong social sanctions, from which it was difficult for the Nisei to break free. Secondly, Chicago had had a Japanese population of only 390 persons, and had no social techniques for dealing with this group. Thirdly, with the scarcity of labor during the war, the highly trained Nisei were in a relatively favorable position in terms of the employment market.

These reasons may help to explain why the Nisei got their jobs, but will not satisfactorily explain why they were able to keep them and to please their employers and fellow workers.

A major hypothesis used as an orientation to our research was: there seems to be a significant compatibility (but by no means identity) between the value systems found in the culture of Japan and the value systems found in American middle class culture. This compatibility of values gives rise to a similarity in the psychological adaptive mechanisms which are most commonly used by individuals in the two societies as they go about the business of living.

It is necessary to be aware that the hypothesis does not say that the social structure, customs, or religion of the two societies are similar. They are not, and Japan and the American middle class differ greatly in these respects. But the hypothesis does say that it is often overlooked that the Japanese and American middle class cultures share the values of politeness, respect for authority and parental wishes, duty to community, diligence, cleanliness and neatness, emphasis on personal achievement of long-range goals, importance of keeping up appearances, and others. Equally, the hypothesis does not say that the basic personality or character structure of Japanese and middle class American individuals is similar; but it does say that, for example, both Japanese and middle class Americans characteristically utilize the adaptive mechanism of being highly sensitive to cues coming from the external world as to how they should act, and that they also adapt themselves to many situations by suppression of their real emotional feelings, particularly desires for physical aggressiveness.

Given this sort of relationship between the two cultures, when they meet under conditions favorable for acculturation (as in Chicago) Japanese Americans, acting in terms of their Japanese values and personality, will behave in ways that are favorably evaluated by middle class Americans. Nevertheless, because the values and adaptive mechanisms are only compatible (and not identical), and because the social structures and personalities of the two groups are different, there are many points of conflict as well as agreement for the Nisei individual attempting to achieve in American middle class life. Certain

points of conflict are made all the more poignant by the fact that the points of agreement are sufficiently strong to hold out much promise to the individual that he will succeed.

The direct relation of the general hypothesis to Japanese American achievement involves the problem of variant cultural orientations (Kluckhohn 1953). Whenever cultural values are considered in current research studies on achievement, it is usually in terms of the dominant cultural values, whereas there may be many subgroups and individuals who do not subscribe to these values and who are, in this sense, variant. As Brim (1952) says in an unpublished paper, "What is necessary is some systematic knowledge of differences between groups in the acceptance of the goals of the larger society, and it is of high importance that research operations be developed which will enable us to appraise the hierarchy of goals perceived as desirable by different *segments* of society, whether these be religious, ethnic, economic, or the like. Once accomplished, future studies could be directed toward relative individual achievement within discrete subcultures, with each of these sharing homogeneous goals."

The Japanese Americans provide an excellent example for Brim's argument. The fact that they succeed in approximating middle class American standards in education and occupation does not necessarily mean that they are motivated by middle class values and goals, nor that their achievement orientation should be thought of in these terms. What is needed is an analysis of Japanese American values and psychological adaptive mechanisms underlying those goals that are of crucial importance to Japanese Americans in their conception of what constitutes achievement.

From the foregoing, it appears that much more than a surface evaluation of behavior is necessary for the understanding of achievement. Japanese American and white middle class behavior looks very much the same in many areas of life, but the psychological motivations underlying such behavior may occur within quite different cultural matrices. The following sections of this paper will present material illustrating this problem, as well as the further problem of individual differences in achievement within the Japanese American group itself.

#### CULTURAL VALUES AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MECHANISMS IN THE ACHIEVEMENT ORIENTATION OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

In order to further the understanding of the success of the Japanese Americans in Chicago, Thematic Apperception Tests, Rorschachs, and psychoanalytic and social agency case studies were used. This paper, however, limits itself to the projective material pertaining to those aspects of personality dynamics that seem most relevant to achievement among Japanese Americans.<sup>4</sup>

TAT material will be discussed before the Rorschach analysis because it tends to provide data on the more conscious aspects of the personality structure—internalized values, goals, and preferred ways of relating to others and to oneself. The Rorschach provides data concerning more generalized, and perhaps deeper-lying and unconscious attributes of the content and structure



of the personality. Thus, the TAT can be useful in indicating the manner in which an individual approaches problems of achievement, while the Rorschach can suggest related, but often hidden, motivations and conflicts in this area.

A random sample of TAT records was gathered from Japanese Americans and compared with samples of white Americans from several socioeconomic levels.<sup>5</sup> In this paper only the material from TAT pictures 1 and 2 will be presented in detail. The manifest content of these pictures is such that they usually elicit stories concerning achievement. Picture 1 is of a young boy looking at a violin on a table in front of him. Picture 2 is a country scene: in the foreground is a young woman with books in her hand, while in the background a man is working in the fields and an older woman is looking on.

Table 3 shows that the rank order of positive achievement responses to both pictures goes from the Issei who have the highest proportion, through the Nisei and white middle class, who are roughly equivalent, to the white lower class who have the lowest percentage of positive responses.

In rating the stories told to picture 1, responses were considered to be positive achievement oriented when: (a) the boy wants to be a violinist (a long-range goal) and succeeds by working hard; (b) he is puzzled how to solve the task but keeps working at it; (c) his parents want him to become a violinist and he does so successfully, etc. Stories were considered to be negatively achievement oriented when: (a) the boy openly rebels against his parents' wishes for him to play the violin (against a long-range goal) and seeks immediate pleasure gratification in baseball or in breaking the violin; (b) he negativistically complies with his parents' demands and does poorly; (c) he engages in great fantasy about becoming a famous violinist, but gives no indication of how he will realistically reach this goal, etc.

