

統計数理研究所

研究レポート47

# 比較文化研究における統計的手法の確立

—ハワイにおける日系人・非日系人調査—

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## 比較文化研究における統計的手法の確立 —ハワイにおける日系人・非日系人調査—

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1. A preliminary Report on the 1977-1978 Sample Survey of Honolulu Voters.
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3. Honolulu Residents and Their Attitudes in Multi-Ethnic Comparative Perspectives: Toward A Theory of the American National Character.
4. "The Model Citizen, the Revolutionary, the 'Archie Bunker,' and the Rich Liberal: A model of the American National Character." an articlelength manuscript in preparation in English for possible publication in Scholarly journal in the United States.

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### ABSTRACTS OF RESEARCH PROJECT

#### INTRODUCTION

As symbolized in the rapid rise of *Roots* to the position of the most talked-about-television show in recent years, our interest in ourselves and the roots of others is growing in many parts of the world. The Institute of Statistical Mathematics in Tokyo, which has been conducting a longitudinal study of Japanese national character, expanded its study of national character to include a study Japanese-Americans in Honolulu, in order to discover how the Japanese immigrants, their children and their grandchildren have maintained or lost the Japanese modal personality after their settlement in the United States. The first study of the Japanese-Americans was conducted in 1971 by the same research team. A further expansion of the original study of the Japanese national character was successfully initiated in 1978. This time we, in co-operation with our collaborators in Honolulu, studied the whole population of Honolulu and not only that of the Japanese-Americans.

One of the unexpected findings of the 1971 Honolulu study was that the study of Honolulu's Japanese-Americans can be used as an indicator of how Japanese in Japan may change their values as they move from an industrial era to that of post-industrialism. For example, Japanese-Americans in Honolulu are more exposed to information, are better educated in the sense that more of them have gone to college, etc. We hope to learn more about not only Japanese-Americans but also Honoluluans as a whole.

The ultimate objective of the present study is to develop a theory of culture and society or a better way of understanding culture and society through the study of three cultures over a period of time, viz., Japanese, American, and Japanese-American. In so doing, we plan to develop better methods in carrying out cross-cultural surveys and effective statistical techniques for cross-cultural survey data analysis.

#### METHODS

The method used in our study is what Inkeles and Levinson refer to as the "standard analytic issues" (1969, p.447). The methodology employed in our sample survey series rests upon a series of questions designed to focus on as many key aspects of socio-political attributes and psychological issues as possible. Toward this, for example, we have generated a series of questions to measure the extent to which an individual tries to succeed in a society, no matter what happens to that individual within a competitive context. While

we never believed that this is a universal trait to be found ubiquitously, we find that it certainly is visible in such industrial societies as Japan and the United States. Another series of questions added especially for the most recent Honolulu Survey was on the extent to which one believes in one's social system's ability, a characteristic we thought we should find in every society, for one must have a certain amount of trust in the system in which one lives, in order to live normally.

A systematic random sampling was used to obtain a representative sample of Honolulu residents through the use of a magnetic tape which contained the list of registered voters in the city of Honolulu.

Methods used in the data analysis include: scalogram analysis, quantification method developed by Hayashi, and other multi-dimensional scaling techniques.

## RESULT

Although there are many differences and similarities among Japanese-Americans, island-born respondents of non-Japanese ancestry, and mainland-born respondents, let us report on a couple of very interesting differences we discovered among these three groups. Of several special scales developed for this particular survey, two of them generated intriguing findings. The scores of each group fell into such neat and predictable patterns that we were pleasantly surprised by the results. First, our new scale called "Belief in the System" is designed to measure the extent to which a person trusts the system. We found that while there was little difference between Japanese-Americans' and the rest of the islanders' views, mainlanders stood out from the two groups, in that they scored very low on the belief in the system scale. In order words, Japanese-Americans trust the system more than any other group, followed closely by the rest of the islanders, while mainlanders showed least trust in the system. Second, we found that the Japanese-Americans were most "self-achievement" oriented, followed again by the other islanders and mainlanders to be least "self-achievement" oriented through our scale on "Self-Achievement" designed to measure the extent to which one places his own goal over other values. Furthermore, we discovered that Nisei Americans were more "self-achievement" oriented than Sansei Americans, suggesting that this trait is one of those that wanes from the first generation to the next, which may be a reason for mainlanders scoring lowest on the scale.

We listed 11 qualities from which the respondents were asked to pick two values for boys and two for girls. A most fascinating finding discovered was that mainlanders place a considerable degree of importance on the development of curiosity ("interested in how and why things happen") for their children, while islanders and especially Japanese-Americans do not consider this quality to be of any significant value to their children. The Japanese as well as other islanders place more emphasis on their children's obedience to parents, while mainlanders consider such a value to be of no special consequence.

How do Honoluluans characterize American culture? They as a whole are more likely to mention political symbols in describing their culture than anything else. Among the political symbols cited, the most popular one by far is "freedom". The other symbols such as equality and justice are hardly mentioned at all. Furthermore, this most often mentioned symbol is cited by Japanese-Americans almost twice as often as by others.

The use of Hayashi's quantification method yielded a few interesting conclusions. Of first and foremost importance is that basic foundation of Japanese culture as it exists among Japanese-Americans is their ability to speak and understand the Japanese language from which stems their attitudes toward things Japanese. In other words, knowledge of the extent of one's familiarity with the language can be used as an excellent indicator of a person's association with Japanese culture in Honolulu. We also discovered that Japanese-Americans who are familiar with both cultures and both languages constitute a bicultural group separate from those who are well-acquainted with either American or Japanese cultures exclusively. What is most dramatically clear is the dominance of language in everyday life. The use of a language affects a variety of what one does and one thinks, in important ways. Has there been any change between what we observed in 1971 and 1978? The answer is by and large negative. There is hardly any change as far as these two patterns are concerned.

## DISCUSSIONS

The first two findings reported above lead us to propose a model of American society, as illustrated in Figure 1. If we combine these two scales into one by using the property space concept as done in Figure 1, we would find 4 different types of Americans in the society:

- 1) The Model Citizen who firmly believes in the American system and its ideals and who strives very hard to achieve the American dream of success within the existing social and economic system.
- 2) The Revolutionary is one who is low on the belief in the system scale but high on the self-achievement scale score. He attempts to achieve his goals by reconstituting the social and economic order, because he has no trust in the existing social system.
- 3) The "Archie Bunker" is one who firmly believes in the system but somehow lacks either the high motivation to succeed or the means to achieve what he wants. He is most likely to blame himself for the failure of his efforts, while the Revolutionary blames any failure on the system. He, however, remains happy in his own way, because of the lack of cognitive capacity to perceive the society as a whole, the capacity possessed by the following type.
- 4) The Rich Liberal consists of those well-heeled Americans who can afford to be critical of the system while reaping the benefits from the system they criticize. They, in fact, constitute the Establishment. Because of their established status, they did not have to try as hard as the Model Citizen to succeed. Their parents provided them with ample means to be successful in the society, thus their relatively low motivation to succeed.

The uniqueness of Honolulu is that the majority of the citizens belong to types 1 and 4 because of the peculiar nature of the society. Mainlanders who migrate to Honolulu are limited almost entirely to professionals and managers. Unskilled or less educated cannot find any positions in Honolulu, and the relatively high cost of living keep out many who otherwise might migrate to Honolulu. There are, however, a significant number of young mainlanders who reside in the city without steady jobs, but they tend to be mobile, which prevents them from registering to vote. Thus, they are not included in our sample. In any case, we would posit that Honolulu has much smaller number than mainland U.S. of the "Archie" type citizens for these reasons. We do not claim that this is the most important dimension of the American society, but we do believe that what we have just described constitute a key dimension of American national character, built on the continuous flow of immigrants from all corners of the world. Our model of American national character is dynamic, in the sense that the model is capable of predicting the future attitudes of Japanese-Americans in relation to mainlanders in Honolulu and elsewhere. We would predict that the distance currently found between mainlanders and Japanese-Americans should narrow as Japanese-Americans continue to acquire more desirable positions and become more successful in the pursuit of their individual goals.

## CONCLUSION

The vitality of America depends, at least in part, on the continuing flow of new citizens from abroad, if our model of American national character has any validity. In our study of Honolulu residents, we have discovered another source of vitality, which we believe is what keeps the American establishment securely in its position. Mainlanders encourage their children to be curious and pay little attention to such values as obedience to parents. We contend that this is an extremely important discovery, because of its ability to explain and predict what is happening and what will happen.

Japanese-Americans along with other Asian-Americans in general, influenced by Confucianism, hold such values as filial piety and obedience as important virtues. Certainly these values contribute to a low crime rate and make these citizens a model for other minority Americans to follow. The teaching of these Oriental values has its payoffs that are beneficial, to be sure, but it also has its drawbacks. Asian-Americans and particularly Japanese-Americans are taught to be good citizens, brave soldiers and to obey this and that, but they do very little to make their children creative. Our findings suggest that being a model soldier and a model citizen are not enough for Japanese-Americans to become part of the establishment in Honolulu. We would posit that an important source of the strength of the American establishment lies in its members' creativity and resourcefulness which enables them to not only survive in an ever changing society but also to strengthen their ability to maintain a dynamic equilibrium in American society. Honolulu is a microcosm of American society.

There are many items that deserve closer attention, but we believe that items mentioned above are the most crucial for a better understanding of Honolulu as a multi-ethnic community in the United States, from theoretical and substantive perspectives. Honolulu as a research site turns out to be the ideal we anticipate it to be: it enabled us to generate new ideas and provided us with rich data, which will take some time for us to comprehend and report. We hope to continue our data analysis efforts for the next few years along the line of thought expressed in the present report.



A Preliminary Report

On

The 1977-1978 Sample Survey of Honolulu Voters

Fall 1978

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A random sample survey of 751 registered voters who reside in Hawaii Kai in the east through Middle Street in the west of Honolulu was carried out by the Institute of Statistical Mathematics (Chikio Hayashi, Director and Tatsuzo Suzuki, Project Coordinator) in cooperation with Alice K. Kuroda of Chaminade University and Yasumasa Kuroda of the University of Hawaii at Manoa. The study is supported by the Overseas Scientific Survey of the Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research. The study is part of a longitudinal survey of a National Character Study, which started in 1953. Every five years since 1953, the Institute has conducted a nation-wide survey in Japan to learn about how people think and how they form and change their attitudes. Many of the questions included in the Oahu survey are derived from this Japan survey, while others have been added to discover salient characteristics of American culture as it exists in a multi-ethnic community, Honolulu. The interviewing phase of the Oahu survey started toward the end of 1977 and ended in March of 1978. The present report represents a summary of major findings from the initial data tabulation results without any detailed data analysis. What is described below, thus, consists of tentative conclusions reached in the first phase of the data analysis. There are apparent differences and similarities found between the Japanese and Honoluluans. Some of these differences and similarities may disappear as we proceed with our data analysis. For example, in an earlier study of 1972, we discovered that a fairly large number of people, both in Japan and in Honolulu, would adopt children to continue the family line. What is interesting is that we discovered at a later date that the older the Japanese person in Japan, the more one desired to adopt children while the reverse was true of the Japanese-Americans. The younger the age of the local Japanese-Americans here, the more they wanted to adopt children. Thus, we are likely to find many more interesting differences as we proceed with our data analysis, even on items to which the Honoluluans and the Japanese responded similarly.

The objective of the study lies in discovering an internally consistent way of looking at the world by people in different parts of the world. If we are to increase mutual understanding between the Americans and the Japanese, we need to know not just apparent differences and similarities between the two people but how the Americans as a whole structure their attitudes and place their values vis-a-vis the Japanese.

Keeping these factors and limitations in mind, we chose several major apparently similar and different attitudes among the respondents.

### Life Style

When Honoluluans were asked to choose a life style that comes closest to their ideals, a large majority (73%) of them selected "live a life that suits your own taste" over all others, -- "devote your efforts to serve society" (20%), "become famous" (3%), and "get rich" (1%). By and large, the people adopt a life style that suits their own preferences, irrespective of what others say about them. The Japanese in Japan responded similarly to this life style question, also. A surprisingly small number of the respondents chose to "get rich." Perhaps, the responses indicate the peoples' level of satisfaction in life. The world is imperfect. If one is to live happily one must make peace with the reality as it exists in the world today the best one can. The majority, thus, prefer to live life as it suits them best.

### Modern Values vs. Traditional Values

The respondents were asked to choose two out of four values which they felt were most important to them. The first two values listed were typically Japanese, or Oriental values, consisting of 1) filial piety (obligational respect for parents) and 2) repaying obligations to benefactors, while the last two values were 3) individual rights and 4) individual freedom. If we place these four values in the order of preference by the respondents in Honolulu as a whole, the results are: individual rights (79%), individual freedom (51%), filial piety (49%), and repaying obligations to benefactors (17%).

This is one of the questions that separated the Japanese-Americans from the rest of the population in Honolulu. The following table presents a summary of the findings:

Item	Non-Japanese	Japanese	Total
Filial piety	41%	60%	49%
Repaying obligations	18	16	17
Individual rights	80	77	79
Individual freedom	56	43	51

In fact, there is no difference between the Japanese-Americans and non-Japanese in Honolulu on the nature of "repaying obligations." The Japanese in Japan, however, have continued to cherish this value known in Japan as "on" (40% in 1973). It is apparent that the Japanese-Americans continue to preserve the filial piety tradition, while they have abandoned the "on" concept toward benefactors, to a large extent.

Thus, Japanese-Americans in the process of adopting the Western or modern values, preserve some but give up some of their traditional values. The Japanese in Japan, on the other hand, continue to maintain a more tightly knit society through the web of the countless number of mutual obligations one acquires as one grows up as a member of a family, which impels the Japanese to preserve the "on" value even in a post-industrial era. It is significant that the Japanese-Americans prefer the individual rights first followed by filial piety. They seem to value individual rights just as much as the rest of Honoluluans do. Here, then, is an example of questions that in some important ways separated the three groups: the Japanese in Japan, the Japanese-Americans in Honolulu and the non-Japanese of Honolulu.

### Satisfaction in Life

Two-thirds of the Honoluluans are satisfied with their lives in America, while one-third of them felt neither satisfied nor dissatisfied. A small minority of 6 percent indicated that they were not satisfied. What is of some interest is that the Japanese-Americans showed more satisfaction in life than did the rest of Honolulu's population. Gallup polls usually indicate that minority people are less satisfied than whites. The largest minority in Honolulu is the Japanese-American, followed by the

Caucasians, as far as the registered voters are concerned. A word of caution is in order here: one must keep in mind the fact that the census population includes visitors, military personnel and all others who happen to be in a place when a census is taken. The list of registered voters consists of residents who are registered to vote. In any case, the Japanese-Americans as the largest minority (since there is no majority) of some 40 percent of the registered voters are more satisfied with their lives than are the rest of Honolulu's population, which finding coincides with other nation-wide surveys in America today.

### Work Ethic

Americans as well as Japanese are said to be hard-working people. This fact has enabled both nations to reach their present high level of industrial development in the world. In fact, these two nations represent the first and second largest and most developed economies in the world, outside of Communist countries. A high 57 percent of the Oahuans said that they would continue to work even if they were to get enough money to live as comfortably as they would like for the rest of their lives. The corresponding figure for the Japanese in 1973 was 70 percent. Only one-third of them said that they would stop working. A large majority of Oahuans are "work-holics." Furthermore, a great majority (70%) of the respondents would also depend upon their own hard work to get ahead and not to wait for any "lucky break." These responses represent the traditional work ethic that characterized the development of the United States economy.

Although one hears much about the decline of the work ethic particularly among young people, our survey results demonstrate the survival of the traditional work ethic. A word of caution here is that we are dealing with attitudes that are often significant, different from behavior or action. It could be that some of these people who responded that they would continue to work may change their minds when they find that they in fact need not work.

### Human Relations

While the respondents stated that they intended to continue their work even if they did not have to, they also expressed the opinion that their work is not everything. In fact, it is secondary to a more important matter -- human relations.

The Honoluluans were asked to choose one of the following two types:

"Mr. S. who is friendly and can be counted on to help others but is not an efficient worker."

"Mr. T. who is an efficient worker but is indifferent to the worries and affairs of other."

A high 74 percent of them chose Mr. S. over Mr. T. (17%). Human warmth and dependability are valued more than work efficiency by the majority of Honoluluans. Likewise, in a related question, more respondents (59%) indicated their preferences for working under a man who demands extra work at times but who looks after personal matters unrelated to work over working for a man who sticks to rules and shows no personal concerns (38%). Thus, by and large, people still believe in a society where the primary group relations (informal friendly relations) extend into their working situations, where presumably people are concerned with work only. The Japanese in Japan are more inclined to support the paternalistic boss type

than even the Honoluluans. Over 80 percent of them chose the paternalistic type in all nation-wide surveys conducted since 1953. This is one of the few items to which the Japanese over the past 25 years have responded without any change. A slightly larger number of Japanese-Americans showed their preference for the paternalistic type (63%) than did the rest of their compatriots in Honolulu (57%). In any case, it is of interest that there are more Honoluluans who prefer the paternalistic type than the modern type.

#### Money: Dollars and Yens

Americans are often accused of being too materialistic, symbolized by an emphasis placed upon money and material comfort. Our survey results suggest such a criticism may be unwarranted. A question included in the survey was, "should one teach small children that money is the most important thing." Although declining in percentage of people who respond positively to this question over the years (66% in 1953, 60% in 1963, 57% in 1968, and 44% in 1973), a large majority of the Japanese in Japan agree with this proposition. A high 92 percent of the Honoluluans disagreed with the idea while only 38% of the Japanese did so in 1973. Many interpretations are possible. We may not be able to take these percentages at their face value for a number of reasons. The Japanese in Japan are becoming more like the Americans in this regard, i.e., the younger the Japanese the less attachment they have to money. It may be that the more one acquires material comfort, the less attachment one shows to money and the more one seeks non-material satisfaction in life.

A caution is in order here. We also have strong evidence which suggests that the words "ichiban taisetsu" are not interpreted to mean "the most important" by the Japanese respondents. Some Japanese interpret the words to mean "a very important" but not "the most important." Here lies one of those problems inherent in any cross-cultural survey. For this reason, we would like you to take this finding on money with a grain of salt.

#### Religion

Another area where Honoluluans are different from the Japanese in Japan is religious matters. While one may say that the Japanese people are very religious because just about every Japanese is not only a Buddhist but also a Shintoist as well, the facts of the matter is that they as a whole lack religious faith. The majority of the Japanese, while continuing to practice religious ceremonies in accordance with their traditional rules, openly admit that they lack any personal religious faith. The 1973 Japan survey indicates that 25 percent of the Japanese are religious while 75 percent of them stated having no religious faith.

Although it is true that only a minority of the Japanese have religious faith, a high 77 percent of them believe that religion is important. In Honolulu, even a very high 89 percent of the respondents report that religion is important.

The percentage of the people responding positively to this question of faith is exactly reversed in Honolulu where we find that 70 percent of the respondents claimed to have religious faith. Of the Japanese-Americans who believe in religion, the Buddhists and Christians are almost evenly

divided. There was no significant difference between the Japanese-Americans and the rest of Honoluluans in this regard.

### Democracy

Controversial topics to be avoided whenever one can consist usually of money, religion and politics. Well, as we had anticipated these are areas where we find differences among the people we studied. We asked the respondents to tell us how they felt about things like democracy and conservatism. A high 86 percent of the Honoluluans responded positively to "democracy," while only 43 percent of the Japanese in Japan did so in 1973. In fact, the Japanese are not attracted to any ideology at all, e.g., capitalism and socialism. It ought to be noted however, that democracy is the most widely accepted ideology among these ideologies. Americans show a great deal of trust in democracy just as the Chinese or Russians do so of their own ideologies, while the Japanese are simply not attracted to any ideology.

### Concluding Remarks

The average reader might question which people are better: the Americans or the Japanese. That is not the question we are after for there can be no answer to such a question. Our interest lies in exploring ways of thinking and forming a set of attitudes that make some sense to a particular group of people. Further analysis of the data are needed to begin our exploration in this direction. The results of such analysis will eventually be published in professional journals and books. Meanwhile, the present short summary report, hopefully, would satisfy the needs of those who responded so cooperatively to our request to be interviewed in person and who expressed an interest in finding out what had happened to their responses.

Toward the Development of Statistical Analysis  
for the Study of Comparative Cultures  
— An Attitudinal Study of Honolulu Residents —

(Preliminary Analysis)

The Research Committee  
on the Study of Honolulu Residents

The Institute of Statistical Mathematics

March 1979

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

As Inkeles and Levinson point out in their inventory of studies on national character (Inkeles and Levinson, 1969, p. 418), the study of national character is important but it suffers from many problems of a theoretical and methodological nature. It is a nebulous concept. Anthropologists have done more work in this area of inquiry than any other social scientists. However, other social scientists also have attempted to study the same subject from their own disciplinary perspectives with varying degrees of success. The purpose of the present monograph is not to present another inventory of the national character studies, but rather to present a preliminary report of a cross-national and a cross-ethnic comparison of several survey results, with the major focus placed upon a study of Honolulu voters completed in 1978.

As symbolized in the rapid rise of *Roots* to the position of the most-talked-about-television show in recent years, our interest in ourselves and the roots of others is growing in many parts of the world. The Institute of Statistical Mathematics in Tokyo, which has been conducting a longitudinal study of Japanese national character, expanded its study of national character to include a study of the Japanese-Americans in Honolulu, in order to discover how the Japanese immigrants, their children, and their grandchildren have maintained or lost the Japanese modal personality after their settlement in the United States. The study of the Japanese-Americans was conducted in 1971. A further extension of the original study of the Japanese national character was successfully initiated in 1978. This time we in cooperation with our collaborators in Honolulu, studied the whole population of Honolulu and not only that of the Japanese-Americans.

Thus, the basic objective of the present study is to compare three cultures over a period of time, viz., American, Japanese-American, and Japanese. We hope to achieve this objective by discovering an internally consistent set of thought patterns among different peoples.

The methodology used in our survey series rests upon a series of questions designed to focus on as many key aspects of socio-political attributes and psychological issues as possible. Toward this, for example, we have generated a series of questions to measure the extent to which an individual tries to succeed in a society, no matter what happens to that individual within a competitive context. While we never believed that this is a universal trait to be found ubiquitously, we find that it certainly is visible in such industrial societies as Japan and the United States. Another series of questions added especially for the most recent Honolulu Survey was on the extent to which one believes in one's social system's ability, a characteristic we thought we should find in every society, for one must have a certain amount of trust in the system in which one lives, in order to live normally. Inkeles and Levinson refer to this type of approach as the "standard analytic issues" (1969, p. 447).

Before we go any further, it may be helpful for the reader to be exposed to the background of our study.

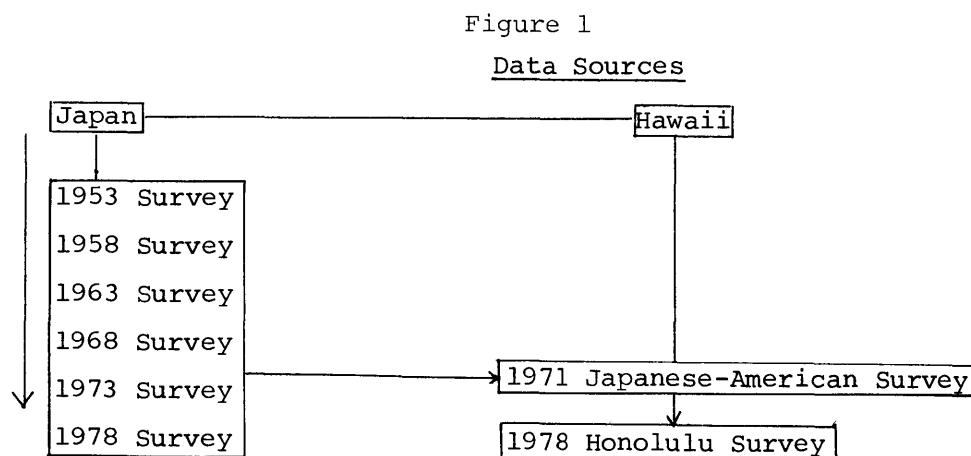
### 1.1 The Data Sources: Historical Backdrop

The first survey of Japanese national character was conducted in 1953 through the use of a random sample survey of several thousand citizens in Japan. Every five years since then, the same survey has been repeated, the last one being carried out in 1978.<sup>1)</sup> Some changes were introduced in order to improve the quality of the questionnaire. Simultaneously, efforts were made to maintain the

continuity, in order to make a diachronic comparison of the data possible. When we conducted the first study of Japanese-Americans in Honolulu,<sup>2)</sup> we included as many of the Japanese National Character Survey items as possible in the Questionnaire. We also added a number of items for the purpose of examining the extent to which Japanese-Americans have integrated themselves into the mainstream of American culture. A pre-test questionnaire was administered at several different locations in Honolulu, in order to increase the validity of the items included in the questionnaire. Subsequently, some changes were made prior to the final version of the questionnaire.

In 1977, a decision was made to study the whole Honolulu population, in order to better understand the Japanese-Americans in Honolulu. We then attempted to generate questions that are thought to capture the core of American culture at large. We included questions on attitudes toward God, work, self, society, etc. Again, we pre-tested our new questions to assure the validity of the questions. Consequently, some changes were made as a result of the pre-testing.

A diagram below is designed to illustrate what we did in the past quarter of a century:



The diagram shown above graphically demonstrates how we plan to compare over time as well as across cultures. Our study is not only a comparative study in the sense that we study more than one culture but it is comparative in that we plan to compare over a period of time as well.

The present preliminary report of the study of Honolulu residents, thus, represents an integral part of a much larger ongoing study we have done in the past and that we hope to do in the future.

### 1.2 The Nature of the Data

Many a study has been conducted to analyze the national character of various nations in the world, a variety of scholars, including a large number of Japanese scholars, have written extensively in the past decade on the nature of the Japanese. Non-Japanese authors such as Barnlund and Reischauer have joined the Japanese authors in this description of Japanese character, an activity which came into vogue in Japan e.g., Burnland, 1973 and Clark, 1977.

In spite of the myriad of books on Japanese national character or culture that continue to be published in Japan, e.g., Doi, 1971, Minami, 1953, Miyagi, 1976, Tanaka, 1971, and Tsurumi, 1972, there are some shortcomings that are found in their methodologies, theories, and approaches. Obviously, this generalization applies to national character studies done outside of Japan as well. What are the major criticisms made against them?

