

# A Study of Certain Attitudes and Their Personality Correlates Among Japanese-Americans

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## Chapter I

### Introduction and Problem

With the increasing number of sociological, anthropological, and psychological studies dealing with attitude formation, the general function of prejudice has been correspondingly explored. From several field-type hypotheses, some agreement regarding the function of prejudice has been reached; namely, prejudice is goal-directed behavior operating at some level within the individual's psychological life space. Representative of this is the following descriptive hypothesis offered by Cooper (10):

A prejudice is an attitude; an attitude either favorable or opposed to an individual, groups of individuals, or their surrogates. It involves both judgment before the fact and an affective component. An attitude becomes a prejudice when the holder employs fantasy symbols rather than reality relationships in support of his attitude. Fears are genetic to prejudice. . . . In the absence of perception of real and demonstrable psychological forces responsible for such fears, fictitious responsibilities are either adopted from the group. . . , or they are individually invented.

In line with this, Bettelheim and Janowitz (3) have indicated that in many instances hostility toward out-groups is a function of the hostile individual's need to project when his anxiety can not be reduced by realistic means. Numerous studies of stereotyping, projecting, personality development, et cetera, have tended to support this hypothesis (1) (4) (7).

Most studies of prejudice formation and change have concerned themselves with members of majority groups, and little attention

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has been given to members of minority groups. What few studies there are of the second type indicate that members of minority groups develop and employ prejudicial attitudes also. Clark (9) has commented upon this point as follows:

Hiding behind the undesirable realities of prejudice and discrimination as a shield for personal inadequacy is unfortunately no less common among minority-group members than is the companion pattern of a prejudiced member hiding his personal inferiority behind his prejudices.

A review of the literature clearly indicates that the dynamics of prejudice can be more clearly understood if the types of variables responsible for attitude formation, perpetuation, and change among members of minority groups are brought to light. This is essentially the purpose of the present study.

Since inter-group prejudices do exist and their damaging effects on the personalities of the victims of prejudice have come to be recognized, further investigation of factors responsible for prejudice formation among minority group members should necessarily be studied. Such information would be practicably beneficial to both majority and minority member victims of prejudice, and hence to society in general. The present investigation was designed to study certain of the functional-relational characteristics of prejudicial attitudes held by members of a minority group, namely Japanese-Americans in California.

If anxiety is a basic instigation to prejudices maintained by both majority and minority group members, an examination of the relative levels of anxiety in such groups is necessary. Stated in terms of the null hypothesis, the first proposition then is:

Hypothesis I-A: No significant difference obtains between the security level of minority group members and majority group members.

Theory supposes that security variability is greater within the minority group than within the majority group. It might well be

hypothesized that group membership is the independent variable in operation here. At the same time, certain other variables need to be tested for influence. A second hypothesis which deals with certain of such more obvious variables is:

Hypothesis I-B: With reference to level of insecurity no significant difference is dependent upon any one of the following variables: sex, age, marital status, education, religion, socio-economic status or perceived mobility.

It is regularly averred that personality may play a significant role in prejudice formation and employments. No matter how the external world may be perceived by the individual, or how severe the actual external pressure is, there are always phenomenological differences in individual responses. Some of these are immediately dynamic while others depend upon deeply seated dynamic systems. If the prejudices of minority group members are rooted in the special, characteristic personality traits of that minority group, or prejudice itself creates certain prejudicial predispositions in the personalities of minority group members, all prejudicial responses should then be considered as functions of such a system of personality traits. However, from a multidimensional causation standpoint, such as ascribed to by Allport and Kramer (2), Graeber (15), and others (16) (18) (19), the personality natures of minority group members are not the only causes of their prejudices; though along with many other factors, group determined personality factors must certainly play their roles. From this theoretical position the third hypothesis is derived:

Hypothesis II-A: No significant difference obtains between minority and majority group members with references to the degree of personality determined prejudice-proneness as measured by the "E-F Scale."

Since personality seems to depend upon a combination of innate and environmental factors, there seems to be no single factor

responsible for the determination of prejudice-prone personality. In view of this theoretical proposition, the fourth hypothesis is stated as follows:

Hypothesis II-B: The factors of sex, age, marital status, education, religion, socio-economic status, or perceived mobility do not individually determine prejudice-proneness.

The next series of hypotheses was drawn from the results of certain experiments and their theoretical derivatives as they relate to prejudice.

As suggested before, prejudice comes into being when the individual employs fantasy symbols to support his attitude. Apparently, one of the facilities often used in support of prejudice is the stereotype. While some psychologists accept the Edward (12) description of stereotypes as a stimulus itself which arouses standard preconception, others are inclined toward the Krech and Crutchfield (19) description which defines stereotyping as the tendency to oversimplification of content in belief and of unresponsiveness to objective facts. On the other hand, sociologists seem generally to have a slightly different view of stereotyping. According to them, a stereotype is the widespread use of any belief within a society. With this sociological implication as a reference point, the existence or non-existence of differences in stereotypes employed by in-group (majority) and out-group (minority) members can be determined. The essential question is whether or not the stereotypes of minority and majority group members differ. One general and three specific hypotheses follow:

Hypothesis III-A: Stereotypes which are common to in-group members are different from those which are common to out-group members.

Hypothesis III-A-1: There are differences between Niseis and Americans with reference to the terms used for the stereotyping of in-group and out-group members.

Hypothesis III-A-2: Niseis are more homogeneous in stereotyping

Niseis than are Americans in stereotyping Niseis.

Hypothesis III-A-3: Americans are more homogeneous in stereotyping Americans than are Americans in stereotyping Niseis.

Krech and Crutchfield (19) assert that while the sociological concept of stereotypes is a statistical fact, it can not account for individual variability in stereotyping within the group. It is essential then that the two uses, sociological and psychological, be carefully distinguished. The question is then raised as to whether these two kinds of stereotypes, one operating in an individual and the other generally common to a society, are related with reference to such basic factors as security and authoritarianism. Two general hypotheses, with three subdivisions for each, are posed to deal with problem :

Hypothesis III-B: The degree of insecurity relates to the degree of conformity in stereotyping.

Hypothesis III-B-1: Insecure minority group members hold more to the "norm conforming" stereotypes with reference to their own group characteristics than do secure individuals.

Hypothesis III-B-2: Insecure minority group members hold more to the "norm conforming" stereotypes with reference to majority group characteristics than do secure individuals.

Hypothesis III-B-3: Secure minority group members hold stereotypes with reference to their own group characteristics which conform more closely with the stereotypes held by members of the majority group with reference to the minority group than do insecure minority group members.

Hypothesis III-C: Personality characteristics relate to stereotype conformity.

Hypothesis III-C-1: Authoritarian minority group members evidence greater stereotyping conformity with reference to their own in-group characteristics than do non-authoritarian individuals.

Hypothesis III-C-2: Authoritarian minority group members evidence greater stereotyping conformity with reference to majority group characteristics than do non-authoritarian individuals.

Hypothesis III-C-3: Authoritarian minority group members hold stereotypes, with reference to their own group characteristics, which deviate more from the stereotypes held by members of its majority group, with reference to the minority group, than do non-authoritarian minority group members.

The individual's perception of his own position on the "social ladder" must certainly relate to his social attitudes. Differences in social status and amounts of freedom and restriction various minority groups enjoy are provided by the society. Minority group members perceive their positions within such a social stratification. Within this subjective evaluation, stereotyping, projection, displacement, et cetera, may be used. This is to say that some individuals perceive their own and their group's positions unrealistically. In view of these considerations, certain hypotheses concerning social status and amount of freedom were developed as follows:

Hypothesis IV-A: There is no significant difference between in-group and out-group members with reference to their perceptions of the social status of various minority groups.

Hypothesis IV-B: The minority group member's degree of agreement with the norm, with reference to perception of social status of various minority groups, varies with his level of security.

Hypothesis IV-C: The minority group member's degree of agreement with the norm, with reference to perception of social status of various minority groups, varies with his level of authoritarianism.

Hypothesis V-A: There is no significant difference between majority and minority group members with reference to their perceptions of the amount of restriction for various minority groups.

Hypothesis V-B: The minority group member's perceived amount of social restriction (for his own group) is related to his level of insecurity.

Hypothesis V-C: The minority group member's perceived amount of social restriction (for his own group) is related to the nature of his personality as measured by the "E-F Scale" for authoritarianism.

Campbell (7) has shown that the level of economic and political satisfaction is related to prejudicial attitudes. Bird and Monachesi (4) suggest that the degree of prejudice is related to both satisfaction attainment and aspiration. This tends to support the psychoanalytic scapegoat theory of prejudice. According to a study by Cooper (11), individual expectation of mobility is partially determined by anticipated influences to which contacts with members other groups

might lead. This obviously describes one aspect of ethnocentrism. Bettelheim and Janowitz (3) have similar findings when prejudice was related to actual individual mobility.

From these studies a generalization was drawn to the effect that the individual's subjective appraisal of his own mobility partially determines the nature of his prejudices. Then the question arises as to whether the same principle can be applied in attempting to understand prejudice dynamics in minority group individuals. Six hypotheses follow from these theoretical considerations. Three deal with mobility and insecurity, and three deal with mobility and authoritarianism.

Hypothesis VI-A: The security level of minority group members to their perception of personal mobility, and this seems to be determined in part by their contacts with various group members.

Hypothesis VI-A-1: Insecure individuals evidence more mobility anxiety (both upward and downward) than do secure individuals.

Hypothesis VI-A-2: Insecure individuals evidence more trepidation concerning downward mobility, by virtue of contacts with members of other minority groups than do secure individuals.

Hypothesis VI-A-3: Insecure individuals evidence more anticipation of upward mobility by virtue of contacts with sub-group members (Issei and Kibei) in their in-group (Japanese-American) than do secure individuals.

Hypothesis VI-B: The degree of authoritarianism among minority group members is related to the individual's perception of self mobility.

Hypothesis VI-B-1: Authoritarian individuals manifest more mobility anxiety than do non-authoritarian individuals.

Hypothesis VI-B-2: Authoritarian individuals manifest more downward mobility anxiety as a function of anticipated contacts with minority groups, other than their own, than do non-authoritarian individuals.