Positive achievement-oriented responses on picture 2 were scored when: (a) the girl wants to leave the farm for a career, does so successfully (with or without the help of her parents), and either returns later to help her parents, or is of benefit to society elsewhere; (b) the farmers in the picture are continually striving to do a better job, etc. Negative achievement-oriented stories were when: (a) the girl wants to leave, but feels she cannot and so she stays and suffers; (b) she is disgusted with farm life and wants to go see the bright lights of the city, etc.

TABLE 3. POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENT RESPONSES ON TAT PICTURES 1 AND 2,  
BY CULTURAL GROUP

Group	Total Cases	Percent Positive on:	
		Picture 1	Picture 2
Issei	30	67	83
Nisei	40	43	55
White Middle Class	40	38	48
White Lower Class	20	0	30

Picture 1 reveals a second point: whether the boy is seen as self-motivated to work on a task, or whether he is assigned one by his parents or other adults. The distribution of the four cultural groups in this respect is shown in Table 4. The rank order here is the same as with reference to positive achievement responses.

TABLE 4. SELF MOTIVATION AND TASK ASSIGNMENT RESPONSES ON TAT PICTURE 1, BY CULTURAL GROUP

Group	Total Cases	Self Motivated, pct.	Task Assigned, pct.
Issei	30	93	7
Nisei	40	62	38
White Middle Class	40	75	25
White Lower Class	20	35	65

On picture 1, then, the Issei are high in positive achievement orientation and self-motivation. Taking these characteristics with a content analysis of the stories, a major value and psychological adaptive mechanism found in the Issei is to strive for success at all costs. Even if one is tired and puzzled, and the outer world presents many difficulties in living, one must keep on and never give up. Such a characterization is frequent in the literature on the Japanese (Benedict 1946; Haring 1946; Nitobe 1938; Hearn 1904), and is often referred to as "the Japanese spirit" or *yamato damashii*. The Issei attempt to live up to this value by hard realistic work with little use of fantasy or magical thinking, as can be seen in the following story:<sup>6</sup>

1. IF44. What is this? A violin? He has a violin and he's thinking, "How shall I do it?" It looks very difficult and so he rests his face on his hand and worries. He thinks, "I can't play it yet, but if I study hard, someday maybe I'll be a good musician." In the end because he holds steady, he becomes a good player. He'll grow up to be a fine persevering young man.

Like the Issei, the Nisei see the boy as positively achieving and self-motivated, but they also often see him as assigned a task and in conflict with his parents. In the latter case, the adaptive mechanism is one of negativistic compliance and self-defeat. As will be seen later, this method of adapting is in considerable contrast to that used by the white lower class who tend to be openly hostile and rebellious. Typical Nisei stories are:

1. NM25. Probably gifted along musical lines . . . Perhaps mature enough to realize it isn't a plaything but something that, well, takes both skill and practice to master . . . Perhaps he's been playing but still can't get the same tone or master it with such ease as an accomplished musician could. Doesn't seem to be thinking of baseball or anything like that, that would be keeping him away. . . . Well, if he had real talent, lived for music and is guided and counseled in the right manner by his parents and teacher,

he might have the making of a musician in the real sense, toward classical rather than modern big name dance orchestras. . . . Probably strive more for immaterial things to make his life satisfactory in a spiritual sense rather than purely monetary, economic. Probably would be a musician in some large municipal symphony orchestra or through his love of music be a teacher in some university. He never would be very rich, but probably won't regret it and through his music he will be living a full rich life. That's about all.

1. NF26. Is he supposed to be sleeping? Probably practicing. I guess the mother must of . . . something the mother is forcing on him. He's a little bored and disgusted, but he can't go against his mother's wishes. He's probably just sitting there daydreaming about the things he'd like to do rather than practicing. Something that was forced upon him. He'll probably be just a mediocre player.

The white-middle class stories are very similar in their emphasis on self-motivation toward long-range goals, to those told by the Nisei. The situation is reversed in the lower class stories where such goals are not valued, and where the boy is largely seen as assigned a task. When parental pressure is applied in the lower class stories, the reaction is either one of open rebellion and refusal, or doing only what one has to and then quitting.

An example of a white middle class story is:

1. WlmM21. He is an intellectual looking young man. He probably has had an inspiration from some other violinist. He is intelligent. There seem to be two possibilities. Either he isn't too well prepared or he wonders why he isn't getting the same results from his violin that greater musicians get. He doesn't seem to register despair of any kind. Probably making an analysis of why he doesn't get the results although he seems rather young for much in the way of analytical work. He will probably go on with his studies of the violin and do quite well.

Whereas, in the white lower class:

1. WulF32. Doesn't want to play his violin. Hates his music lessons. His mother wants him to be a musician but he's thinking about breaking the violin.

1. WulM45. It strikes me as if he isn't thinking about the music there. He is thinking about a swimming hole, something like that. He has a violin there but he has his eyes closed and he's thinking about something else, probably what the other kids are doing out on the playground. He'll probably grow up to be a fiddler like Jack Benny. Probably grow up to drive a milk wagon [which is the subject's job]. When his mother quits pushing the violin on him, he will break away from it altogether.