First, even those who use opinion polls to gauge the people's views, do so without using any longitudinal data but a particular set of data gathered at a particular time. This gives only a limited dimension of what Japanese culture is like. As we all know, culture is not static but dynamic in nature.

Second, most authors base their inferences upon historical documents, books, articles, artifacts, and the like and not on

any systematically gathered set of data. In other words, they depend upon reading, hearing, and seeing what others have done. They do not necessarily deal with the public at large but rather with some limited segment of the society under study. Books based upon such methodology cannot be considered sufficient to verify any propositions about the society under investigation, although they may constitute an excellent source of hypotheses, e.g., Minami, 1953.

Third, some studies, including one we completed in our study of Japanese-Americans, are concerned with the extent to which Japanese-Americans maintain their Japanese cultural heritage but not with Japanese-American culture as a whole.

Fourth, some studies view their findings from a narrow perspective, i.e., scholars involved in the studies do not include many nationalities or many disciplines, but rather one person or a group of scholars from one discipline.

The current study represents an attempt to remedy these shortcomings. First, it is a part of a longitudinal study as described in Figure 1. Second, it is based upon a random sample survey of Honolulu registered voters. Third, it attempts to view Honolulu as a culture with many sub-cultures existing within it. Fourth, maximum efforts are made to ensure that our findings will be subjected to the widest possible range of interpretations from different national, ethnic, and disciplinary orientations.

We realize that Honolulu is not necessarily typical of American culture as a whole, but it is very much a part of the United States, which is known for its multi-ethnic heritage. Many mainlanders who have settled in Honolulu are not typical Americans.

They are much better educated and enjoy high status. This multi-ethnic aspect of Honolulu, as you will see, presents us with some problems in the data analysis phase of the Survey. For example, we find it difficult to do a scalogram analysis on the data

because of this multi-ethnic nature of our respondents, whose attitudes are often considerably different from one group to another. They are so heterogeneous in their attitudes that we find it difficult to do any scalogram analysis, i.e., we cannot use one cutting point for all respondents, for they are so different from each other. The local Honolulu culture has a way of shaping the minds of all Honoluluans who are born and reared in Honolulu. It does not require any survey data to observe that there are differences between the mainlanders and the islanders, regardless of racial backgrounds. In some ways, the mainland Japanese-Americans have more in common with Caucasian mainlanders than with Honolulu Japanese-Americans.

### 1.3 The Questionnaire

The questionnaire employed in the Survey is largely derived from the Japanese National Character Study items developed by Hayashi, Suzuki et al at the Institute of Statistical Mathematics. However, there are additional items taken from other sources, and some items were developed by the Kurodas. We could not simply translate every item used in the Japanese National Character Study into English and administer it in Hawaii. There are several criteria used to select the items that were eventually included in the Hawaii Survey Questionnaire of 1978.

First, we selected only those items that both Americans in Hawaii and the Japanese have in common, in the sense that both of them have something concrete to refer to in their societies. For example, we chose to include questions that dealt with television, music, money and the like, for these are found in both societies. Second, another criterion was generated from our interest in going beyond simple frequency distributions of the respondents' answers to our questions and in seeking patterns of interrelationships among a



number of items within a culture or a sub-culture. How are these patterns similar among different generations of Japanese-Americans or different among social classes of our respondents? These concerns led us to include such questions as those on values. Third, attempts were made to generate questions that are designed to capture cominant and unique characteristics of American culture. For example, scale items developed by the Kurodas are included in the questionnaire, in order to examine the extent to which an individual strives to succeed in a competitive society. They felt this factor to represent what America is all about. It should be noted here that all the new items added to the Hawaii Survey Questionnaire of 1978 were pre-tested in Hawaii by using about 100 adult citizens of various ethnic groups. Fourth, there are some items that are used only for the Hawaii Survey of 1978 and not in Japan. We included questions on the extent to which one is ethnically integrated in one's place of work, etc. Otherwise, the thought was that new items we added would be translated into Japanese and used in future Japanese surveys.

The entire questionnaire is reproduced with frequency distributions of all answers and presented in the questionnaire. Most of the items derived from the Japanese National Character Study are worded in such a way as to ask a respondent to choose his answer from two or more alternative answers. Typically, a statement describes a situation of a Character and then asks which one of the alternative responses most closely approximates a respondent's feeling. It is not a question to which one expresses agreement or disagreement but rather what these items ask is what one would do under the circumstances described in the statement.

Added to this basic body of the items are: 1) those questions that were used in the 1971 Japanese-American Survey in Honolulu. 2) a few items from questions developed at the NORC at the University of Chicago and the ISR at the University of Michigan, and

items generated by the Commission of the European Communities (1977) and Adam Podgorecki et al (1973) plus a few other sources.

3) scale questions developed for this particular Survey, e.g., scales on "belief in system" and "self-achievement."

In addition to these questions, if one is identified to be a Japanese-American, one is asked to answer additional questions such as how much contact one has with Japanese culture and the like. These questions were asked at the end of an interview.

In order to facilitate a respondent's choice of an answer from two or more answer categories, each respondent is given an answer sheet, which contains only the answer portion of the questionnaire for Questions 13 through 31, 34 through 68 and F01 and F13. Each respondent was encouraged to choose from the answers that were given to them. This discouraged the respondent from giving answers other than those that were given on the answer sheet.

#### 1.4 The Universe: Theoretical and Operational Definitions

The 1971 universe of the Japanese-American survey, conducted by the Institute by the same research team in cooperation with the Social Science Research Institute at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, consisted of registered voters of Japanese origin who reside in Representative Districts 8 through 18, which represent the most urbanized areas of the state of Hawaii. District numbering has changed since the last survey as a result of the 1973 reapportionment. Thus, we are faced with the problem of finding an equivalent area for our present study of Honolulu residents.

Fortunately, there are no significant actual changes with the exception of the southwestern part of urban Honolulu, although the numbering has changed. What used to be #8 through #18 Representative Districts have now been renumbered 7 through 16, plus 17 (excluding the first three precincts) and 18 (eighth precinct only).

Since what are commonly referred to as Pearl Harbor, Ahmanu, and Salt Lake areas were not included in the 1971 Survey, and these areas are inhabited largely by military personnel and their dependents, we decided to delete these areas from our current Survey. These areas are found in the First and Second Precincts of the current 17 Representative Districts. Consequently, a decision was made to include the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Precincts in the 17th Representative District, which includes lower Kalihi and a portion of downtown Honolulu.

The number of voters as of 1976 in the current 7th through 18th Districts as specified above is 148,512 which represents 43.24 percent of the total voters in Hawaii and 56.28 percent of Oahu voters.<sup>3)</sup> Equivalent figures in 1970 for 8th through 18th Districts are 46.66 percent and 57.25 percent respectively. In view of the fact that few precincts are rearranged from the universe of the current Survey, these two sets of figures are very much alike, at least in terms of the proportion of registered voters in relation to the rest of Oahu and the rest of the state of Hawaii. Therefore, we may be well justified in assuming that the areas covered in the current Survey are almost isomorphic to the areas covered in the 1971 Survey.

Operationally speaking, several modifications were made. A magnetic tape containing the latest list of voters for Oahu (Volume 2), lent from the City Clerk's Office was used for the purpose of our random sampling of Honolulu voters. The tape contained 134,907 English speaking voters, 8 Ilokano speakers, and 57 Chinese speakers. Sixty five foreign language speaking voters were excluded from the sampling operation. This left us with 134,907 voters.<sup>4)</sup>

Why did we choose the list of registered voters rather than other methods such as area sampling?

An area sampling is not only expensive but nearly impossible to

carry out in Honolulu, where there are so many hotels and condominiums and homes constructed on hills without any regular block, which is normally used as a unit in the sampling process. Many high rise residential buildings contain some permanent residents and visitors alike. There are also seasonal residents who spend only the summer or winter in Honolulu. Should they be included? There are also military personnel and their dependents, who are quite mobile.

When the 1971 Survey of Honolulu was conducted, the state of Hawaii had the highest rate of voter registration: 86 percent of the eligible voters were registered to vote. However, as a result of the changes in the election law in 1972, the rate has gone down considerably to about 66.8 percent by 1974 (The Office of the Lieutenant Governor, 1975, p. 5). This drastic drop is caused by two major changes. First, military personnel and their dependents are now included as eligible voters. Second, the voting age was lowered to 18 years of age. While these two factors have lowered the official rate of voter registration, the rate of voter registration in the area where our last Survey was conducted must be much higher than 66.8 percent for the state as a whole because our sampling areas do not cover any military base, where the highest concentration of non-registered voters exist.

For these reasons, we concluded that the use of the magnetic tape was the most cost-effective method of defining the population.

### 1.5 The Sample

The magnetic tape we used contained the list of names arranged by Representative District, Precinct, and chronological order by which a voter was registered to vote. In other words, the list of names was not alphabetically arranged. One of the consequences of this particular arrangement was that it was possible for two

or more members of the same family to be selected into our sample. And this did happen on several occasions. We decided to select every 90th person of the list, starting with a randomly chosen number from the first through 90th voters. Our sampling is a systematic random sample based upon an interval of 90.

A decision was made to exclude from our sample those who have moved out of the island or can no longer be located at the address where he was registered to vote. The total number of the sample respondents based upon what is described above produced 1,205 potential respondents. The interviewing was conducted from November 26, 1977, through March 25, 1978, by a total of 50 interviewers. We sent out to each respondent a letter informing him/her of the objective of the Survey and our plan to interview him/her. The interviewers were instructed to attempt a visit a minimum of three times before giving up reaching that potential respondent. We were successful in interviewing a few who normally are considered impossible to locate. For example, our interviewers managed to interview several voters who live on boats in Waikiki, others to whom we sent letters that were returned, a hospital patient, a busy physician, Japanese-speaking respondents who needed to have some questions translated into Japanese, and a small number of the voters who initially rejected our interviewing effort.<sup>5)</sup> In spite of all these efforts, there were some whom we were unable to interview.<sup>6)</sup>

It should be noted here that 751 interviews completed and considered valid were checked for their validity through telephone or postcard. The Kurodas called all those whose telephone numbers were available, including the boat residents and thanked them for their cooperation while also checking on whether or not a respondent was properly interviewed. To our dismay, we discovered several cases of telephone interviewing. If no telephone was available, a postcard was sent out for the purpose of verification. Thus,

Table 1-1

The Universe and the Sample

Dist.	Completed	Refused	Illness	Others*	Sample	Universe
07	75	19	0	20	114	14,835
	65.8%	16.7%	0	17.5%	9.5%	11.0%
08	72	23	3	18	116	13,071
	62.1%	19.8%	2.6%	15.5%	9.6%	9.7%
09	79	27	1	20	127	11,629
	62.2%	21.3%	0.8%	15.7%	10.5%	8.6%
10	56	20	2	12	90	11,579
	62.2%	22.2%	2.2%	13.3%	7.5%	8.6%
11	68	23	3	10	104	11,602
	65.4%	22.1%	2.9%	9.6%	8.6%	8.6%
12	70	10	1	16	97	10,644
	72.2%	10.3%	1.0%	16.5%	8.0%	7.9%
13	120	22	1	20	163	17,973
	73.6%	13.5%	0.6%	12.3%	13.5%	13.3%
14	52	15	1	38	106	11,167
	49.1%	14.2%	0.9%	35.8%	8.8%	8.3%
15	57	7	2	38	104	12,327
	54.8%	6.7%	1.9%	36.6%	8.6%	9.1%
16	73	12	1	36	122	11,612
	59.8%	9.8%	0.8%	29.5%	10.1%	8.6%
17	29	9	2	22	62	8,532
18	46.8%	14.5%	3.2%	35.5%	5.1%	6.3%
Total						
	751	187	17	250	1,205	134,972
	62.3%	15.5%	1.4%	20.7%	100%	100%

\* This category includes all other reasons such as the person to be interviewed not being home.

# CITY OF HONOLULU

STATE OF HAWAII

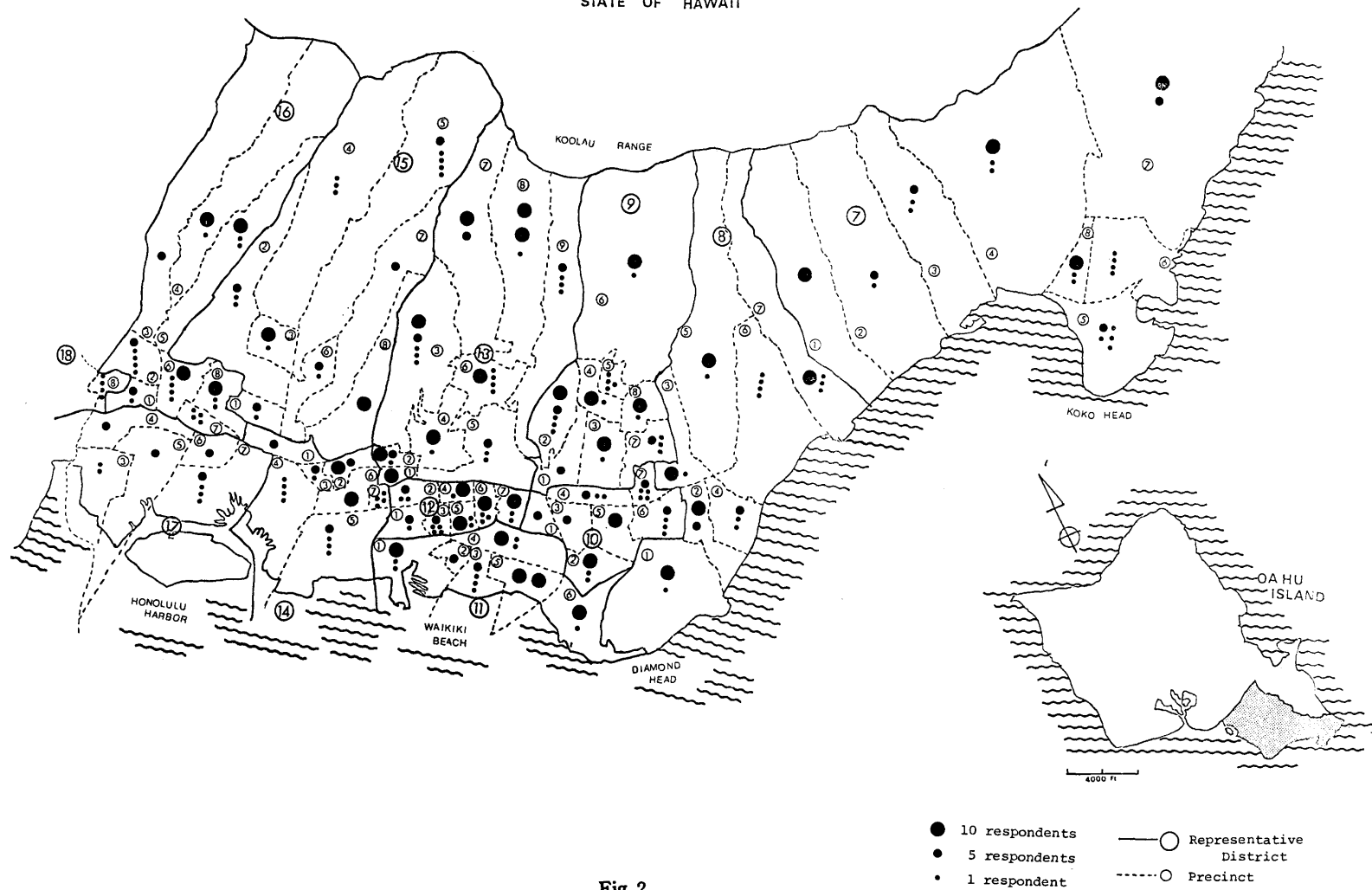


Fig. 2

every interview secured was checked for its validity before it was coded and processed for data analysis.

Table 1-1 is constructed to show the relationship between the population and the sample. Of 1,205 potential respondents, we secured 751 valid interviews, which amount to 62.3 percent of the target sample. The breakdown for the three major reasons for our failure to secure interviews is as follows: First, 187 respondents (15.5%) explicitly refused to cooperate with our Survey for one reason or another. Second, seventeen respondents (1.4%) were too ill to be interviewed. Third, 250 potential respondents (20.7%) consisted of those who were not at home when visited by our interviewers or otherwise unable to be reached.

We are inclined to believe that these are the people who are either very busy because of their work or those who use one excuse or another not to be bothered by our interviewers. For example, we had one physician who agreed to be interviewed, but he was so busy that our interviewers finally had to give up, for an interview normally takes over half an hour.

The rate for successful interviewing varies by the Representative District to some extent. The first five Representative Districts are located in the upper and lower middle class residential areas by and large. The rate of success in the first five Districts was in the mid-60s. We had the best results in the 12th and 13th Representative Districts located near and around the University, while we had the worst results in the areas west of the University area; downtown, some middle class residential areas, densely populated apartment complex areas, and low-income residential areas.

Table 1-2 shows that Japanese-Americans as a whole were more cooperative than non-Japanese in Honolulu, as evidenced in the 5 percent difference between them. Only 13.6 percent of the Japanese-Americans openly rejected our request to interview them, while 16.7 percent of the non-Japanese-Americans did so. Like-



Table 1-2

The Sampling by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Completed	Refused	Illness	Others	Sample
Japanese	312	62	5	77	456
	68.4%	13.6%	1.1%	16.9%	
Non-Japanese	439	125	12	173	749
	58.6%	16.7%	1.6%	23.1%	
Total	751	187	17	250	1,205
	62.3%	15.5%	1.4%	20.7%	

wise, we found non-Japanese-Americans to be more apt to not be at home or unable to be interviewed for one reason or another. This leads us to surmise that non-Japanese are not only more likely to openly reject our request but also that they are more likely to refuse our request for interviewing by using indirect methods such as: "I'm busy right now; why don't you come back some other time?" In any case, we were able to secure 312 interviews out of 456 possible Japanese-American respondents (68.4%) while we were able to interview only 439 respondents out of 749 possible respondents (58.6%) among non-Japanese respondents.

The present study represents the first report of the 1978 study of Honolulu voters. Our report will, thus, be limited to a report on frequency distribution of responses to questions we asked and some preliminary data analysis results. The second chapter will present what we discovered about Honoluluans in general, giving frequency distributions of the respondents' responses to the questionnaire.

No systematic attempts will be made to compare the results of the Japanese surveys with those of the 1978 Survey in this report, although some references to the Japanese survey results will be made.

## Notes

1. Major reports of these survey results will be found in the following three books: Kokuminsei-Chosa Kenkyu I-inkai, Tokei Surikenkyujo, [Research Committee on the study of Japanese National Character, The Institute of Statistical Mathematics]. 1961, 1970 and 1975. These books all contain an English summary section.
2. For reports on the Japanese-American Survey of 1971, see Suzuki, et al. 1972, Hayashi, ed., 1973, Hayashi and Suzuki, 1974, Hayashi and Suzuki, 1975, and Kuroda, Suzuki, and Hayashi, 1978.
3. Figures presented here are derived from two reports prepared by the Office of the Lieutenant Governor: The Office of the Lieutenant Governor, State of Hawaii, 1975 and Lieutenant Governor's Office, Lieutenant Governor Nelson K. Doi, 1976.
4. This figures vary from the figure reported by the Office of the Lieutenant Governor on July 4, 1976. The tape we used was the most recent and updated tape since the 1976 General Election. We must, thus, assume that the latest figures as revealed in the tape to be the most recent data available at the time of our sampling in October of 1977.
5. To those respondents who told our interviewers that they were just too busy to be interviewed or gave some other reasons to politely refuse our request to secure an interview, we wrote a letter explaining the objectives of the study and pleaded with them to cooperate with us, in our effort to secure as many respondents as possible in order to make our study scientifically valid and useful. Then, we sent different interviewers to interview these once-refused respondents. The results were not very encouraging; more of them refused our request again than those who agreed to be interviewed.
6. On one occasion, a Chinese-American physician, who was selected to be interviewed, agreed to be interviewed. Two different interviewers tried in vain to interview him for over a month. He just did not have enough time to be interviewed. He sounded as if he were genuinely interested in our survey and was very much willing to participate. Every time our interviewers called he was simply too busy. Several appointments were made but they had to be canceled for a number of good reasons. There was also a judge who was so busy that we just could not impose on him to interview him.

## Chapter 2

### Honoluluans

As mentioned earlier, it may be dangerous to talk about all Honoluluans, for they are made up of people with different psychological and political orientations, ethnic origins, and social classes. Nevertheless, they as a whole are distinct from the mainland Americans or the Japanese living in Japan. Thus, an attempt is made here to present how Honoluluans as a whole responded to our questions, keeping in mind that there are differences between Hawaiians and Filipino immigrants who have just become citizens.

The questionnaire used in the survey contains many questions that are not categorized into any broad categories as such.

In order to facilitate our reporting, we have attempted to categorize all questions into three large categories, 1) sociological, 2) psychological/cultural, and 3) political variables. It would be a meaningless task to report every item in detail. Attempts will be made to discuss responses to the questions in summary form unless particular items are of special interest to the reader for some specific reason.

#### 2.1 Sociological Profile

This section deals with those items that involve social background of the respondents, their responses to questions on interpersonal relations, family relations, and other related sociological phenomena, and their responses to social relations questions as opposed to attitudinal questions at the individual level. We shall begin with a series of questions concerning the respondents' social backgrounds.

2.1.1 Socio-Demographic Profile: The sex distribution of our respondents came to exactly half female and half male. The age breakdown of the respondents into 11 groups indicates that there were fewer individuals in the first two age groups (1951-1960) and those who were born in the 1930s than in the other age groups.

Well over half or 65 percent of the respondents were born in Hawaii, while 26 percent of them came from the mainland, the remaining respondents being foreign-born. Thus, a good majority of our respondents are Hawaii born respondents, who grew up in Hawaii.

In terms of racial and ethnic categories, the largest group of respondents was the Japanese-Americans (40%), followed by Caucasian-Americans (29%), Chinese-Americans (12%), Filipinos (4%), Hawaiians (2%), Portugueses (2%), Korean-Americans (1%), and others (10%).

The reader should be reminded that this racial/ethnic composition represents the registered voters of Honolulu and not the census population, which would include military personnel, the tourist population and other temporary residents who might be in Hawaii at the time of a census.

Another important feature of our respondents in relation to the rest of the U.S. population is that our respondents are much better educated than the average American. A high 54 percent of the respondents have had a college education. Nearly one out of every five respondents claims to have had graduate work or professional school training. This is due to two factors. First of all, the nationwide survey of Japanese-Americans, as reported in Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women (1978) compiled by the United States Commission on Civil Rights (page 14), shows that percentage of young Chinese and Japanese in the United States who complete a college education is higher than that of Caucasian-Americans. Over half of the Chinese and Japanese-Americans complete

their college education today. This is certainly true of the Japanese-Americans in Honolulu. Second, a vast majority of the mainlanders who come to Hawaii are college-educated (79%) and are professionals. Thus, we are dealing with a highly educated group of individuals living in a multi-ethnic community.

Perhaps because of the highly educated nature of our respondents and this geographical location, we found that a majority of the respondents (62%) speak one or more foreign languages.

To our question of social class identification, 63 percent of them classified themselves to be middle class Americans, while 28 percent of them said that they are working class people.

A majority of the respondents (70%) said that they are religious. We then asked them to tell us their religion. Again reflecting the multi-ethnic nature of our respondents, the following results were obtained: Protestants 22%; Catholic 17%; Buddhists 13%; and others 17%; not religious 30%.

In short, our respondents are highly educated and composed of several ethnic and religious groups, none of which constitutes a majority.

2.1.2 Human Relations: If a person is faced with the problem of going to see his benefactor at his deathbed or attending an important business meeting which decides the fate of his firm, which way should one go? That was posed as a question (Q20). A majority of the respondents thought one should go to see his benefactor (62%), while one-third of them opted for the second alternative. The next question replaced "his benefactor" with "his own father" (Q21). Even a larger majority consisting of 67 percent of the respondents preferred the first alternative of going to see "his father." Less than a third of them took the second alternative.

An inference to be made here is that a majority of the Honoluluans place a priority on the family over business, indicating

the significance of the family in their lives.

The respondents were asked to choose two values out of four values: filial piety, repaying obligations to benefactors, individual rights, and individual freedom (Q24). The Honoluluans' value scale as shown in their responses is as follows: individual rights (79%), individual freedom (51%), filial piety (49%), and repaying obligations (17%).

There seems to be no question that Honoluluans as a whole prefer the dominant American value of individualism over the traditional Asian value of filial piety and repaying obligations to benefactors. Thus, while the family plays an important part in the life of the average Honoluluans, it is the individual who is most important. Another point of interest here is that repaying obligations to one's benefactor is the only item that received a small number of nominations, while all other values receives a half or better than half of the respondents' nomination. Filial piety lives on but not what the Japanese call the concept of "on" and "ongaeshi" or the accruing and repaying of obligations.

We have alluded to the importance that people of Honolulu attach to the family. Just how important is it for Honoluluans to maintain the family line? We asked them to tell us if one should adopt a child to continue the family line, if one were childless (Q04). A near majority (49%) of the respondents stated that they would adopt a child in order to continue the family line. Probably this percentage is higher in Hawaii than in other areas because of the multi-ethnic nature of the community in which they live.

Another item concerning the human relations was asked. The respondents were asked to choose between two men: one who is friendly and helpful but an inefficient worker and one who is efficient in his work but indifferent to the affairs of others (Q27). A good majority of the respondents chose the first man (74%). Likewise a similar question yielded a result which indicates that the majority

of Honoluluans prefer a man who places a priority on interpersonal relations over principles (Q28).

Notwithstanding the respondents' response to the above questions, we found that they also place a priority on fairness.<sup>1)</sup>

When the respondents were forced to select between a rational and modern type of department chief and that of a benevolent type who takes care of his workers' problems, a majority (59%) chose the benevolent boss. This suggests the significance of human warmth in this multi-ethnic community in the lives of our respondents in Honolulu.

One of the ticklish things one gets involved in occasionally is the need to borrow money from a close friend (Q09). Should one ask his friend to give an IOU? It depends upon the amount of money involved for one thing, of course. We arbitrarily set the amount of \$100.00, which is more than what one is expected to carry around in cash. A large majority said that it is only natural to ask for an IOU.

Another question asked with regard to the value of one's own opinion as opposed to the value of maintaining harmonious interpersonal relations was whether or not one should go ahead with his views irrespective of others' opinions (25). Again a large majority of the respondents (71%) voted to support the individual with his own views.

