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***Koreans in Japan and the  
United States: Attitudes  
Toward Achievement  
and Authority***

*by*

***Georges DeVos and  
Eun Young Kim***

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**ABOUT THE AUTHOR...**

**GEORGES DEVOS came to UC Berkeley in 1957 and is a Professor in the Dept. of Anthropology. He received his BA in Sociology in 1946, MA in Anthropology in 1948 and Ph.D. in Psychology in 1951 from the University of Chicago. His Ph.D. dissertation was a comparison of the personality of immigrants and their children. Since then he has studied the Korean and outcaste minorities in Japan and worked with the University of Paris and the University of Leuvin (Belgium) on labor migrants in Europe. He has studied Japanese motivational patterns and personality and most recently, he has been looking at Korean immigrants to the United States.**

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**ABSTRACT**  
**Koreans in Japan and the United States Attitudes Toward Achievement  
And Authority**

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The present generation of Korean youth in Japan reflect considerable personal alienation in response to the disparagement and degradation endured since the arrival of their parents or grandparents. in Japan

Examined psychoculturally the Korean minority in Japan are presented with a numbers of dilemmas in resolving who they are, and to whom they owe their loyalty. They find it difficult to use their group identity as a means of countering moments of individual doubt about ability. Korean children seem to do relatively poorly in school for similar reasons found to operate in some American minorities, such as among blacks or Mexican-Americans Korean-Japanese youth in many instances are stronger in their disregard of family or adult authority simply because there is less gratification to be gained from interdependent family relationships.

**A Comparison of attitudes on the Thematic Apperception Test; The U.S. and  
Japan.**

To buttress some of the above impressions we report a minor study using a projective test, the TAT. The results obtained are highly suggestive of the differential reaction of a minority group to a different pattern of relative acceptance or discrimination in two host societies. Youth of Korean ancestry are adapting differently in Japan and the United States. The results obtained on the TAT reflect these differences.

What is particularly clear in the Thematic Apperception Test material to be discussed is the difference in future time orientation. In each instance the themes of the Japanese in Japan show a sense of alienation and lack of resolution toward either future accomplishment or a future positive destiny in interpersonal relationships. We have tapped themes of deep personal alienation which are pervasive and characterize many of the Koreans in Japan. This material gives indirect evidence of a contention raised generally about the effect of degradation over several generations on a minority population. We do not posit that the Koreans remaining in Japan are genetically inferior or in any other way inferior to the sample that we obtained from new immigrants in the United States. We must see, therefore, that their social history and the vicissitudes of minority status in Japan are to be read in the sense of personal alienation pervading the test material obtained from Japan. There is very obvious contrast in results with those voluntary immigrants to the United States who come here with the intention of self and family betterment in their new setting.

Instrumentally based definitions of social, occupational, economic, and political success or achievement are found in every society. In any pluralistic society that emphasizes the ascendancy of one group, the achievement of social success may well require one to disguise one's minority class or ethnic status origins. In our volume (Lee and De Vos 1981 Chapter 12), we note examples of why and how some Koreans have changed behavior and disguised their background to obtain success, especially in the less carefully monitored world of entertainment. "Passing" a term first used by light skinned American blacks is a universal phenomenon found in any hierarchical setting in which background may disadvantage the individual This is practiced in any social setting in which some form of escape from community surveillance is possible. The complex urban environment makes some form of passing possible in modern societies. The problem however is more difficult in a caste-like setting accorded Koreans in Japan in which intermarriage is vigilantly interdicted.