Hypothesis VI-B-3: Authoritarian individuals manifest more upward mobility anxiety as a function of anticipated contacts with sub-group members (Issei and Kibei) of their own in-group (Japanese-American) than do non-authoritarian individuals.

Finally, subject's evaluations of certain ideals were assessed. The intention here is to throw light on the following question: How do the value systems of minority group members differ from

those of the general population? Does such a possible difference in value systems serve as an instigation to conflict? Then, if this is the case, is such conflict an instigation to prejudice formation?

Cultural assimilation of minority groups has been suggested by sociologists and anthropologists as a means for reducing prejudice on the part of both minority and majority groups. Graeber (15) has stated that cultural differences rather than physical differences are essentially responsible for the development of "dislike of the unlike." Taft (23) has also emphasized the importance of common frames of reference in effective social assimilation. In view of this theoretical position, three hypotheses dealing with the value systems of the referent minority group are proposed for examination:

Hypothesis VII-A: No significant difference obtains between the minority group and the majority group with reference to value systems.

Hypothesis VII-B: Insecurity tends to impede assimilation of the value system of the majority group by minority group members who are insecure.

Hypothesis VII-C: Authoritarian personality structure impedes assimilation of the value system of the majority group by those minority group members who are authoritarian.

## Chapter II

### Methods and Procedures

Subjects. Subjects used in this study were Japanese-Americans who, for the most part, reside in Santa Clara County, California. Questionnaires were sent Nisei students at San Jose State College and Stanford University and subscribers to Nichibei Jiji, a Japanese-English newspaper. One hundred and three responded; eighty being Niseis (second generation Japanese-Americans) and twenty-three being Sanseis (third generation). These two different generations are frequently designated simply as Niseis. Isseis (first generation who came to the United States) and Kibeis (returnees



from Japan but citizens of the United States) are not included in this study.

Method. The study employed a questionnaire which included eight sub-scales and an information sheet. The eight sub-scales were the following :

S-I Inventory	Scale of Social Status
E-F Scale	Scale of Freedom and Restriction
Scale of Nisei Stereotypes	Scale of Mobility
Scale of American Stereotypes	Scale of Relative Values

Details concerning the contents of these sub-scales will be described in sections to follow.

*Security-Insecurity Inventory.* The assumption has been stated that prejudice is in part a function of fear or anxiety. In order to measure anxiety, the Maslow (20) Security-Insecurity Inventory was used. This was constructed to “. . . detect and measure the feeling of security by discovering something about all the individual variables which go to make up the syndrome of security-insecurity.” The Gough (13) method of scoring was employed. In this method, only “insecurity” responses are counted, regardless of the distribution of other responses in the “neutral” or “security” positions. Therefore, a high score indicates a high degree of insecurity.

*E-F Scale.* The E-F Scale was assembled by Gough (14). It consists of “. . . thirty statements drawn from the E (ethnocentrism) and F (implicit antidemocratic trends) scales of the California group.” (Referring to Authoritarian Personality, Adorno, et cetera.) For present purposes, its advantage over the E Scale is that it seeks a measure of authoritarianism without using the names of minority groups. The variables dealt with in this scale are conventionalism, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intraception, superstition and stereotypy, destructiveness and cynicism, projectivity and sex.

This scale allowed six choice of response for each item : slight,

moderate, or strong agreement, and the same degrees of disagreement. Since a person's score is calculated as either the average or the sum of thirty individual item scores, a high score is interpreted as indicating high authoritarianism and a low score as indicating low authoritarianism.

*Scale of Nisei Stereotypes and Scale of American Stereotypes.*

These scales were constructed by the writer at San Jose State College. A description of the procedure follows.

First, sixty terms purporting to represent typical personal characteristics (twenty-five for Japanese, twenty-five for Americans, and ten common to both nationalities) were obtained from students in general psychology classes. They were simply asked to list the ten characteristics most typical of Japanese and the ten most typical of Americans. Second, a questionnaire was constructed for the purpose of eliciting the opinions of subjects with reference to terms most descriptive of Niseis. Subjects were asked to select the ten terms which seemed to them most typical for Niseis by ranking from the total the ten terms (from 1 to 10) according to their degrees of typicality. The same list of sixty terms was used also with reference to the personal characteristics of Americans.

Third, the frequencies and positions of rank order for each term, indicating the stereotypes of Niseis or Americans, were obtained from Nisei subjects. Then stereotype scales constructed from average weights, as judged by Niseis, were developed. Fourth, each individual response (for both nationalities) was evaluated by use of these scales. Therefore, the total scores, which were the sums of weights of the ten responses made by subjects for each national group, indicate the degrees of conformity to stereotyping.

Fifth, for each term, a weight value difference score between Nisei and American typicality was constructed. Finally, the ten ranked terms of each subject were rescored by this scoring scale. These scores indicated the degree of deviation of Nisei from American stereotypes. The same procedure was applied to the measurement

of American subject stereotyping.

*Scale of Social Status.* In as much as this study concerns itself in part with prejudices toward various groups, prejudices being conceived of as attitudes which operate at different levels of consciousness, the need for some device whereby subjects would be forced to indicate such attitudes was essential. The best approximation of this requirement was a ranking scale.

Subjects were asked to rank Americans, Canadians, Chinese, English, Italians, Japanese, Jews, Mexicans, Negroes, and Philipines with reference to their estimates of status for each. They were instructed to assign 1 to the group they believed to be in the highest status position, and so on to 10 for the lowest. These stimulus items were chosen in light of the particular ethnic composition of the San Jose area.

*Scale of Freedom and Restriction.* For purposes similar to those mentioned in the Scale of Social Status, individual opinions concerning amount of social restriction and freedom for the same groups was measured by use of an equal distance rating scale.

Although absolute difference in amount of restriction between each pair of degrees has not been examined, the assumption of equal distance was applied for the analysis. Therefore, response to "complete freedom" was counted as zero, "great freedom, slight restriction" as one point, and so on. A response to "complete restriction" was given five points as maximum in this scale.

*Scale of Mobility.* A scale of mobility was constructed and used in this study. It was a slightly modified form of a scale constructed by Cooper (11) for the purpose of measuring subjective expectation of mobility as a function of contacts with other groups. The scale consists of five statements, each describing anticipation of mobility as a function of contact with various groups. If a subject uses statements one or two (downward) he is given  $-1$ ; if he uses statements four or five (upward), he is given  $+1$ . If he uses statement three (neutral), no point assignment is made.

*Scale of Relative Values.* This scale was used in order to evaluate the degree of Nisei assimilation to American culture. The items used were borrowed from Hunt (17). Subjects were asked to indicate the degree of significance of values by ranking them from 1 to 17. Since there is no standard for these values the average rank order for each was determined.

## Chapter III

### Results

One hundred and three Niseis participated in this investigation.

Table I

Frequencies of Nisei Subjects in Various Status Categories

Status	N	Status	N
Sex :		Religion :	
Male	46	Buddhism	51
Female	57	Protestant	45
Age :		Other or None	7
16-19	34	Socio-Economic Status :	
20-24	38	Upper-Middle	48
25-29	11	Lower-Middle	47
30-39	13	Lower	7
40-51	6	Lower-Lower	1
Marital Status :		Mobility :	
Single	84	Upward	76
Married	18	No Mobility	21
Divorced	1	Downward	6
Education :			
High School Student	11	Total	103
High School Experience	24		
College Student	55		
College Experience	13		

Among these subjects there is variation in sex, age, marital status, education, religion, social status, and mobility. These

frequencies are shown in Table I. Variations in the total number of responses for some sub-scales are due to response incompleteness by some subjects.

*S-I Inventory.* Ninety-eight subjects responded to the Security-Insecurity Scale. The mean insecure scores for college students, non-college students and total group are shown in Table II. The difference of mean scores between Nisei college students and non-college Niseis was examined. The differences in mean scores of the Nisei samples from the Maslow sample are also shown in Table III.

Table II

Comparisons of Mean Scores of Niseis with the Mean Score of Maslow's Subjects on the S-I Inventory

Subjects	N	Mean	S. D.
College students	54	21.8	11.7
Non-college students	44	17.1	12.5
Total	98	19.7	11.6
Maslow's sample	2020	19.5	12.7

Table III

Comparisons of T-Ratios and Probabilities Obtained from Mean Scores of Niseis and Maslow's Subjects

Groups Compared	T-ratio	Probability
Nisei college students vs. Non-college Niseis	1.885	.059
Nisei College students vs. Maslow's sample	1.438	.151
Non-college Niseis vs. Maslow's sample	1.263	.217
Total of Niseis vs. Maslow's sample	.132	>.75

The total sample was divided into four groups according to their degrees of insecurity. These are as follows:

- Very Secure Group (VS-group) N=25 ..... 2—10 pts.
- Moderately Secure Group (MS-group) N=24 ..... 11—17 pts.

Moderately Insecure Group (MI-group) N=24 ..... 18—25 pts.

Very Insecure Group (VI-group) N=25 ..... 27—52 pts.

In order to examine for possible determinants of level of insecurity, a chi-square test was used for each of the following: sex, age, marital status, education, religion, socio-economic status, and mobility. The chi-square and probability measures are shown in Table IV.

Table IV

Comparisons of Secure Group with Insecure Group with Respect to Various Status Categories

Status Categories	Secure (VS & MS)	Insecure (MI & VI)	Chi-square	Probability
Sex :				
Male	20	25		
Female	29	26	.376	<.70, >.50
Age :				
-19	12	19		
20-24	17	20		
25-	20	10	5.160	<.10, >.05
Marital Status :				
Single	35	44		
Married	14	5	6.576	<.02, >.01
Education :				
High School	20	12		
College	29	37	2.972	<.10, >.05
Religion :				
Buddhism	19	30		
Protestant	26	16		
Others	4	3	4.800	<.10, >.05
Socio-Economic Status :				
Upper-Middle	29	16		
Lower-Middle	16	30		
Lower	4	3	8.160	<.02, >.01
Mobility :				
Upward	39	33		
No mobility	7	13		
Downward	3	3	2.300	<.50, >.30

*E-F Scale.* All of the 103 subjects completed the E-F Scale. The total group mean score, sub-group mean scores and a comparison of these data with the original data obtained by Adorno and others (1) are shown in Table V. The t-ratios and their probabilities were computed for the differences between means, and the results are also shown in Table VI.