In general, it may be said from an analysis of picture 1 that the Issei, Nisei and white middle class are self-motivated and achievement-oriented, while the white lower class are not. The determination to push ahead no matter what the obstacles, which is evident in the Issei stories, is a part of the Japanese value system and character structure, and it is this orientation that has been passed on to the Nisei in somewhat attenuated form. In addition, the Nisei give evidence of being in some conflict with the Issei parents, although they cannot openly express this. A further aspect of this conflict can be seen in the stories to picture 2, and is summarized in Table 5.

When the Issei tell stories of the girl leaving the farm to further her ambitions, it is usually in a positive manner. This is because it is a Japanese value that parents should help their children achieve long-range goals since it is (for the Issei) the unquestioned expectation that the children will then return to fulfill their obligations to their parents. For example:

2. IF52. This child is going to school. It's morning and her parents are farmers and they work and she's off to school. Her mother wants her to do well in school. In the end this girl goes to school to improve herself, and she wants to grow up so she can repay her obligation to her parents.

TABLE 5. RESPONSES ON TAT PICTURE 2 INDICATING "ABILITY TO LEAVE FARM"  
BY CULTURAL GROUP

Group	Total Cases	Leave Positively, pct.	Leave Negatively, pct.	Other Responses, pct.
Issei	30	37	7	56
Nisei	40	35	25	40
White Middle Class	40	35	28	37
White Lower Class	20	10	50	40

As on picture 1, the Issei are primarily concerned with working hard in a difficult environment in their stories to picture 2, and such stories make up the bulk of "other responses" for the Issei in Table 5. A typical story is:

2. IM58. Papa and Mama is working hard. One girl is about to go to school, I think. This picture mother work hard. She is working hard at something. This life is pretty hard. That's what these two are thinking—look like girl must see this situation and decide she must study diligently because Papa and Mama are concerned over her. Finally the girl becomes a nice girl, looks nice.

The Nisei, unlike the aging Issei, must find achievement and success within an American white middle class world. The Japanese values and adaptive mechanisms learned from the Issei help the Nisei in such achievement, but they cannot both live up to the expectations of the American world and, at the same time, fulfill their Japanese obligations to their parents. Therefore the Nisei tell stories to picture 2 which are indicative of this conflict:

2. NF22. Well, let's see. This older woman over by the tree is watching her son till the soil. The younger girl with the books is this woman's daughter and this boy's sister. She sort of has disdain for this life in a farm community, it's so limiting. So she goes to a nearby school in hopes of emancipating herself from this environment. But in her face you could see that she feels a very real sense of responsibility to her family and almost a guilty feeling for not sharing the life that her family had tried to create for her. And her feelings are always changing. She feels one day that she should stay and be contented with this life, and the next day that she should go on and seek a new life, but she is committed to school, so she guiltily looks back at her family and proceeds to school.

Like the Nisei, the white middle class see the girl in picture 2 as leaving the farm to achieve a career or higher education. Almost no lower class subjects see the picture in this manner. Unlike the Nisei, the white middle class do not see the girl so much in conflict with her parents as they see her neither being helped nor hindered by the parents, but simply leaving and becoming successful. Often this success is stated in too pat a fashion to be realistic. This reflects the American lower middle class overevaluation (particularly in the women's stories) of education as morally good in its own right; also, one "gets an education" as a status symbol in much the same sense as one buys a new car or a house. Education is likewise valued as a status symbol by Japanese Americans, but the emphasis is more on the knowledge and learned background it gives one, or as a down-to-earth means to further achievement. A representative middle class woman's story to picture 2 is:

2. WlmM37. The daughter was brought up on a farm. She is striving for better things. She wants to read books, go to school, see the rest of the world. She is now in the process of going away from the farm, the early things you see on the farm. She will succeed in her book learning and will become a very successful author, authoress.

The lower class responses to picture 2 are quite distinctive. When they see the girl leaving the farm, it is not to seek a long-range goal, but instead she leaves the farm because she is "disgusted with farm life" and wants to go to the city:

2. WulF27. What kind of a field is that? It must be a wheat field. Girl is coming home from school. She's disgusted with the farm, doesn't like the farm. Like to get away from it all to the big city. Woman standing by the tree is her step-mother. She's very selfish. Father is a nice person. Looks to me like a very disgusted girl.

The TAT material just presented has shown some of the similarities and differences in Japanese and American achievement orientations in the area of life concerned with education, occupation, and other long-range goals. It would also be possible to make the same sort of analysis for parental, sexual, general interpersonal, and other aspects of life (see Caudill 1952; De Vos 1954).

The Rorschach data offer a complementary analysis of Japanese American personality structure. A full treatment of these data and results, only summarily presented here, can be found in De Vos (1954).<sup>7</sup> The areas of mental striving and ambition drive as usually reflected in the Rorschach Test can be seen by comparing representative samples of 50 Issei and 60 Nisei with 60 American Normals ranging from lower to middle class socioeconomic status.<sup>8</sup>

The perceptual organization of both the Issei and Nisei, when compared with the American sample, proves to be much more concerned with a straining to produce some over-all response to a Rorschach card (scored as W), with a neglect of both the easily perceived details (scored as D), and the smaller, usual detail responses (scored as Dd). The data are summarized in Table 6. The Japanese American approach in Rorschach terms is approximately 35% W, 60% D, 5% Dd, in contrast to the Normal sample's 20% W, 72% D, 8% Dd. This sort of approach, along with an effort to organize the blot into complex

TABLE 6. COMPARISON OF ISSEI, NISEI, AND AMERICAN NORMAL SAMPLE ON CERTAIN MEASURES OF MENTAL APPROACH\*

Group	Mean Responses Total			W%	D%	Dd%	Mean Organization Score (Beck's Z)			
	0	1-2	3+				0	1-2	3-4	5
Issei (N=50)	18.8	35.6	58.8	5.7	24.7					
Nisei (N=60)	26.0	34.8	59.3	6.6	35.9					
A. Norm. (N=60)	30.9	18.6	73.5	8.7	22.4					