In passing from one class or caste to another in a rigidly controlled society the individual is continually subject to exposure. Sometimes a linguistic usage, or an inadvertent form of behavior betrays past **affiliations**.<sup>3</sup>

To be known as of Korean background today is still to court failure through ostracism. Intermarriage is extremely rare with other than Burakumin outcastes. Even an entertainer of Korean background remains an anomaly. Some Koreans naturally find it expedient to attempt to maintain a disguised background, but here expressive needs become counterpoised; they cannot maintain affectional ties with family or friends from the Korean community. Among those Koreans who choose not to pass there is continual ambivalence toward those who attempt it There is sometimes some insistence on covert contacts or signs of allegiance. Whatever the circumstances, and individual is conducted toward a sense of personal alienation. Most Koreans choose not to attempt to pass.

Frustration of a need for achievement within contemporary Japanese society has had five predictable results. **First**, there is political dissidence, some of its illegal and violent. Second, there are various forms of innovative social behavior some of it leading to individualistically achieved professional and even business success within the heavily group oriented Japanese society. **Third**, there is goal oriented criminal activity. The Japanese criminal underworld contains many relatively successful Koreans, but even here, there is a great deal of disguise and passing practiced. **Fourth**, many Koreans, especially the youth manifest unresolved difficulties in applying themselves to future plans. The act out deviantly in one way or another against both family and outer social expectations. The rate of delinquency among Korean youth is seven times that found among ordinary Japanese. **Fifth**, one notes cases of social and psychological alienated withdrawal. School failure is very high. The choice among these modes of reaction are not dissimilar to those practiced by American blacks in the United States.

In our volume (1981) we discuss the history of social protest, including violent political radicalism, past and present. Koreans have been motivated to take a wide variety of means to redress their social plight. It must be noted however, that religious sects still vie with political groups as a basis for ultimate ideological commitment. From the Japanese perspective Koreans have been and continue to be feared as a source of potential political and social violence.

However, looked at psychologically as well as socially, the social protest of Koreans in Japan displays a broad spectrum of social adaptive and psychologically adjustive reaction patterns. These patterns range all the way from infantile destructiveness rationalized as social purpose, to mature espousal of a political cause deriving from a sense of common humanity and compassion. In our empirical work in the field of delinquency in Japan (De Vos and Wagatsuma 1969; De Vos 1980; Wagatsuma and De Vos 1984) not only did we document the uncommonly high rate of delinquency among Korean youth, but the sad background of many discontented or broken families resulting from the oppressive atmosphere of social degradation experienced by many Koreans living in marginal slums.

The indirect as well as direct effects of social disparagement have generational consequences for family life. Delinquent behavior is not simply reaction to outside discrimination, but comes to reflect damaged parental authority often due to alcoholism and family disorganization experienced from early childhood on. There is much evidence of personal self disparagement and lack of confidence in one's abilities. There is a sense of emotional as well as economic deprivation. What is evident is that the Korean family in Japan has become generationally vulnerable to social disparagement\_

Koreans in Japan find it difficult to use their group identity as a means of countering moments of individual doubt about ability. Frequently the minority individual cannot depend on a sense of confidence drawn from past group experience. In a form of self hate he or she comes instead to introject some of the prejudice directed at one's group.

The situation for Koreans is different in the United States. This present generation of arriving Koreans, on psychological tests (see below) resembles The Japanese Immigrants two generations past Their Korean Confucian heritage and its emphasis on social hierarchy within the family is better practiced in the U.S. than in the Japanese context. We shall note however that they share the suspicion about legitimate authority found in the homeland or in Japan.

Those coming to the United States as immigrants do so voluntarily seeking the promises of personal and family advancement. The families are intact. There is here no history of specific degradation and unemployment. One must quickly note class variable are also involved. Members of the families of those coming in have in many instances already achieved some form of professional occupation. Although many

must work at occupations beneath their specific training, they do so with the conviction their children through mounting the educational ladder will succeed better. The present statistics demonstrate they are doing so. Koreans are overrepresented in the major American universities.

What is particularly clear in comparing responses to the Thematic Apperception Test in small samples taken in Japan with those obtained in Korea and in the U.S., to be discussed below, is the difference in future time orientation. The Japanese sample of Korean youth tested show little future time orientation. They avoid projecting into the future with any optimism. In contrast, the new Korean Americans see future potentials in vital, positive terms.