Table V

Comparisons of Mean Scores of Niseis with Mean Scores of California Group Subjects on the E-F Scale

Subjects	N	Mean	S. D.
Nisei			
College students	68	3.83	.74
Non-college students	35	4.46	.76
Total	103	4.04	.81
General American Population	779	4.01	1.10

Table VI

Comparisons of T-Ratios and Probabilities Obtained from Mean Scores of Niseis and California Group Subjects on the E-F Scale

Groups compared	T-ratio	Probability
Nisei college students vs. Nisei non-college students	3.973	<.001
Nisei college students vs. Americans in general	1.833	.067
Nisei non-college students vs. Americans in general	3.310	<.001
Niseis as a whole vs. Americans in general	.344	>.75

Subjects were divided into four groups according to levels of authoritarianism. These sub-groups are designated with E-F score ranges and frequencies as follows:

- Very Non-Authoritarian Group (VNA-group) N=26.....2.23—3.50
- Moderately Non-Authoritarian Group (MNA-group) N=25...3.57—4.00
- Moderately Authoritarian Group (MA-group) N=25.....4.03—4.50
- Very Authoritarian Group (VA-group) N=26.....4.57—6.03

The two groups, authoritarians (VA and MA) and non-authoritarians (MNA and VNA), were compared with reference to the same variables: sex, age, marital status, education, religion, socio-economic status, and mobility by use of chi-square. Frequencies of authoritarians or non-authoritarians designations, as determined by E-F scores, are shown under each variable category, together with its chi-square and probability, in Table VII.

Table VII  
Comparisons of Non-Authoritarian Group with Authoritarian Group with Respect to Various Status Categories

Status Categories	Authoritarian	Non-authoritarian	Chi-square	Probability
Sex :				
Male	23	23		
Female	28	29	.007	<.95, >.90
Age :				
-19	22	12		
20-24	11	27		
25-	18	13	10.634	<.01, >.005
Marital Status :				
Single	37	47		
Married	14	5	5.459	<.02, >.01
Education :				
High School	22	13		
College	29	39	3.823	<.10, >.05
Religion :				
Buddhism	26	25		
Protestant	21	24		
Others	4	3	.620	<.80, >.70
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper-Middle	28	20		
Lower-Middle	20	28		
Lower	3	4	2.400	<.50, >.30
Mobility :				
Upward	36	40		
No mobility	13	8		
Downward	2	4	2.098	<.50, >.30



*Stereotypes.* Table VIII shows the twenty Nisei stereotypes most frequently employed by Americans and Niseis. The twenty most frequent American stereotypes are shown in Table IX.

Table VIII

Twenty Most Frequently used Nisei and American Stereotypes as Judged by Niseis

Rank	Nisei Stereotypes		Rank	American Stereotypes	
Order	Stereotype Terms	Mean Weights	Order	Stereotype Terms	Mean Weights
1	Ambitious	3.74	1	Freedom-loving	4.00
2	Conscientious	3.26	2	Aggressive	3.61
3	Industrious	3.18	3	Competitive	3.24
4	Intelligent	2.88	4	Friendly	3.07
5	Clean	2.33	5	Social	2.97
6	Honest	2.07	6	Independent	2.93
7	Competitive	1.78	7	Ambitious	2.38
8	Family-tie	1.74	8	Outspoken	2.28
9	Respectful	1.72	9	Materialistic	1.92
10	Courteous	1.69	10	Easy-going	1.85
11	Friendly	1.60	11	Care-free	1.74
12	Quiet	1.28	12	Educated	1.46
13	Cooperative	1.21	13	Cooperative	1.32
14	Proud	1.18	14	Progressive	1.24
15	Educated	1.18	15	Patriotic	1.18
16	Materialistic	1.15	16	Confident	1.15
17	Neat	1.12	17	Courteous	1.13
18	Independent	1.12	18	Industrious	1.10
19	Artistic	1.11	19	Energetic	1.08
20	Social	1.10	20	Humorous	.97

After constructing a scoring scale by use of the weight of the sixty terms, individual responses were scored as the sum of the weights of the ten terms used by each subject. The distribution of scores for [Nisei stereotypes, American stereotypes, and their difference, together with comparison of means and standard deviations are shown in Table X.

Table IX

Twenty Most Frequently used Nisei and American Stereotypes as Judged by Americans

Rank	Nisei Stereotypes		Rank	American Stereotypes	
Order	Stereotype Terms	Mean Weights	Order	Stereotype Terms	Mean Weights
1	Polite	3.17	1	Competitive	5.22
2	Family-tie	3.14	2	Freedom-loving	5.15
3	Courteous	3.00	3	Independent	3.81
4	Quiet	2.86	4	Ambitious	3.54
5	Industrious	2.51	5	Materialistic	2.72
6	Clean	2.46	6	Aggressive	2.69
7	Neat	2.31	7	Educated	2.44
8	Conscientious	2.24	8	Proud	2.30
9	Intelligent	2.15	9	Industrious	2.17
10	Traditional	2.02	10	Progressive	1.81
11	Artistic	1.97	11	Confident	1.46
12	Humble	1.92	12	Social	1.41
13	Respectful	1.88	13	Energetic	1.31
14	Friendly	1.81	14	Egoistic	1.17
15	Patient	1.51	15	Patriotic	1.13
16	Creative	1.51	16	Clean	1.02
17	Leader-following	1.36	17	Friendly	1.02
18	Cultured	1.17	18	Religious	1.00
19	Proud	1.17	19	Rushing	1.00
20	Loyal	1.07	20	Outspoken	.98

The mean stereotype scores for four groups categorized according to degree of insecurity are shown in Table XI. The same results translated into standard scores are shown in Figures 1, 2, and 3. T-ratios and their probabilities were computed by comparing the highest and the lowest mean scores with reference to security for each type of stereotypes.

The same method of analysis was used in the study of stereotypes with respect to authoritarianism. The mean scores for four E-F Scale groups are shown in Table XII and Figures 4, 5, and 6.

*Social Status.* Attitudes of own and other status were collected

Table X

Distribution of Scores for Nisei and American Stereotypes and of Differences between Them

Score	Nisei Stereotypes	American Stereotypes	Difference Between Two
2600		1	
2400		3	
2200		5	
2000	6	13	
1800	15	14	
1600	20	19	
1400	24	12	
1200	15	4	2
1000	9	1	9
800	4		16
600	4		8
400			13
200			17
0			11
- 200			4
- 400			4
- 600			5
- 800			1
-1000			5
-1200			1
-1400			
-1600			1
N	97	72	97
Mean	1514	1836	341
S. D.	343	323	563

by a ranking method and analyzed by the method of comparison of group positions judged by both majority and minority groups. These results are shown in Table XIII. The social status of Japanese judged by Americans was seventh among the ten groups ranked, whereas Niseis ranked Japanese sixth. This difference was then examined in terms of t-ratio and is shown in Table XIV.

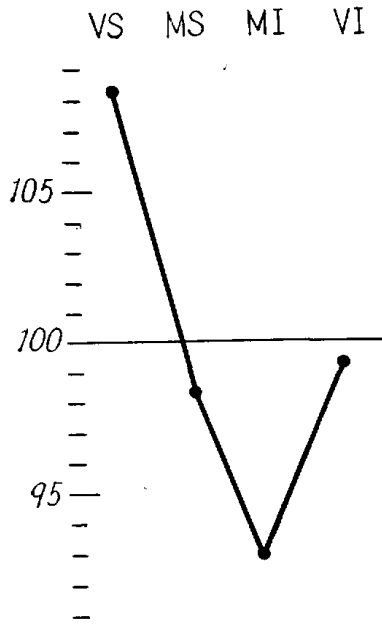


Figure 1

Z-Scores of Mean Conformities for Security Sub-Groups on the Nisei Stereotypes

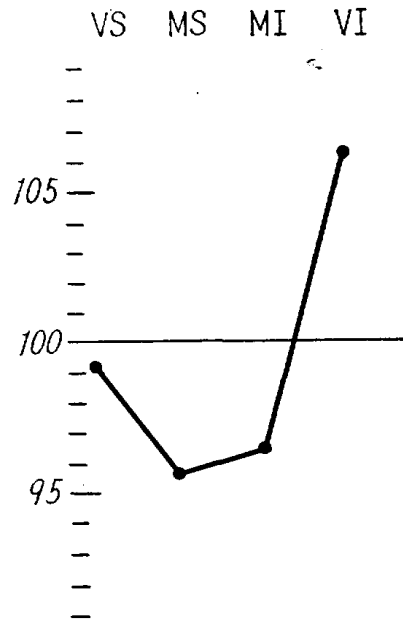


Figure 2

Z-Scores of Mean Conformities for Security Sub-Groups on the American Stereotypes

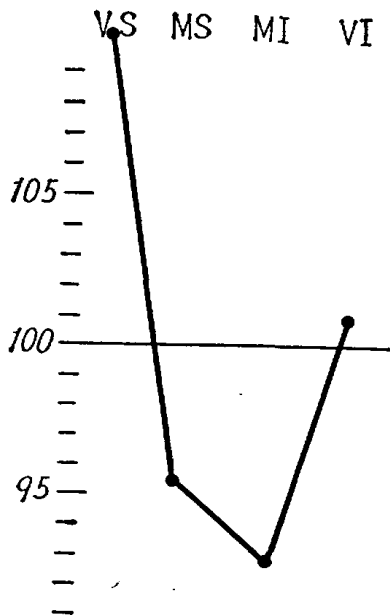


Figure 3

Z-Scores of Mean Conformities for Security Sub-Groups on the Difference between Nisei and American Stereotypes