These questions on interpersonal relations are designed to discover areas of and the degree of importance the individual gives to interpersonal human relations. We did obtain some understanding of the Honoluluans' views, but it is a complicated question that requires more than a simple "Yes" or "No" answer. The respondents' answers to the question of how important the pursuit of happiness as opposed to the welfare of the country is to the individual is indicative of the respondents' views (Q23). A plurality of 39 percent of the respondents said that "improving the country and making

individuals happy are the same thing." Twenty-seven percent placed the individual first, while 24 percent of the respondents placed the nation first.

2.1.3 Ethnic Integration in Honolulu: While there has been little ethnic conflict reported in Hawaii in recent years, there are some small signs of ethnic conflict that erupt from time to time, as evidenced in letters to the editor in local newspapers, "kill haole day" and "kill Jap day," for example. There is over-representation of some ethnic groups in different areas of activities in Honolulu. For example, there are a large number of Japanese-Americans in civil service positions in Honolulu, while an overwhelming number of the University of Hawaii faculty positions are filled by mainland Caucasian males. However, Hawaii is one of the places in the world where everyone feels that he is a member of a minority sometime, due to the fact that there is no majority. How well integrated are Honoluluans? We asked three questions concerning the extent of ethnic integration in three areas: 1) friends (Q66), 2) organizations (Q67), and 3) co-workers (Q68). A plurality of 43 percent of the respondents claimed that all or most of their friends belong to the same ethnic group as themselves, while about 30 percent of them said that only a small number of or none of their friends belong to the same ethnic group as they do. Twenty-seven percent of the respondents said that their friends are evenly divided between those who belong to the same ethnic group and those who do not.

A good majority of 57 percent of the respondents said that most of the organizations they belong to did not have any dominant ethnic group.

Choice plays an important part in the area of friendship, but one may not have as much in the matter of a place to work. The last question called for telling us the extent to which the place of the respondents' work is ethnically integrated. Less



than a quarter of the respondents (18%) said that all or most of their co-workers belong to the same ethnic group, while one-third of the respondents (33%) report that only a minority or none of their co-workers belong to the same ethnic group. One out of five respondents (22%) said that half of their co-workers are those who belong to the same ethnic group. The remaining respondents do not work.

Honolulu, thus, is not completely and truly integrated, but neither it is completely segregated. It is somewhere between the two, as is the case in many other parts of the United States. In addition to ethnic integration, women's groups are working hard toward the integration of women into the world of work, dominated thus far by men in the United States.

These findings suggest that Honolulu is a multi-ethnic integrating community of highly educated people living in a compact, highly urbanized area in the middle of the Pacific Ocean.

## 2.2 Cultural Profile

The second category of items to be reported consists of those items that are cultural or psychological in nature, i.e., attitudinal questions that deal with the individual as opposed the relationship between two or more individuals.

2.2.1 Preferred Life Style: The dominant life style which Honoluluans definitely prefer over several alternatives is one that reads: "Live a life that suits your own taste," which was chosen by 73 percent of the respondents (Q26). The second most popular life style preferred (20%) was: "Devote your efforts to serve society" followed by others consisting of "Get rich" and "Become famous," which attracted only a small percent of the respondents. Thus, it appears as if Honoluluans definitely prefer what is expected of a typical post-industrial era respondent,

concerned with individual happiness and not with material gains as such. This finding is in conformity with the respondents' answer to the question of rationality and the richness of human feelings (Q43). A high 61 percent of the respondents agreed strongly with the statement, "I should not be so rational that I lose the richness of human feelings."

If what the Honoluluans desire is to live a life that suits their own taste, how satisfied are they in their pursuit of happiness?

2.2.2 Happiness and Satisfaction in Life: Only a small minority (7%) of them said that they are unhappy these days (Q64), while a large majority said they are "pretty happy" (66%) or "very happy" (26%). When we used word "satisfaction," we received a similar response from our respondents. They were asked to indicate the extent of satisfaction in a given point scale ranging from 1 (which indicates that one is completely satisfied) to 5 (which means that one is completely dissatisfied). A very low 6 percent of the respondents indicated their dissatisfaction by checking "4" and "5" to the question (Q39). When the respondents were asked to rate on the same scale their feelings concerning their family life, a high 46 percent of the respondents said that they are "completely" satisfied (Q38). This is a very high percentage at a time in the United States when the rate of divorce is moving up from one-third to one-half of all marriages.

Are they also happy with the way they were treated by American society? An extremely high 94 percent of the respondents said that they felt they had been treated fairly by society (Q65).

2.2.3 Future Orientation: A man finds happiness in thinking about the past, the present, as well as the future. What do the Honoluluans think about the future? Will people's health improve in the future? (Q10). A majority of the respondents (67 percent) thought it would improve, while only 21 percent thought it will

get worse. What about people's peace of mind? (Q11). The answer this time is divided. A plurality of 45 percent said that it would decrease and a minority of 34 percent said that it would increase. The respondents' reactions to the question about people's freedom was divided (Q12). A plurality of 44 percent responded positively. A third of the respondents answered negatively. Thus, our inference here is that material aspects of life may continue to improve in the future, but Honoluluans are divided in their expectancy for improvement in non-material comfort in the future.

2.2.4 Desirable Qualities for Boys and Girls: Parents try to instill values in their children that they believe are most desirable. What do Honoluluans want their boys and girls to be like? (Q34A-B)

Eleven values are listed for the respondents to pick for boys and girls separately. They were asked to pick only two desirable qualities out of the eleven. The responses in the order of largest nomination for boys are: 1) honesty (45%), 2) sound judgement (45%), 3) responsibility (32%), 4) consideration for others (23%), 5) curiosity (15%) and 6) diligent (10%). The remaining qualities that received under 10 percent are not shown here. The responses for girls are as follows: 1) sound judgement (43%), 2) honesty (39%), 3) responsibility (29%), 4) consideration for others (27%), 5) obedience to parents (12%), 6) good manners (11%) and 7) curiosity (11%).

There are several observations we can make here. Honoluluans want different values for boys than for girls, although there is a considerable similarity between the values they believe are important for boys and girls. The first four values preferred for boys and girls are the same, even though the ranking within the first four is different. The Honoluluans want their girls to obey their parents, while they want their boys to try hard. The three most important qualities they look for in boys and

girls are: honesty, sound judgment and responsibility. Being neat and getting along with others is not what are thought to be most desirable in youngsters.

2.2.5 The Work Ethic and Activity: The Calvinist work ethic is said to be a driving force behind what made America a great country. The central theme, which resembles the Japanese work ethic, as manifested in such Japanese national heroes as Ninomiya Sontoku, is that one must work hard to strive for a better life. In fact, it is not enough to work hard; it is necessary for one to work in order to save for rainy day. Otherwise, one will not "be saved" or go to heaven. The American work ethic has its origin in a religious heritage, while the Japanese work ethic has no relationship to religion.

A another question we asked called one to make a decision on whether or not a respondent would continue to work if he had enough money to live comfortably without working (Q02). A majority of the respondents (57%) claimed that they would continue work, while one-third of them said they would stop working. Likewise, a majority of the respondents (70%) believe that "hard work" is most important, to get ahead (Q03). An 11 percent of the respondents, however, believe that "luck" is most important.

A large majority of the respondents (81%) said that they would agree strongly with a statement that one would rather do things than just sit around (Q44).

Responses to these questions definitely suggest that Honoluluans are hard-working people, who are very activity-oriented, as we had anticipated them to be. Americans as a whole are often criticized for being materialistic and money minded. Is this a justifiable characterization of Honoluluans today?

2.2.6 Money: Can money solve most problems? A majority of the respondents (53%) said no (Q42), while a large minority of them (45%) responded positively. When we asked them whether or not peo-

ple around them believe that "money can solve most problems" (Q59) only five percent of them said no one. A majority consisting of 57 percent of the respondents said that "some" believe the statement to be true. Over a third of the respondents said "many" around them believe the statement to be valid. Is it then important to teach children that money is the most important thing? (Q06) An overwhelming majority of the respondents (92%) disagreed with the statement. Only 6 percent of the respondents would teach that to their children.

What can be infer from these responses? First of all, it is obvious that not very many believe that money can solve most problems. Only some do. Money is not everything. Corollarally, Honoluluans appear to be of the opinion that they would not teach their children that money is the most important thing in life. Therefore, by and large these respondents seem to be of the opinion that money is important, but it is not everything<sup>2)</sup>

2.2.7 Man and Nature: How do Honoluluans feel about nature? They live in a paradise of the Pacific. How do they view the beauty of the nature that surrounds them? We asked them to tell us whether 1) man should follow nature, 2) man must make use of nature, or 3) man must conquer nature (Q22)? We realize that in the Orient, which follows the Tao philosophy, many Asians perceive man as an integral part of the nature that cannot be separated from it. Be that as it may, how do Honoluluans feel? We found that what they want is response number 2. They want to make use of nature (59%). Only a very small 4 percent replied that they must conquer nature. A surprisingly high percentage of the respondents (30%) believe that we must follow nature. It appears to us that the old days of Wester man's attempting to conquer nature is gone. Honoluluans may be entering into a new era of post-industrialism, an era when man is expected to seek more non-material values.

2.2.8 American Culture: We asked the respondents a direct question: "What comes first to your mind when you think of American culture?" Needless to say we received a wide variety of responses from Mother and apple pie to Mohammed Ali. Let us enumerate ones that were mentioned more than 10 times by our respondents. This will give us some idea of the kinds of things that come to their minds, when they think about American culture.

Nearly a fourth of the respondents mentioned "freedom" as the first thing that comes to their minds (N=142). The second most often mentioned single item is "democracy," which attracted the attention of 26 respondents. These two items stand out from the rest. Thus, what seems to make the U.S. great appear to be political symbols more than anything else.

"Melting pot," "Chop Suey," and the like attracted the attention of 59 respondents. While "variety," etc. responses amounted to 23 responses. There were close to 100 respondents who named "good," "everything," etc., words that really have no meaning other than that they show a high degree of satisfaction with American culture.

Those items that were mentioned over 10 times are: "food" ("apple pie," "hot dogs" etc.), (34), "life style," "high standard of living", (19), "Indians" (18), "opportunity" (18), "rich" (15), "music" (14), "rapid change" (13), "progress" (13), "middle class" (11), "history" (11), "sports" ("foot ball", "base ball" etc.) (11), "art" (10), "fair" (10), and "pioneering spirit" (10).

2.2.9 Japanese Culture: The same question was asked about Japanese culture. The nature of responses was different in two important ways. First, there were no items that really stood out, as in the case of American culture. Second, responses were non-political in nature.

Let us enumerate them in the order of frequency: "good", "wonderful" (56), "tradition" (50), "respect for the elderly", "parents" (50), "food" (38), "family ties" (38), "art"

(31), "old-fashioned" (26), "Kimono", "samurai", etc., (25) "diligent" and/or "hard working" (25), "rigid" (22), "polite" (22), "beautiful" (21), "disciplined" (18), "history" (15), "homogeneity" (15), "quiet" (15), "tea ceremony" and/or "flower arrangement" (14), "custom" (14), "respectful" (12), "pride" (11), and "temple" (10).

The image of Japanese culture that Honoluluans have seems to be centered around traditional Japanese values and attitudes such as "tradition," "respect for the elderly," "tea ceremony," and the like. There are a few who mentioned such things as "Pearl Harbor," "Japanese go home," and the like. Others named more modern things like television, hotel, radio, electronic products, etc..

By and large Honoluluans' image of Japanese culture is positive, but they are less willing to say anything about it in relation to their own American culture.

One comment we wish to add here is that we asked about the culture and not Japan or Americans such. The variety of answers we received indicates that some interpreted the word "culture" in a narrow way, while others interpreted it to be more inclusive.

### 2.3 Political Dimension

Political dimensions of the present report include all those questions that are directly related to politics. Politics is defined here to include any human behavior that affects the scope of government activities. One of the important functions of any government is to resolve conflicts that are derived from human interaction between two or more people. Thus, we shall include all those questions that deal with matters of justice, contracts, ideology and the like. The distinctive characteristic of any government is the possession of the legal monopoly of physical force necessary to impose its will on its people (Kuroda, 1974, p.3).

The question, of course, is how this awesome power ought to be used.

2.3.1 Political Orientations: In analyzing the political orientation of the respondents, there are two separate dimensions of orientation that we ought to keep in mind. First, it is important to examine the extent to which one is interested and to which one gets involved in politics. Second, in getting interested or involved in politics, how does one get involved? That is to say, is one a Republican or a Democrat? Is one a capitalist or a socialist? First, we shall examine the extent to which our respondents get involved in politics.

To the question of how interested the respondent is in politics, only a minority of the respondents (18%) replied "very much" interested in politics. A slightly lower percentage of 11 percent of the respondents claimed to have no interest at all in politics. Thirty-eight percent of the respondents checked "somewhat" and 31 percent of the respondents chose the category of "little." Therefore, we may conclude that nearly half of Honoluluans have at least some interest in politics, whereas the other half of the citizens show little concern for politics.

It is one thing to be interested in politics, but it is quite another thing to be involved in politics. Although 88 percent of the respondents claimed to vote "always" in general elections, records indicate that about 80 percent of the registered voters actually cast their votes in recent general elections. It could be that those who are willing to take part in the survey are more civic-minded citizens than the average persons, or some of our respondents may have exaggerated their voting record. Keeping this in mind, let us look at our respondents' claim of how often they attend political rallies. One out of every four respondents said that they attend "very often" (6%) or "sometimes" (19%). A third of them stated that they attend the rallies "rarely," while 42



percent replied "never." In other words, slightly over a quarter of the respondents get involved in politics (beyond voting on a regular basis).

Having answered the question of the extent to which the respondents get involved in political activities, we now look at the second dimension. Are they Democrats or Republicans?

Hawaii used to be dominated by what is referred to as the Big Five (five largest corporations) and the Republican party until 1954, when quiet "revolutionaries" led by the late Governor John A. Burns and his Japanese-American friends brought an end to Republican rule by capturing the majority in both houses of the territorial legislature. Since then, Hawaii has been governed by the Democratic Party. Although there has been an increase in independent voters in recent years, Hawaii's elections are dominated by the Democratic Party. A majority of the respondents (52%) stated that they support the Democratic Party. Only 15 percent of the Honoluluans indicated their support for the Republican party.

Partisan orientation does not tell the whole story of what the citizens want to accomplish through politics. Accordingly, we asked a series of questions on ideologies, recognizing that there are many definitions for the terms we asked them to react to. We also recognize that many of them do not really know the terms in any systematic way. What we wanted, however, is how they emotionally reacted to whatever meanings they attach to such abstract concepts such as capitalism, democracy and the like. In order to present our findings in summary form, Table 2-1 is constructed and presented for your review.

Table 2-1

Ideological Orientation

<u>Ideology</u>	<u>Favorable</u>	<u>Unfavorable</u>	<u>DK etc.</u>	<u>Total % (N)</u>
Democracy	86%	2	12	100% (751)
Capitalism	48%	21	31	100% (751)
Liberalism	37%	23	40	100% (751)
Conservatism	30%	27	43	100% (751)
Socialism	22%	40	38	100% (751)

Several propositions may be derived from entries in the table. First, democracy is by far the most popular ideological symbol chosen by our respondents and it is also the best understood term among the five concepts listed, in the sense that only 12 percent of the respondents either did not have any opinion or gave conditional responses such as "it depends..." and the like. Second, nearly half of the respondents support capitalism, while only 22 percent of them are favorably disposed toward socialism. Third, liberalism and conservatism appear to be the least familiar terms, indicated by the high percentages of respondents giving no definite answers. Fourth, socialism is the least favorable term. Forty percent of the respondents viewed it unfavorably, while only 22 percent of them did so positively.

As suspected, Honoluluans as a whole enthusiastically espouse democracy however it may be defined. The Japanese, on the other hand, are not excited about any ideology, including democracy (supported by only 43 percent of the respondents in the 1973 Survey. Kokuminsei-chosa Kenkyu I-inkai, 1975, p. 155).

Democracy is a term subject to many interpretations. As a way of ascertaining how our respondents perceive of the concept, we asked them to tell us if they would agree or disagree with the following proposition (Q08):

... if we get outstanding political leaders, the best way to improve the country is for the people to leave everything to them, rather than for the people to discuss things among themselves.

An overwhelming majority of the respondents (82%) disagreed with the statement with only 13 percent of the respondents willing to let the "best" politicians run the country. Thus, it appears as if the majority would prefer to have a government by the people. It may be also safe to infer here that our respondents have a healthy skepticism of ever having

... "outstanding political leaders."

By this time it is clear that Honoluluans are neither radicals nor reactionaries. Our question concerning a way of improving society provided us with answers to this question of ideology in a clear way. A large majority of the respondents (78 percent) believe in reforms over revolution or radical change(Q35). Only two percent of the respondents believe that American society must be radically reorganized through revolutionary action. It is a small minority but then too it does not take many revolutionaries to bring about a radical revolution. An important point that might be made here is that there is a sufficient amount of political freedom in that these radicals feel free enough to express their revolutionary dreams. A significant minority (14%) in the sample believe that "our society must be valiantly defended against all subversive forces."

Continuing on with the ideological dimension of our respondents' political orientation, we asked their views on the relationship between employers and employees (Q36). As can be inferred from the data already presented, we found the majority of the respondents (70%) to hold the view that perceives of no basic conflict between the two groups. They see the two groups as needing and being able to cooperate. Only a very small minority of the respondents (one percent) believe that the employers and employees should not cooperate because their interest is often in conflict.

2.3.2 Judicial Questions: What do our respondents think about justice? How do they view it? Who should be held responsible for an accident? These are questions that must be answered if there is to be any democracy in a society.

Should a person be punished for what this person did or what she/he intended to do? A majority of our juries or 61 percent of them said that a person should be held responsible only for one's action (Q13). However, about one out of every four persons said the person's intention should be the primary consideration. Thus, a person's intention is or at least could be a very important factor in passing judgment, in the political culture of Honolulu.

Rule-making is an important function of any government. How should they be made? Some find themselves more at home having most rules flexible and a few rigid rules faithfully executed (Q14). We found our respondents to be divided almost equally among three alternatives: 1) rigid rules executed leniently (35%), 2) rigid rules executed faithfully (23%), and 3) flexible rules executed faithfully (36%). These responses present political leaders with a dilemma, as with policemen, whose duty it is to execute some of the rules that political leaders formulate. It looks as if it is impossible to satisfy everyone in Honolulu in this regard. Thus, politicians as well as all those in the executive branch and judicial branch of the government must play it by ear and make the best of any given situation.

There is a clear answer, however, to the question of how a contract should be written (Q15). A substantive majority of our respondents (74%) believe that all details of the contract should be made explicit at the outset in order to avoid any future problem. Only a minority of 22 percent said that they believe in deciding only major principles of the contract, leaving the rest for informal negotiations later.

An interesting result was obtained when we asked the respondents to tell us their ideal handling of a contract (Q16). Only one out of four (24%) respondents thought that the "contract should be followed through with the original contract regardless of any" subsequent changes. A majority of the respondents (68%) said ideally speaking, it should be possible to allow informal negotiation to amend the contract, depending upon the changing situation. Thus, the majority of Honolulu voters view a contract as something that should spell out as much detail as possible at the outset but allow some changes if there is a need for such changes.

An intriguing finding is revealed from two questions we raised concerning the responsibility of a teacher taking her/his junior high school students on a trip. One of the students get himself involved in a car accident around midnight, when he gone out on his own. The first question is who is responsible for the accident? (Q 17). Twenty-three percent of the respondents said that the teacher should be held responsible, while 73 percent of them placed the responsibility on the student. An interesting thing happened when we asked another question: "In your opinion, which one of the following views is more common among parents in general?" (Q 18). The first choice of the teacher being considered responsible received 73 percent of the voted, while the second answer category that says that his teacher is not responsible obtained only 21 percent of the votes. What this seems to mean is that a good majority of the respondents feel that the teacher is not responsible but they also feel that that is not what the prevailing view of the community is.

Laws are made everywhere, but the question is, what are laws made for? Are they made to enable people to "get along together easily?" (Q 19). Or are they made to "bring about justice

in society?" It is the view of a majority (59%) that laws should be made for the purpose of justice. However, one-third of the respondents do feel that laws should be passed to enable people to get along peacefully.

These responses to political and judicial questions reveal some consensus, but there are also important differences in their views of politics that are difficult to resolve.

#### Notes

1. For detail, see their responses to Questions 29 and 30.
2. Notwithstanding the remarkably anti-materialistic attitudes toward money shown by our respondents, a statement made by a 28 year-old welder in Missouri as cited by Watts and Free may be indicative of the "honne" or the inner-most feelings of at least some people (Watts and Free, p. 249). The welder said: "What I would really like to be is a filthy rich businessman." Mass survey such as ours do not allow us to probe deeply into the respondents' attitudes on too many items. We did, however, have a few open-ended questions on American and Japanese cultures.

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## APPENDIX

### Questionnaire and Simple Tabulation

Supported by a grant from the Overseas  
Scientific Survey of the Grants-in-Aid  
for Scientific Research. ( 304301 )

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Q 01 If you could be born again, in which country would you like to be born?

National codes	Freq.			%		
	T. N-J. J.			T. N-J. J.		
1. U.S. : 00) U.S.	664	373	291	88	85	93
2. Elsewhere : 10) Samoa, Puerto Rico,	5	5	-	1	1	-
13) Europe	1	1	-	0	0	-
14) China	2	2	-	0	1	-
15) Hawaii	1	1	-	0	0	-
16) Japan	12	-	12	2	-	4
19) Philippine	5	5	-	1	1	-
20) Samoa (not Samoan )	2	1	1	0	0	0
22) U.S. (not American)	2	2	-	0	1	-
23) Europe (not European)	31	31	-	4	7	-
24) China (not Chinese)	1	-	1	0	-	0
25) Hawaii (not Hawaiian)	2	1	1	0	0	0
26) Japan (not Japanese)	4	4	-	1	1	-
30) Paradise	4	-	4	1	-	1
40) Europe (whole)	5	5	-	1	1	-
60) Orient	1	1	-	0	0	-
90) No Answer	9	7	2	1	2	1

Q 02 If you were to get enough money to live as comfortably as you would like for the rest of your life, would you continue to work or would you stop working?

	Total	Non-Japanese	Japanese
1. Continue to work	57	58	56
2. Stop working	32	30	35
3. Other	10	11	9
4. Don't Know	1	1	1

Q 03 Some people say that people get ahead by their own hard work; others say that lucky breaks are more important. Which do you think is more important?

1. Hard work most important	70	71	69
2. Luck most important	11	10	13
3. Other	18	18	18
4. Don't Know	1	2	0

Q 04 If you had no children, would you think it desirable to adopt a child in order to continue the family line, even if there is no blood relationship? Or do you not think this is important?

1. Would adopt	49	50	49
2. Would not adopt	38	36	40
3. Depends on...	5	5	6
4. Other	4	6	2
5. Don't Know	4	4	4

Q 05 Suppose that a child comes home and says that he has heard a rumor that his teacher had done something to get himself into trouble, and suppose that the parent knows this is true. Do you think it is better for the parent to tell the child that it is true, or to deny it?

1. Deny it	7	6	8
2. Tell the truth	73	74	72
3. Other	15	15	15
4. Don't Know	5	5	5

A-2

- Q 06 In raising children of elementary school age, some people think that one should teach them that money is the most important thing. Do you agree with this or not?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Agree	6	6	7
2. Disagree	92	92	91
3. Undecided	1	1	0
4. Other	1	1	2
5. Don't Know	0	1	0

- Q 07 If you think a thing is right, do you think you should go ahead and do it even if it is contrary to usual custom, or do you think you are less apt to make a mistake if you follow custom?

1. Go ahead	63	66	58
2. Follow custom	21	19	25
3. Depends on...	13	13	13
4. Other	1	1	1
5. Don't Know	2	2	3

- Q 08 Some people say that if we get outstanding political leaders, the best way to improve the country is for the people to leave everything to them, rather than for the people to discuss things among themselves. Do you agree with this, or disagree?

1. Agree	13	11	16
2. Disagree	82	83	81
3. Other	1	2	1
4. Don't Know	3	4	2

- Q 09 Suppose that you borrowed \$100.00 from an intimate friend, and also suppose that, at the same time, this friend said, "Just to be sure, write me out an IOU." What would you think about this?

1. Think it unpleasant, though probably a natural request.	21	21	22
2. Think it only natural.	72	71	73
3. Other	6	7	5
4. Don't Know	1	2	-

- Q 10 Do you think that people's health will improve in the future, or do you think it will get worse?

1. Will improve	67	70	64
2. Will get worse	21	17	25
3. Will not change	6	6	5
4. Other	2	2	2
5. Don't Know	5	5	4

- Q 11 What do you think about people's peace of mind? Will it increase or decrease?