  

Group	W. on Color Cards, pct. of Individuals			Ratio of W:M, pct. of Individuals			Mean Number of Space Responses, pct. of Individuals			
	0	1-2	3+	High†	Med.‡	Low§	0	1-2	3-4	5
Issei										
total	26	40	34	30	58	12	56	40	4	0
male							68	28	4	0
female							44	52	4	0
Nisei										
total	16	42	42	25	57	18	42	27	21	10
male							41	44	11	3
female							43	10	30	17
Amer. Norm.										
total	47	38	15	12	51	37	30	48	13	8
male							27	46	17	10
female							33	51	10	6

\* Condensed from Tables appearing in De Vos (1954). Refer to this publication for complete statements concerning significant tests of differences and other tabular material on which the present summary of achievement aspects of personality is based.

† 3W:1M(W6).

‡ W < M.

§ W = or < M.

concepts or configurations, indicates a great deal of striving in the intellectual sphere. The results also show a significantly large number of individuals among the Japanese Americans who exhibit an imbalance between an ability to be freely creative and spontaneous (as measured by movement responses on the Rorschach) and their intellectual strivings (as measured by whole responses). This finding suggests that the strong drive to accomplish outstrips, in some cases, the actual capacities available to the individual.

Although there is an over-all agreement as to striving among both Issei and Nisei, the personality context in which this striving is manifested is markedly

different between the generations. The indications for a somewhat extreme intellectual constriction among the Issei are not as readily found in the Nisei. In both groups, where this constriction appears it sometimes leads to excessive associative blocking (refusal to continue responding to a particular Rorschach card) that suggests a lack of liberation of intellectual abilities, and in other cases to intense preoccupation with bodily functions, and a considerably narrowed range of interests or contacts with the outer environment. The associative blocking prevalent in the Issei was frequently accompanied by verbalization of a sense of defeat when the individual could not give an over-all response. When in a test of limits the examiner attempted to have the individuals respond to the details, in numerous instances they would not respond, feeling that they had already failed the task. They would, in many cases, only say, "*Ammari muzukashii* (it's too difficult)." This trend among the Issei is similar to their refusal to use fantasy or magical thinking even in the face of defeat as described in the TAT analysis. The American Normal group, on the other hand, shows more of a tendency to caution and momentary blocking in associative functioning. Rather than the severe blocking found in the Issei, those in the American Normal sample who show some sign of blocking recover and give responses, whereas in many cases the Issei totally reject the stimulus material.

The data suggest that oppositional trends (as measured by the frequency of white space responses) are most prevalent in the Nisei women, less common in the Nisei men, and notably lacking in the Issei group. Psychotherapy material in three of the extended treatment cases of Nisei women supports this conclusion. A strong theme running through many of the therapy cases was to oppose the mother to the extent of acting out rebellious behavior in various subtle ways. In none of the cases treated, however, was continuing difficulty with authority or supervisory figures expressed through direct opposition, probably because such direct opposition is not allowable in Japanese values. Instead, opposition was more indirectly manifested in the ways that assigned tasks would be done. The rebelliousness toward authority was prompted more toward women than men. In these cases, some break with the family always appeared, with the girl determined to make her own way, but with considerable turmoil and strong guilt feelings over neglecting the internalized obligation of obedience to family.

The kind of breakdown in ego controls observed in the Japanese American records often seems to be related to their sense of striving. The tendency to respond to the Rorschach cards in terms of confabulatory wholes found in both Issei and Nisei, the presence of vague abstract responses, the use of poorly conceived anatomy responses in which the parts were ill-defined at best, all serve to confirm the implication of an overstraining to accomplish. This strain to accomplish in spite of severe limitation is particularly present in the Issei. The observed selectivity of immigration from Japan does not allow one to infer that our results would hold true for all Japanese, and controlled studies in Japan should substantiate or modify these findings. The American Normal

group used here, in comparison with whom the Japanese tendency toward striving seems so marked, may on the other hand reflect a certain environmental selectivity related to their occupational framework. There is a tendency for this group to show a certain sluggishness of intellectual drive in comparison with the usual expectations of Rorschach workers. However, since the American Normal group used as a sample in this study is composed of lower as well as middle class persons (unskilled and semi-skilled, as well as skilled and executive groups), the results in terms of the greater striving shown in the Nisei adjustment would indicate that the orientation of the Nisei is more of a middle class sort than is that of the Normal sample itself. The Japanese American Rorschach material has yet to be compared with Rorschach data gathered from a group of subjects with a strictly middle class background.

In general, the over-all results of the research on Japanese Americans in Chicago seem to bear out the hypothesis that the values and adaptive mechanisms of the Japanese Americans and lower middle class are highly compatible, while the upper lower class diverges from both these groups and presents a different psychological adjustment. Where Japanese American values differ in emphasis by comparison with middle class values, these differences are not of such a nature as to draw unfavorable comment from the middle class. Indeed, the differences would probably be considered praiseworthy by the middle class, if a little extreme, as in the extent of duty to one's parents, and the need to be of benefit to society.

The Issei place a high value on the attainment of such long-range goals as higher education, professional success, and the building of a spotless reputation in the community. These goals the Issei have passed on to their children, and the Issei willingly help the Nisei to achieve them because it is the unquestioned expectation of the Issei that their children will in turn fulfill their obligations to their parents. It is this "unquestioned expectation" that is the source of greatest conflict for the Nisei, who feel deeply their obligations to their parents but who also are striving for integration into American middle class life.