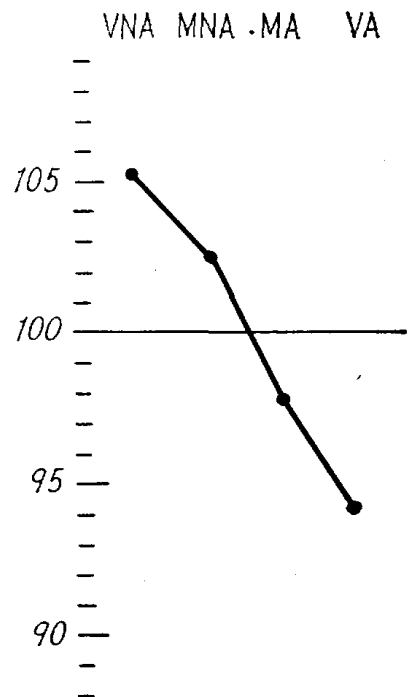


Figure 4

Z-Scores of Mean Conformities for Authoritarian Sub-Groups on the Nisei Stereotypes

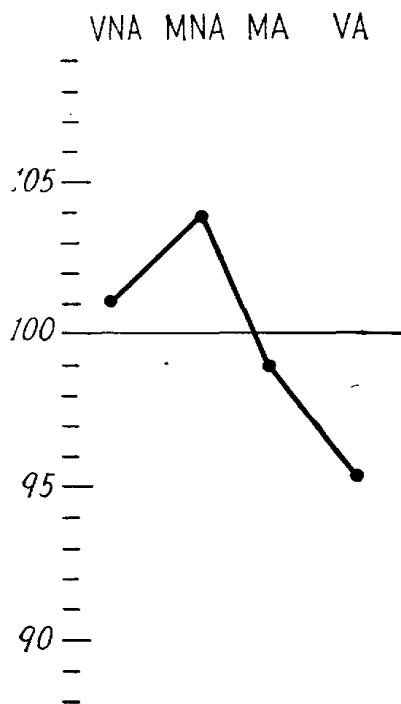


Figure 5  
Z-scores of Mean Conformities for Authoritarian Sub. Groups on the American Stereotypes

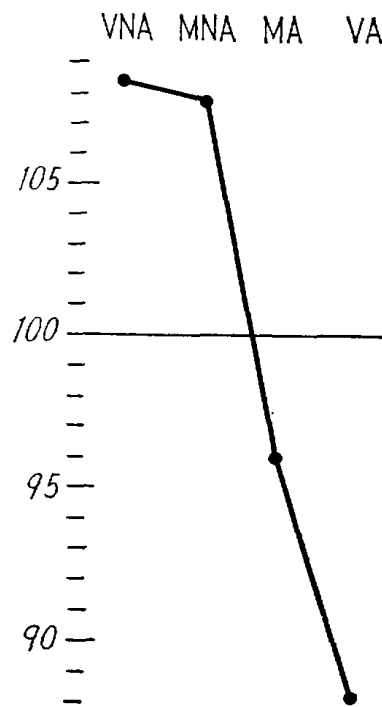


Figure 6  
Z-scores of Mean Conformities for Authoritarian Sub-Groups on the Difference between Nisei and American Stereotypes

Table XI

Mean Scores on the Scales of Stereotypes, Social Status, Social Restriction, and Mobility with Respect to the Degree of Security-Insecurity among Niseis

Scale	Security-Insecurity				Mean	S. D.	T-ratio	Probability
	VS	MS	MI	VI				
<b>Stereotypes :</b>								
Nisei	1667	1488	1400	1507	1516	346	2.365	.018
American	1811	1733	1744	1922	1802	318	2.385	.017
Difference	800	366	277	511	488	602	4.273	<.001
<b>Social Status:</b>								
Japanese	5.72	5.62	4.90	5.08	5.33	1.37	1.982	.047
<b>Social Restriction :</b>								
Japanese	1.60	1.88	2.12	2.04	1.91	.656	2.724	.006
All Minority Groups	13.8	17.0	17.7	17.3	16.4	6.22	2.392	.016
<b>Mobility :</b>								
Total Mobility	8.65	8.27	9.27	10.12	9.29	4.77	1.501	.134
Minority Group	.00	-.12	-.04	-1.16	-.34	2.17	1.906	.056
Issei and Kibei	.76	.42	.37	.52	.52	1.10	1.247	.213

Table XII

Mean Scores on the Scales of Stereotypes, Social Status, Social Restriction, and Mobility with Respect to the Degree of Authoritarianism among Niseis

Scale	Authoritarianism				Mean	S. D.	T-ratio	Probability
	VNA	MNA	MA	VA				
Stereotypes :								
Nisei	1608	1562	1475	1412	1514	368	2.146	.031
American	1847	1891	1813	1757	1827	323	.928	.353
Difference	592	575	242	12	352	586	4.255	<.001
Social Status :								
Japanese	5.68	5.44	5.12	5.12	5.34	1.41	1.278	.202
Social Restriction :								
Japanese	2.00	1.77	1.88	2.08	1.93	.672	2.239	.025
All Minority Groups	16.9	15.8	16.5	18.0	16.8	6.16	1.540	.120
Mobility :								
Total	7.98	8.54	10.06	10.54	9.29	4.47	1.854	.064
Minority Group	.12	.04	-1.04	-.12	-.25	2.29	1.756	.079
Issei and Kibei	.40	.46	.75	.80	.57	1.12	1.440	.151

Table XIII

Means and Rank Orders of Social Status with Respect to Various Groups as Judged by Niseis and Americans

Groups	Means		Rank Orders	
	Nise	American	Nisei	American
American	1.16	1.07	1	1
Canadian	3.92	3.20	3	3
Chinese	6.36	6.78	7	6
English	2.84	2.74	2	2
Italian	4.20	4.36	4	4
Japanese	5.34	6.85	6	7
Jew	5.30	5.87	5	5
Mexican	8.41	8.21	9	9
Negro	9.15	8.41	10	10
Philippine	8.35	8.06	8	8

The relative scores of mean Japanese social status for security sub-groups are shown in Table XI and Figure 7, and that for authoritarian sub-groups in Table XII and Figure 8.

Table XIV

Comparison of Mean Scores with Respect to Japanese Social Status as Judged by Niseis and Americans

Subject	N	Mean	S. D.	T-ratio	Probability
Nisei	100	5.34	1.41	7.890	<.01
American	141	6.85	1.52		

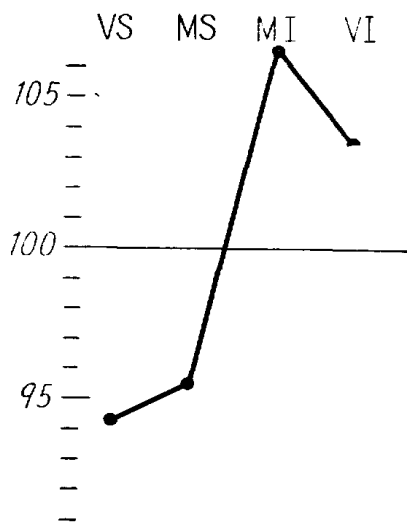


Figure 7

Z-Scores of Mean Japanese Social Status for Security Sub-Groups

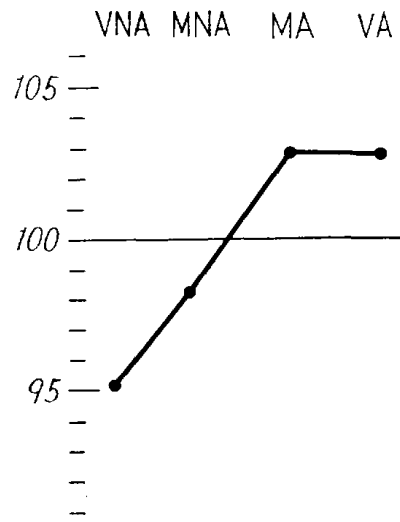


Figure 8

Z-Scores of Mean Japanese Social Status for Authoritarian Sub-Groups

*Freedom and Restriction.* Opinion regarding amounts of social restriction imposed upon various minority groups were assessed for both Niseis and Americans and compared. The mean scores for each group are shown in Table XV. Unlike social status, the Japanese position with reference to amount of social restriction is seventh for both Niseis and Americans. The difference of means was examined and shown in Table XVI.

A general trend similar to that found in the case of social status perception was found in the case of this scale with respects to degrees of insecurity. The differences between the highest and the lowest mean scores were examined and the results are shown

in Table XI. On the other hand, the lowest social restriction scores for both Japanese and all other groups were found in the MNA-group. The differences between means are shown in Table XII. The group analyses mentioned above are also shown in Figures 9, 10, 11, and 12.

Table XV

Mean Social Restriction Scores with Reference to Various Groups as Judged by Niseis and Americans

Groups	Means		Rank Orders	
	Nisei	American	Nisei	American
American	.50	.33	1	1
Canadian	.75	.56	3	3
Chinese	1.90	1.92	6	6
English	.72	.48	2	2
Italian	1.18	1.17	4	4
Japanese	1.93	2.15	7	7
Jew	1.71	1.72	5	5
Mexican	2.36	2.38	9	9
Negro	2.87	2.86	10	10
Philippine	2.29	2.34	8	8

Table XVI

Comparison of Mean Scores with Respect to Japanese Social Restriction as Judged by Niseis and Americans

Subject	N	Mean	S. D.	T-ratio	Probability
Nisei	103	1.930	.620	2.434	.015
American	141	2.149	.790		

*Mobility.* The relationships between subjects' mobility anticipations and the degree of insecurity and authoritarianism are shown in Tables XI and XII and in Figures 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18. Also frequency distributions of responses are tabulated in Tables XVII and XVIII.

The differences between mean scores for upward, downward, and neutral mobility anticipation were analyzed for significance.