1. Will increase	34	35	32
2. Will decrease	45	41	50
3. Will not change	9	10	7
4. Other	4	4	3
5. Don't Know	9	10	8

Q 12 What do you think about people's freedom? Will it increase or decrease?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Will increase	44	38	52
2. Will decrease	34	37	30
3. Will not change	12	13	10
4. Other	3	4	1
5. Don't Know	8	9	7

Q 13 When people are punished for their offenses, should one consider what they did in fact, or what they intended to do? [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. What they did in fact	61	58	67
2. What they intended to do	26	30	22
3. Other	9	9	9
4. Don't Know	3	3	3

Q 14 Which of the following views on rules and their application comes closest to your view? [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Make rigid rules but be flexible in executing them	35	32	39
2. Make rigid rules and faithfully execute them	23	22	25
3. Make flexible or lenient rules and faithfully execute them	36	40	30
4. Other	3	3	2
5. Don't Know	3	3	3

Q 15 Which one of the following views on the ideal content of a contract comes closest to yours? [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Decide on all details of the contract at the onset in order to avoid all possible future problems	74	71	78
2. Decide only on major principles of the content at the onset and then leave the rest for informal negotiations later	22	25	18
3. Other	2	1	2
4. Don't Know	3	3	3

Q 16 Which one of the following views on the ideal handling of a contract comes closest to yours? [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Contract should be followed through with the original contract regardless of any change subsequently desired by either party	24	24	23
2. Contract should be conceived in such a manner as to permit informal negotiation to amend the contract when either party subsequently desires to change the terms due to the changing situation	68	67	70
3. Other	2	1	2
4. Don't Know	7	8	5

- Q 17 Junior high school students went on a trip under the supervision of their teacher. A student was hit by a car around midnight, when he went out on his own. Which of the following views comes closest to yours?  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

	Total	Non-Japanese	Japanese
1. It happened during a school trip. His teacher should be held responsible	23	21	26
2. His teacher should not be held responsible for what has happened, because the student went on his own around midnight	73	74	71
3. Other	4	5	2
4. Don't Know	1	1	1

- Q 18 In your opinion, which one of the following views is more common among parents in general?  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. His teacher is responsible	73	75	69
2. His teacher is not responsible	21	17	25
3. Other	2	2	3
4. Don't Know	5	6	3

- Q 19 Here are two opinions about law. Which one would you agree with?  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Laws should be established so as to provide people with a way to get along together easily	34	36	30
2. Laws should be established so as to bring about justice in society	59	56	64
3. Other	5	5	5
4. Don't Know	2	3	2

- Q 20 Imagine this situation. Mr. A was orphaned at an early age and was brought up by Mr. B, a kind neighbor. Mr. B gave him a good education, sent him to a university, and now Mr. A has become the president of a company. One day he gets a telegram saying that Mr. B, who brought him up, is seriously ill and asking if he would come at once. This telegram arrives as he is going to an important meeting which will decide whether his firm is to go bankrupt or to survive. Which of the following things do you think he should do?  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Leave everything and go back home	62	58	67
2. However worried he might be about Mr. B, he should go to the meeting	31	34	27
3. Other	5	6	3
4. Don't Know	3	3	3

- Q 21 The last question supposed that Mr. B had taken him in as an orphan in his youth and brought him up. Suppose that was his real father who was on his death-bed. Which would have been your answer then?  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Leave everything and go back home	67	63	72
2. However worried he might be about his father, he should go to the meeting	27	30	23
3. Other	4	4	3
4. Don't Know	2	3	2

- Q 22 Here are three opinions about man and nature. Which one of these do you think is closest to the truth? [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. In order to be happy, man must follow nature	30	31	28
2. In order to be happy, man must make use of nature	59	57	62
3. In order to be happy, man must conquer nature	4	5	4
4. Other	3	3	3
5. Don't Know	4	4	4

- Q 23 Please choose from among the following statements the one with which you agree most. [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. If individuals are made happy, then and only then will the country as a whole improve	27	27	26
2. If the country as a whole improves, then and only then can individuals be made happy	24	20	30
3. Improving the country and making individuals happy are the same thing	39	40	37
4. Other	4	5	2
5. Don't Know	7	8	6

- Q 24 If you were asked to choose two out of the following, which two would you choose? [ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Filial piety, obligational respect to your parents	49	41	60
2. Repaying obligations to benefactors	17	18	16
3. Respecting rights of the individual	79	80	77
4. Respecting freedom of the individual	51	56	43
5. Other	1	1	0
6. Don't Know	1	1	1

- Q 25 Supposing someone wants to do something which he thinks is right and gives a full explanation to others about it, but they refuse to listen to him. Which of these two persons do you think has the better attitude?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Somebody who ignores the opposition and goes ahead	71	72	70
2. Somebody who gives up the idea if it is opposed	18	17	20
3. Other	7	7	7
4. Don't Know	4	4	3

- Q 26 There are all sorts of attitudes toward life. Which one of the following statements would you say comes closest to your way of life?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Get rich	3	3	3
2. Become famous	1	1	1
3. Live a life that suits your own taste	73	69	79
4. Devote your efforts to serve society	20	23	15
5. Other	3	3	2
6. Don't Know	0	0	0

Q 27 Whom do you consider more desirable as a man? [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Mr. S. who is friendly and can be counted on to help others but is not an efficient worker	74	75	71
2. Mr. t. who is an efficient worker but is indifferent to the worries and affairs of others	17	16	18
3. Other	6	6	7
4. Don't Know	3	3	4

Q 28 Which one of the following personality types would you like best?  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. A person who stresses a rational decision according to a principle without any regard to interpersonal harmony	25	27	22
2. A person who stresses the value of maintaining interpersonal harmony even if it may go against his own principle	68	64	73
3. Other	3	4	3
4. Don't Know	4	5	2

Q 29 Suppose that you are the president of a company. The company decides to employ one person, and then carries out an employment examination. The supervisor in charge reports to you saying, "Your relative who took the examination got the second highest grade. But I believe that either your relative or the candidate who got the highest grade would be satisfactory. What shall we do?" In such a case, which person would you employ?  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. One with the highest grade	62	62	62
2. Your relative	33	32	34
3. Other	3	4	3
4. Don't Know	2	2	2

Q 30 In the last question we supposed that the one getting the second highest grade was your relative. Suppose that the second was the son of parents to whom you felt indebted. Which person would you employ?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. One with the highest grade	57	58	55
2. Son of your benefactor	38	36	40
3. Other	3	3	2
4. Don't Know	3	3	3

Q 31 Suppose you are working in a firm in which there are two types of department chiefs. Which of these two would you prefer to work under?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. A: A man who always sticks to the work rules and never demands any unreasonable work, but who, on the other hand, never does anything for you personally in matters not connected with the work	38	40	35
2. B: A man who sometimes demands extra work in spite of rules against it, but who, on the other hand, looks after you personally in matters not connected with the work	59	57	63
3. Other	1	1	2
4. Don't Know	2	2	1



- Q 32 What kind of images do you have of the department chief A above?  
Say whatever comes to your mind.

	Total	Non-Japanese	Japanese
1. Mentioned	88	87	89
2. No Answer	12	13	11

- Q 33 What kind of images do you have of the department chief B above?  
Say whatever comes to your mind.

1. Mentioned	87	85	89
2. No Answer	13	15	11

- Q 34A Which two qualities listed in your answer sheet would you say are the  
most desirable for a boy to have? [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

[Boy]

1. has good manners	6	7	4
2. tries hard to succeed	10	7	13
3. is honest	45	45	44
4. is neat and clean	1	1	2
5. has good sense and sound judgment	45	43	48
6. has self-control	8	9	5
7. gets along with other children	4	4	4
8. obeys his parents well	10	8	12
9. is responsible	32	29	35
10. is considerate of others	23	24	22
11. is interested in how and why things happen	15	19	10
12. Other	1	1	1
13. Don't Know	0	1	-

- Q 34B What would you say are the two most desirable qualities for a girl to have?  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

[Girl]

1. has good manners	11	9	14
2. tries hard to succeed	5	4	6
3. is honest	39	40	38
4. is neat and clean	9	8	10
5. has good sense and sound judgment	43	42	45
6. has self-control	8	9	8
7. gets along with other children	4	4	4
8. obeys her parents well	12	10	14
9. is responsible	29	27	32
10. is considerate of others	27	28	24
11. is interested in how and why things happen	11	16	4
12. Other	1	1	1
13. Don't Know	0	1	0

Q 35 Which one of the three following views toward one's society comes closest to yours ? [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. The entire way our society is organized must be radically changed by revolutionary action	2	2	3
2. Our society must be gradually improved by reforms	78	79	78
3. Our present society must be valiantly defended against all subversive forces	14	14	14
4. Other	2	3	2
5. Don't Know	3	2	4

Q 36 Which one of the following views comes closest to yours?

1. The interests of employers and employees are often in conflict with each other's, but they should cooperate	26	25	28
2. Since the interests of employers and employees are often in conflict with each other's, they should not cooperate	1	1	1
3. Since the interests of employers and employees are mutual in the final analysis, they should cooperate	70	71	69
4. Other	0	1	0
5. Don't Know	3	3	3

Q 37 What do you think about "Democracy," "Capitalism," "Socialism," "Conservatism," and "Liberalism"? Are you favorably or unfavorably disposed to these ideas?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

A) Democracy			
1. Favorable	86	84	88
2. Depends...	10	10	10
3. Unfavorable	2	3	-
4. Other	0	0	0
5. Don't Know	2	3	2
B) Capitalism			
1. Favorable	48	53	41
2. Depends...	24	22	25
3. Unfavorable	21	19	22
4. Other	1	0	1
5. Don't Know	8	5	11
C) Socialism			
1. Favorable	22	23	20
2. Depends...	31	31	30
3. Unfavorable	40	40	40
4. Other	-	-	-
5. Don't Know	8	6	11
D) Conservatism			
1. Favorable	30	29	30
2. Depends...	34	35	32
3. Unfavorable	27	28	25
4. Other	1	1	-
5. Don't Know	9	7	12

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
E) Liberalism			
1. Favorable	37	38	35
2. Depends on...	31	31	31
3. Unfavorable	23	24	22
4. Other	0	1	~
5. Don't Know	9	7	13

- Q 38 All things considered, how satisfied are you with your family life -- the time you spend and the things you do with members of your family? Please indicate your feeling on the five point scale shown in your answer sheet.

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Completely satisfied	46	43	49
2. Neither completely satisfied nor	29	32	26
3. completely dissatisfied (neutral)	21	20	22
4. completely dissatisfied (neutral)	1	1	1
5. Completely dissatisfied	1	2	0
6. Other	1	1	1
7. Don't Know	1	1	0

- Q 39 All things considered, how satisfied are you with life in the United States today? Which number on the five-point scale comes closest to how satisfied or dissatisfied you feel?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Completely satisfied	30	25	38
2.	33	34	32
3. Neutral	31	34	26
4.	5	6	4
5. Completely dissatisfied	1	1	-
6. Other	-	-	-
7. Don't Know	0	1	-

- Q 40 Now I want to ask you about your life as a whole. How satisfied are you with your life as a whole these days? Which number on the five-point scale comes closest to how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with your life as a whole?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Completely satisfied	35	33	39
2.	41	45	36
3. Neutral	21	20	23
4.	2	2	2
5. Completely dissatisfied	1	1	0
6. Other	0	0	0
7. Don't Know	0	0	-

Note: I am going to read you a series of statements next. Listen to them carefully and indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree as indicated in your answer sheet. What we want is your first impression. Just tell me whatever answer comes to your mind first.

[ Q 41 ~ Q 58 ]

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree somewhat
3. Disagree somewhat

4. Disagree strongly
5. Other
6. Don't Know

A-10

Q 41 As long as I do not break any law, I may do anything I please.

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Agree strongly	25	25	26
2. Agree somewhat	31	32	30
3. Disagree somewhat	19	18	22
4. Disagree strongly	23	24	22
5. Other	0	1	0
6. Don't Know	0	0	0

Q 42 Money can solve most problems.

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	13	12	14
2. Agree somewhat	32	30	35
3. Disagree somewhat	28	28	29
4. Disagree strongly	25	29	21
5. Other	1	1	1
6. Don't Know	0	1	-

Q 43 I should not be so rational that I lose the richness of human feelings.

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	61	65	55
2. Agree somewhat	27	23	33
3. Disagree somewhat	6	5	6
4. Disagree strongly	3	3	2
5. Other	0	0	1
6. Don't Know	3	3	3

Q 44 I would rather do something than just sit around.

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	81	83	80
2. Agree somewhat	15	14	16
3. Disagree somewhat	2	3	2
4. Disagree strongly	1	1	2
5. Other	0	-	1
6. Don't Know	0	0	0

Q 45 What matters the most is how effective I am in getting what I want out of my life.

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	39	36	45
2. Agree somewhat	40	41	39
3. Disagree somewhat	14	16	11
4. Disagree strongly	4	5	2
5. Other	0	1	-
6. Don't Know	3	2	4

Q 46 Individual freedom is more important than providing an equal opportunity for all people.

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	20	24	15
2. Agree somewhat	28	26	30
3. Disagree somewhat	29	27	32
4. Disagree strongly	19	20	17
5. Other	1	1	1
6. Don't Know	3	2	5

- Q 47 I do not get mad or frustrated. I make it a point to get even with those who try to hurt me.  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Agree strongly	4	5	4
2. Agree somewhat	12	10	15
3. Disagree somewhat	25	24	28
4. Disagree strongly	57	60	52
5. Other	1	1	0
6. Don't Know	1	1	1

- Q 48 I let the situation develop itself rather than pushing my own ideas through, when I am with people.  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	21	22	21
2. Agree somewhat	41	39	45
3. Disagree somewhat	24	24	23
4. Disagree strongly	10	11	8
5. Other	1	2	1
6. Don't Know	3	3	2

- Q 49 I do not think it is a good idea to push my own idea at the expense of those of others at all times.  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	42	45	38
2. Agree somewhat	33	31	37
3. Disagree somewhat	17	16	20
4. Disagree strongly	6	6	5
5. Other	1	1	-
6. Don't Know	1	1	0

- Q 50 I find satisfaction in being able to figure things out in advance in such a way as to enable my idea to come through at the end of any meeting.  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	47	49	45
2. Agree somewhat	36	33	41
3. Disagree somewhat	7	8	5
4. Disagree strongly	3	3	4
5. Other	1	1	1
6. Don't Know	6	7	4

- Q 51 As a rule, I do not apologize to anyone for anything I may or I may not do.  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	4	4	3
2. Agree somewhat	10	9	11
3. Disagree somewhat	23	21	25
4. Disagree strongly	63	65	60
5. Other	0	0	0
6. Don't Know	1	2	1

A-12

Q 52 Even if I step on someone's toes, I would push my ideas in order to do what I think is best for my family.  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Agree strongly	20	24	15
2. Agree somewhat	29	30	29
3. Disagree somewhat	27	27	27
4. Disagree strongly	22	17	28
5. Other	1	1	1
6. Don't Know	1	2	1

Q 53 Even if I don't succeed in whatever I do in my life, I know that that is not a fault of the system.  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	41	45	36
2. Agree somewhat	39	32	48
3. Disagree somewhat	12	14	9
4. Disagree strongly	6	7	5
5. Other	1	1	1
6. Don't Know	1	1	1

Q 54 No matter how imperfect America is, I know that I can work within the system to change it.  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	38	44	30
2. Agree somewhat	40	35	47
3. Disagree somewhat	14	13	16
4. Disagree strongly	5	6	4
5. Other	0	-	1
6. Don't Know	3	2	3

Q 55 While it is possible for the disadvantaged poor to become successful in our society, the system makes it easier for the rich to achieve their goals.  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	51	55	46
2. Agree somewhat	35	32	39
3. Disagree somewhat	9	7	11
4. Disagree strongly	4	5	3
5. Other	-	-	-
6. Don't Know	2	1	2

Q 56 Equal justice for all is not just an ideal but a reality in America.  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	20	17	23
2. Agree somewhat	26	24	28
3. Disagree somewhat	30	30	29
4. Disagree strongly	22	26	16
5. Other	0	-	1
6. Don't Know	3	3	3

- Q 57 The system works against the poor, women, blacks and other disadvantaged people in America. [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Agree strongly	19	22	15
2. Agree somewhat	35	33	38
3. Disagree somewhat	26	26	27
4. Disagree strongly	16	17	15
5. Other	1	1	1
6. Don't Know	3	3	4

- Q 58 What happens to me is my own doing. [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Agree strongly	50	51	48
2. Agree somewhat	37	34	40
3. Disagree somewhat	10	11	9
4. Disagree strongly	2	3	2
5. Other	1	1	1
6. Don't Know	1	1	1

- Q 59 Among people around you, are there many, some, or no one who believe " money can solve most problems? " [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Many	37	34	40
2. Some	57	59	55
3. None	5	6	4
4. Other	0	-	0
5. Don't Know	1	1	1

- Q 60 Would you say that most of the time people try to be just helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves? [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Try to be helpful	53	56	48
2. Just to look out for themselves	41	37	47
3. Other	4	5	3
4. Don't Know	2	2	2

- Q 61 Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they try to be fair? [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Would take advantage	27	28	27
2. Would try to be fair	65	65	66
3. Other	4	4	5
4. Don't Know	3	4	2

- Q 62 Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people? [ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Can be trusted	56	56	55
2. Cannot be too careful	40	39	41
3. Other	4	4	4
4. Don't Know	1	1	0

- Q 63 When you do make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry things out the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans?  
[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Work out as expected	49	49	51
2. Have to change plans	44	44	45
3. Other	5	6	3
4. Don't Know	1	1	1

- Q 64 Taken all together, how would you say things are these days--would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Very happy	26	28	22
2. Pretty happy	66	62	72
3. Not too happy	7	8	5
4. Other	1	1	1
5. Don't Know	1	1	-

- Q 65 Generally speaking, do you feel that society as a whole is being fair or unfair to you?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Fair	94	92	97
2. Unfair	3	3	2
3. Other	2	3	1
4. Don't Know	2	3	-

- Q 66 Which of the following statements best describes your closest friends?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. All of my closest friends belong to the same ethnic group to which I belong.	9	8	11
2. Most of my closest friends belong to the same ethnic group to which I belong.	34	27	43
3. Half of my closest friends belong to the same ethnic group to which I belong.	27	27	28
4. Only a minority of my closest friends belong to the same ethnic group to which I belong.	23	29	14
5. None of my closest friends belong to the same ethnic group to which I belong.	6	7	3
6. Other	1	2	-
7. Don't Know	1	1	1

- Q 67 What kind of organizations ( e.g., church, service organizations, neighborhood association ) do you belong to?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. Most of the organizations I belong to consist mostly of the same ethnic group to which I belong.	19	13	27
2. Most of the organizations I belong to are ethnically mixed ( No one ethnic group constitutes a majority or half ).	57	62	50
3. Most of the organizations I belong to consist mostly of the ethnic group to which I do not belong.	7	8	5
4. Other	15	14	16
5. Don't Know	2	3	2



Q 68 If you are employed, which one of the following statements best describes your co-workers or colleagues at the place where you work?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. All my co-workers belong to the same ethnic group to which I belong	4	4	5
2. Most of my co-workers belong to the same ethnic group to which I belong	14	9	21
3. Half of my co-workers belong to the same ethnic group to which I belong	22	19	27
4. Only a minority of my co-workers belong to the same ethnic group to which I belong	27	32	20
5. None of my co-workers belong to the same ethnic group to which I belong	6	9	3
6. Not employed	20	21	18
7. Other	5	5	6
8. Don't Know	2	2	0

Q 69 What comes first to your mind when you think of American culture?

0. No Answer	13	11	16
1. Mentioned	87	89	84

Q 70 What aspects of our American culture would you like to see preserved?

0. No Answer	19	17	22
1. Mentioned	81	83	78

Q 71 What comes first to your mind when you think of Japanese culture?

0. No Answer	15	15	16
1. Mentioned	85	85	84

Q 72 If you could be born again, to which nationality, that is to say, race or ethnic group would you like to belong?

	Freq.			%		
	T.	N-J.	J.	T.	N-J.	J.
[Same one]						
101) Caucasian (island-born)	34	34	-	5	8	-
102) Caucasian (mainland-born)	126	126	-	17	29	-
103) Caucasian (foreign-born)	6	6	-	1	1	-
104) Chinese	75	75	-	10	17	-
105) Hawaiian	11	11	-	2	3	-
106) Japanese	245	-	245	33	-	79
107) Korean	6	6	-	1	1	-
108) Portuguese	8	8	-	1	2	-
109) Philippine	25	25	-	3	6	-
110) Puerto Rican	2	2	-	0	1	-
111) Black	2	2	-	0	1	-
112) Polynesian	3	3	-	0	1	-
124) Caucasian x Chinese	2	2	-	0	1	-
125) Caucasian x Hawaiian	3	3	-	0	1	-
126) Caucasian x Japanese	2	-	2	0	-	1
145) Chinese x Hawaiian	12	12	-	2	3	-
146) Chinese x Japanese	2	1	1	0	0	0
148) Chinese x Portuguese	1	1	-	0	0	-
156) Hawaiian x Japanese	3	1	2	0	0	1
157) Hawaiian x Korean	1	1	-	0	0	-
159) Hawaiian x Philippine	2	2	-	0	1	-
169) Japanese x Philippine	2	-	2	0	-	1
196) Japanese—mixed: three or more	1	-	1	0	-	0
197) Non-Japanese—mixed: three or more	19	19	-	3	4	-
198) Other (F 23=Other)	7	6	1	1	1	0
[Other]						
202) not Caucasian → Caucasian (American)	22	5	17	3	1	5
203) not European → European	10	9	1	1	2	0
204) not Chinese → Chinese	4	2	2	1	1	1
205) not Hawaiian → Hawaiian	10	5	5	1	1	2
206) not Japanese → Japanese	8	8	-	1	2	-
212) not Polynesian → Polynesian	6	6	-	1	1	-
225) not Cauca. x Chinese → Cauca. x Chinese	2	2	-	0	1	-
226) not Cauca. x Japanese → Cauca. x Japanese	1	1	-	0	0	-
228) not Cauca. x Portu. → Cauca. x Portu.	1	1	-	0	0	-
229) not Cauca. x Phili. → Cauca. x Phili.	1	1	-	0	0	-
245) not Chinese x Hi. → Chinese x Hi.	1	1	-	0	0	-
256) not Hi. x Ja. → Hi. x Ja.	2	1	1	0	0	0
297) Non-Japanese—mixed: three or more (not)	9	6	3	1	1	1
298) Other	22	14	8	3	3	3
[No Answer]						
399) No Answer	52	31	21	7	7	7

Q 73 Would you say you are on the whole more inclined than the average to honor your ancestors or less?

	Total	Non-Japanese	Japanese
1. More than the average	53	48	61
2. Less than the average	29	35	21
3. Other	15	14	16
4. Don't Know	3	3	2

Some information about the background of each respondent.

F 01 What class would you say you belong to?		[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Upper class		2	3	1
2. Middle class		63	62	65
3. Working class		28	26	30
4. Lower class		2	3	2
5. Other		3	4	2
6. Don't Know		1	2	1

F 02 I'd like to ask you a question about religion next. Do you, for example, have any personal religious faith?

1. Yes	70	73	66
2. No	29	26	34
3. Other	-	-	-
4. Don't Know	0	1	-

[F 02-1.]

F 03 If yes, what religion is that?

1. Buddhism	13	1	30
2. Catholic	17	26	5
3. Jewish	0	1	-
4. Protestant	22	25	17
5. Other	17	20	14
6. Don't Know	1	1	1
0. Reject	30	27	34

F 04 Have you ever experienced similar spiritual feelings and reverence, as when in your own church, when you visited other religious' churches?

1. Yes	43	48	36
2. No	18	16	22
3. I never visited any church or other religious organizations other than my own	6	7	5
4. Other	2	2	2
5. Don't Know	2	2	3
0. Reject	30	27	34

[F 02-2.]

F 05. If no, have you ever experienced any spiritual feeling and reverence, when you visited any religious institution?

1. Yes	14	11	18
2. No	14	14	14
3. Never visited any	1	1	1
4. Other	0	1	0
5. Don't Know	0	0	1
0. Reject	71	74	66

A-18

F 06 Without any reference to any of the established religions, do you think that a religious attitude is important or not?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Important	18	14	24
2. Not important	8	9	7
3. Other	2	2	2
4. Don't Know	1	1	1
0. Reject	71	74	66

F 07 There are some people who say about religion that there are many sects all with their own different positions, but that really their teachings all amount to the same thing. Would you agree with this or not?

1. Yes	76	72	83
2. No	19	23	15
3. Other	2	3	0
4. Don't Know	2	3	2

F 08 How interested are you in politics?

1. Very much	18	24	11
2. Somewhat	38	41	33
3. Little	31	25	40
4. None	11	8	14
5. Other	2	2	1
6. Don't Know	0	0	0

F 09 How often do you attend political rallies, campaign fund-raising events and the like?

1. Very often	6	9	2
2. Sometimes	19	19	20
3. Rarely	32	31	34
4. Never	42	40	45
5. Other	0	1	-
6. Don't Know	0	1	-

F 10 How often do you vote in general elections?

1. Always	88	86	92
2. Most of the time	7	8	5
3. Occasionally	2	3	1
4. Rarely	1	1	0
5. Other	2	2	2
6. Don't Know	0	-	0

F 11 Which political party do you support?

1. Democratic Party	52	42	65
2. Republican Party	15	21	6
3. Other Party	6	5	8
4. Independent	23	28	17
5. Don't Know	4	4	4

## F 12 Sex

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Male	50	50	49
2. Female	51	50	51

## F 13 When were you born?

[ ANSWER SHEET shown ]

1. 1956-1960	5	5	5
2. 1951-1955	7	7	7
3. 1946-1950	11	13	7
4. 1941-1945	11	13	9
5. 1936-1940	8	10	5
6. 1931-1935	7	6	7
7. 1926-1930	11	8	14
8. 1921-1925	12	9	16
9. 1916-1920	9	8	11
10. 1911-1915	8	7	9
11. 1910 or earlier	12	13	9
12. Don't Know	0	0	-

## F 14 Where were you born?

1. Hawaii: specify town or city and island	65	45	93
2. Elsewhere U.S.A.: specify state	26	44	1
3. Elsewhere outside U.S.A.: specify country	9	11	6
4. Other	1	1	0
5. Don't Know	-	-	-

## F 15 If you were not born here, how many years have you been living in Hawaii?

1- 9 years	14	23	1
10-19	10	16	1
20-29	3	5	1
30-39	4	5	1
40-49	1	2	0
50-59	2	2	1
60-69	2	1	2
70 year and over	0	0	0
0. Reject	65	46	93

## F 16 What is your educational background?

1. Elementary school or less	5	4	5
2. Junior high school	7	6	9
3. Senior high school	27	22	35
4. Technical/business school	8	6	10
5. University or college	35	37	30
6. Graduate work or professional school (e.g., law school)	19	24	11
7. No Answer	-	-	-

## F 17 What languages do you speak?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. English only	38	49	23
2. Other language	62	51	77
3. No Answer	0	1	0

Language code	<u>Freq.</u>			<u>%</u>		
	T.	N-J.	J.	T.	N-J.	J.
00) English only	286	213	73	38	49	23
01) French ( & English )	23	23	-	3	5	-
02) German	6	6	-	1	1	-
03) Other European language (Spanish, Russian,)	30	29	1	4	7	0
04) Chinese	42	42	-	6	10	-
05) Hawaiian	12	12	-	2	3	-
06) Japanese	226	5	221	30	1	71
07) Korean	4	4	-	1	1	-
08) Portuguese	5	5	-	1	1	-
09) Tagalog (Philippine)	25	25	-	3	6	-
10) Puerto Rican	1	1	-	0	0	-
11) Polynesian	1	1	-	0	0	-
12) French & German ( & English )	2	2	-	0	1	-
13) Fr. & Other European language	6	6	-	1	1	-
14) French & Chinese	1	1	-	0	0	-
15) French & Hawaiian	2	1	1	0	0	0
16) French & Japanese	5	2	3	1	1	1
17) French & Korean	1	1	-	0	0	-
23) German & Other European language	3	3	-	0	1	-
26) German & Japanese	3	1	2	0	0	1
33) Other European languages (Spanish & Italian)	1	1	-	0	0	-
34) Other European language & Chinese	3	3	-	0	1	-
35) Other European language & Hawaiian	1	1	-	0	0	-
36) Other European language & Japanese	4	3	1	1	1	0
39) Other European language & Tagalog	2	2	-	0	1	-
45) Chinese & Hawaiian	3	3	-	0	1	-
46) Chinese & Japanese	3	2	1	0	1	0
56) Hawaiian & Japanese	5	2	3	1	1	1
69) Japanese & Tagalog	1	1	-	0	0	-
96) Pidgn English	7	6	1	1	1	0
97) Trilingual	27	23	4	4	5	1
98) Other	8	7	1	1	2	0
99) No Answer	2	2	-	0	1	-

## F 18 How many years of formal schooling did you father have?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Elementary school or less	24	19	31
2. Junior high school	14	13	16
3. Senior high school	24	25	23
4. Technical/Business school	3	4	2
5. University or college	12	16	6
6. Graduate work or professional school (e.g., law school)	5	6	2
7. Don't Know	18	17	21

F 19 What was your family's regular occupation while you were growing up?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Professional: professor, physician, engineer, lawyer, teacher,	10	13	5
2. Managerial: high gov't official, manager, proprietor (large)	6	9	2
3. Skilled worker: carpenter, electrician, machinist	20	18	22
4. Farmer: agricultural worker	19	15	24
5. Semi-skilled or unskilled worker: bus driver, laborer	7	7	8
6. Clerical worker: clerk, insurance salesman, policeman	14	16	12
7. Service worker: waiter, barber, cab driver	9	8	10
8. Housewife/student/not gainfully employed/ on welfare	0	1	0
9. Small businessman: small store owner/ manager	14	13	16
0. No Answer	1	1	1

F 20 What is your regular occupation?