What appears to have occurred in the case of the Japanese Americans is that the Nisei, while utilizing to a considerable extent a Japanese set of values and adaptive mechanisms, were able in their prewar life on the Pacific Coast to act in ways that drew favorable comment and recognition from their white middle class peers and made them admirable pupils in the eyes of their middle class teachers. This situation repeated itself in Chicago, and personnel managers and fellow workers also found the Nisei to be admirable employees. What has happened here is that the peers, teachers, employers, and fellow workers of the Nisei have projected their own values onto the neat, well-dressed, and efficient Nisei in whom they saw mirrored many of their own ideals.

Because of this situation, the Nisei tend to be favorably evaluated by the American middle class, not only as individuals but as a group. Hence in Chicago, where they are removed from the high level of discrimination to be found on the Pacific Coast, the Nisei can be thought of as an entire group which



is mobile toward, and attempting to achieve in, the American middle class. They are tremendously helped in this process by the praise both of their parents and of the white middle class; conversely, they are thrown into conflict over their inability to participate as fully as they would like in the middle class way of life, and at the same time fulfill their Japanese obligations to their parents.

A simile is useful in pointing up the similarities and differences between Japanese American and white middle class achievement orientations: the ultimate destinations or goals of individuals in the two groups tend to be very similar; but Japanese Americans go toward these destinations along straight narrow streets lined with crowds of people who observe their every step, while middle class persons go toward the same destinations along wider streets having more room for maneuvering, and lined only with small groups of people who, while watching them, do not observe their every movement. In psychoanalytic terminology, this means that the Japanese Americans have an ego structure that is very sensitive and vulnerable to stimuli coming from the outer world, and a superego structure that depends greatly upon external sanction. This tends to be true of middle class Americans as well, but not nearly to such an extent. For example, individuals in both groups are interested in acquiring money in amounts sufficient to be translated in the achievement of social class prestige; however, every move of a Japanese American toward amassing money is carefully watched, and the way he does it and the ultimate use he makes of it in benefiting the community are equal in importance to the financial success itself. This is less true of the American middle class, where an individual can make his money in a great variety of ways and, so long as these are not downright dishonest, the ways are sanctioned because of the end product—the financial success.

The Japanese Americans provide us, then, with the case of a group who, despite racial visibility and a culture traditionally thought of as alien, achieved a remarkable adjustment to middle class American life because certain compatibilities in the value systems of the immigrant and host cultures operated strongly enough to override the more obvious difficulties.

The foregoing summary should by no means be taken to imply that all Japanese Americans will meet with success in the achievement of their goals. What is meant is that, because of the compatibility between Japanese and American middle class cultures, individual Nisei probably have a better chance of succeeding than individuals from other ethnic groups where the underlying cultural patterns are less in harmony with those of the American middle class.

#### INDIVIDUAL INTEGRATIONS OF THE ACHIEVEMENT VALUE

Through the analysis of individual cases by means of both psychological test data and psychoanalytic interviews, it is possible to show how very similar values and adaptive mechanisms are variously integrated in the personality structures of individual Nisei. There are, however, certain types of adjustment that are more favored by the culture, and these provide modal points in the

total range (see Caudill 1952). All that is desired here is to show, through the responses of three individuals briefly considered, how essentially the same values and broad ways of adjusting to life are differentially combined so that one individual is more likely to succeed in the achievement of his goals than another.

All three of the following Nisei stress, in their TAT stories, the positive achievement value of determination to get an education and to succeed in a career; likewise, all three see that in order to achieve these goals they must adapt themselves by working hard and foregoing immediate gratifications. This similarity in orientation is set, in the first case, within a relatively flexible personality structure in which energies are in part directed into achievement because of, rather than in spite of, certain apparently unresolved emotional problems. In the second case, the over-all picture is one of successful achievement within a pattern of rigid conformity. There are many neurotic conflicts evident in the third case that prevent the satisfactory expression of the need felt by the individual for achievement.<sup>9</sup>

The first example is that of a 29-year-old married Nisei man with two small children. He had two years in college, and is now doing well in a responsible white collar job where he is continually meeting the general public. In his work adjustment he seems to have been able to reconcile whatever problems have arisen in a positive nonhostile manner. From the TAT and interview data it appears that he has not rebelled against Japanese values nor, on the other hand, has he lost his individuality and self-assertion in over-conformity. His is one of the very few Nisei TAT records that indicates a sense of humor, an ability to laugh at himself occasionally.

In the area of long-range goals this Nisei man is strongly self-motivated. As do all Nisei who are positively striving in this area, this man experiences some conflict with his parents, but he is able overtly to handle the conflict satisfactorily. For example, the daughter in his story to picture 2 goes ahead and makes her own decisions, then talks it over with her mother who temporarily is displeased but later reconciled, and the daughter is able to leave the family without guilt and with feelings of warmth toward her parents. In almost all of his stories, this man is able to have his characters be self-assertive but at the same time desirous of talking things out with family members or other older people whose advice they respect. He sees himself as very fond of his parents and wants to visit them as a pleasure rather than just as a duty.

Like most Nisei, this man does not like to have his personal emotions on display for others to see. He is much less sensitive about this, however, than other Nisei.

The adjustment outline above gives evidence of a great many positive qualities—the self-assertion, the flexibility, the seeking for and acceptance of advice without seeming hostility, and the ability to build one's own life and still retain pleasant, respectful ties with one's parents.