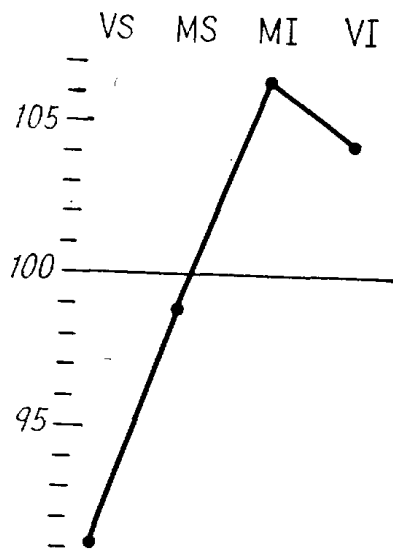


Figure 9

Z-Scores of Mean Social Restriction on Japanese for Security Sub-Groups

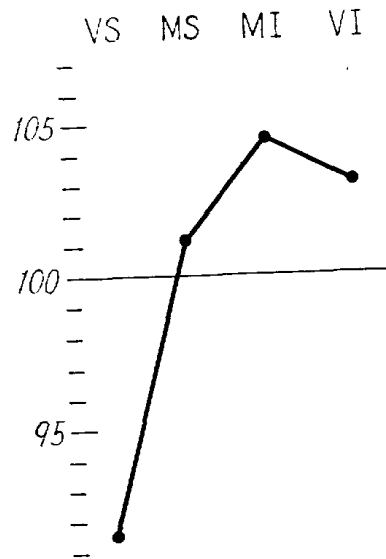


Figure 10

Z-Scores of Mean Social Restrictions on All Minority Groups for Security Sub-Groups

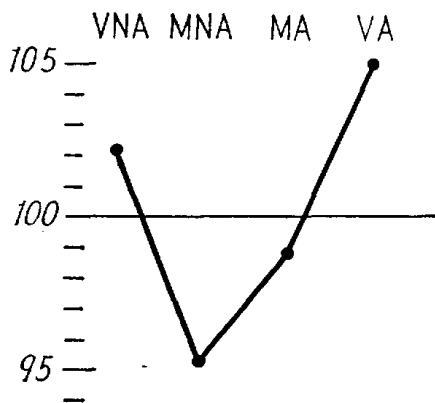


Figure 11

Z-Scores of Mean Social Restrictions on Japanese for Authoritarian Sub-Groups

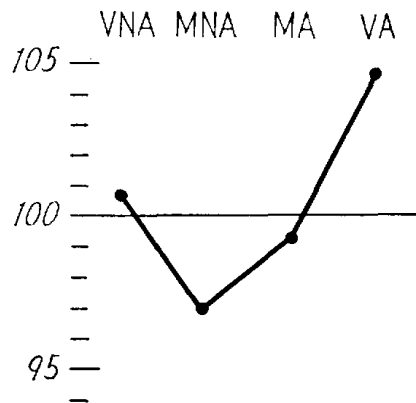


Figure 12

Z-Scores of Mean Social Restrictions on All Minority Groups for Authoritarian Sub-Groups

As shown in Tables XI and XII, none of these probabilities was less than 5 per cent. By use of the same responses and after combining the sub-groups into two categories (secure vs. insecure and non-authoritarianism vs. authoritarianism), chi-squares were obtained for each of the three types of mobility.

*Relative Values.* The mean rank orders of values as judged by Niseis, Hunt's (17) 1935 college population, and the San Jose State College population are shown in Table XIX.

Relationships between these three rankings have been analyzed by rank-order correlation as shown in Table XX.

Table XVII

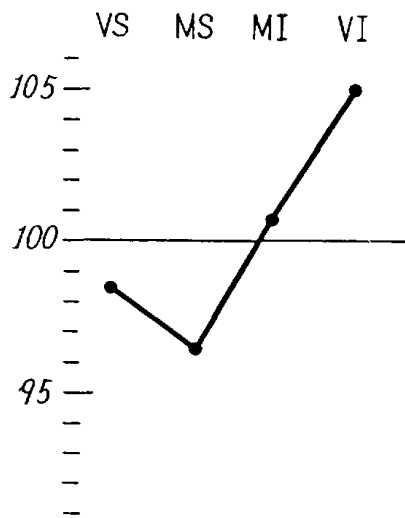
Distributions of Mobility Anticipation Scores in the Secure and Insecure Groups

Group to Contact	Direction of Mobility	Secure	Insecure	Chi-square	Probability
Total	+UM & -DM	291	319	18.44	<.01
	±M	492	413		
	-UM & +DM	99	150		
Other Minority Groups	+UM & -DM	36	33	6.44	<.05, >.02
	±M	119	100		
	-UM & +DM	41	63		
Issei & Kibei	+UM & -DM	32	36	8.26	<.02, >.01
	±M	63	49		
	-UM & +DM	3	13		

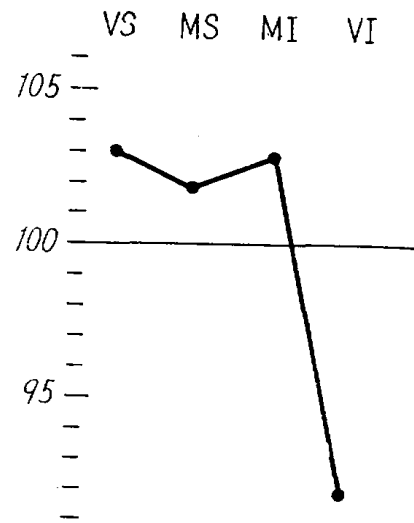
Table XVIII

Distribution of Mobility Anticipation Scores in the Non-Authoritarian and the Authoritarian Groups

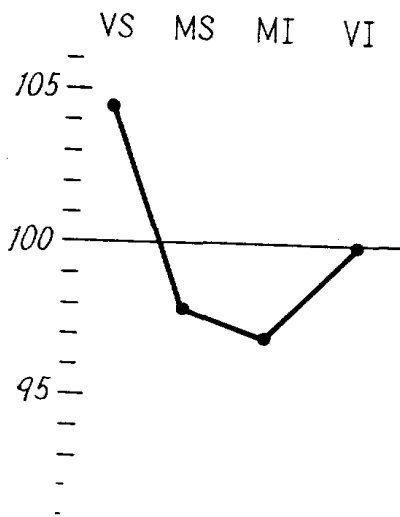
Group to Contact	Direction of Mobility	Non-authoritarian	Authoritarian	Chi-square	Probability
Total	+UM & -DM	368	298	10.03	<.01
	±M	460	468		
	-UM & +DM	108	152		
Other Minority Groups	+UM & -DM	51	30	8.50	<.02, >.01
	±M	114	113		
	-UM & +DM	43	61		
Issei & Kibei	+UM & -DM	38	36	4.11	<.20, >.10
	±M	53	61		
	-UM & +DM	13	5		



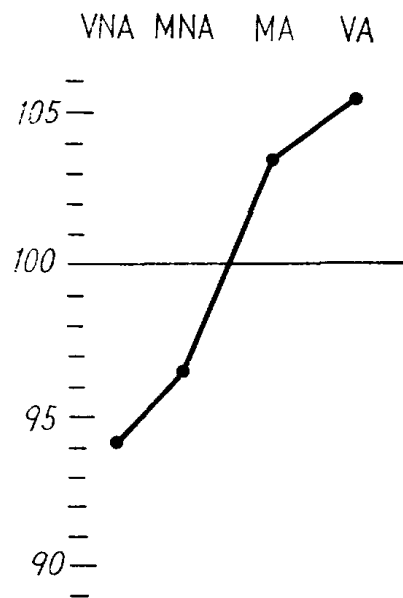
**Figure 13**  
Z-Scores of Mean Total Mobilities for Security Sub-Groups



**Figure 14**  
Z-Scores of Mean Mobilities by Contacts with Other Minority Groups for Security Sub-Groups



**Figure 15**  
Z-Scores of Mean Mobilities by Contacts with Issei and Kibei for Security Sub-Groups



**Figure 16**  
Z-Scores of Mean Total Mobilities for Authoritarian Sub-Groups

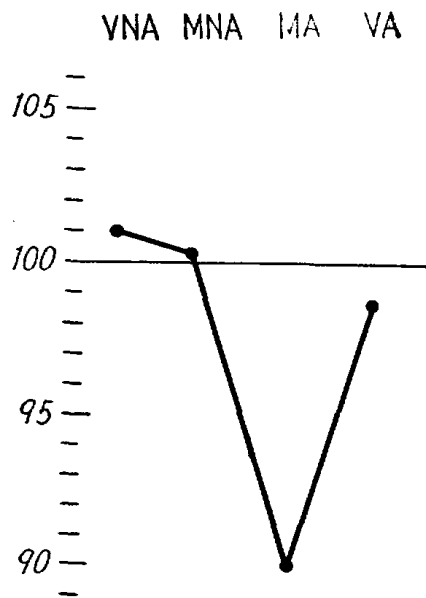


Figure 17  
Z-Scores of Mean Mobilities  
by Contacts with Other Mi-  
nority Groups

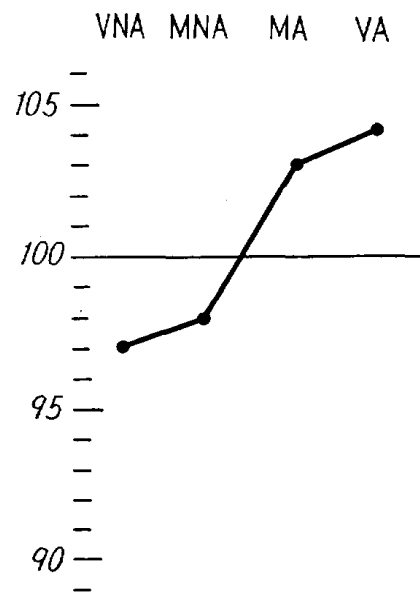


Figure 18  
Z-Scores of Mean Mobilities by  
contacts with Issei and Kibei for  
Authoritarian Sub-Groups

Table XIX  
Comparison of Mean Scores on a Scale of Relative Values Obtained  
from Niseis, San Jose State College Students, and a 1935 Population

Relative Value	Hunt 1935	SJSC	Nisei				
			Total	VS	VI	VNA	VA
Cheerfulness	10	11	11	10.5	5	13	8
Cleanliness	8	9	12	14	2	5	11
Cooperative	4	3	6	7	7	10	4
Courage	5	13	10	8	9	11	5.5
Courtesy	12	8	8	9	6	6	14.5
Dependability	2	1	2	2	3	2	2
Effectiveness	11	15	14	15	15	15	14.5
Friendliness	7	4	3	6	4	4	3
Honesty	1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Initiative	6	7	9	10.5	8	3	10
Obedience	16	16	16	16	13	16	16
Openmindedness	14	5	7	4	12	9	9
Respect	9	10	5	3	10	8	5.5
Reverence	15	14	15	12	16	14	13
Self-control	3	6	4	5	14	7	7