### Social Dissention

Socially, Koreans in Japan, past as well as present, generally find their need for harmony dissipated by deep and abiding distrust, discord, inherited hostilities, and traditions of divisiveness. Political groups manifest long-standing splits between North and South; between pro-government and anti-government groupings; between Christian and non-Christian. Whereas many Koreans with considerable justification blame these cleavages on the fact that they are pawns in a power game in which the chief players are the Soviet Union, China, the United States and Japan, they must face the fact that discordant factionalism is also caused by intragroup, factional animosities on the part of particular Koreans which remain generationally active.

The usually most expedient group mechanism for achieving internal harmony is to find some means of deflecting socially disruptive behavior or attitudes onto outside individuals or groups. This is a well-researched mechanism in social psychology. Displacement of internal tensions onto an outside enemy is basic to ethnocentrism wherever it operates. But it is indeed an unfortunate destiny of many minority groups to embody in their subordinate social traditions forms of discord that are more internally expressed than externally displaced.

Unfortunately, for many Koreans the "outgroup" is often another faction of Koreans. For Example, in Japan, the North Korean oriented groups in their schools and elsewhere, have sought to further their internal group solidarity by expressing discord toward "less virtuous" factions of the Korean community.

Koreans today, both at home and in Japan, to attain internal harmony often have recourse to labeling the Japanese collectively as the enemy. It is easier to deflect hatred onto all Japanese rather than to distinguish those who are indeed prejudiced from those who are accepting and potentially helpful. Hence Koreans sometimes behave with anger and hostility toward all Japanese, irrespective of their personal guilt or innocence. This reciprocal stereotypic attitude of hatred contributes to acts of animosity on both sides.

Most Korean groups exercise particularly heavy sanctions against group members who take Japanese citizenship. Since the Japanese also reject them, naturalized citizens of Korean origin have set up their own group, the Seiwa Club, a name that can be roughly translated as “the realization of harmony.” In this group, naturalization is a form of avoiding parsing by openly acknowledging one’s Korean background and at the same time asserting one’s Japanese citizenship. Finding themselves in a fairly precarious position and generally isolated, naturalized Korean-Japanese hope to make their position more acceptable or tolerated by others.

Perhaps the greatest problem that we have noted is how disruptive the circumstances of discrimination have been to the harmonious functioning of the Korean family. The destruction of the male’s occupational prowess, the wounding of his sense of dignity, results in spasmodic acts of compensatory masculinity at home. It also results in disparagement of the husband by his wife within the home setting. Confucianist values, in which the wife ideally plays a subordinate role to the head of the house and sees to it that the children are obedient to those in authority, are not well exercised in many Korean homes. This leads to a sense of worthlessness about their family on the part of growing children. The family relationships themselves become bonds of aggressive displacement, of mute frustration, and of inescapable ignominy. The family is not a haven but a place of alienation. As noted above in respect to achievement motivation, many youths express their feelings in some form of delinquent behavior that eventuates in a criminal career.

Korean Japanese children seem to do relatively poorly in school for similar reasons found to operate in some American minorities, such as among blacks or Mexican-Americans (De Vos 1980). Individuals do not identify or internalize standards and expectations set for them by members of the external majority. Instead the peer group becomes the principal source of affiliative gratification, discouraging acquiescence and conformity to the school as an institution. The peer group also becomes the arena for demonstration of prowess and competence, the source of appreciative judgment from other youth.

#### Attitudes Toward Authority and Group Loyalty

We must also note impressionistically that Korean-Japanese youth in many instances are stronger in their disregard of family or adult authority simply because there is less gratification to be gained from interdependent family relationships. Affiliation is sought from peer group relationships that are frequently delinquency oriented and antagonistic toward social authorities, including teachers and others functioning in Japanese administrative agencies. These attitudes of protective association and antagonism toward the outside are sometimes perpetuated into adulthood.