The Rorschach picture, however, is somewhat at variance with the impres-

sion gained from the attitudes and values presented in the TAT stories. There are signs of what would be considered serious underlying emotional maladjustment in a clinical record (a preoccupation with oral-sadistic fantasies, and indications that authority figures are seen as very threatening). The achievement drive to this individual, however, is so pronounced and so invested with energy that these underlying conflicts do not greatly debilitate his functioning. On the contrary, ambition becomes an avenue through which some of these conflicts are discharged. As already indicated, the average Nisei record is characterized by a strong drive toward organizing the Rorschach cards into integrated responses. This individual exemplifies this trend by producing 13 over-all responses, many of them of a rather complex nature (a W% of 76 compared with the mean of 35 for Nisei generally and 20 for the Normal sample). He pushes himself very hard.

This individual does not use ego constrictive defenses. While sensitive to social norms, he is not stereotyped. His is an open, rich record with both inner and outer controls of a complex nature utilized in the integration of his personality. However, he does show egocentric tendencies which are only partially offset by a readiness to respond to others with anxiety and compliance.

The greatest difficulty appears in this individual's impulsive life. In spite of what appears to be a relaxed attitude toward people on the TAT, the Rorschach suggests that deeply felt relationships toward people are productive of considerable anxiety. He shows an underlying hostility to both male and female figures (in his perception of humans on the cards, they are distorted into witches or animals engaged in human activity). He is consciously aware of his inner tensions, as indicated by his response to color (the red symbolizing hell, blast furnaces, and sunsets hidden behind clouds). It is as if he were sitting on a volcano. His skill in organizing demonstrates the utility of an achievement drive as a safety valve enabling this individual to function adequately. The skill with which he handles the TAT cards with little indication of these underlying tensions demonstrates the value of combining projective evidence dealing with several levels of consciousness in gaining a total impression of an individual. This individual has been able to integrate himself quite well on a conscious level in terms of what are usually considered mature social attitudes. However, the Rorschach adds a note of caution about assuming that all is as well at deeper levels of his personality.

There is another and more frequent type of fairly successful Nisei adjustment which involves a much more rigid conformity to parental standards, and less conscious flexibility and ease in meeting problems. An example of this second kind of adjustment is that of a 23-year-old, single Nisei man who is completing his medical training in Chicago while his family are in California on a farm. In an interview this Nisei man frequently referred to the strictness of his parents when he was young, how his behavior was always compared unfavorably with that of an older brother, and how most of his social life centered around the Buddhist Church where his father was always on committees and

hence able to observe his son's activities. When asked how he had decided to become a physician, he said, "My mother decided for me, she thought it would be a good idea."

In the projective material there is no warmth in this Nisei man's TAT stories about his parents. The adaptive mechanism is to comply completely with the parental demands, to internalize the parents' goals and to suppress all personal individuality. Only through such a stereotyped conforming adjustment does the subject feel secure.

With this sort of conforming adjustment this Nisei man is able to strive realistically for long-range goals, but the striving is unimaginative and over-conventional. His values are the same in many areas of life as the values of the well-adjusted Nisei discussed earlier, but in his life they appear as philosophical clichés. The subject, however, is not aware that his behavior appears over-conventional, as he sincerely believes in it and it is his main source of strength. In his story to picture 1 there is competition and then identification with the father; there is also the necessity of being of benefit to society; and there is realistic recognition of the work necessary to attain father's goal.

In this man, the Rorschach analysis is in almost direct agreement with that drawn from the TAT. Whereas the first case demonstrated the utilization of achievement as an outlet for energies of a pathological as well as a healthy nature, this individual presents a picture of persistence, tenacity, and conformity in the face of severe anxiety that tends to block and immobilize his actions. The severity of his emotional blocking is well brought out by examining his time of first response to the Rorschach cards. He averaged over 95 seconds before giving a response. On two cards (VIII and IX) he took over four minutes before he was able to give a response. During all the time he was trying, he gave no indication that he considered rejecting the card. He was able to maintain a fairly systematic approach to the cards in spite of these constrictive tendencies. He showed no originality or imaginativeness, but rather a plodding persistence.

The anxiety aroused in this man by affective stimuli is countered on the Rorschach by anatomical-vocational responses indicating how his concentration on work and achievement is used to avoid difficulties with the spontaneous expression of emotions. There are indications on the Rorschach also that in spite of his rigid conscientiousness he has managed to preserve a retreat within himself so that, although he is not a particularly insightful individual, he is on fairly good terms with his impulse life. He is therefore capable of a certain level of understanding in his relationship with others, although he may be awkward in establishing contact.

In general, this is an individual who has to overcome considerable blocking and constriction in working out his drive toward achievement.

It is more difficult for Nisei women who aspire to a professional career to be successfully adjusted than it is for those Nisei women who are housewives or office workers. This can be illustrated by the case of one of the psycho-analytic patients—a 25-year-old, single Nisei woman who is a university-

trained professional worker. The TAT material reveals the lack of real satisfaction afforded this subject in her striving for education and a career. The conflict with her parents is shown in her story to picture 1.

1. NF25. This boy doesn't seem to want to play on the violin, way he's looking at the violin. And the expression on his face seems to be that of, what is it? Not rebellion but, uh, well, the feeling that he doesn't want to do it. Doesn't want to play the violin but someone like his mother has made him take lessons and is trying to make him practice. He probably feels quite (long pause) resentful of his mother's forcing him to do it against his will. He'll probably (long pause) refuse to do it at all, or else he'll play it so badly he won't have to take lessons any more.