Sportsmanship	13	12	13	13	11	12	12
Thrift	17	17	17	17	17	17	17
N of <u>Ss.</u>	503	141	103	25	25	26	26

Table XX

Comparisons of Reliabilities of Responses on the Scale of Relative Values between Niseis, San Jose State College Students, and a 1935 Population

Groups Compared	Rho Coefficient
Niseis vs. College students	.914
Niseis vs. Hunt's study in 1935	.801
College students vs. Hunt's study in 1935	.750
VS-group vs. VI-group	.779
VS-group vs. American college students	.578
VI-group vs. American college students	.925
VNA-group vs. VA-group	.518
VNA-group vs. American college students	.827
VA-group vs. American college students	.689

## Chapter IV

### Discussion

Despite attempts to randomize and stratify the population, it can not be obtained that the 103 respondents in this investigation represent a truly random sample of Niseis in this area. Various biases have undoubtedly been introduced. As shown in Table I, a relatively large number of subjects are as old as twenty-four years, single, and students in college. About half of them are Buddhists and another half are Protestants; this seems very high as compared with other studies (22) (24). Of the thirty-seven non-college students, there are seven farmers, nine housewives, whereas the other twenty-one are engaged in various occupations. Obviously, geographic distribution of subjects would be influenced

by these factors. In subjective self-evaluation, half of the respondents believe that they are in the lower-middle class or even lower. Three-fourths believe that they are making progress in life.

The subjects not only vary among themselves, but also differ from the general Nisei population in the sense that they were willing to respond to and return these questionnaires. This fact seems especially significant in light of the interpretation of E-F Scale results to be discussed later. While about one-half of the college population returned their questionnaires, only one-ninth of the non-college population responded.

*S-I Inventory.* In light of the hypothesis that these subjects do not differ from the general population with reference to level of security, the mean scores of both groups were examined by use of the Maslow S-I Inventory. As was shown in Table II, the mean Nisei insecurity score of 19.7 is very similar to the mean score of 19.5 reported by Maslow (21). Since the present subjects differ in educational background from Maslow's subjects, the Nisei subgroup, which included fifty-four college students was compared with the Maslow group. The t-ratio in this instance, a probability at more than the 5 per cent level of confidence, forces the conclusion that the discrepancy of means is not significant. Consequently, Hypothesis I-A is granted.

Although the difference in mean between the Nisei college and non-college samples was interpreted as insignificant, by virtue of the t-ratio and its probability, other factors than education seem to be responsible for the variation of insecurity level within the total group. In examining the second hypothesis (I-B), which relates to such factors as sex, age, marital status, et cetera, the chi-square technique was employed. From this analysis marital status and socio-economic status related most closely to level of security. Married subjects were more free from anxiety, and those who believed themselves to be in upper socio-economic status among Niseis were more secure. These differences are significant at the

2 per cent level of confidence. As mentioned before, the factors of education, age, and religious affiliation are not significant, sex and subjective feeling of mobility seem not to influence security level.

Since the frequencies in the various categories have not been equated with reference to other factors—as for example, the high degree of insecurity among Nisei college students may be due not to educational level itself but to the preponderance of single status—this comparison of frequency distributions may be taken as an indication of tendency and not as a valid prediction.

*E-F Scale.* Authoritarian personality tendencies among Niseis were measured by the E-F Scale. The hypothesis (II-A) stated was that Niseis are no more or less authoritarian than are majority group Americans. A t-ratio between the two means, i. e., between the original Adorno's (1) data and the present data, was interpreted as significant at more than the 75 per cent level of confidence. This indicates that the Nisei group used in this study is not significantly higher in authoritarianism. Therefore, Hypothesis II-A was accepted.

Although Nisei college students have lower mean E-F score than the Adorno American sample, the difference is not significant. The non-college Nisei students have a very high mean score and its deviation from the American sample could be obtained by chance less than once in a thousand times. Since the American sample includes various occupational groups among its subjects, this last comparison is of significance and raises certain questions. For example, is this tendency toward authoritarianism a function of the types of restrictions which the majority group imposes? Or, is it a function of particular beliefs which are socially inherited from the older generation? Although satisfactory answers to these questions would require further investigation, a partial attempt was made by analysis of those same factors which were used in this study in attempting to account for security level. Age level seems to be the factor most significantly related to authoritarianism.

In this instance, chi-square indicates a level of confidence at less than one per cent. It might be rather reasonable to suspect that the lower level of authoritarianism among the twenty to twenty-four year old is partially due to higher educational level and to single status rather than chronological age, per se.

*Stereotypes.* Table VIII shows the most frequently used Nisei and American stereotypes, together with their weights, employed by Niseis. Similar lists for Americans are shown in Table IX. From these tables, it is obvious that Niseis and Americans do not use the same stereotyping terms in describing own and other groups. At the same time, the two groups do not differ greatly in their stereotyping of Niseis or in their stereotyping of Americans. Seven of the first ten terms most frequently used by Niseis in stereotyping Niseis are found in the list used by Americans to stereotype Niseis. Nine of the first ten American stereotyping terms used by Niseis are found in the list used by Americans to describe themselves. It is clear, then, that both minority and majority groups use very similar stereotypes in describing Niseis and very similar stereotypes in describing Americans.

Although the two groups use quite similar stereotypes with reference to either minority or majority groups, it appears that the Niseis tend to form stereotypes of themselves which are very similar to the stereotypes Americans have for themselves. Ten stereotype terms—competitive, friendly, social, independent, ambitious, materialistic, educated, cooperative, courteous, and industrious—were found in both lists of American and Nisei stereotypes as judged by Niseis. On the other hand, an overlapping of only three terms—industrious, clean, and friendly—were used by the American subjects. These facts greatly weaken Hypothesis III-A-2 and indicate that minority group members tend to perceive themselves as more like the majority than they are perceived by the majority as like the majority. In other words, minority group members do not perceive differences between their own and majority charac-



teristics as sharply as do majority group members.

Perceptual process differences between minority and majority group members lie not only in the types of stereotyping terms but also in the salience of those terms. Greater salience of stereotypes with reference to own-group characteristics was characteristic for both groups. For example, the total American sample employed relatively fewer terms in describing itself, so that heavier weights were assigned a certain few typical terms such as competitive and freedom-loving. The same tendency, though not as pronounced, was found in the case of the Nisei sample. In view of these facts, Hypotheses III-A-1 and III-A-2 were rejected, and III-A-3 was accepted.

In considering the functional characteristics of stereotype formation, the tendency for Niseis to stereotype themselves in much the same way that Americans stereotype themselves, and the tendency to perceive relatively few stereotype differences between themselves and Americans, require theoretical consideration. Niseis perceive certain of their own characteristics as different from American characteristics. But at the same time, they apply certain American-like characteristics to themselves. This seems to be a function of a need on the part of the minority group to acculturate toward the majority group, as has been suggested by various sociologists (6) (8).

It is to be remembered that the stereotyping scale was constructed from terms furnished by American students. The weights assigned these terms in the Nisei Scale were determined by Nisei response frequencies, the individual's score then being the sum of the weights of the first ten terms. This, then, indicates both uniformity and intensity of the individual's stereotypes, i.e., the degree of conformity to the Nisei modal stereotype frequencies.

Three hypotheses concerning stereotypes with respect to degree of insecurity were stated to the effect that the insecure person will form more modally distinct stereotypes for his own group and for

the out-group, and will be more discerning of differences between the two groups. Table XI and Figures 1, 2, and 3 show the general tendency of conformity in stereotyping for the various degrees of insecurity. At increasing levels of insecurity, excepting very high insecurity, subjects in this study perceive themselves as less and less in conformity with actual norm. The capacity to differentiate between majority and minority group adherence to stereotyping follows the same tendency. This is to say that, except for those individuals who are most insecure, there is a tendency for the decreasing characterization of Nisei stereotypes from American stereotypes with increase of insecurity. The most insecure group members, however form relatively conformable stereotypes and they also rather distinctively discriminate their own stereotypes from American stereotypes. On the other hand, those who are most insecure show the highest conformity in stereotyping the American.

Since t-ratios were computed from mean differences and interpreted as significant at the 2 per cent level of confidence for Nisei stereotypes and for American stereotypes, and at less than the 1 per cent level of confidence for the difference of the two, the general tendencies mentioned above seem to be capable to amend the hypotheses. Hence, Hypotheses III-A-1 and III-A-3 are rejected and explications for these disagreements are required whereas Hypothesis III-A-2 is accepted with a modification on the highest degree of insecurity.

A theoretical explanation of these results is possible. First, secure members of a minority group are able to accept the commonly used stereotypes, regardless of their similarity or dissimilarity to other groups, without hesitations or fears. Therefore, the distinctive characteristics for own stereotypes were obtained. With an increment in insecurity, minority group members tend to perceive their own characteristics less realistically, i. e., as different from majority members. On the other hand, accuracy in perception of out-group characteristics, American stereotypes, does not seem to

be influenced by insecurity level. Therefore, the second minority group tendency seems to be that insecurity is relatively noninfluential in determining the nature of perception of out-group characteristics. This difference is probably due to differences in ego-involvement in the perceptual process. The third point concerns the very high level of stereotype conformity for the extremely insecure as was found in the case of all three scales. Those who are extremely insecure seem to be motivated to recognize characteristic differences between majority and minority members. Although a search for the source of such motivation is beyond the scope of this study, it is suggested that individuals who are overly concerned with their own ego-status are not only forced by such anxiety to form barriers between in-group and out-group, but they are also forced to use these barriers as a shield against reality acceptance of inadequacy and inferiority.