1. Professional	21	24	15
2. Managerial	5	7	2
3. Skilled worker	8	6	10
4. Farmer	0	0	-
5. Semi-skilled or unskilled worker	2	2	3
6. Clerical worker	27	24	32
7. Service worker	8	6	12
8. Housewife etc.	25	26	23
9. Small businessman etc.	4	5	4
0. No Answer	0	0	-

F 21 Are you single, married, divorced, or widowed?

1. Single living with parents	12	8	16
2. Single living without anyone of the opposite sex	8	11	5
3. Single living with someone of the opposite sex	2	3	0
4. Married	64	62	68
5. Widowed	5	5	4
6. Married but separated	0	1	0
7. Divorced	8	9	5
8. Other	1	1	1
9. No Answer	0	0	-

F 22 If you are married, what is your spouse's regular occupation?

1. Professional	12	11	12
2. Managerial	3	3	1
3. Skilled worker	7	6	9
4. Farmer	0	1	-
5. Semi-skilled or unskilled worker	2	2	2
6. Clerical worker	14	11	19
7. Service worker	4	5	3
8. Housewife etc.	20	21	18
9. Small businessman etc.	4	3	4
0. Reject	35	37	32

F 23 What nationality are you? That is to say, what ethnic group do you identify with?

Ethnic code	Freq.			%		
	T.	N-J.	J.	T.	N-J.	J.
01) Caucasian (island-born)	42	42	-	6	10	-
02) Caucasian (mainland-born)	165	165	-	22	38	-
03) Caucasian (foreign-born)	13	13	-	2	3	-
04) Chinese	88	88	-	12	20	-
05) Hawaiian	11	11	-	2	3	-
06) Japanese	300	-	300	40	-	96
07) Korean	9	9	-	1	2	-
08) Portuguese	11	11	-	2	3	-
09) Philippine	31	31	-	4	7	-
10) Puerto Rican	2	2	-	0	1	-
11) Black	2	2	-	0	1	-
12) Polynesian	3	3	-	0	1	-
24) Caucasian x Chinese	2	2	-	0	1	-
25) Caucasian x Hawaiian	4	4	-	1	1	-
26) Caucasian x Japanese	3	1	2	0	0	1
45) Chinese x Hawaiian	14	14	-	2	3	-
46) Chinese x Japanese	3	1	2	0	0	1
48) Chinese x Portuguese	1	1	-	0	0	-
49) Chinese x Philippine	1	1	-	0	0	-
56) Hawaiian x Japanese	4	1	3	1	0	1
57) Hawaiian x Korean	1	1	-	0	0	-
59) Hawaiian x Philippine	2	2	-	0	1	-
67) Japanese x Korean	1	-	1	0	-	0
69) Japanese x Philippine	3	1	2	0	0	1
96) Japanese — mixed: three or more	1	-	1	0	-	0
97) non-Japanese — mixed: three or more	24	24	-	3	6	-
98) Other	8	7	1	1	2	0
99) No Answer	2	2	-	0	1	-

F 24 If you are married, what is your spouse's ethnic background?

01) Caucasian (island-born)	25	24	1	3	6	0
02) Caucasian (mainland-born)	95	89	6	13	20	2
03) Caucasian (foreign-born)	16	13	3	2	3	1
04) Chinese	48	43	5	6	10	2
05) Hawaiian	13	11	2	2	3	1
06) Japanese	213	27	186	28	6	60
07) Korean	2	2	-	0	1	-
08) Portuguese	6	5	1	1	1	0
09) Philippine	21	21	-	3	5	-
10) Puerto Rican	1	1	-	0	0	-
12) Polynesian	3	3	-	0	1	-
25) Caucasian x Hawaiian	3	2	1	0	1	0
26) Caucasian x Japanese	3	1	2	0	0	1
27) Caucasian x Korean	1	1	-	0	0	-
28) Caucasian x Portuguese	1	1	-	0	0	-
29) Caucasian x Philippine	1	1	-	0	0	-
45) Chinese x Hawaiian	5	4	1	1	1	0
46) Chinese x Japanese	1	-	1	0	-	0
49) Chinese x Philippine	1	1	-	0	0	-
56) Hawaiian x Japanese	3	2	1	0	1	0
58) Hawaiian x Portuguese	1	1	-	0	0	-
67) Japanese x Korean	2	1	1	0	0	0
69) Japanese x Philippine	1	1	-	0	0	-
97) non-Japanese — mixed: three or more	20	14	6	3	3	2
98) Other	6	6	-	1	1	-
99) No Answer	1	1	-	0	0	-
00) Reject	258	163	95	34	37	30



F 25 How often do you read newspapers?			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Never	2	1	2
2. Occasionally	14	16	11
3. Regularly/Often	85	83	87
4. Other	0	1	-
5. Don't Know	-	-	-
F 26 Have you ever visited Japan?			
1. No	56	65	44
2. Yes, once	23	16	31
3. Yes, 2-5 times	17	14	20
4. Yes, 6-10 times	2	2	2
5. Yes, 11 or more times	2	2	2
6. Other	1	1	1
7. Don't Know	-	-	-
F 27 How often do you watch Japanese television programs (Channel 13, KIKU)?			
1. Never	34	49	13
2. Occasionally	44	41	49
3. Regularly/Often	18	5	36
4. Other	4	5	2
5. Don't Know	0	0	-
F 28 Do you go to see Japanese movies (excluding T.V. movies)?			
1. Do not go to see any movies	24	24	23
2. See only Japanese movies	1	0	2
3. See both Japanese and non-Japanese movies	37	29	48
4. See only non-Japanese movies	33	42	21
5. Other	4	4	5
6. Don't Know	0	1	-
F 29 Do you like Japanese music?			
1. I like only Japanese music	2	1	3
2. I like both Japanese and non-Japanese music	51	36	72
3. I like only non-Japanese music	19	23	13
4. I do not like Japanese music	22	31	10
5. I do not like any music	1	1	-
6. Other	5	6	2
7. Don't Know	1	1	-

More information about the background of Japanese-American

		<u>Japanese</u>
J 01	How often do you read Japanese language newspapers?	
	1. Never	84
	2. Occasionally	7
	3. Regularly/Often	7
	4. Other	1
	5. Don't Know	1
J 02	How often do you listen to Japanese radio broadcasts?	
	1. Never	57
	2. Occasionally	29
	3. Regularly/Often	13
	4. Other	1
	5. Don't Know	1
J 03	What does your family call you?	
	1. Japanese name	24
	2. American name	58
	3. Both	14
	4. Other	3
	5. Don't Know	1
J 04	Which prefecture did your parents or grandparents come from?	
	1. Yamaguchi	20
	2. Fukuoka	5
	3. Other part of Kyushu	14
	4. Okinawa	11
	5. Hiroshima	24
	6. Other part of Honshu	16
	7. Hokkaido	-
	8. Elsewhere	1
	9. Don't Know	8
J 05	What generation are you?	
	1. Issei	5
	2. Nisei	51
	3. Sansei	37
	4. Yonsei	2
	5. Gosei	-
	6. Parents: issei and nisei	3
	7. Parents: nisei and sansei	1
	8. Parents: sansei and yonsei	-
	9. Kibei	-
	10. Don't Know	2

J 06 How many years of Japanese language school did you have either in Japan or here?

	<u>Japanese</u>
1. None	11
2. Less than a year	2
3. 1-2 years	8
4. 3-5 years	19
5. 6-10 years	42
6. 10 years or more	17
6. No Answer	1

J 07 How well do you use Japanese?

1. Fluently	21
2. Passably	40
3. I can understand it, but I cannot speak it	18
4. Very poorly	16
5. Not at all	5
6. Other	-
7. No Answer	1

J 08 Do you have anyone in your immediate family, such as brother or sister, son or daughter, who is married to a non-Japanese?

1. No	53
2. Yes, one	31
3. Yes, two-three	15
4. Yes, 4 or more	0
5. Other	0
6. Don't Know	1

J 09 Have you ever lived in Japan for any length of time?

1. Yes	19
2. No	79
3. Other	1
4. No Answer	1

J 10 Which one of the following response choices best describes your preference?

[ Food ]	
1. Japanese	24
2. American	30
3. Other	42
4. No Answer	5

[ Language ]	
1. Japanese	5
2. English	87
3. Other	5
4. No Answer	2

	<u>Japanese</u>
[ Movies ]	
1. American	70
2. Japanese	11
3. Other	13
4. No Answer	7
[ Radio ]	
1. Japanese	11
2. English	79
3. Other	7
4. No Answer	4
[ Spouse ]	
1. Japanese	69
2. Non-Japanese	10
3. Other	10
4. No Answer	11
[ Close friends ]	
1. Non-Japanese	8
2. Japanese	47
3. Other	37
4. No Answer	8
[ Needs ]	
1. Family needs	74
2. Individual needs	19
3. Other	3
4. No Answer	4
J 11 Do you find it easier to write letters in English or in Japanese?	
1. Japanese	6
2. English	91
3. Makes no difference	2
4. Other	0
5. No Answer	1
J 12 Do you have any occasion to write in Japanese to someone?	
1. Yes	28
2. No	69
3. Other	2
4. No Answer	1
J 13 Do you do your mental arithmetic in English or Japanese?	
1. English	91
2. Japanese	6
3. Both or mixed up	2
4. Other	-
5. No Answer	1

Interviewer Remarks

A. In general, what was the respondent's attitude toward the interviewer?

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Non-Japanese</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
1. Friendly and interested	69	70	67
2. Cooperative but not particularly interested	20	20	21
3. Impatient and restless	2	3	2
4. Hostile	0	-	0
5. No Answer	9	8	11

B. Was respondent's understanding of the questions in general:

1. Good	68	71	63
2. Fair	17	15	21
3. Poor	5	5	5
4. Other	2	2	2
5. No Answer	9	8	10

Honolulu Residents and Their Attitudes  
in Multi-ethnic Comparative Perspectives:  
— Toward a Theory of the American National Character —

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The results of our study were based on the analysis of two bodies  
of data: 1. A sample survey of Japanese-Americans in Hawaii  
conducted in 1971 by the Research Committee on the Study of  
Japanese-Americans in Honolulu, Hawaii. 2. The 1977-1978 sample  
survey of Honolulu voters conducted by the Research Committee on  
the Study of Honolulu Residents.

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### References



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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### 1.1 The Objectives

People from Hawaii are often called Hawaiians on the U.S. mainland, irrespective of their ethnic origin. And they, in turn, tend to form a group, whether they are placed in army camps or on college campuses, as islanders who are born and reared in Hawaii feel that they have something in common. Also, they are made to feel different at times from the rest of the population on the mainland for multifarious reasons. Thus they may get together and have a "luau" or Hawaiian feast. Upon returning to Hawaii, they may go on their own and never meet again. The fact is that those who grow up in the Aloha spirit appear to develop a common culture of their own, irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds. This aspect is unique, when compared with mainland American culture.

Likewise, one would speculate that the Japanese in Japan are different from those Americans of Japanese ancestry, who grew up in Hawaii. It does not take much to tell the difference between the Japanese from Japan and the local Japanese in Honolulu from their attire, mannerisms, and skin color. In our previous study, however, we found an intriguing similarity between these two groups of Japanese with regard to their traditional Japanese concept of "on" and "giri" (Kuroda, Suzuki, and Hayashi, 1978).

Numerous attempts have been made in the past to characterize this nation and that ethnic group, without much improvement in neither methodology nor theory (Inkeles and Levinson, 1969). Many of us continue to suffer from prejudiced views of other nations and other ethnic groups, who just do not behave like we do, to paraphrase Father Andrew Greeley's book title--"Why Can't They Be Like Us?" (1969). An inventory on works done on national character

by Inkeles and Levinson (1969) leads us to believe that there are more problems with the study of national character than there are hopes for improvement in the field. The recrudescence of ethnicity in recent years as noted by such authors as Glazer and Moynihan (1970) and Frank Chin et al. (1975), gave us the impetus to look into the study of American national character from a comparative perspective of ethnicity.

The present study represents one such attempt. To be more specific, we shall compare and contrast the islanders born and reared in Honolulu with those who migrated from the U.S. mainland<sup>1)</sup> and the results of our earlier Japanese-American survey conducted in 1971 with those of the recent 1978 survey of Honolulu residents. We can then see if there have been any changes in the attitudes of Japanese-Americans in the past seven years.<sup>2)</sup> Then, efforts will be made in the final section of the study, to make use of these comparative data analyses for the purpose of building a theory of American national character from an ethnic perspective.

## 1.2 Locals and Mainlanders in Honolulu

Andrew W. Lind, a well-known sociologist who specializes in race relations in Hawaii ends one of his books on Hawaii by saying: "The people of Hawaii are becoming Hawaii's people" (1967, p. 115). While we agree with him that this is the case with most people, it is unlikely that mainland Caucasians will ever be accepted as locals. Heather Sommers, a long-time resident of Hawaii who is a mainland "haole," remarks in her letter to the editor in the Honolulu Advertiser that being a "mainland-haole" is something very difficult to define or explain, but she can feel it most vividly (1974, p. A-19).<sup>3)</sup> Being a Caucasian from the mainland of the United States in Honolulu places this person as a member of an ethnic minority most places she goes, except to certain private clubs that are either exclusively or predominantly composed of

Caucasians. One does not have to be a trained participant observer to realize that there are some cultural barriers and differences among the peoples of Hawaii. For example, not very many mainlanders initially find raw fish, poi, and other foods very appetizing, although some eventually learn to love them. The differences found are not limited, however, to food.

Notwithstanding Greeley and McCready's empirical generalization that the Whites in American society are anything but not alienated (Greeley, 1974, p. 320), the white ethnics do at times feel alienated and feel discriminated against by non-whites in Honolulu for a variety of cultural and environmental reasons, as mentioned above. Furthermore, there are no distinctions made as to their particular ethnic origin. All Whites are grouped into one large category and are often referred to as "haole," just as Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans are simply referred to as Orientals or Oriental Americans, e.g., the Oriental Americans by Melandy (1972).

No one lives without some legacy of what one inherits from his predecessors, not only his physical characteristics but his cultural heritage as well. As in many parts of the United States, Hawaii is made up of many ethnically diverse groups, each possessing its own ethnic heritage. However, Hawaii is unique in the sense that no one ethnic group constitutes a majority. This, obviously, did not stop one ethnic group from dominating others in the past or until the end of World War II. Prior to the end of the war, Hawaii was divided into plantation camps and ethnic communities without much residential integration. Hawaii was governed by the "big five," which produced everything the people needed and which dominated the Republican Party.<sup>4)</sup> The influx of people following the beginning of World War II and the subsequent quiet revolution led by the late Democratic Governor John A. Burns in cooperation with the trade unions radically changed the political culture of the state. Instead of a few large corporations dominating the state, there now seem to be many groups competing for power, and residential integration certainly has taken place to a

significant extent. The traditional life. style of Hawaii differs considerably from that of mainland U.S.. With the demise of haole dominance of electoral politics in 1954 came a slogan one often encounters in Hawaii, "local culture." Indeed, whatever constitutes the local culture has captured the imagination of many politically active segments of the Aloha State.

Haas and Resurrection compiled a series of newspaper articles on the concept of local culture (1976, pp. 32-51). By leafing through pages of newspaper articles on localism, one gets the impression that it is related to lifestyle in general but more particularly to race and politics. As Wallace Fujiyama, a controversial lawyer who serves on the Board of Regents at the University of Hawaii, frequently speaks of his concern for his "local boys." His vision is not a simple provincialism observed elsewhere in the world, for he does show a serious concern for excellence as well. Localism certainly cannot be dismissed as a fig leaf for another clannishness. David Trask, who heads the 26,000-member strong Hawaii Government Employees Association, often is a spokesman for localism in Hawaii. By reading his statements, one gets the impression that he is reacting to the dominance of haole power structure that characterized the territory of Hawaii prior to the advent of the Democratic Party victory in 1954, when both houses of the territorial legislature were captured by the Democratic Party for the first time. He is proud of the fact that the locals are now occupying many important public positions in Hawaii that used to be reserved only for mainlanders or Caucasians. He is doing everything he can to promote the welfare of the local boys. He is often regarded as a racist by mainland Caucasians looking for jobs. As Douglas Woo correctly observed, whatever the concept of "local" includes, it certainly does not include Caucasians (1975, pp. A-1).

Walter Wright in his recent article (1979, p. I-3) contends that an extortion trial of Lahaina gambler Takeo Yamauchi was a

game between the "local boys" and two tall dark "mainland haoles" from government agencies. The defense team made efforts to obtain as many "local boys" as possible on the jury and used local dialects to play on anti-haole feelings. While hypothesis may be difficult to prove, it certainly is a plausible one. It is one of those hypotheses that need to get to inner feelings of the individuals involved, which is either very difficult or impossible.

If we surmise about this nebulous concept of local culture, we can say that it is a reaction to the White racism that dominated the life of the people in Hawaii for so long.<sup>5)</sup> It is an effort on the part of all ethnic groups, except the previously dominant group to promote their welfare in Hawaii in the best way possible without forgetting the danger of degenerating into another provincialism. Locals include all those who are born in Hawaii except those of the Caucasian race, who are sometimes referred to as local haoles, as opposed to the mainland haoles, who are definitely excluded from the concept of "local". While it may be perceived as a form of racism by those who come from the U.S. mainland, it is not racism in the sense that the term "local" includes all Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Hawaiians and all non-White peoples of Asia and the Pacific who were discriminated against in the past. It ought to be noted here that Portuguese and Puerto Ricans are considered non-whites even though they are Caucasians in Hawaii.<sup>6)</sup> Hawaii residents are very sensitive about racism, unlike what is true on the mainland, where black voters may openly and proudly support any black political candidate because the candidate is black. A local would never openly make such a claim in Hawaii. No one is anxious to be labeled as a racist.

Mainland Caucasians do experience something new in Honolulu. For one thing, for the first time in their lives, they find themselves, at least numerically, members of an ethnic minority. They often feel discriminated against, as evidenced in the large number of mainland Caucasians who formally file complaints in employment.

Their cultural values clash with the local values.<sup>7)</sup>

Lest the reader be led to believe that there is nothing but conflict between islanders and mainlanders, let us recall what Lind said, that all residents are becoming Hawaii's people (1967, p. 115), or what is sometimes referred to as the golden men (Michener, 1959).<sup>8)</sup>

The golden man is one who is created in Hawaii as the result of racial miscegenation and cultural contacts and who feels at home both in a business meeting in New York or in a quiet Japanese restaurant eating "shabushabu" with chopsticks. He is thoroughly modern in his actions, while at the same time he is as ancient as a Ming vase, in his thoughts. Our report will provide empirical evidence to prove the existence of such a man in Honolulu.

The Kurodas go a step beyond to assert the need not only to exchange and learn from the East and the West, but also to develop a new Pacific civilization in Hawaii, much like what the ancient Athenians did by welcoming foreign traders, travelers, and scholars (Kuroda and Kuroda, 1976). All in all, assimilation and acculturation are continuing to take place in Hawaii; they constitute, however, a complex process that needs to be studied with utmost care and insight.

Corollarily, our plan calls for studying these aspects and others of Honolulu residents by using two sets of systematic data gathered in 1971 and 1978.

### 1.3 The Data Sources

The data for the present study are derived from two sources: a systematic random sample survey of Japanese-Americans in Honolulu conducted in 1971 and a systematic random sample survey of Honolulu voters completed in 1978.<sup>9)</sup> The questionnaires employed in both surveys are not identical, but they contain many questions in

common. The questions are largely taken from a series of longitudinal studies of Japanese national character initiated in 1953. Other questions are added to the main core of the questionnaires to fit the local situation in Honolulu. All questions were pre-tested to assure their validity.

The 1971 survey of Japanese-Americans was based upon a systematic random sample of registered voters of Japanese names, who reside in Honolulu. The 1978 survey of Honolulu residents covering the same representative districts in urban Honolulu was likewise based upon a systematic random sample of registered voters. Trained interviewers were employed to interview the respondents in person. A total of 751 interviews was checked for their validity through telephone and mail in 1978 and is used for the present study.<sup>10)</sup> The 751 respondents represent 62.3 percent of 1,205 sample respondents we attempted to find and interview. The interviewers were not allowed to use any substitute. They were instructed to interview only randomly selected voters whose names and addresses were given to them by us. The rate of cooperation varied somewhat by districts, with the lowest percentages of cooperation being found in economically less well-to-do areas of Honolulu and the highest percentages near the University of Hawaii. We were able to reach 68 percent of the Japanese-American respondents we attempted to interview, while the corresponding figure for non-Japanese-named respondents amounted to 59 percent. Thus, one might assume that the Japanese are somewhat over-represented, while the lower class respondents are less represented in relation to others.

A combination of a letter and number in parentheses, appearing in the report, refers to the number of the questions in the questionnaire used in the 1978 survey. Those who are interested in an operational definition of any concept are urged to consult the appendix in Hayashi et al. (1979), which contains the questionnaire in toto.



## Notes

1. The scope of our study does not include an interaction between these peoples. For a study of the interaction patterns between the Japanese and Caucasians in Honolulu, see Johnson and Johnson, (1975).
2. Our study is limited in that we are concerned mainly with our survey data analysis and not with a history of the Japanese from the era of "First Year" immigrants, as Judge Marumoto (1972, p. 5) calls them, who came to the Kingdom of Hawaii from Japan on June 19, 1868. For the most recent publication of a general treatment of history and culture of the Japanese in Hawaii, see Ogawa (1978), largely a collection of essays by various authors and their references. For our earlier study on Japanese-Americans in Honolulu, see Suzuki et al. (1972), Hayashi and Suzuki (1974), Hayashi et al. (1973), Suzuki (1975), and Kuroda, Suzuki, and Hayashi (1978). Mr. Katsumi Yokobori of the Asahi Newspaper has written a series of articles on Japanese-Americans in Hawaii, which appeared in the Asahi from October through December of 1978. The series consists of 30 articles depicting multifarious facets of the life of the Japanese-Americans a series written in the most concise manner possible.
3. The word "haole" is derived from a Hawaiian word "haole", meaning any outsider or foreigner as opposed to "Kanaka" or Hawaiian. However, it came to be used to refer to any Caucasian or White, irrespective of his ethnic origin. Some Caucasians feel offended if they are referred to by this expression, while others do not. It is the word often used to distinguish the "local" from the U.S. mainlander. The concept, thus, is based upon race and place origin; however, it is definitely also what Banks and Gay refers to as a "holistic" ethnic group whose members share many things in common such as culture, language, values, religion, etc. (1978).
4. The "big five", composed of Alexander and Baldwin, American Factors, C. Brewer, Castle and Cook, and Davies, dominated the life of the people in Hawaii before the end of World War II. They not only dominated business and financial affairs of the territory by owning, producing, and selling most items needed by the islanders, but controlled politics from the "Merchant Street." For this and other related topics, see Michener (1959), Simpich (1971), pp. 147-180. For what has happened in the more recent past and especially in the 1960s, see Coffman (1972).
5. A vivacious broadcaster for a Japanese language radio station in Honolulu recounts several cases of racial discrimination in his book (in Japanese). See Kuraishi (1975).
6. They were brought to Hawaii to work on plantations along with Asian-American workers. This placed them in a separate category from New England missionaries, businessmen and other professionals from the United States.

7. For example, a cultural clash between a Hawaiian woman and a haole social worker is vividly portrayed in a drama by Marian Roffman ("The Silver Set" in Eric Chock et al. eds. 1978, pp. 105-126). For this and other local writers' contribution to the literature in Hawaii, see the above-mentioned book, forwarded by Maxine Hong Kingston.
8. Michener correctly points out that the blending of cultures involved in the concept of the golden man does not necessarily mean racial mixing. Michener places an emphasis on the mind and idea (1959, "The Golden Men" pp. 778-905). He ends his lengthy book entitled Hawaii by devoting a whole chapter on what he believes to be the "Golden Men" of Hawaii.
9. A detailed report on our sample for the 1978 survey is reported elsewhere. We, thus, will not be going into detail on the sampling and the questionnaire construction. See Hayashi et al. (1979).
10. The Kurodas, who were in charge of administering the interviewing phase of the survey, personally checked every one of the interviews completed to ensure their validity. As expected, they discovered some faked interviews, which were discarded. It is our contention that every questionnaire should be checked for its validity through telephoning and through the mail, for some clever interviewers will falsify interviews once in a while. The process takes time and effort, but we believe that the efforts we made were well justified in terms of the increased validity of the questionnaire used for the present study. This checking also gave us an opportunity to personally express our appreciation for the respondent's time and courtesy extended to us.