In this story, the demands made by the mother touch off an emotional conflict for the subject, and at first the defense of being outwardly aggressive is considered—"refuse to do it at all." This defense is abandoned, probably in part because the subject's internalization of Japanese values makes her say "not rebellion but . . ." The defense finally utilized is one of negativistic compliance, suppression of hostility, and a turning inward of aggression.

The subject's story to picture 3BM shows that her parental conflicts are carried over into her relations with other people, including her employers, so that in her own words she "no longer is able to distinguish between people." The Japanese value that rebellion against one's parents is also a rebellion against the whole structure of society is shown here, along with values of correct speech, close attention to personal appearance, and careful observation of the proprieties.

3BM. NF25. Well, a young fellow who wanted very much to do something and then was told that he couldn't by his parents and he was very broken hearted about it and he is crying. I don't think he'll say or do anything externally to show how he feels toward his parents but he will carry a deep resentment towards them inside himself and probably show his hostility through devious means such as refusing to carry out an order or refusing to obey his parents when a request has been made. [What happens to him?] He becomes a delinquent and he's referred to juvenile court. He carries resentment and so becomes bad for mother and child and society. He becomes careless in his speech, his attire, his contacts with other people, and transfers this resentment towards his parents to society and no longer is able to distinguish between people.

The lack of adequate satisfaction of this woman's basic dependency needs causes her to have poor and nonrealistic interpersonal relations. She has developed an unconscious defense of using practical and intellectual interests as an approach to people (her employers, friends, etc.) from whom she actually wants nurturant affection. The people respond practically and intellectually to her, she resists and resents this, and the relationship bogs down. Another major defense for this Nisei woman lies in withdrawal from problems and situations that precipitate emotional conflict. Early in the course of therapy (the fourth hour) she said, "I keep rejecting people . . . I feel rejected and I reject them. It has something to do with my always having to fight with my mother and my family. I can't fight any more. I just withdraw instead of expressing things—withdraw completely from the situation."

The Rorschach analysis of this case brings out the interference of neurotic inhibition with need for achievement. This subject was in therapy, and was not a case in our representative sample. In comparison with the total sample of Nisei, her Rorschach record shows some interesting similarities and differences. Her most notable difference from the representative sample is her difficulty in producing a whole response. She manages to produce only one W out of 34 responses. This result suggests a neurotic difficulty in externalizing her desire for achievement. A second discrepancy, from both clinical norms and those of the Nisei group, that reinforces the impression of neurosis is the imbalance in the ratio between human and animal movement responses. Contrary to the usual picture, she has a predominance of animal movement which, along with certain features of the content, suggests definite immaturity. She also shows the tendency toward a high number of space responses that is characteristic of many Nisei. Analysis suggests that this indication of rebelliousness is on a rather immature level and may be related to the neurotic maintenance of certain impulsive and childish ways of meeting problems in daily life. There are indications in the record, however, that this rebelliousness may remain covert, as her Rorschach manifests considerable underlying passivity and dependence on others. She is more apt to modify her ideas than to assert herself openly, in spite of a critical undercurrent in her personality.

As positive characteristics, she has a strong sense of the popular and the expected, and has an ego with a great deal of strength and resiliency. Also, the over-all affective tone of her responses is more positive and optimistic than one would usually expect in an individual seeking therapeutic help. Although there is a certain tendency to force or formalize her emotions, she probably can, with help, respond positively to friendliness in others. An attempt to push herself intellectually beyond her capacity in order to meet internalized social demands may develop into a serious source of conflict.

In general, the picture presented in this Rorschach record is one of neurotic incapacitation, without the personality constriction of the second record, or the more severe underlying disturbance of the first record. Of the three, this record shows the most direct interference with achievement itself. In this it is different from the usual Nisei record with regard to the variables considered in relation to achievement.

As a summary of this case, and an indication of how the analyses of the projective data (done before therapy had commenced) fit with the clinical material, it is useful to quote part of a tentative formulation written by Dr. Babcock after 85 hours of therapy:

"The patient's problems center around her extreme dependency and helplessness which result from her early emotional deprivations, and her defenses against her hostility which are totally unacceptable to her family. Much of her hostility arises because of the failure of her emotional environment to provide for her any support adequate to meet her infantile impulses and needs of which she was ashamed and frightened. Intelligent and capable of considerable independent thinking, she has been in great conflict because of the discrepancy between her ideals for herself (one

should be independent, achieve high status, be successful in the eyes of the public, and never show any negative attitudes) and her abilities to obtain in a concrete form any of her ideals. . . .

"She talked a great deal of her job in which she was very interested, but whenever something was hard for her at work, she would deny the reality setting of the situation. If a certain service seemed needed, and she thought her employer would not permit it, she would rebel in her feeling, but fail to take up the problem with her employer. Instead she would physically avoid the employer, and in many other withdrawing and stubbornly denying ways circumvent the problem. . . ."

These three records demonstrate the complexity on a psychological level of the structuring of certain similar culturally induced attitudes toward achievement. Although the overt attitudes and aims of these three individuals were quite similar, they were embedded in differing over-all personality structures. Such differences in total personality have a great deal to do with how an individual attempts to actualize his desires for achievement and the degree to which he meets with success in achieving his goals.