The relationship between conformity in stereotyping and authoritarianism was analyzed by the same procedure as was employed in the study of security. In general, the authoritarian is less conforming in stereotyping. With reference to Nisei stereotypes and difference between Nisei and American stereotypes, the VNA-group had highest mean scores and the VA-group had the lowest mean scores, with significant differences at the 5 per cent and less than the 1 per cent levels of confidence, respectively. With reference to American stereotypes, the MNA-group had the highest mean score and the VA-group had the lowest mean score with not significant difference at more than the 5 per cent level of confidence. In view of the foregoing, Hypotheses III-C-1, III-C-2, and III-C-3 are all rejected. The low degree of perceptual consciousness of character-difference within the authoritarian group seems to be contradictory to other studies (3) (5), although it might be understood in light of the fact that the present subjects are minority group members. Those high in authoritarianism may be seeking majority group membership, and rejecting their own, as a true manifestation of

ethnocentrism, or need for majority approval. Consequently, their perception of their own group induces more characteristics of the majority group. And their stereotypes of the majority group are made by them to picture their own group characteristics. Hence, the stereotyped differences between the two groups, minority and majority, tend to be perceived less distinctively by subjects who score high in authoritarianism.

*Social Status.* This analysis deals with the perception of social status. Opinions concerning the social status position of Japanese within the American social stratification was obtained from San Jose State College students for a basis of comparison. This Caucasian college student population gave Japanese the seventh position within the ten groups. On the other hand, the Niseis gave Japanese the fifth position. This difference was examined in terms of the t-ratio and interpreted as significant at less than the 1 per cent level of confidence. Insofar as unrealistic judgments are concerned, the attitudes of these Niseis might be thought of as prejudicial, as might also the Caucasian attitude. But the regard to the Nisei attitudes, the main motivational source for such prejudicial perceptions seems to be frustration which produces an ego defense mechanism of a two-fold nature. There are favorable attitudes toward the in-group which produce an overestimate of own status, and unfavorable attitudes toward other minority groups which tend to raise own status within the social stratification. In other words, fantasy and displacement seem to be operative within the minority. In view of these considerations, Hypothesis IV-A is rejected.

Weight is lent to this explanation in view of the comparison which was made of secure and insecure Niseis. The degree of discrepancy between the individual's perception of own group social status and the norm for the total group related to the degree of insecurity. The greater the insecurity the greater the discrepancy, with the exception of those who are highest in insecurity are

slightly closer to the norm, than are the moderately insecure. This finding tends to support Hypothesis IV-B which states that insecurity tends to produce unrealistic judgments of own group status.

A possible relationship between perception of social status and authoritarianism was also investigated by the method of group comparison. Since the mean difference is statistically insignificant, a definite conclusion can not be drawn. The tendency is for higher levels of authoritarianism to associate with greater discrepancy in social status perception. This finding favors Hypothesis IV-C.

*Freedom and Restriction.* A tendency similar to that found in the case of social status perception was found for the social restriction factor. Niseis perceive themselves as relatively restricted when compared with Caucasian opinions. The mean score difference between those groups—Niseis and Americans—is significant at the 2 per cent level of confidence.

As the level of insecurity increases, subjects tend to perceive themselves and other minority groups as more socially restricted. But again, the VI-group is slightly less pronounced in this regard than the MI-group.

Except for the VNA-group, individuals with higher authoritarianism scores perceive themselves as more socially restricted. This is to say that authoritarians perceive the existence of relatively more social restriction toward themselves and also toward other minority groups.

In view of these findings, Hypothesis V-A was rejected, and Hypotheses V-B and V-C were accepted.

*Mobility.* As a balance to the investigation of insecurity as an instigation to suspiciousness and feelings of restriction, subjective anticipation of mobility as a function of association with other groups has been examined with respect to different levels of insecurity.

The first analysis was designed to examine the degree of mobility expectancy as a function of anticipated effects which asso-

ciation with a variety of other groups would have. Downward and upward anticipated mobilities, regardless of direction, were summed and used as the indexes of individuals' total mobility anxiety. The attitude of Niseis toward other minority groups was also investigated by methods similar to those used in their attitudes toward the Issei and Kibei groups. The direction of mobility, upward or downward, was regarded.

Although the same four category groupings were tested for mean differences by the t-ratio method, the results were ambiguous. This may have been partly due to the fact that the mobility scale has only three degrees of variability.

Subjects were grouped into two categories: authoritarian and non-authoritarian, and secure and insecure. The chi-square technique for testing the null hypothesis was employed. By this method it was found that level of mobility anticipation and level of security are significantly related at less than 1 per cent level of confidence. This permits acceptance of Hypothesis VI-A-1.

The chi-square test for the relation between degrees of security and mobility which are produced as a function of anticipated association with all minority groups, affords significance at the 5 per cent level. When only the Issei and Kibei are used as referent minority groups, significance is at the 2 per cent level of confidence.

Furthermore, it is interesting to find (Table XVII and Figures 13, 14, and 15) that the greatest numbers of downward mobility responses were used by the insecure group. In view of these findings, Hypotheses VI-A-2 and VI-A-3 are both accepted. This is to say that those who are insecure feel more downward mobility as an anticipated function of contacts with other minority groups and with the "old generations."

Chi-square, as used for testing the relationship between authoritarianism and mobility anticipation indicates significance at less than the 1 per cent level of confidence for total mobility anticipation,

confidence at the 2 per cent level with reference to other minority groups, and no significance with reference to Issei and Kibei. In view of these findings, Hypotheses VI-B-1, VI-B-2, and VI-B-3 are accepted. In spite of the fact that the non-authoritarian group consistently used fewer downward mobility anticipation with reference to all groups, including other minority groups, the anticipated effect of association with Issei and Kibei was the reverse, as shown in Table XVIII.

From these results, some generalizations seem appropriate. Insecure persons anticipate relatively more downward mobility as a function of association with any and all groups, including other minority groups and Issei and Kibei, authoritarians anticipate relatively more downward mobility as a function of association with any and all groups, including other minority groups, but excluding Issei and Kibei.

*Relative Value.* Since there is no absolute standard for any system of values, this study employed rank order comparisons as judged by three different groups. As shown in Table XIX, Niseis' rankings of the seventeen items in the list are compared with those of the San Jose State College students and the Hunt population. Among these items, Nisei responses to "respect" are very high as compared with the other two groups; and compared with San Jose State College population, Niseis were relatively higher in response to "courtesy" and "openmindedness." With respect to "cleanliness," "courage," and "effectiveness," Niseis were lower than the Hunt population.

The Nisei ranking is very similar to the San Jose State College student and Hunt population ranking, the coefficients of correlation being .91 and .80 respectively. From these data, certain generalizations arise. First, Niseis accord extremely high value to the term "respect"; and this seems to characterize their group. Second, Niseis employ a relative value system which is more similar to the San Jose State College population than to the Hunt

population of 1935.

The Nisei VI-group has a value system which is more like the Americans' than does the VS-group. On the other hand, the VNA-group is more like the American than is the VA-group. The VS-group gave highest rank orders to "openmindedness," "respect," and "self-control," and the VI-group accorded these to "cheerfulness," and "cleanliness."

The VNA-group gives highest rank significantly to "cleanliness," "cooperative," and "courage." Generally speaking, both very insecure persons and very democratic persons tend to adopt majority values.

If these findings, with respect to value system, are interpreted as relating to the matter of cultural assimilation, then two forces, insecurity and non-authoritarianism, seem to be descriptive of vectors which lead to the adoption of the majority role insofar as value systems are concerned. This study was not designed to measure the subjects' feelings of need for or aspiration to cultural assimilation to the majority. Nevertheless, certain of the motivations of minority group members seem to be recognizable by virtue of the characteristics of terms characteristically responded to by the four sub-groups.

## Chapter V

### Conclusion

This study explored certain attitudes of Niseis, as members of a minority group within the flux of a culture which supports and subordinates several minority groups. Several scales were used in analyzing these attitudes. The results of this study support general theory to the effect that the prejudicial attitudes of minority group



members which relate to themselves and to members of the majority group are motivationally functional within the individual's "life-space" as a function of his personality dynamics. Although the same adaptive mechanisms are employed, the manifestations of prejudicial behavior have their own characteristics for that particular minority group. In other words, the prejudices of a minority group represent goal-directed behavior, but they do not necessarily operate by way of the same mechanisms, nor in the same directions as found in the majority group members. For example, those who are insecure or who are high in authoritarianism perceive both themselves and their social environment more unrealistically and fictitiously, from the standpoint of commonly accepted social attitudes. However, very insecure persons respond somewhat similarly to the norm. This phenomenon was interpreted by the author of this study as "reactionary realism," i. e., persons who have extremely high levels of insecurity recognize and, by virtue of guilt feelings, withdraw their prejudicial attitudes to a sub-conscious level. This might result from the possibility that such defense loses its efficiency and rationalization allows the ordinal attitude to take on a new and more sanctional meaning.

The last point of fundamental significance in this study is that, although psychological mechanisms are basically significant for the individual, prejudices among minority group members have the character of group commonality. This is to say that there are group factors which pre-determine the types and nature of prejudices.

## Chapart VI

### Summary

1. An attempt was made to explore the functional characteristics of prejudice among a particular minority group, Japanese-

Americans.

2. Six tests were developed for the purpose of measuring prejudice. These were used along with the S-I Inventory and the E-F Scale.

3. These questionnaires which included the eight scales, were administered to Niseis in Santa Clara County, California. One hundred and three responded.

4. Certain scales were administered to American college students for purposes of comparison.

5. According to this study Niseis are neither less secure nor more authoritarian than the American population.

6. Niseis have stereotypes of themselves which are very similar to the American's stereotypes of themselves.

7. Niseis rate their own status in the social stratification much higher than they are rated by the Americans.

8. Niseis perceive more social restriction toward all sub-groups than do Americans.

9. Niseis believe that they are socially restricted considerably more than the American sample admits Niseis are restricted.

10. Niseis use a value system which is very similar to the Americans', and it relates more closely to the present sample than to a 1935 sample.

11. Insecure persons have less conforming stereotypes with reference to both in-group and out-group members.

12. Insecure persons perceive their social status as higher than do secure persons.

13. Insecure persons perceive greater social restriction than do secure persons.

14. Insecure persons anticipate more mobility as a function of association with any other groups than do secure persons.

15. Insecure persons have value systems more like that of the majority group than do secure persons.

16. Extremely insecure persons tend to stereotype, perceive

social status, and perceive social restriction less extremely than do moderately insecure persons. They tend, it seems, to be more conforming with respect to the social perceptions of the majority group.