## Chapter 2

### The Islanders and the Mainlanders

The island of Oahu, where the population of Hawaii is most concentrated and over 80 percent of its residents live, is like the rest of the state in that its population is composed many ethnic groups. The question of what constitutes the island population determines which ethnic group has a plurality in the island.<sup>1)</sup> The island is known for its beauty and blending of races, attracting nearly four million visitors per year; however, a visitor traveling from one part of the city of Honolulu to another can easily see that each ethnic group maintains its own cultural heritage in a variety of forms.

The mixed population of Hawaii is frequently divided into two groups as mentioned in our introduction, i.e., the islanders and the mainlanders, or, as Walter Wright recently referred to as the "local boys versus the haoles" (1979, p. I-3) in his "commentary" entitled "Was 'Local Boy' Theme a Factor in Trial?" In our study, however, we decided to divide our respondents into three groups rather than to dichotomize them, i.e., Japanese-Americans, island-born respondents who are not of Japanese ancestry, and mainland-born respondents. The decision was based upon our finding that there are sufficient differences between island-born respondents of Japanese ancestry and those of non-Japanese origin.

In order to facilitate our reporting, all questions are grouped into three large categories, 1) sociological, 2) psychological/cultural, and 3) political variables, and will be reported in that order.

Although we are interested in similarities and differences among all these groups, we shall deal with only those findings that show differences which we believe are of interest to the reader.

## 2.1 Sociological Profile

Following the pattern set forth in the last chapter, we shall begin with the reporting by focusing our attention on the sociological aspects of our findings first.

2.1.1 Socio-Demographic Profile: Indicators for both "subjective" and "objective" assessment of social class were used to measure the social class of the respondents. A subjective assessment employed was: "What class would you say you belong to?" (F01). The respondents were asked to choose one of four classes provided for them: "upper," "middle," "working," and "lower" classes. Only 17 percent of the mainlanders as opposed to 30 percent of the islanders identified themselves as "working" class people. If we exclude a few who classified themselves as either upper or lower classes, the ratio of the mainlanders identifying themselves as "middle" class as opposed to "working" class is four to one, whereas the same ratio for the islander is two to one. The islanders are twice more likely to identify themselves with the working class than are the mainlanders. There is very little difference on this question between the islanders of Japanese origin and non-Japanese origin.

To a large extent, this finding coincides with the results of the objective assessment of social class. First of all, 80 percent of the mainlanders are college graduates or have gone to college (F16). In fact, 38 percent of them have either professional degrees such as a law degree or have done graduate work beyond the bachelor's degree, while only 11 percent of the island-born Japanese and 13 percent of the other islanders fall in this highest educational category. Forty percent of the island-born Japanese and 43 percent of the other islanders have had a college education.

Only 15 percent of the mainlanders did not go beyond high school as opposed to 49 percent of the island Japanese and 45 percent of the other islanders.

Second, one-third of the mainlanders are professionals (F20). Only 15 percent of the island Japanese and 18 percent of the other islanders are so classified. Ten percent of the islanders are skilled workers (carpenters and the like) while only 2 percent of the mainlanders are. About one-third of the island Japanese respondents are involved in clerical work of one sort or another, while only 20 percent of the mainlanders and 28 percent of the other islanders are so classified. The ratio of the mainlanders being professionals and managers as opposed to clerks is two to one. The ratio for the Japanese is one to two and the other islanders one to one.

Hawaii has the highest percentage in the nation of an adult population who are high school graduates (82.9%, 1970 Census). Furthermore, Asian Americans such as Chinese and Japanese are much more likely to be college graduates than the Caucasians (United States Commission on Civil Rights, 1978). In spite of these facts, the results of our survey show clearly that the mainlanders are much better-educated than do the islanders and have more prestigious and higher paying jobs than the islanders. It is clear that the kind of mainlander who migrates to Hawaii is a highly-educated professional, manager, and entrepreneur and not unskilled people of lower social class standing in the mainland, with the exception of younger Caucasians who come to Hawaii, some of whom are on welfare. These latter are mostly temporary residents, who do not register to vote.

As for marital status, we find some differences. The family tie appears to be stronger among the islanders than among the

mainlanders (F21). A question was asked of marital status of the respondents. The first observation to be made is that there is little difference in the marital status of the island Japanese and other islanders. Married respondents living together with their spouses for the mainlanders is 55 percent while 68 percent of the Japanese and 66 percent of the other islanders are married. Consequently, those divorced or separated constitute 12 percent of the mainlanders, whereas only 6 percent of the Japanese and 8 percent of the other islanders, do so. Likewise, among the unmarried, only 2 percent of the mainlanders as opposed to 16 percent of the Japanese and 15 percent of the other islanders live with their parents. Five percent of both island groups in relation to 18 percent of the mainlanders live without any roommate of the opposite sex. Zero percent of the Japanese and two percent of the other islanders live with someone of the opposite sex, while 5 percent of the mainlanders do so.

An inference to be made here is that mainlanders are more likely to get divorced or separated, to live with someone of the opposite sex, and not to live with their parents. The islanders in this regard are more traditional, and the Japanese among the islanders appear to be even slightly more traditional than the rest of the island population.

Racial/ethnic breakdowns of the mainlanders indicate that the largest number of them are Caucasians (93%). Four percent of them are of some mixed origin and three percent are Chinese. The local respondents of non-Japanese ethnic origin come from the following ethnic backgrounds: Chinese, 39 percent: Caucasian, 16 percent: three or more groups mixed, 12 percent: Hawaiian, 6 percent: Hawaiian-Chinese, 7 percent: Hawaiian-Caucasian, 2 percent: Korean, 4 percent: Filipino, 6 percent: and all others 10 percent. Thus many races and many combinations of mixed races are represented in this group.

Churches, temples, and shrines of various kinds are located in the city of Honolulu. There is even a Japanese castle-like church in Honolulu, which is actually a Christian church built by Japanese-Americans. About two-thirds of the mainlanders and Japanese islanders claim to have religious faith (F02). We found the other islanders to be most religious with over three-fourths of them professing to be religious.

In terms of religious affiliation, we found that one-third of the Japanese are Buddhists, 17 percent Protestants, 15 percent "other" and 5 percent Catholic. Among the remaining islanders, one-third are Catholic, 21 percent Protestant, 19 percent "other," and 3 percent Buddhist. As for the mainlanders, we found that one-third are Protestant, 22 percent "other," 13 percent Catholic, and 1 percent Jewish. One of the reasons for the high percentages of the respondents being classified as "other" is due to the large number of Mormons on the island.

The most dominant religion that attracts one-third of each group is Buddhism for the Japanese, Protestant faith for the mainlanders and Catholicism for the other islanders.

It may be added here that the Japanese respondents are most likely to believe that all religions are the same with 85 percent of them believing in this proposition. Sixty-nine percent of the mainlanders and 75 percent of the other islanders constitute believers of this proposition.

2.1.2 Human Relations: The question of whether one ought to go to see one's benefactor/father at his deathbed or to attend an important business meeting discussed earlier (Hayashi et al., 1979) separate the islanders from the mainlanders (Q20-21). Japanese-Americans and the rest of the islanders are more likely

to go to see their fathers or benefactors than would their mainland counterparts. There is about a 20 percent difference between them, i.e., 73 percent of the islanders as opposed to 55 percent of the mainlanders (would go to see their father at his deathbed). Why? We would posit that islanders place a higher value on family life than the mainlanders, as indicated in their marital status findings. Consequently, they are more likely to place a higher priority on family matters over business affairs.

The emphasis placed by the islanders on the family is manifested also on one other item (Q24), which asked each respondent to choose two out of four values, viz., filial piety, repaying obligations, individual right, and individual freedom. A high 59 percent of the Japanese chose filial piety as one of their most cherished values, while only 26 percent of the mainlanders did so. By and large there was little difference among the island respondents, indicating the existence of a Hawaiian cultural value system cutting across many ethnic groups. Another difference found between islanders and mainlanders is the percentage difference we found on individual freedom. Twenty percent more of the mainlanders chose individual freedom than the islanders did. There was no difference between them on the question of repaying obligations, however. This is of interest to us, in that this value known in Japan as "on," is an integral part of the Japanese traditional value system. These traditional values keep Japanese society as tightly knit as it is, but they seem to have been lost among the Japanese-Americans, although filial piety has been retained among them. They feel no more obligation than do Caucasians and other ethnic groups to repay their obligations to their friends and benefactors. Perhaps this is an example of the selective modifications any immigrant to the United States makes in adjusting to the American



life style and its value system. Some traditional values of the old countries live on, while other values are abandoned in favor of new values in the United States.

There are many areas of human relations one might examine, but one of the key areas to be discussed is human relations at the place where one spends the longest waking hours of his life, his place of work. Question 31 asked the respondents to choose between a paternalistic department chief and a non-paternalistic one. There was no significant difference between the two islander groups, but there was a significant difference found between the islanders and the mainlanders. Fifty-three percent of the mainlanders chose the paternalistic chief and 46 percent the non-paternalistic chief, while 63 percent of the Japanese chose the former and only 35 percent of them the latter. In other words, islanders prefer two to one the paternalistic chief. Islanders are more likely than the mainlanders to extend the area of primary group association to include the place of their work.

There is a factor that ought to be pointed out here. We have learned that mainlanders are more likely to dissolve dilemma of whether one should go to see one's father at his deathbed or to attend an important business meeting (Q20-21) in favor of attending the business meeting, in relation to the islanders. We also know that they prefer the non-paternalistic department chief more than islanders do. Perhaps one of the reasons for this is not only the difference in culture but also in the difference in occupation. The mainlanders are much more likely to be in managerial positions, which enables them to empathize with the businessman, who feels obligated to attend the crucial business meeting. They can better identify themselves with the manager or the department chief who must look after the welfare and personal problems of his underlings. Even in Japan, where the paternalistic

boss is the rule of life of any corporation, it was found that managers would not like to play the role of the paternalistic boss if it could be avoided. They would rather be like the modern rational department chief, who does not have to worry about his men's personal problems. Such a sentiment might also exist among American executives.

How, then, do islanders view the nation vis-a-vis the individual in pursuit of happiness? Question 23 deals with this question. Japanese-Americans in particular seem to think that the country as a whole must improve before the individual can be made happy. Thirty percent of them perceived the relationship between individual and group happiness, while 24 percent of the other islanders and 17 percent of the mainlanders did so. Therefore, in thinking about individual happiness, Japanese islanders are more likely to think about the nation as a whole than are the other respondent groups.

2.1.3 Ethnic Integration in Honolulu: Table 2.1 is constructed to present our findings in summary form from our findings on three questions Q66, 67, and 68. There are several observations that can be made by glancing at the table. First, the extent to which the three groups are ethnically integrated is in proportion to the size of each ethnic group, the Japanese being least integrated, followed by the mainlanders and the rest of the islanders. The larger the ethnic group the less ethnically integrated the group is with other ethnic groups. Obviously, it is more difficult for a person from a small minority to find a place of work where only members of his ethnic group are found. Second, the extent of ethnic integration varies by context of social interaction. Entries in the table indicate the extent of ethnic integration from the most to the least and from the place of work, organization, and friendship. It seems that the findings

Table 2.1

	<u>Ethnic Integration</u>		
	<u>Islanders</u>	<u>Mainlanders</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
<u>Friends</u>			
All or most*	26%	38%	54%
Mixed	25	30	28
<u>Few or none</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>18</u>
Total %	97% (197)	97% (191)	100% (289)
<u>Organizations</u>			
All or most	12%	9%	26%
Mixed	67	61	52
<u>Few or none</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>
Total %	86%**	80%	84%
<u>Co-workers</u>			
All or most	11%	12%	26%
Mixed	14	25	28
<u>Few or none</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>23</u>
Total %	75%	69%	77%

\* All or most of one's friends belong to the same ethnic group.

\*\*Percentages do not include those who do not belong to any organization or do not work, which is the reason why these figures do not necessarily add up to 100%.

imply that the extent to which each group is integrated varies in direct proportion to the extent to which one can exercise free choice. One has least freedom in choosing one's place of work and has most freedom in choosing one's own friend. Third, we should note here that education and other factors seem to have little effect on the relationships found in Table 2.1, suggesting that the ethnic factor may be the most important factor in determining the extent to which one is integrated in Honolulu.

2.1.4 Japanese Contacts: If one lives in Honolulu, there are many opportunities to become acquainted with Japanese from Japan as well as with things Japanese. Also, Hawaii is closer to Japan than any other state in the union with the possible exception of Alaska. We found that nearly half of the respondents have been to Japan, but the percentages of those who have visited Japan varies from one ethnic group to another (F26), i.e., 53 percent of the Japanese islanders, 36 percent of the other islanders, and 31 percent of the mainlanders have visited Japan at least once.

As for exposure to Japanese mass media and entertainment, we found as expected that Japanese-islanders are the most exposed to the Japanese television programs and movies. They also expressed a like for Japanese music more than the rest of the respondents. A high 85 percent of the Japanese-islanders report that they watch KIKU, Japanese language television station programs, either "often" or "sometimes." Fifty percent of the other islanders and 44 percent of the mainlanders do so. There has been a fantastic increase in the number of viewers who watch KIKU, as a result of its introduction of English, as noted in Chapter 3. This explains the reason for the higher percentage of those who watch KIKU in more recent years. Those who like Japanese music as well as other music or see Japanese movies

as well as other movies are largest among the Japanese (F28, 29). Thus, as far as the contacts the respondents have with Japan or its culture is naturally greatest among the Japanese-islanders, but otherwise there is no significant differences among other ethnic groups.

All these findings suggest that there are important sociological differences we find among the three groups discussed in this chapter. Quite frequently, however, the differences we find between Japanese-islanders and other-islanders are much smaller in relation to the differences we found between mainlanders and islanders. Thus, there is probably a sociological basis for the differences we anticipate finding in their cultural values.

## 2.2 Cultural Profile

Let us start this section with a couple of scalogram analysis results, which we believe fit nicely into the patterns of the American value system. There are several scale items developed by the authors for this particular survey.<sup>2)</sup> One of them is what may be referred to as the "belief in system" scale.

2.2.1 The Belief in System: Everyone who lives in a society has some degree of trust in the system. Several questions are constructed to specifically measure the extent to which one believes in the social/political system in which one resides.<sup>3)</sup> Attempts are made to scale these items through scalogram analysis.<sup>4)</sup> Table 2.2 presents a summary finding of our efforts. As entries in the table show, there is little difference between Japanese-Americans and non-Japanese-Americans born in Hawaii, while the mainlanders stand out from the rest of the islanders in this scalogram analysis.

Table 2.3 is a summary of our findings. When the first two categories of the patterns and the last two categories of the perfect patterns are collapsed into one category each, we see more clearly the trend we have just discussed in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2

A Comparative Scalogram

Analysis of the Belief in System

Perfect Patterns	Total (%)	Mainlanders	Islanders	Japanese
4	23 (03)	13 (07)	6 (03)	3 (01)
3	125 (18)	49 (27)	27 (14)	38 (14)
2	279 (40)	71 (39)	74 (40)	113 (43)
1	217 (31)	39 (21)	61 (33)	95 (36)
0	<u>51 (07)</u>	<u>10 (06)</u>	<u>19 (10)</u>	<u>15 (06)</u>
Total	695 (99)	182 (100)	187 (100)	264 (100)
Error Patterns	252	60	60	110
Coefficient of Reproducibility	.9094	.9176	.9198	.8958
Percent Improvement	.1410	.1566	.1658	.1127
Coefficient of Scalability	<u>.6087</u>	<u>.6552</u>	<u>.6739</u>	<u>.5197</u>

Cutting Points

Question 55 ..... 2/3  
56 ..... 3/4  
57 ..... 2/3  
58 ..... 2/3

Table 2.3

A Summary Table

<u>Scalogram</u>	Mainlanders	Islanders	Japanese
Low	34%	17%	15%
Middle	39	40	43
<u>High</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>42</u>
Total	100% (182)	100% (187)	100% (264)

The mainlanders are more or less evenly divided into the low, middle, and high categories, while a plurality of over 40 percent of the respondents are classified into the high category for the two islander groups. Only 15 percent of the Japanese and 17 percent of the other islanders are classified as low on the belief in the system scale. The islanders show a greater trust in the social system than do the mainlanders.

Why are island-born respondents alike in this regard irrespective of whether one is Japanese or not, while mainland-born respondents are so different from the islanders? In spite of the heterogeneous nature of Honolulu as a community, there must be a common value many Honoluluans share, and this must be one of them. Honolulu residents born and reared in Hawaii are made up mostly of descendents of recently arrived immigrants. They seem to acquire more trust in the system than mainlanders do. This certainly is manifested in the large number of Japanese Nisei who volunteered to serve in the United States Army even while many of their parents were behind barbed wires in concentration camps during World War II. Such an action is impossible without having a great degree of trust in the social system of the United States. Secondly, because of their education, mainlanders may be more cognizant of inequality and other weaknesses in the American system than are the islanders. Thirdly, having lived in more than one place within the United States at least, the mainlanders may have a wider

view of the system than do the islanders, some of whom have never left Hawaii. Another possible reason may be that, since the end of World War II, Japanese-Americans have been especially successful in acquiring coveted positions in Hawaii that they were unable to obtain a generation ago and have come to conclude that equal opportunity is not only a dream but a reality in America today.

This is one of the scales we thought could be used in any country, with some modifications depending upon whatever a country considers its ideal. The core concern of this scale is to ascertain the extent to which a person believes that his national ideals are realized and trusts his society's ability to overcome obstacles. Our hypothesis is that belief in the system in which one lives is a universal phenomenon that can be observed and measured successfully. Cherished American ideals are freedom, self-reliance, independence, and one's belief in an opportunity to be successful in whatever one undertakes.<sup>5)</sup> Thus, we developed a series of questions to capture an aspect of this American character assumed to be shared by many Americans. Our focus was on one's willingness to strive as hard as one can to achieve success or do what one wishes to do without violating any law.

2.2.2 Self-Achievement Scale: This scale places emphasis on one's own achievement of one's goals over other values. The Japanese is said to be group-oriented, e.g., Kuroda, (1974). Americans are said to be individually oriented. If so, are Japanese-Americans less self-achievement-oriented than are mainlanders?

Coefficients of reproducibility, etc., show that this scale did slightly better than the last scale, at least in terms of the operational aspect of the scale construction. In terms of the substance involved, again we find that there is no significant



Table 2.4

A Comparative ScalogramAnalysis of the Self-Achievement Scale

<u>Perfect Patterns</u>	<u>Total (%)</u>	<u>Mainlanders</u>	<u>Islanders</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
4	6 (01)	2 (01)	1 (01)	3 (01)
3	108 (16)	48 (28)	18 (10)	38 (14)
2	311 (45)	91 (52)	87 (48)	104 (39)
1	210 (31)	29 (17)	59 (32)	98 (37)
0	<u>49 (07)</u>	<u>4 (02)</u>	<u>17 (09)</u>	<u>23 (09)</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>684 (100)</u>	<u>174 (100)</u>	<u>182 (100)</u>	<u>266 (100)</u>
Error Patterns	190	46	46	80
Coefficient of Reproducibility	.9306	.9339	.9368	.9248
Percent Improvement	.1279	.1106	.1223	.1466
Coefficient of Scalability	.6481	.6260	.6593	.6610

Cutting Points

Questions 41 ..... 3/4  
42 ..... 1/2  
45 ..... 1/2  
50 ..... 3/4

difference between the Japanese and the other islanders. Looking at entries in Table 2.4, it is clear that mainlanders scored lowest on the self-achievement scale, other islanders second, and Japanese the highest. If we may again collapse categories to make our findings presented in summary form as done in Table 2.5,

Table 2.5

A Summary Table

<u>Scalogram</u>	<u>Mainlanders</u>	<u>Islanders</u>	<u>Japanese</u>
Low	29%	11%	15%
Middle	52	48	39
<u>High</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>46</u>
Total	100% (174)	100% (182)	100% (266)

it becomes even more evident that the Japanese are the most self-achievement oriented. The mainlanders scored the lowest on this scale, while at the same time they enjoy the highest social status in Honolulu. Now, why?

We would posit, first of all, that the more recent the arrival of the immigrants or their descendants, the more self-achievement oriented they are in America. Immigrants come to the United States to look for a better life, and they are willing to work very hard to achieve that goal. Their determination to succeed is greatest among the first generation of immigrants, but our hypothesis is that this orientation wanes as times passes from the first to the second and the second to the third generations. Thus, if our speculation is correct, the Nisei respondents should score higher than the Sansei respondents. Scalogram results shown here indicate that 49 percent of the Nisei respondents and 42 percent of the Sansei respondents are classified into the highest group, verifying our initial hunch. Therefore, mainlanders,

many of whom are Caucasians whose generations go back more than a few in the United States, have already lost this self-achievement spirit so characteristic of the first and second generations of Americans.

It is perhaps this self-achievement orientation of Japanese-Americans which made them so successful in the past three decades.<sup>6)</sup> It should be further noted that this self-achievement characteristic of immigrants to the United States is not shared by all immigrants in the United States. There are exceptions.<sup>7)</sup>

2.2.3 Preferred Life Style: We already know from our earlier findings (Hayashi et al., 1979) that the respondents as a whole prefer to lead a life that fits one's own taste (Q26), but there are some differences in the extent among the three groups. We find some significant difference between Japanese-Americans and the rest of the islanders on this question. A very high 81 percent of the Japanese chose the most popular life style cited above, while only 66 percent of the other islanders did so. There was no significant difference between the mainlanders and the Japanese in this regard. Rather the difference is between the mainlanders and the Japanese on the one hand the other islanders, on the other hand and this difference remains intact with education held constant. Furthermore, a relatively high 28 percent of the other islanders chose the fourth life style category that reads: "Devote your efforts to serve society." Only 14 percent of the Japanese and 17 percent of the mainlanders did so.

How can we explain this difference? We do not know, but there are a few surmises we wish to make. This question seems to have solicited from our respondents and expression of an ideal life style and not necessarily a practiced life philosophy. Our hypothesis is that there are lots more people who would like to get

rich or famous than the few who admitted to the life philosophy they actually practiced. We also realize that most people know to get rich or famous is not an easy task and it is not always a rewarding path to pursue.

2.2.4 Happiness and Satisfaction in Life: Level of satisfaction in life varies by education and other factors. By and large, the majority group everywhere is more satisfied than minority groups. We find Japanese-islanders to be the most satisfied with life in the United States today (Q39). Thirty seven percent of them are completely satisfied, while only 17 percent of the mainlanders and 27 percent of the other islanders fall into the same category. Japanese-Americans to be sure constitute the largest majority among the permanent residents of Honolulu, in the first place. Secondly, their life has been improving significantly, if one makes a comparison with their earlier years prior to the end of World War II. These are probably the main factors contributing to the Japanese-Americans' feeling that they are satisfied.

2.2.5 Future Orientation: There were three questions asked the respondents as to what they thought would happen in the future (Q10, 11, 12). The extent to which each group gave optimistic views varies from one question to another.

Japanese-Americans more than any other group, believe that people's freedom will increase i.e., 52 percent of the Japanese, 40 percent of the other islanders, and 34 percent of the mainlanders. This difference found may be attributable to the historical path that Japanese-Americans have passed through. They suffered so much before the war, that what became of Hawaii in the past three decades has convinced them of the optimistic future while the mainlanders, who are better educated, see many potential problems ahead on the matter of freedom in American society.

On the question of future health, islanders as a whole are more pessimistic than mainlanders, 77 percent of whom believe that the people's health will improve. Only 65 percent of the islanders believe this to be the case (Q10). The islanders' source of pessimism may lie in the economic disadvantage of their position in relation to the mainlanders, many of whom are better educated and enjoy higher incomes. The increase in cost of medical care may be felt more by the islanders than by the mainlanders.

We find another situation where we find no difference between mainlanders and Japanese, while there is a significant difference between them and the other islanders (Q11). Those who feel that people's peace of mind will decrease is greater among mainlanders and Japanese than among the other islanders. The ratio is about 5 to 3; Japanese and mainlanders believe the people's peace of mind will decrease, while the ratio is 1 to 1 among the other islanders. We are at a loss to explain why the Japanese and the mainlanders are so much more pessimistic in this regard than are the other islanders.

2.2.6 Desirable Qualities in Boys and Girls: We listed 11 qualities from which the respondents were asked to pick two values for boys and two for girls (Q34AB). First of all, reflecting, perhaps the emerging trend toward more equal treatment of men and women, we did not find very significant differences between what the respondents consider important for boys as opposed to girls, with the possible exception of an item on cleanness which was considered more important for girls than for boys. Second, a most fascinating finding discovered was that mainlanders place a considerable degree of importance on the development of curiosity ("interested in how and why things happen") for their children, while islanders and especially Japanese-Americans do not consider this quality to be of any significant value to their

children. To be more specific, for boys, 27 percent of the mainlanders (total = 200%) nominated this value as opposed to 13 percent of the non-Japanese islanders and only 8 percent of the Japanese-Americans! Similar differences in percentage distribution are observed for girls. We consider these differences to be an extremely important dissimilarity between these peoples. Although the degree of schooling does make some difference in this relationship, there are apparently some elements in mainlanders' culture that emphasizes the development of curiosity more than in that of the islanders.

When one reviews the 11 values, one notes that curiosity is the only value that cannot be directly imposed upon children, i.e., one can tell boys and girls to have good manners, to be honest, etc., but one cannot order boys and girls to be more curious without using some indirect methods of teaching, such as Socratic reasoning or providing them with certain types of toys which are designed to develop creativity and the like. Curiosity seems to be one value which all babies possess. As they grow older, they are so curious to find out what the world is all about, by crawling and by placing everything into their mouth. Thus, this is a value that perhaps will grow if they are left alone with a minimum of guidance from the parents. As Ogawa states, Japanese-Americans work very hard "for the sake of the children" (1978) and yet what is so striking is that this value is most lacking among Japanese-Americans. The Japanese as well as other islanders place more emphasis on their children's obedience to parents, while mainlanders consider such a value to be of no special consequence. Only less than 3 percent of the mainlanders nominated the obeying of parents as one of the two most important values, while 12 percent of the islanders cited this value. It appears as if this is one of the crucial differences between the

two cultures, at least in the field of socialization. We would posit that Japanese respondents in Japan would respond to this question in the way the islanders did.<sup>8)</sup>

2.2.7 Related Values: Related to the above finding are responses to two questions numbered Q07 and Q73 in the questionnaire. In both cases, there is no difference between the Japanese and the rest of the islanders, but significant differences are found between mainlanders on the one hand and islanders on the other. Sixty percent of the islanders believe that a person should go ahead with his own idea even if it conflicts with usual custom, while 75 percent of the mainlanders take this position. In other words, mainlanders encourage a person to have his own ideas more than islanders do. Thus, this fits nicely with the previous finding on the emphasis that mainlanders place on curiosity. Likewise, on the question of how much honor one gives to one's ancestors (Q73), we found that about 60 percent of the islanders as a whole respect their ancestors more than the average, while only 30 percent of the mainlanders classified themselves to be in this category. Thus, mainlanders are interested in new values and creative activities more than islanders, who respect their ancestors and customs more. If this is not changed, the island culture may not be able to develop itself as effectively as it can in the future without a continuous flow of mainlanders.<sup>9)</sup>

## 2.3 Political Profile

We have found some interesting differences between islanders and mainlanders in the last section. What are some differences in the field of political and public affairs between these peoples?