Korean-Japanese seem to seek out individual affiliations in marriage. Although their Confucian tradition emphasizes the authority of family role patterns rather than intimate companionship, they seem today less prone to concern themselves with family considerations. One notes that among younger Koreans, just as among younger Japanese, there is a greater desire for closeness and intimacy in the marital bond. Indeed, romantic love today in some few instances transcends the social barriers set up between Koreans and lower status Japanese. Such marriages can compound problems of identity on the part of the Korean partner. He or she is faced with the necessity to affirm or deny Korean affiliations outside of marriage and at the same time to maintain solidarity with his or her mate,

There are numerous instances of difficulties arising in mixed marriages owing to external pressures of family or internal problems of divided loyalty. In turn, mixed marriages produce children who have their own identity problems, who must decide on their principal allegiances and the principal groups from which they will seek out companions.

### A Comparison of attitudes on the Thematic Apperception Test; The U.S. and Japan.

To buttress some of the above observational impressions let us report to you on our study using a projective test, the TAT. The results obtained are highly corroborative of the differential reaction of a minority group to a different pattern of relative acceptance or discrimination in two host societies. Youth of Korean ancestry **are** adapting differently in Japan and the United States. Underneath these patterns of adaptation are attitudinal differences revealed in our test results. In effect, the observed behavioral differences demonstrate the validity of the TAT results. Underlying attitudes are indeed captured in different cultural settings demonstrating that projective **tests can be used** cross culturally, despite the opinions held to the contrary by many social scientists sceptical about the possible validity of such tests when used cross culturally.

### The Use of The TAT in Social Science Research.

The first publication drawing attention to what became known as the Thematic Apperception Test appeared in 1938 in Henry A. Murray's volume, *Explorations in Personality*. **Several** other subsequent psychologists recognizing the research or clinical possibilities of analyzing stories given to a standardized set of pictures or drawings developed tests of a related nature. Anthropologists in the 1940's and 1950's became intrigued by the possibilities of making cross cultural comparisons of "culture and personality." The Murray set of TAT cards became the most frequently employed thematic type of projection test to be used with any frequency outside of western cultural settings.

“TAT” forms of projective analysis used cross culturally was characterized by three approaches. In a good number of instances cards taken from what became the Murray series were used without modification. Some concern with cultural unfamiliarity led some users to attempt to develop cards thematically similar but more or less modified in regard to facial features, clothing, adding new cards with situations seemingly more appropriate to the particular culture studied. In other studies, any attempt at direct comparison of themes was foregone. Only the idea was kept of evoking social or personal themes reflecting personality. In some instances cards were developed that bore little resemblance to the type of drawings or interpersonal situations used in the original Murray series.

No uniformity of approach or similarity of methods of analysis ensued from the general use of the TAT either among psychologists or anthropologists. Almost no one came to use a series of twenty cards in fixed sequence as suggested in the manual accompanying the published set Murray and Christina Morgan, the originator of the set, thought that it was easier to identify with a figure of one’s own sex and approximate age. They suggested some specific adult and child cards of both sexes to be used alternatively as part of the series. However, most subsequent research or clinical application has not differentiated between the cards designated as more appropriate for men, women, boys or girls. They have been chosen more in regard to the thematic material to be elicited. Clinicians have used cards from the series that they preferred for particular diagnostic interests. Sometimes men or women are found freer to create a story with a personally significant theme by using a figure of the opposite sex.

The use of the Murray cards (Murray 1943) by Anthropologists has been varied. They tended to use the TAT as one of the preferred testing devices that would elicit culturally relevant content. They usually limited the number of cards given to between 8 to 12. Particular cards became favored. What was very apparent was that Murray's original interests in trait lists of internal “needs” and external social “presses” went largely ignored. Nevertheless some particular motivational factors such as “need achievement” gained an ascendancy of interest.