17. Authoritarians have less conforming stereotypes of both in-group and out-group members.

18. Authoritarians perceive their social status as higher than do non-authoritarians.

19. Authoritarians perceive their own social restriction as greater than do non-authoritarians.

20. Authoritarians anticipate more mobility, as a function of association with any and all groups, than do non-authoritarians.

21. Authoritarians have value systems which are less similar to American value system than non-authoritarians.

22. The authoritarian personality does not seem directly to relate to level of insecurity, but both authoritarianism and security level seem independently to play significant roles in the formation and employment of prejudice among Niseis.

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## Appendix

## JAPANESE INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Age\_\_\_\_\_ Sex\_\_\_\_\_ Occupation\_\_\_\_\_

Generation: Issei\_\_\_\_\_ Nisei \_\_\_\_\_ Sansei\_\_\_\_\_ Kibei\_\_\_\_\_

Education: Grade\_\_\_\_\_ Junior H. \_\_\_\_\_ Senior H. \_\_\_\_\_

Junior C. \_\_\_\_\_ College \_\_\_\_\_ (Major \_\_\_\_\_)

Graduate work\_\_\_\_\_

Marital status: Single\_\_\_\_\_ Married\_\_\_\_\_ Widowed\_\_\_\_\_ Divorced\_\_\_\_\_

Religion: Buddhism\_\_\_\_\_ Catholic\_\_\_\_\_ Protestant\_\_\_\_\_ Other\_\_\_\_\_

None\_\_\_\_\_

Social-economic status: I belong to the class of

Upper-Upper\_\_\_\_\_ Upper\_\_\_\_\_ Upper-Middle\_\_\_\_\_

Lower-Middle\_\_\_\_\_ Lower\_\_\_\_\_ Lower-Lower\_\_\_\_\_

Check one of the following:

- \_\_\_\_\_ 1. I am making good progress in life.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 2. I am more or less standing still.
- \_\_\_\_\_ 3. I feel that I am not getting along as well now as I once was.

Maslow Secure-Insecure Inventory (Omitted)

California E-F Scale (Omitted)

Here is a list of personal characteristics. You are asked to indicate your opinion about the Japanese character according to the following direction.

First : Read through the entire list.

Second : Underline 10 terms which you feel typical for Japanese

Third : Then place a 1 before the underlined term which you feel the most typical for them.

Fourth: Place a 2 before the term which you feel secondly typical, and continue until you have ranked all underlined terms from 1 to 10.

- |  |   |                                      |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aggressive    | <input type="checkbox"/> Energetic        | <input type="checkbox"/> Outspoken   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ambitious     | <input type="checkbox"/> Enthusiastic     | <input type="checkbox"/> Patient     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Artistic      | <input type="checkbox"/> Family-tie       | <input type="checkbox"/> Patriotic   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Boisterous    | <input type="checkbox"/> Freedom-loving   | <input type="checkbox"/> Polite      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Care-free     | <input type="checkbox"/> Friendly         | <input type="checkbox"/> Progressive |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cautious      | <input type="checkbox"/> Generous         | <input type="checkbox"/> Proud       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Clean         | <input type="checkbox"/> Happy-go-lucky   | <input type="checkbox"/> Quiet       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Competitive   | <input type="checkbox"/> Healthy          | <input type="checkbox"/> Religious   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Confident     | <input type="checkbox"/> Honest           | <input type="checkbox"/> Respectful  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Conscientious | <input type="checkbox"/> Humble           | <input type="checkbox"/> Rushing     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Contented     | <input type="checkbox"/> Humorous         | <input type="checkbox"/> Sincere     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cooperative   | <input type="checkbox"/> Idealistic       | <input type="checkbox"/> Social      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Couteous      | <input type="checkbox"/> Independent      | <input type="checkbox"/> Stoic       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Creative      | <input type="checkbox"/> Industrious      | <input type="checkbox"/> Submissive  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Credulous     | <input type="checkbox"/> Intelligent      | <input type="checkbox"/> Thrifty     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cultured      | <input type="checkbox"/> Kindly           | <input type="checkbox"/> Traditional |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Easy-going    | <input type="checkbox"/> Leader-following | <input type="checkbox"/> Truthful    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Economical    | <input type="checkbox"/> Loyal            | <input type="checkbox"/> Unhealthy   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Educated      | <input type="checkbox"/> Materialistic    | <input type="checkbox"/> Untrustful  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Egoistic      | <input type="checkbox"/> Neat             | <input type="checkbox"/> Withdrawal  |

---

Here is a list of virtues. Place the numbers before the following groups of ideals from 1 to 17 in order of importance, putting 1 before the group you consider most important, putting 2 before the next, and continuing until all of the groups are numbered.

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cheerfulness  | <input type="checkbox"/> Effectiveness  | <input type="checkbox"/> Respect       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cleanliness   | <input type="checkbox"/> Friendliness   | <input type="checkbox"/> Reverence     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cooperation   | <input type="checkbox"/> Honesty        | <input type="checkbox"/> Self-control  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Courage       | <input type="checkbox"/> Initiative     | <input type="checkbox"/> Sportsmanship |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Courtesy      | <input type="checkbox"/> Obedience      | <input type="checkbox"/> Thrift        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dependability | <input type="checkbox"/> Openmindedness |  |
-

This time we would like to know your opinion about the Japanese (including Issei) character. Underline 10 terms and rank them from 1 to 10 by the same way as you did before.

- |  |   |                                      |
|--|---|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Aggressive    | <input type="checkbox"/> Energetic        | <input type="checkbox"/> Outspoken   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Ambitious     | <input type="checkbox"/> Enthusiastic     | <input type="checkbox"/> Patient     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Artistic      | <input type="checkbox"/> Family-tie       | <input type="checkbox"/> Patriotic   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Boisterous    | <input type="checkbox"/> Freedom-loving   | <input type="checkbox"/> Polite      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Care-free     | <input type="checkbox"/> Friendly         | <input type="checkbox"/> Progressive |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cautious      | <input type="checkbox"/> Generous         | <input type="checkbox"/> Quiet       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Clean         | <input type="checkbox"/> Happy-go-lucky   | <input type="checkbox"/> Religious   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Competitive   | <input type="checkbox"/> Healthy          | <input type="checkbox"/> Respectful  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Confident     | <input type="checkbox"/> Honest           | <input type="checkbox"/> Rushing     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Conscientious | <input type="checkbox"/> Humble           | <input type="checkbox"/> Sincere     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Contented     | <input type="checkbox"/> Humorous         | <input type="checkbox"/> Social      |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cooperative   | <input type="checkbox"/> Idealistic       | <input type="checkbox"/> Stoic       |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Courteous     | <input type="checkbox"/> Independent      | <input type="checkbox"/> Submissive  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Creative      | <input type="checkbox"/> Industrious      | <input type="checkbox"/> Thrifty     |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Credulous     | <input type="checkbox"/> Intelligent      | <input type="checkbox"/> Traditional |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cultured      | <input type="checkbox"/> Kindly           | <input type="checkbox"/> Truthful    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Easy-going    | <input type="checkbox"/> Leader-following | <input type="checkbox"/> Unhealthy   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Economical    | <input type="checkbox"/> Loyal            | <input type="checkbox"/> Untrustful  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Educated      | <input type="checkbox"/> Materialistic    | <input type="checkbox"/> Withdrawal  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Egoistic      | <input type="checkbox"/> Neat             |                                      |

---

We are interested in knowing your estimation of *Social status* for the following 10 groups in the United States. Look through the entire list and place a 1 on the line before the name of the group having the highest status in our community. Then place a 2 before the name of the group you think next highest. Continue this until you have placed a 10 on the line before the group you think the lowest.

- |                 |                    |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| _____ Americans | _____ Japanese     |
| _____ Canadians | _____ Jews         |
| _____ Chinese   | _____ Mexicans     |
| _____ English   | _____ Negroes      |
| _____ Italians  | _____ Phillippines |
-

According to the American Constitution all people have equal rights. Anthropologists and psychologists agree that there are no significant differences among various minority groups. In spite of these facts, social restrictions for many minority groups are evident.

Below is a list of ten groups to be found in the United States. We would like to know your opinion regarding the amounts of *freedom* and *restriction* granted each of the ten groups listed below. For each group, place a check on the line following at the point which best describes the amount of freedom or restriction accorded that group by the American people. Notice that the various degrees of freedom and restriction are designated at top. For example, if you feel that Americans have "Complete freedom," place your check on the line following American under the designation "Complete freedom."

	Complete freedom	Great freedom and slight restriction	Much freedom and some restriction	Much restriction and some freedom	Great restriction and slight freedom	Complete restriction
Americans						
Canadians						
Chinese						
English						
Italians						
Japanese						
Jews						
Mexicans						
Negroes						
Philippines						





Close association with people who are members of these 18 groups might influence your life in various ways. Five possible influences are listed below.

Study them carefully :

1. I would be shunned and ostracized by my friends and the more important people.
2. I would find it more difficult to achieve my goal in life.
3. My life would not be influenced one way or another.
4. My present friends would continue to like me the same or even better.
5. The chances would be increased that I would be liked and respected by the more important people.

Now, ask yourself the question: "What would happen to me if I were to associate a great deal with these groups?" For each of the 18 groups, write on the line before the name of the group the number of the statement which most accurately tells what would happen if you were to associate closely with that group.

Do this for each of the 18 groups.

- |                             |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| _____ a . Artists           | _____ j . Jews           |
| _____ b . Bankers           | _____ k . Mexicans       |
| _____ c . Bartenders        | _____ l . Negress        |
| _____ d . Caucasian friends | _____ m . Nisei-Japanese |
| _____ e . Doctors           | _____ n . Philippines    |
| _____ f . Engineers         | _____ o . Scientists     |
| _____ g . Farmers           | _____ p . Servants       |
| _____ h . Issei-Japanese    | _____ q . Socialists     |
| _____ j . Kisei-Japanese    | _____ r . Laborers       |