#### CONCLUSION

In the consideration of the achievement orientation of the Japanese Americans we have followed a different path from the more usual consideration of genetic and learned abilities, and the attribution of discrepancies to "other factors." The way of looking at achievement presented here stresses the need for systematic investigation and interrelation of: (a) overt and underlying culture patterns, (b) individual psychodynamic factors, (c) the structure and emotional atmosphere of crucial small group interactive settings in the home, on the job, and at recreation. A knowledge of these three related variables—the cultural, the personal, and the interpersonal—when coupled with genetic data, should greatly increase the ability to predict the achievement possibilities of particular individuals in a group. Even in the avowedly illustrative material given here, it can be seen that the inclusion of culture as a residual "other factor" is theoretically and methodologically insufficient until related to the personal and interpersonal variables. In future research a thorough analysis of individuals within a cultural context will be necessary for a better understanding of the factors making for achievement.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Details of this project, and a fuller exposition of the data may be found in Caudill (1952). Briefly, the interdisciplinary team included two anthropologists, William Caudill and Adrian Corcoran; three sociologists, Setsuko Nishi, Alan Jacobson, and Lee Rainwater; a clinical psychologist, George De Vos; a psychoanalyst, Dr. Charlotte Babcock; and a psychiatric social worker, Estelle Gabriel. Collectively, the data gathered consisted of: (a) interview schedules obtained from a random sample, selected from a directory of Japanese Americans in Chicago, of 342 families representing 1,022 persons; (b) evaluations by employers of Japanese American workers in 79 firms; (c) abstracts of all the cases of Japanese American clients seen by Chicago social agencies between 1942 and 1948; (d) investigation of the child rearing practices of 50 Nisei mothers; (e) the collection and analysis of 100 TAT and 150 Rorschach records; and (f) psychiatric data consisting of diagnostic interviews with 40 Issei and Nisei, brief psychotherapy with 10 Nisei, and psychoanalysis of 3 Nisei.

<sup>2</sup> In 1940 the educational level of the Nisei stood at 12.2 median years of school completed, as compared with 10.1 median years for American-born white children in the Pacific Coast states (War Relocation Authority 1946a:93).

<sup>3</sup> The high level of education for the Issei in our sample demonstrates a certain selectivity in the Chicago population as compared both with the total previous West Coast population and with Japanese in Japan. The slightly higher average education in the Chicago population is probably in part due to the fact that Issei who came to Chicago were mainly urban small shopkeepers. The median education level for the total Issei population in the relocation center was eight years (War Relocation Authority 1946b:80). The average level in Japan at the time of major immigration was closer to six years than to the eight-year average of the immigrants. Hence we may assume a certain selectivity in immigration of individuals who on their own, or under family pressure, sought and found educational opportunities greater than the six years required by the laws of Japan. Nevertheless, the values which went into this emphasis on education are the values reported in the literature as generally prevailing in Japan.

<sup>4</sup> Details of method, and a general personality analysis of the Japanese Americans, can be found in Caudill (1952) and De Vos (1951, 1952). Caudill collected the TAT records, DeVos collected the Rorschach records, while Babcock did psychotherapeutic interviews and psychoanalysis with Nisei patients.

<sup>5</sup> The white TAT records that are here compared with those of the Japanese Americans came from normal people in everyday jobs. The middle class women's records were drawn at random from a previous study of Warner and Henry (1948) on lower-middle and upper-lower class housewives. From other research projects (carried out in the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago) with businessmen, retail department store employees, and factory workers, it was possible to obtain a sample of records from lower-middle and upper-lower class men. The terms "middle" and "lower" class are used in the text to avoid awkwardness in discussion. In all cases, what is meant are the more technical designations "lower-middle" and "upper-lower" class (see Caudill 1952; Warner et al., 1949). Sex distinctions are not recorded in Tables 3 to 5, which are based on samples divided as to sex as follows: Issei, 15 men and 15 women; Nisei and white middle class, 20 men and 20 women; white lower class, 8 men and 12 women.

<sup>6</sup> The code before each story refers to the number of the picture in the Murray (1943) series, and to identifying information on the subject. For example, 1. NF25 means the picture is number 1 and the subject is a Nisei female 25 years old. NM, IF, and IM are self-explanatory; other symbols used are: Wlm and Wul, for white lower-middle class and white upper-lower class respectively.

<sup>7</sup> The original study from which the details reported on this paper are derived consisted of Rorschach records from 50 Issei, 60 Nisei, and 50 Kibei (American-born Japanese Americans who were sent back to Japan for an extended period during childhood). These records were obtained by taking a random sample of Rorschachs from individuals included in the Chicago sample of 1022 persons (De Vos 1951). The American comparison groups used consisted of 60 Normal, 30 Neurotic, and 30 Schizophrenic Americans, obtained from the Normative files of Dr. S. J. Beck (Beck 1950). Two papers (De Vos 1954, 1955) give a detailed statistical analysis of the Rorschach variables. The first consists of a detailed analysis of the American and Japanese American groups in reference to (1) intellectual functions and ego control, (2) emotional organization, (3) affective symbolism. The second paper considers the quantitative results as they relate to maladjustment, and the nature and types of rigidity found prevalent in the records.

<sup>8</sup> The class-stratified comparison sample of 60 white records was obtained from Beck's American Normal group (Beck 1950). Beck's group was gathered from the occupational hierarchy of a large department store and mail order house. The individuals were classified originally in a seven-status occupational scale. For purposes of simplification, this scale was reduced to the categories of unskilled, semi-skilled, skilled, and executive. The class range extended from lower to upper-middle, according to the criteria of Warner (1949). The predominance of the individuals in the group were upper-lower to lower-middle. No attempt has been made to date to examine the strata of the sample separately by statistical techniques.

<sup>9</sup> The material for these cases is taken from Caudill (1952), where they are presented, along with others, in more detail and within a more systematic theoretical framework.



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