2.3.1 Political Orientation: Following the pattern set in Chapter 2, we shall start with how much interest each group has in politics first. There is a rather significant difference among the three groups (F08). Only 10 percent of the Japanese-Americans are "very much" interested in politics, while 30 percent of the mainlanders and 20 percent of the rest of the islanders are. About three-fourths of the mainlanders and three-fifths of the non-Japanese islanders are "very much" or "somewhat" interested in politics, whereas only two-fifths of the Japanese are. In fact, the majority of Japanese-Americans show little interest in politics. However, it is interesting to note that when the respondents were asked to state how often they attend political rallies, the differences between the three groups attenuate significantly, although the differences do not disappear totally, as entries in Table 2.6 indicate. What this seems to suggest is that mainlanders show a greater interest in politics than islanders and Japanese-Americans, but there is no great difference between the three groups when it comes to taking action. Japanese respondents appear as if they are reluctant participants in public affairs. It could also be that mainlanders, who are very much interested in politics, may not find enough channels of communication to be politically active, or it could be that their



Table 2.6

Political Orientation

	Mainlanders	Islanders	Japanese
<u>Political Interest</u>			
Very much	30%	20%	10%
Somewhat	43	41	33
Little	18	30	42
<u>None</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>14</u>
Total	96%	99%	99%
<u>Political Rallies</u>			
Very often	11%	8%	2%
Sometimes	15	23	19
Rarely	30	34	35
<u>Never</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>45</u>
Total	98%	99%	101%
<u>Voting</u>			
Always	87%	90%	93%
Most	6	8	5
Occasionally	4	1	0
<u>Rarely</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	99%	100%	98%

socialization process is such that it allows a greater distance between show of interest on the one hand and taking of action on the other. It is interesting to note that although Japanese-Americans attend political rallies least often in relation to other groups, they claim to vote more often than any other group. In fact, the percentage of those who reportedly vote "always" among the Japanese-islanders is highest of all three groups. The relationship we found with regard to attending political rallies is reversed, i.e., 93 percent of the Japanese-Americans vote "always," 90 percent of the remaining islanders, and 87 percent of the mainlanders. The least interested of all groups, the Japanese-Americans, vote more frequently than any other group, while the most interested mainlanders are least likely to vote in general elections. One thing is abundantly clear here: viz., an expressed interest or attitude cannot be equated with an action, as La Piere said over 40 years ago (1934).

Table 2.7

Partisan Orientation

	Mainlanders	Islanders	Japanese
Democrat	38%	45%	65%
Republican	23	19	6
Other	5	5	8
<u>Independent</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>17</u>
Total	97%	95%	96%

Table 2.7 is designed to show how each group supports political parties. First of all, Japanese are most partisan oriented. Those Japanese-American respondents who said that they vote on the basis of the individual candidate rather than on the basis of party account for only 17 percent, while nearly one third of the mainlanders and one-fourth of the rest of the islanders come under this category. Second, 65 percent of Japanese-Americans, 45 percent of the remaining islanders, and 38 percent of the mainlanders chose the Democratic Party. Hawaii has been ruled by the Democratic Party since the quiet "revolution" of 1954, when the Democratic Party captured the majority of seats in both houses of the territorial legislature. The Party was then led by the late Governor John A. Burns, whose followers included many Japanese-Americans.<sup>10)</sup> A very small 6 percent of the Japanese voters identified themselves with the Republican Party, as shown in Table 2.7, while a fifth of the rest of the islanders and the mainlanders did so. Consequently, the dominance of Japanese-Americans in electoral politics observed in Honolulu is underscored in this finding. They are most active in Democratic Party politics also. Japanese-Americans prefer the Democratic Party over the Republican Party by the ratio of nine to one, while the ratio for the rest of the sample is only about two to one in favor of the Democratic Party. This dominance of the Democratic Party among Japanese-Americans came about after World War II. Many Nisei young men who fought in European war theaters returned to Hawaii, after which they left to study law on the mainland. They came back to Hawaii to seek their positions in Hawaii in the same spirit they exhibited in World War II. They found electoral politics the best means to achieve their goals. The

Democratic Party, which was practically nothing immediately following the war, welcomed enthusiastic war heroes to build up its power bases throughout the territory under the leadership of the late Mr. Burns, who befriended the Japanese community during the war. These people, who attempted to build the Democratic Party from the ground up, finally succeeded in 1954 by defeating the Republican Party and the Big Five which governed the territory. Thus, it is this historical tie to the Democratic Party, which the people of Japanese ancestry have, which makes the Democratic Party so popular among Japanese-Americans.

While we are aware of the fact that words such as capitalism, liberalism, conservatism, and even democracy are not a part of the everyday vocabulary of the man on the street, the average man does have some feelings towards these words, even if he cannot define these terms in any explicit and clear way. That is what we are after, the feelings or impressions of the respondents toward these symbols. Among the five terms included in the questionnaire, only one of them yielded a difference among the three groups (Q37). A high 64 percent of the mainlanders responded positively, while only slightly over 40 percent of the islanders reacted positively toward the word, capitalism. Likewise, 14 percent of the mainlanders as opposed to 27 percent of non-Japanese-islanders and 22 percent of the Japanese-islanders reacted negatively. The level of education does not seem to have any visible effect on this relationship, leading us to believe that mainlanders, many of whom are professionals and managers and/or entrepreneurs, naturally perceive of capitalism in a much more favorable perspective than do the islanders. They are the ones who are directly benefitting from the capitalist system under which Hawaii operates. They have the most to lose, had Hawaii decided to adopt an alternative to the present economic system.

These are probably the principal reasons that mainlanders have a more favorable image of capitalism than other islanders.

2.3.2 Legal Orientation: There is one question that separated the Japanese-Americans from the mainlanders in particular. The question on the purpose of law produced an interesting difference of opinion among the three groups (Q19). A high 66 percent of the Japanese-islanders felt that laws should be made to bring about justice in society rather than to maintain order in society. Only 52 percent of the mainlanders and 59 percent of the remaining islanders felt so. The Japanese, as we said earlier, sought to achieve equal status in Hawaii through politics. Laws are made by politicians. Naturally, Japanese-Americans, many of whom still remember the days when they were not even recognized as regular Americans, perceive of laws and politics as the great equalizer of a society.<sup>11)</sup> As they firmly established their positions in electoral politics and moved toward obtaining coveted positions not only in politics but also in financial and business areas, they began to perceive politics and laws in a different perspective than as a means to maintain order. Mainlanders and Causasian-Americans who currently occupy, for instance, all the highest executive positions in the seven largest corporations in Hawaii, have a view of law that is different from that of Japanese-Americans, who are still looking to politics as their means to achieve higher positions in Hawaii.

Question 13 dealing with the question of how people should be punished yielded responses that are different from many answers, in that Japanese-Americans responded more similarly to the way mainlanders did, i.e., Japanese-Americans and mainlanders are more alike in deciding upon what basis a man should be judged-- what he in fact does, or what he intended to do?

Sixty-seven percent of the Japanese-Americans felt that one should be judged on the basis of one's deed and not on one's intention, as did 61 percent of the mainlanders, while only 55 percent of the rest of the islanders expressed this feeling. Those who felt one's intention was what is important accounted for 21 percent of the Japanese-Americans, 26 percent of the mainlanders, and 34 percent of the other islanders.

Japanese-Americans and mainlanders favor what one does as the basis for judging a man at the ratio of three to one. Among the other islanders, the ratio is less than two to one. We have no clear-cut answer to this deviation from the rest of our findings except to say that it could be that Japanese-Americans, whose rate of crime is lower than other ethnic groups, may in this regard think more like mainlanders.

Laws are created to enable people to go about with a minimum of conflict; they set the fairest possible way of dealing with conflicts as they arise. Different people feel comfortable under different kinds of rules and regulations. This generalization is upheld in our findings from the responses to Question 14 of our questionnaire. Twenty-eight percent of the islanders of non-Japanese origin and 25 percent of Japanese ancestry prefer the second alternative answer which reads: "Make rigid rules and faithfully execute them." These are the people who feel comfortable living under rather rigid rules. Only 14 percent of the mainlanders chose this second alternative.

Mainlanders would rather live with more flexible and lenient rules executed faithfully. The largest plurality of 46 percent of mainlanders selected this alternative as opposed to 36 percent of islanders of non-Japanese ancestry and only 30 percent of the Japanese. There were no significant differences in the percentages of people who chose the first alternative.

### Notes

1. If one uses census data to define the population of the state of Hawaii, Caucasians constitute the largest plurality (39.2%). Japanese come second (28.3%). Filipinos rank third (12.4%). Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians compose the fourth largest ethnic group (9.3%) (Nordyke, 1977, Table 3). However, if one uses the list of registered voters, the ethnic distribution changes, since they represent more or less permanent residents of the state and do not include visitors, military personnel and their dependents.
2. Only two of them are reported here at this time. There are a few more, but we have so far not been able to come up with sufficiently meaningful results from them.
3. For those who are interested, see Questions 55, 56, 57, and 58 in the questionnaire. (Hayashi et al', 1979)).
4. The SPSS was used to construct this and other scales reported in this study.
5. Professor Alex Inkeles along with others who wrote on the American national character has singled out this characteristic among others in his recent work, (1977).
6. Peterson (1971) among others such as Kitano (1969) addresses himself to this question of what made Japanese-Americans successful in advancing themselves in postwar American society. However, they base their judgment on history and other such impressions and not on any systematically gathered body of evidence.
7. For example, Samoans who migrate to Hawaii seem to experience very serious problems of adjustment not experienced by Japanese, Korean and other immigrants whose primary adjustment problem is the language. The Samoans' problems stem from their extended family system and the lack of education, among other factors. (Office of Human Resources, Honolulu, 1974).
8. Attempts will be made to include this question in the future study of the Japanese in Japan, which will enable us to make cross-cultural comparisons.
9. More of this point will be discussed in the last chapter of the present report.
10. For an excellent book by a political journalist on the rise of the Democratic Party and recent political developments, see Coffman, 1972.

11. Judge Edwin Honda, who served as a member of the Territorial Guard during World War II and pursued the career pattern of the soldier-law student-politician/administrator, once remarked to one of the authors at a cocktail party celebrating the opening of Honolulu office of the Bank of Tokyo in May of 1978 that politics served as a great equalizer in Hawaii.



## Chapter 3

### Japanese-Americans, 1971-1978:

#### A Historical Comparison

Having compared different ethnic group's attitudes and values as revealed in our 1978 Survey, we now wish to compare how Japanese-Americans have changed over a period of seven years from 1971, when we first conducted a survey of Honolulu's Japanese-Americans, to 1978. Although ours is a longitudinal study designed to observe any change that might take place among Japanese-Americans in Honolulu, we do not interview the same respondents over and over. Our respondents are selected at random at each survey.

Looking at frequency distributions of the respondents' responses to the same questions asked in 1971 and 1978, we note that there are two major kinds of differences we observe: First, we see that the 1978 survey resulted in fewer respondents choosing such answer categories as "it depends on ..." and other answers when compared with the 1971 survey results, e.g., Q07 and Q37ABCE. Second, there are some substantive changes on some questions in expected directions.

We are inclined to believe that differences we find in responses to such questions as Q07 and Q37 are largely due to our interviewers' efforts in the latest survey to discourage respondents from taking neutral positions such as "it depends on ..." We did instruct our interviewers to encourage the respondents to choose from the existing response categories of either positive or negative response in both surveys. Perhaps the interviewers we used in the 1978 more closely followed our instructions than

did those who worked in the 1971 survey. A major reason for this explanation is based upon the fact that in most cases what we observe is that those who agree and those who disagree have both increased in number simultaneously, while those providing "other" and "D.K." answers have decreased significantly in the 1978 survey results, when compared with those of the 1971 survey, e.g., those who are favorably disposed to "socialism" increased from 11 to 18 percent while those who are unfavorably inclined to the "socialism" also increased from 30 to 43 percent (Q37). In other words, a proportional difference between those who agree and those who disagree has not really changed significantly.

As you will note, the number of items which yielded different responses is very limited in relation to the number of questions which produced the similar answers. What is to be reported here will be limited to those items that attracted different responses at this time in 1978. You may assume that items not discussed in this chapter solicited similar responses. The extent to which responses of the 1978 respondents answered our questions in the same manner as the 1971 respondents did, we believe, is indicative of the extent of reliability of items included in the questionnaire and the validity of our sampling procedures.

Following the general pattern set in Chapter 2, we shall start with those changes that are considered sociological in nature.

### 3.1 Sociological Changes

#### 3.1.1 Structural Changes: Increasingly apparent to a careful

observer of any industrialized society is a significant change in occupational structure in recent years. The proportion of those who are gainfully employed has been shifting from the primary and secondary sectors of our economy to that of tertiary industry, such as service and communication-related works. There were about 10 percent of the 1971 respondents who were classified into a category called, "semi-skilled or unskilled worker." Our 1978 Survey revealed that the percentage of this category has declined from 10 percent to only 3 percent. A most notable increase was observed in an occupational category of "clerical worker" from 26 percent in 1971 to 32 percent in 1978. We believe that this is a reflection of the post-industrialization, which is presently taking place in such countries as Japan and the United States. In other words, these changes we found are in the direction of changes anticipated.

The most significant change is observed in the number of people who watch Japanese T.V. programs telecasted by KIKU, a local ethnic T.V. station, which is part of a larger ethnic T.V. network on the mainland. Those who do not watch the Japanese T.V. program attenuated from 22 percent to 13 percent. A sharp increase in the number of Japanese-Americans who watch the Japanese T.V. program "regularly" or "often," is observed; from 9 percent to an astonishing 36 percent!! The major reason for this dramatic increment would seem to be based on the television station's new policy to provide English subtitles for those whose Japanese is not sufficiently adequate to comprehend its programs in Japanese. The initial attempt to add English subtitles was made in 1972 and by 1975 nearly half of its programs was accompanied by English subtitles. By now most programs are telecast in the two languages

except for two modern detective series, news, and song festivals and the like. Although children were not included in the Surveys, we can safely assume that a significant number of Japanese-Americans and others watch "kikaida" and other children's programs being telecast by KIKU. Thus, the Japanese T.V. station seems to find not only a way to survive but also in a significant way to expand its audience through the use of English subtitles and to provide the audience with programs that are not necessarily only tea ceremony and flower arrangement but also programs that have universal appeal that has caught the imagination of not only Japanese-American children but children of all ethnic varieties.

While the Japanese T.V. program has expanded dramatically from 1971 to 1978 as reported above, the popularity of Japanese movies has declined significantly. However, the decline does not seem to be limited to Japanese movies alone but also to movies as a whole. This is indicated in the percentage increase of Japanese-Americans who do not see movies from 17 to 23 percent. Those who watch both American and Japanese movies also declined from 60 to 48 percent, as did those who watch only Japanese movies from 11 to 2 percent. The number of movie theaters specializing in Japanese movies has also been decreasing in the past decade. Thus, expansion in the number of Japanese T.V. programs seems to be directly related to the decrease in number of Japanese movie-goers.

Other slight changes observed in demographic data such as the number of Nisei in relation to Sansei and the successive generations are all in the direction one would normally expect, i.e., number of Nisei decreases, while that of Sansei and their children will naturally increase as time passes. There has been no noticeable change in the area of ethnic integration.

3.1.2 Human Relations: Let us start with a change we note on the question of an IOU (Q9). The percentage of respondents who think it only natural to ask for an IOU from a close friend who borrows \$100.00, has increased from 59 percent in 1971 to 73 percent in 1978, whereas those who think it unpleasant decreased from 38 to 22 percent. Now, why? If one considers the purchasing value of \$100 in 1971 with that of 1978, we see that inflation has reduced the value of dollars by a significant amount from 1971 to 1978. If that is the only factor, then, we should expect to have fewer people think it natural to ask for an IOU. But, what we found is the opposite. The only interpretation we can give the reader at this time is that Japanese-Americans have grown more "rational" in this regard, in order to treat money matters isolated from other matters. Incidentally, 73 percent of the 1978 Survey results are closer to the percentage of non-Japanese-American respondents (71%) in the same 1978 Survey.

The next item is the one on whether or not a person should go to see his benefactor at his deathbed (Q20). Those who would go to see his benefactor at his deathbed in 1971 stood at 50 percent. The percentage in 1978 has increased to 67 percent. On the other hand, the percentage of those who would attend the business conference has decreased from 36 to 27 percent. Similarly, the percentage of those who would rather go to see his father at his deathbed (Q21) has increased from 62 to 72 percent, while the percentage of those who opted to attend the business meeting has declined from 27 to 23. A generalization one can derive from these changes is that Japanese-Americans are placing more importance on family affairs than on business matters no matter how important they may be. Our hypothesis is that all these changes reflect an integral part of the post-industrialization we are going through. We begin to value individual

rights, emotional values, and the like over the desire to have more money and other material satisfaction, as we move from the industrial era to that of the post-industrial.

Not unrelated to the same line of social changes that characterize post-industrialization is reflected in responses to the next item on the question of individual rights and freedom (Q24). The percent of those who chose individual rights increased from 65 percent in 1971 to 77 percent in 1978, while those Japanese-Americans who believe in the "on" or incurring and repaying of obligations have decreased in number from 27 percent in 1971 to 16 percent in 1978. This may also be indicative of the overall acculturation process continuing on among Japanese-Americans, for these percentages closely approximate those of non-Japanese-American respondents.

One change we have no explanation for at this time is that which we observe in the increase in the percentage of Japanese-Americans who would not adopt a child to continue their family line from 27 percent in 1971 to a high 40 percent. Granted we have reduced the percentage of respondents who gave neutral response from 14 percent to 6 percent. If there were no change, this 8 percent should be distributed evenly between those who would adopt and those who would not. The data analysis results show that there was even a drop in the percentage of Japanese-Americans who would adopt a child from 52 percent to 49 percent. Thus, it appears as if the change we see in the frequency distributions of these responses indicates a substantive change in the proportions of Japanese-Americans in regard to their attitude toward family line and child adoption. The ratio of Japanese-Americans who would adopt a child was almost two to one in favor of adopting a child in the 1971 Survey. The ratio has drastically

altered to 49 percent as opposed to 40 percent in favor of the adoption. Although those who would adopt a child in order to continue their family line outnumber those who would not, the difference in the ratio has narrowed considerably in the past seven years. We are at a loss to explain why this change has taken place. What we can say, however, is that the results of the 1978 Survey for Japanese-Americans closely resemble the results of the same 1978 Survey for non-Japanese-Americans in Honolulu. Consequently, we may conclude that whatever the reason for this shift, Japanese-Americans are not significantly different from the rest of Honolulu's population in this regard.

### 3.2 Psychological Changes

3.2.1 Changes in Attitudes: Attitudinal changes observed among our respondents are limited to only a few items. These changes consist of items included in a section of the questionnaire where we asked the respondents to compare a pair of values and choose one over the other (J10). The respondents were simply asked to choose between American and Japanese foods and the like.

The percentage of those who prefer Japanese food has decreased from 38 percent in 1971 to 24 percent in 1978, while those who prefer American food remained about the same. The rapid rise in the number of fast food chains such as McDonald, Taco Bell, and a host of others may account for the decline of Japanese food lovers among the respondents.

As reported earlier (Hayashi et al., 1979), the number of Japanese movie theaters is decreasing in Honolulu, and fewer Japanese-Americans reported going to seeing Japanese movies. Looking at this evidence, one would speculate that Japanese-Americans' taste for movies is shifting from Japanese movies to

American ones. Those who chose American movies over Japanese movies, have, in fact, increased from 54 percent in 1971 to 70 percent in 1978, while those who prefer Japanese movies also attenuated from 24 percent in 1971 to 11 percent in 1978. In other words, Japanese movies are becoming less popular while American movies are becoming more popular. Likewise, those who prefer Japanese broadcasts over English broadcasts decreased from 18 percent in 1971 to 11 percent in 1978. The preference of radio programs in English over Japanese increased from 74 percent in 1971 to 79 percent in 1978.

In the area of human relations, we further note the same trend. Those who would rather have Japanese spouse over a non-Japanese one decreased from 80 percent in 1971 to 69 percent in 1978, whereas those who would choose non-Japanese increased percentage-wise from 6 percent in 1971 to 10 percent in 1978. Likewise, those who prefer Japanese close friends decreased from 60 percent in 1971 to 47 percent in 1978 while those who prefer non-Japanese close friends increased from 6 percent in 1971 to 8 percent in 1978. A similar trend is noted on an item which asked the respondents to choose between the needs of the family and those of the individual. Those who considered the family needs declined from 77 percent in 1971 to 74 percent in 1978. Those who place the individual needs first increased from 14 percent in 1971 to 19 percent in 1978.

The changes taking place among the respondents are of both sufficient magnitude and consistency that we cannot dismiss them as being the result of sampling and other non-substantive factors. Despite the ethnic awareness sweeping the United States in recent years and the call for the "local boys," the wave of acculturation and assimilation seems to be of such a magnitude that nothing can prevent ethnics from assimilating to American culture at large. How else can this change be explained?



Since no significant changes in the political section of the surveys are visible, we shall now present a discussion on what we have decided to call a "Japaneseness" in Japanese-Americans, which actually did not change much from 1971 to 1978. But there are some interesting findings.

3.2.2 "Japaneseness": To what extent are Japanese-Americans maintaining their "Japaneseness"? What constitutes "Japaneseness"? An answer to the first question can be answered by looking at the responses to relevant questions in the questionnaire (see Appendix, Hayashi et al. 1979). It contains frequency distributions of Japanese-Americans' responses to a special series of questions that are asked of Japanese-American respondents only. The second question is a challenge from several different perspectives, viz., theoretical, substantive, and methodological views. What questions should be included and for what reasons? What measurement techniques can be used to measure such an attitude? We included, for the purpose of this particular data analysis, questions that were used in both 1971 and 1978 surveys and those questions we thought were integral parts of the Japanese-American ethnic heritage, such as names they use and the Japanese language papers they read. The data relevant for the "Japaneseness" then were analyzed through the use of a quantification method developed by Hayashi in 1956 and one which has gained an extensive popular use by survey data analysts in Japan.<sup>1)</sup> The method developed by Hayashi can be thought of as a principal component analysis designed specifically for qualitative data.

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 show the values of X1 and X2 assigned to each category; where X1 is the latent vector corresponding to the first maximum latent root and X2 is that corresponding to

Table 3.1

Values Assigned to each Response Category

		<u>1971</u>			
Q	Item	Response category	Frequency	X1	X2
J03	Familiar name	1. Japanese name	132.	-2.530	0.459
		2. American name	249.	1.401	-0.922
		3. Both	52.	-0.211	2.797
F26	Japan visit	1. No	250.	1.662	-0.664
		2. Once	115.	-1.768	1.122
		3. 2-5 times	59.	-2.861	0.246
		4. 6 or more times	9.	-3.839	1.896
J09	Lived in Japan	1. Yes	70.	-4.215	-3.864
		2. No	355.	0.829	0.683
J06	Japanese lang. school	1. None	59.	3.718	-9.191
		2. 1-5 years	111.	1.766	1.731
		3. 6-10 years	193.	-0.822	3.176
		4. 10 years or more	69.	-3.842	-4.011
J07	Japanese lang. ability	1. Fluently	74.	-5.036	-5.063
		2. Passably	181.	-0.612	4.537
		3. Understanding only	89.	2.317	-0.492
		4. Very poorly	59.	2.468	-0.319
		5. Not at all	30.	4.452	-13.877
Q67	Organization	1. Japanese	98.	-2.940	-0.007
		2. Non-Japanese/Mixed	204.	0.919	0.206
J01	Japanese newspaper	1. No	402.	0.562	0.733
		2. Yes	32.	-7.112	-10.006
J02	Japanese radio	1. Never	225.	2.056	-2.332
		2. Occasionally	131.	-1.334	3.721
		3. Often/regularly	77.	-3.785	0.095
F27	Japanese T.V.	1. Never	95.	2.311	-2.593
		2. Occasionally	235.	0.691	0.927
		3. Often/regularly	103.	-3.741	0.060

Table 3.1 (continued)

Q66	Friends	1. All Japanese	79.	-2.056	-2.873
		2. Mostly Japanese	179.	-0.471	1.548
		3. Mixed/Non-Japanese	176.	1.394	-0.429
J08	Miscegenation in family	1. No	264.	-0.074	-1.961
		2. Yes	169.	0.157	2.926
Q68	Co-workers	1. All or mostly Japanese	112.	-0.259	0.366
		2. Half or more Non-Japanese	230.	0.719	-0.190
F28	Japanese movies	1. Yes, only Japanese movies	47.	-3.944	2.879
		2. Yes, Japanese and American	260.	0.513	0.541
		3. No	49.	2.161	-5.278
F29	Japanese music	1. Yes, only Japanese music	41.	-4.169	-2.178
		2. Both	326.	-0.215	1.860
		3. Dislike Japanese music	64.	3.665	-7.889
J11	Letters	1. Japanese	25.	-8.694	-14.342
J12		2. Both	92.	-1.867	6.622
		3. English	310.	1.363	-0.822
J13	Mental arithmetic	1. Japanese or both languages	417.	0.320	0.603
		2. English	17.	-7.942	-16.291
F03	Religion	1. Buddhism	162.	-1.823	1.336
		2. Christianity	122.	1.361	-0.422
		3. Other	23.	0.882	3.647

Table 3.2

Values Assigned to each Response Category

1978

Q	Item	Response category	Frequency	X1	X2
J03	Familiar name	1. Japanese name	76.	-2.603	1.303
		2. American name	180.	1.095	-1.425
		3. Both	44.	0.300	4.161
F26	Japan visit	1. No	136.	1.705	-1.206
		2. Once	98.	-0.058	2.729
		3. 2-5 times	63.	-2.806	-2.347
		4. 6 or more times	12.	-3.716	4.177
J09	Lived in Japan	1. Yes	59.	-3.752	-2.815
		2. No	247.	0.914	0.728
J06	Japanese lang. school	1. None	34.	2.012	-5.639
		2. 1-5 years	91.	1.272	-1.897
		3. 6-10 years	131.	-0.966	1.495
		4. 10 years or more	52.	-1.043	3.505
J07	Japanese lang. ability	1. Fluently	66.	-4.425	-2.357
		2. Passably	124.	0.214	4.160
		3. Understanding only	57.	1.444	1.412
		4. Very poorly	49.	2.764	-6.549
		5. Not at all	14.	3.006	-8.252
Q67	Organization	1. Japanese	83.	-1.553	-0.252
		2. Non-Japanese/Mixed	174.	0.721	-0.145
J01	Japanese newspaper	1. No	263.	0.891	0.427
		2. Yes	44.	-5.491	-2.298
J02	Japanese radio	1. Never	179.	1.471	-1.501
		2. Occasionally	90.	-0.704	4.083
		3. Often/regularly	39.	-5.216	-2.559
F27	Japanese T.V.	1. Never	40.	2.910	-8.835
		2. Occasionally	152.	1.082	0.934
		3. Often/regularly	113.	-2.638	1.906

Table 3.2 (continued)

Q66	Friends	1. All Japanese	34.	-2.620	-2.406
		2. Mostly Japanese	134.	0.512	-0.265
		3. Mixed/Non-Japanese	142.	0.136	0.724
J08	Miscegenation	1. No	164.	-0.064	-0.105
	in family	2. Yes	145.	0.040	0.102
Q68	Co-workers	1. All or mostly Japanese	83.	0.317	0.901
		2. Half or more Non-Japanese	154.	0.692	0.265
F28	Japanese movies	1. Yes, only Japanese movies	7.	-6.424	-7.761
		2. Yes, Japanese and American	151.	-0.263	1.658
		3. No	65.	1.976	-4.631
F29	Japanese music	1. Yes, only Japanese music	10.	-5.953	-4.440
		2. Both	226.	-0.473	2.674
		3. Dislike Japanese music	69.	2.485	-7.818
J11	Letters	1. Japanese	20.	-9.120	-12.616
J12		2. Both	68.	-1.340	4.964
		3. English	210.	1.290	-0.518
J13	Mental	1. Japanese or both languages	284.	0.691	0.933
	arithmetic	2. English	26.	-7.766	-10.033
F03	Religion	1. Buddhism	94.	-2.104	1.810
		2. Christianity	68.	0.829	-3.473
		3. Other	44.	0.507	1.075

the second maximum latent root. The latent roots are 0.31, 0.15, respectively in 1971 and 0.31, 0.14, respectively in 1978.

(See detailed methodological discussion, Hayashi (1956) and Hayashi and Suzuki (1975))

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 are constructed to present a summary finding of our attempt at the question of what constitutes "Japaneseness." What constitute the core of being an American of Japanese ancestry? The two tables are presented for the purpose of comparison.

Values in column X1 in these tables show the relative magnitude of Japaneseness of each category. Variables which attached high negative scale values were found are "write letters in Japanese" (-8.69), "mental arithmetic in Japanese" (-7.94), and "read Japanese newspapers" (-7.11), while high positive scale values are found in such variables as "no Japanese language ability" (4.45) and "never went Japanese language school" (3.72). Table 3.3 shows these variables.

Table 3.3

Variables	<u>Japaneseness</u>		1978	
	1971 Rank	X1	Rank	X1
Write letters in Japanese	01	-8.69	01	-9.12
Mental arithmetic in Japanese/Both	02	-7.94	02	-7.77
Read Japanese newspapers	03	-7.11	05	-5.49
Fluent in Japanese	04	-5.04	07	-4.43
Lived in Japan	05	-4.22	08	-3.75
Like Japanese music only	06	-4.17	04	-5.95
See Japanese movies only	07	-3.94	03	-6.42
Went J language school over 10 yrs	08	-3.84	--	--
Visited Japan 6 or more times	09	-3.84	09	-3.72
Listen to Japanese radio often	10	-3.79	06	-5.22
Watch KIKU (Japan TV)	11	-3.74	--	--
No Japanese language ability	01	4.45	01	3.01
Never went Japanese lang. school	02	3.72	--	--
Like non-Japanese music only	03	3.67	--	--

As you will note in the list of variables included in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, there are three different kinds of variables included in our data analysis, i.e., Japanese language ability, social attributes, and attitudes toward Japanese culture. The core of this first dimension seems to be centered around one's ability to speak the Japanese language. The first two most highly ranked items in both extremes have to do with the language, writing letters in Japanese, doing mental arithmetic in Japanese, Japanese language ability and going to Japanese language school. Then, language ability is followed by the respondents' attitudes toward Japanese music, radio, T.V. and other cultural matters. Sociological attributes such as having lived in Japan or having visited Japan are least important in relation to the first two groups of variables. In fact, organizational membership, the extent of integration at one's place of work and other sociological variables did not attach high scale values. One's ability in the Japanese language and his like for Japanese culture followed by contacts with Japan constitute the first pattern, which we wish to call "Japaneseness." If one looks at the variables which highly ranked on the positive side, one will note that the variables consist of what one might refer to as the opposite of being "Japanese" in America, i.e., no Japanese language ability at all, never went to any Japanese language school and like only non-Japanese music. In other words, these are what typify those Japanese-Americans who have never learned any Japanese language and do not care for Japanese culture.

A comparison of the 1971 and 1978 survey data indicates that there is very little change between the two sets of data as far as we can ascertain. It is still Japanese language ability, which constitutes the core of Japaneseness in Honolulu's Japanese-American community. To be sure, there are a few variables

that highly ranked in 1971 that did not do so in 1978, but there has been no drastic change in scale values, as can be seen in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.

3.2.3 Biculturalism: Among all variables included in the data analysis, the most important dimension in the 1971 and 1978 data was, thus, "Japaneseness".

What constitutes the second dimension, column X2 ? Let us list all those variables that attached extremely high positive/negative scale values in the two survey data again, to see what emerged as the second most important pattern in the data.

A glance at Table 3.4 may confuse some readers, but a closer look at the table will enable one to realize that what can be inferred from entries in Table 3.4 is that those variables consist of (1) those who know enough Japanese language to get by and have some contact with things both Japanese and American, as evidenced in such variables as listening to Japanese broadcasts "sometimes," not "frequently" or "never," and (2) variables which indicate either extremely Japan-oriented or non-Japan oriented variables, such as doing mental arithmetic in Japanese or inability to speak the Japanese language at all. They represent extremes in both directions of being very "Japanesy" or very "non-Japanesy." We would call the second dimension "Biculturalism." Those who score high on one extreme of this continuum would be persons who feel comfortable with both American or Japanese things. They have enough ability in both languages to enjoy both cultures. Those who score on the extreme are those who feel comfortable with things either American or Japanese but not both. Apparently, an important dimension among Japanese-Americans' attitudes is this biculturalism. Mono-cultured older Japanese-Americans and younger Japanese-Americans,



Table 3.4

Variables	<u>Biculturalism</u>			
	1971		1978	
	Rank	X2	Rank	X2
Writing letters in English and J.	01	6.62	01	4.96
Speak Japanese "passably"	02	4.54	04	4.16
Listen to J. radio "sometimes"	03	3.72	05	4.08
Belief in an "other" religion <sup>2)</sup>	04	3.65	--	--
Went to J. lang. school 6-10 yrs	05	3.17	--	--
Visited Japan 6 or more times	--	--	02	4.17
Called by Ame. & Japa. names	--	--	03	4.16
Went to J. lan. school over 10 yrs	--	--	06	3.51
*****				
Mental arithmetic in Japa/both	01	-16.29	02	-10.03
Writing letters in Japanese	02	-14.34	01	-12.62
Do not speak Japanese at all	03	-13.88	04	-8.25
Read Japanese newspapers	04	-10.01	--	--
Never went J. lang. school	05	-9.19	07	-5.64
Like non-Japanese music only	06	-7.89	--	--
See non-Japanese movies only	07	-5.28	05	-7.76
Speak Japanese fluently	08	-5.06	--	--
Went to J. lang. school over 10 yrs	09	-4.01	--	+3.51*
Lived in Japan	10	-3.86	--	--
Never watch KIKU (Japan TV)	--	--	03	-8.84
Speak Japanese "very poorly"	--	--	06	-6.55
Like Japanese music only	--	--	09	-4.44
Belief in Christianity	--	--	10	-3.47

\*This variable ranked 6th at the other end of the continuum in the 1978 data.

who do not know the Japanese language, have something in common.  
They are both mono-cultured, as opposed to the Nisei, who consti-  
tute a bridge between the older and younger generations by knowing  
and appreciating the two worlds.

There have been some changes in the extent of the scale values, however, between the 1971 data and that of 1978. For example, the fifth variable in the 1971 data on the length of attending Japanese language school has changed from 6 years to 10 years or more in the 1978 data. Perhaps it takes a longer time to acquire enough Japanese language ability to speak the language possibly because of changes in language school since the end of World War II. In fact, one who went to Japanese language school over 10 years was classified as one of the variables that ranked extremely on the other end of the same continuum in the 1971 data. Never watching the Japanese T.V. channel became an important component of being mono-cultured in 1978. This most certainly is due to the drastic change that has taken place in the past seven years or so in the number of KIKU viewers after the introduction of English subtitles in most of its programming. Those who do not watch KIKU are limited to those who do not care for Japanese culture. Those who do not understand the Japanese language can now watch KIKU and enjoy it because of the English subtitles. Thus, despite some changes, the basic structure of this dimension remains the same. Again, it is interesting to note that the first two most highly ranked items are questions dealing with Japanese language ability. Therefore, it appears as if the key to unlocking the minds of Japanese-Americans lies in the extent of language ability, whether one is interested in the "Japaneseness" or "biculturalism" among Japanese-Americans. On the whole, however, the first dimension, "Japaneseness" seems to show more of its stability over a period of time than the second dimension did as far as the composition of variables that constitute these two patterns are concerned.

If our discovery of Hawaii's "golden man" who feels at home in either the Eastern or Western setting, as described by Mitchener (1959) is correct, the "golden man's" average age must be in the 50s, and these men belong to an endangered species; They will soon be retiring from active life. The Sansei, while maintaining some of his "Japaneseness" will be much less attached to the Japanese values, just as the Issei or their grand parents were to the American values. The Sansei can be, however, a new golden man in the sense that he maintains some of his ethnic heritage, while completely adjusts to life in Hawaii. He is most likely to promote the "local boy" culture in a multi-ethnic setting of Hawaii. While he may not feel at home in the Eastern setting, he is most likely to strive to contribute toward the development of a unique culture in Hawaii that is Hawaii; Our empirical findings certainly point to that direction.

#### Notes

1. The publication of the original article appeared as "Theory and Example of Quantification (II). "(1956).
2. Those religious sects not classified under Buddhist or Christian are grouped into a category entitled "other" religion. What it means in this particular context is that those who belong to neither Buddhist nor Christian churches are considered bicultural. Among those who believe in religious faith, Buddhists and Christians constitute the largest majority.

## Chapter 4

### Conclusion

The present report focused on our findings from the 1978 Survey of Honolulu residents. Honolulu turned out to be the ideal research site, as we had anticipated it to be. Honolulu, which has probably the most concentrated population of Japanese-Americans in the United States, enabled us to make comparative analyses of three groups, i.e., mainlanders, islanders of Japanese ancestry, and the remaining population of island-born residents in Honolulu. There are enough mainlanders born and reared on the mainland, whom we assumed to possess the core of American culture at large. This situation enabled us to compare not only the Japanese in Japan with the Honoluluans but also several other sub-cultures that exist in Honolulu today. In the process of comparing islanders with mainlanders, we discovered that the differences we are finding are not only in direct relation to their level of education and other sociological factors but also in direct relation to the nature of their values and attitudes. We have found a considerable degree of similarity between Japanese-Americans on the one hand and non-Japanese-islanders on the other. Our general findings indicate that there is a considerable cultural gap between islanders and mainlanders from differences in child-rearing to differences in ideal types of employer-employee relations. This, of course, is not a surprise to any observer of Honolulu, but our findings specify the areas and the extent of differences that characterize the relationship between the two groups in Honolulu.

Space limitations prevent us from summarizing all our findings. What follows then, are comments we wish to make on the implications of our findings, for the purpose of further theorizing and data analysis.

#### 4.1 A Model of the American National Character

First, scalogram analyses of the "Belief in the System" and "Self-Achievement" deserve further discussion. Findings reported in Chapter 2 will be dealt with simultaneously. The degrees to which three different ethnic groups scored varied almost identically in both scales with that of island-born Japanese.<sup>1)</sup> The scores of each group fell into such neat and predictable patterns that we were pleasantly surprised by the results. Japanese-Americans trust the system more than any other group and strive harder than any other group to succeed within the existing system. We would posit that these two scales are inter-related: the higher one scores in the Belief in the System scale, the higher will be one's score in the Self-Achievement scale. We would further posit that these two key attitudinal attributes constitute an answer to the question of why Japanese-Americans have been so successful in advancing themselves in American society.

Figure 4.1 is constructed to illustrate a dimension of American national character as we perceive it. If we combine the two scales into one, by using the property space concept as done in Figure 4.1, we would find four different types of Americans in the society:

- 1) The Model Citizen who firmly believes in the American system and its ideals and who strives very hard to achieve the American dream of success within the existing social and economic system. This model citizen places emphasis on the individual.
- 2) The Revolutionary is one who is low on the Belief in the System scale but high on the Self-Achievement scale score. He is the kind of person who attempts to achieve his goals by radically shifting the social and economic order of the society, because he has no trust in the existing social order.
- 3) The "Archie Bunker" is one who firmly believes in the system but somehow lacks either the high motivation to succeed or the means to achieve what he wants. He is most likely to blame himself for the failure of his efforts, while the "Revolutionary" blames any failure on the system.

Figure 1

Belief in the System and Self-Achievement:

A Dimension of American National Character

		<u>Belief in the System</u>	
		High	Low
<u>Self-Achievement</u>	High	1) <u>The Model Citizen</u> Japanese-American Islanders	2) <u>The Revolutionary</u>
	Low	3) <u>The "Archie Bunker"</u>	4) <u>The Rich Liberal</u> Mainlanders

He, however, remains happy in his own way, because of the lack of cognitive capacity to perceive the society as a whole, the capacity possessed by the following type, the "Rich Liberal."

- 4) The Rich Liberal consists of those well-heeled Americans who can afford to be critical of the system while reaping the benefits from the system they criticize. They, in fact, constitute the Establishment. Because of their established status, they did not have to try as hard as the Model Citizen to succeed. Their parents provided them with ample means to be successful in the society, thus their relatively low motivation to succeed.

The uniqueness of Honolulu is that the majority of the citizens belong to types 1 and 4 because of the peculiar nature of the society. Mainlanders who migrate to Honolulu are limited almost entirely to professionals and managers. Unskilled or less educated person cannot find any positions in Honolulu, and the relatively high cost of living keep out many who otherwise might migrate to Honolulu. There are, however, a significant number of young mainlanders who reside in Honolulu without steady jobs, but they tend to be mobile, which prevents them from registering to vote. Thus, they are not included in our sample. In any case, we would posit that Honolulu has much smaller number than mainland U.S. of the "Archie" type citizens for these reasons.

We have noted earlier that the scale scores of the two scales are expected to go down from the first generation immigrants to the second and so on, as reported in Chapter 2. If so, we would predict that the distance currently found between mainlanders and Japanese-Americans should narrow as Japanese-Americans continue to

acquire more desirable positions and become more successful in the pursuit of their individual goals. From the point of view of maintaining a healthy economy, it seems to follow that Honolulu can use a continuous flow of immigrants, who possess the above described characteristics. These latter will probably fill the positions now occupied by Japanese-Americans. Currently, the largest number of immigrants is coming from the Philippines. They seem to possess the achievement motivation not found among migrants from Samoa and other Pacific areas.

While there may be a small number of the "Revolutionary" type individuals in Honolulu, we do not believe that they constitute a statistically significant number in relation to types

1) and 4), who constitute the majority in Honolulu.

Now, we do not claim that this is the most important dimension, but we do believe that what we have just described constitutes a key dimension of American national character, built on the continuous flow of immigrants from all corners of the world. Our model of American national character is dynamic, in the sense that the model is capable of predicting the future attitudes of Japanese-Americans in relation to mainlanders in Honolulu and elsewhere.

The vitality of America depends, at least in part, on the continuing flow of new citizens from abroad, if our model of American national character has any validity. In our study of Honolulu residents, we have discovered another source of vitality, which we believe is what keeps the American establishment securely in its position. The reader may recall one of the most important differences found between islanders and mainlanders on child-rearing practice. Mainlanders encourage their children to be curious and pay little attention to such values as obedience to parents. We contend that this is an extremely important discovery,



because of its ability to explain and predict what is happening and what will happen.

Japanese-Americans along with other Asian-Americans in general, influenced heavily by Confucianism, hold such values as filial piety and obedience as important virtues. Certainly, these values contribute to a low crime rate and make these citizens a model for other minority Americans to follow.<sup>3)</sup> The teaching of these oriental virtues has its payoffs that are beneficial, to be sure, but it also has its drawbacks. Asian-Americans and particularly Japanese-Americans are taught to be good citizens and to obey this and that, but they do very little to make their children creative. In short, Japanese-Americans high on the Belief in the System and the Self-Achievement scales are successful, but they are not training their children to be creative and inventive.

#### 4.2 Creativeness:

What professional fields did the Japanese-Americans go into in Honolulu? Many of them are found in such fields as law, medicine, dentistry, politics, and the like, which enable them to earn a relatively high income. There are a few scientists and scholars at the University of Hawaii at Manoa who are of Japanese ancestry. A very significant proportion, probably over 80 percent of the faculty members at the University, are mainlanders. It is, thus, our assessment that our survey finding in this regard coincides with what we can observe in Honolulu. Islanders and especially Japanese-Americans show little interest in

encouraging their children to be creative. Thus, when these youngsters of Japanese origin grow up, they do not go into fields where creativity is stressed over other values. However, this is one of the vital values they must learn, if they are to be integrated into the mainstream of the American establishment. In other words, being a model soldier and a model citizen are not enough for them to become part of the establishment in Honolulu. There may be other requirements, but this element certainly appears to be an important ingredient for the development of Japanese-Americans as a whole.

Creativeness is something that must be nurtured. Every child is curious of his environment. This curiosity should be nurtured somehow and should not be overshadowed by such values as obedience. Children can be encouraged to be creative, but they cannot be taught to be creative. The process of socialization starts as soon as a baby is born. It requires the parents and all other agencies of socialization to cooperate in encouraging the children to be creative and inventive.

We would posit that an important source of the strength of the American establishment lies in its members' creativity and resourcefulness which enable them to not only survive in an ever changing society but also to strengthen their ability to maintain a dynamic equilibrium in American society. Honolulu is a micro-cosm of American society.

We have stated earlier that an important source of the American vitality lies in the continuous flow of immigrants into the United States. Now, we have suggested another source of American vitality and ability not only to maintain its excellence but also to grow.

### 4.3 Freedom:

So far we have presented the results of our inferences about American culture in this final chapter. Let us go back to see how the respondents themselves characterize American culture. As we reported earlier in the previous paper, nearly a fifth of the respondents mentioned "freedom," when they were asked to tell us whatever comes to their mind when they think of American culture (Q69). Of those who mentioned "freedom," we should add here that 26 percent of the Japanese-Americans (81) mentioned this word, while only 14 percent of the remaining respondents (61) did so. The second most frequently mentioned word was "democracy" (26). Of 26 respondents who mentioned this word, 14 were Japanese-Americans and 12 were non-Japanese-Americans. Non-Japanese were more likely to mention such words the Bill of Rights, the U.S. Constitution, individual rights, capitalism, and the legal system. Japanese-Americans are somehow much more likely than others to mention the most popular word, "freedom."

Americans as a whole are more likely to mention political symbols in describing their culture than anything else. Among the political symbols mentioned, the most popular one by far is "freedom." The other symbols such as equality and justice are hardly mentioned at all. Furthermore, this most-often mentioned symbol is mentioned by Japanese-Americans almost twice as often as by others. Now, why? As mentioned in the first part of this chapter, we would posit that Japanese-Americans trust the American system as model citizens should and are probably proud of the freedom they have enjoyed in recent decades more than other Americans, who did not have to suffer loss of freedom during World

War II as they did. It is no longer symbols such as justice and equality that come to their minds but rather freedom, which fills their minds.

Again we should note here that what is important is not how the concept of freedom should be interpreted or defined but rather how each respondent feels about it. Scholars are concerned with the definition of everything, but not the people at large. We should respect their views for what they are. It is not their concern to define anything, but they do have a feeling toward words and symbols.

As a child goes through the process of socialization in America, he is taught to believe in a host of things such as justice for all, equality, freedom, individualism and the like. No agency of socialization is likely to rank order these symbols for children to learn, but they somehow get the message across. The message is abundantly clear that the most important value in America today is freedom, as far as Honoluluans are concerned.

Americans may not vote as often as some critics say they should, but our respondents' choice of words to express American culture certainly leads us to believe that they are politicized to a significant extent in the sense that they see American culture through politics as evidenced in such frequently mentioned words as "democracy" and "constitution."

#### 4.4 The Importance of Language Ability:

The use of Hayashi's quantification method yielded a few interesting conclusions in Chapter 3. Of first and foremost importance is that the basic foundation of Japanese culture as it exists among Japanese-Americans is their ability to speak

and understand the Japanese language, from which stems their attitudes toward things Japanese. In other words, knowledge of the extent of one's familiarity with the language can be used as an excellent indicator of a person's association with Japanese culture in Honolulu. We also discovered that Japanese-Americans who are familiar with both cultures and both languages constitute a bicultural group separate from those who are well-acquainted with either American or Japanese cultures exclusively. Although indicators for this pattern varied from the 1971 survey results to the 1978 Survey results, language ability remained the basic foundation of this pattern as well.

What is most dramatically clear is the dominance of language in everyday life. The use of a language affects a variety of what one does and one thinks, in important ways. If Japanese-Americans wish to preserve Japanese culture, our recommendation is that they encourage their children to learn the Japanese language. Also, if it is the intent of the Japanese government to create goodwill in any part of the world, it should encourage learning of foreign languages as the first step toward that goal.

#### 4.5 Honolulu as the Research Site:

There are many items that deserve closer attention, but we believe that these four items are the most crucial for a better understanding of Honolulu as a multi-ethnic community in the United States, from theoretical and substantive perspectives.

Methodologically speaking, perhaps it ought to be noted here that great difficulties were experienced in the process of achieving adequate scales in terms of obtaining sufficiently high coefficients of reproducibility and scalability for the two

scales, which we finally succeeded in getting. A major reason for this problem lies in the fact that our respondents in each group are not very homogeneous in their responses to the scale items. We did factor analysis of all scale items first to discover how different items cluster. Then, we examined frequency distributions of each item to determine suitable cutting points for each item and then efforts were made to scale them. Needless to say, what we reported represents only a small segment of what we did. Although Honolulu represents an ideal community in which to conduct sample surveys involving the Japanese-Americans, it also presents us with a challenge because of its heterogeneous population with its wide magnitude of value orientations and personality traits not found in such homogeneous societies such as that of Japan. Methodological difficulties notwithstanding, theoretical and substantive payoffs of our scaling efforts clearly outweigh the challenge aspect.

Thus, Honolulu as a research site turns out to be the ideal we anticipated it to be: it enabled us to generate new ideas and provided us rich data, which will take some time for us to comprehend and report. We hope to continue our data analysis efforts for the next few years along the line of thought expressed in the present report.

### Notes

1. No one can doubt the loyalty of Japanese-Americans, who volunteered to serve in the U.S. Army while their parents were placed in concentration camps solely because of their ethnic origin. The Nisei-Americans who fought in the European theater in the 442nd Regiment and 100th Battalion became the most decorated units in the U.S. Army. They became "model" soldiers for their bravery. They came home to go back to school on the GI Bill. They graduated and became so successful again in civilian life that they again became "model" minority citizens for other minority Americans to emulate.
2. Archie Bunker is the main character in a well-received T.V. comedy in the United States. He symbolizes an average middle-class American, who is a delightfully bigoted man.
3. Japanese-Americans are least represented among persons arrested or those behind bars in relation to other ethnic groups in Honolulu, as well as in the state of Hawaii as a whole. In 1972, only 8.2 percent of all adults arrested in the city and country of Honolulu were of Japanese ancestry (Hawaii Association of Asian and Pacific Peoples, 1974, Table 1, p. 11). An estimated population of the Japanese-Americans in the same year was estimated to be 26.9 percent in Honolulu. Proportionately speaking, they were least likely to be arrested in relation to all other ethnic groups in Honolulu. Adult residents by ethnic groups of correctional facilities in the state of Hawaii show that only 6.1 percent of them were of Japanese origin while part-Hawaiians and Hawaiians constituted 50 percent of the total population in correctional facilities (Hawaii Association of Asian and Pacific Peoples, 1974, Table VI, p. 16). Thus, there is no question about the fact that Japanese-Americans are model citizens who abide by laws while striving to excell and succeed.

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# 研究リポート 47 正誤表

頁	行	正	誤
7	下から 3 行目	happily	hapilly
17	" 15 "	"Roots"	Roots
19	上から 12 "	decision	dicision
31	" 2 "	unable	unalbe
33	下から 13 "	psychological/	pychological/
37	" 12 "	(Q25)	(25)
40	上から 13 "	the Word	word
43	下から 3 "	Western	Wester
45	" 14 "	as such	such
46	上から 16 "	Thirty-eight	Thirty-eitht
50	" 14 "	How should roules be	How should they be
51	" 16 "	he had gone	he gone
52	下から 4 "	surveys	survey
65	Q38 - 5	dissatisfied	dissatidfied
75	F15	70 years	70 year
76	F17 - 34	language	langeage
76	F17 - 96	Pidgin	Pidgn
76	F18	did your father	did you father

## "Honolulu Residents and their Attitudes in Multi-ethnic Comparative Perspectives"

5	上から 3 行目	they are in	they are place in
8	" 1 "	lifestyle	life. style
9	" 4 "	this hypothesis	hyopthesis
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30	" 3 "	not shown	shown
34	上から 8 "	there are	where are
65	" 7 "	remaining	ramaining

Research      Report

General Series No. 47

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—An Attitudinal Study of Honolulu Residents—

The Research Committee  
on the Study of Honolulu Residents

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