*Comparative research concerning achievement motivation and social adaptation.*

Research eliciting projections of a concern with achievement motivation became a central theme of many of the non clinically oriented research studies attempted with the Thematic Apperception Test both in the United States and elsewhere. I began my detailed research with the TAT in 1953. As a clinical psychologist I had utilized the test as part of clinical diagnostic work since 1948. My first training with the test as part of cultural analysis was under the guidance of William E. Henry at the University of Chicago in 1947. Henry had begun to apply the test both to research in industrial psychology and cross culturally as part of a comparative psycho-cultural study of American Indian child development (Henry 1947).

Beginning in 1948, William Caudill and I had used respectively the TAT and the Rorschach tests as part of a more general attempt to investigate the postwar adaptation of Japanese Americans in the Chicago area after their release from wartime internment camps. A strong achievement drive was quite evident throughout the projective test

materials as well as in the interviews conducted with the Issei immigrants and their Nisei children (Caudill and De Vos 1956).

McClelland (1953,1961) with other colleagues were developing rather extensive, systematic work specifically with what Murray had termed “need achievement.” McClelland considered “n achievement” to be a motivation socialized differently in different social contexts. He developed a very precise, well elaborated series of criteria for scoring. His colleagues used similar methods to create precise scales for measuring needs for “affiliation” (Atkinson 1958), and “power.” (Shipley and Veroff 1952, and Veroff 1958). They began applying these measures to the analysis of the fantasy of children and adults in the context of economic development (McClelland 1961).

The very evident need to achieve, and the culturally induced motivational pattern underlying this need had become a concern that Caudill and I found central to understanding the patterns of adaptation taking place among the Japanese Americans we were studying in Chicago. However, McClelland and his associates in seeking for a quantitative focus limited themselves to three basic concerns, and were ignoring some other salient themes that kept recurring in the sequential logic found embedded in the Japanese TAT stories. For example, the McClelland approach did not allow for any complex examination of achievement stories that were continually dramatized in the context of repayment for nurture and other family role situations that was manifest in the Japanese data. The need for achievement tended to confound concerns with standards for excellence and interpersonal dominance or competitiveness in the criteria used for scoring by McClelland.

McClelland and his associates did not tabulate several specific conflictful themes so that they could be compared for possible cultural differences. For example, the Japanese were continually concerned with problems of possible inadequacy interfering with achievement goals. In contrast, American control samples were concerned with questions of whether one wanted to apply oneself to a task or not, or how one should deal with the force of parental pressure inducing the assumption of future goals (De Vos 1973). I felt, therefore, compelled to develop categories for scoring that would allow for more exhaustive quantification.

This work related to the personality of Japanese Americans came to the attention of Professor Tsuneo Muramatsu of Nagoya National University in Japan. In 1952 The Fulbright scholar exchange program was initiated for Japan. Muramatsu asked me to come to Japan and participate in organizing and carrying out a program of research on Japanese personality and culture at Nagoya University. I accepted and journeyed to Nagoya in 1953.

From the inception of joint work in Nagoya on the cultural psychology of the Japanese, I was faced with the necessity of developing some systematic methods for analyzing the large amount of data that was to be gathered from a basic sample of approximately 2400 rural and urban Japanese. Caudill had examined the stories obtained from Japanese Americans in Chicago empirically, using no apriori scoring system to order his data. I concluded that some

more systematic quantification would be necessary to handle the very large amount of data being assembled at Nagoya 1953-1954.

### *A System of Scoring interpersonal Concerns*

As a means of reporting the Japanese data I became interested in establishing some basic categories to compare the relative saliency of the achievement *stories* with other interpersonal concerns. Rather than discarding material not directly relevant to the categories of achievement, affiliation and power, I worked out a set of basic categories that would allow for an inclusive classification of all the story material in a more complex fashion. I set about to develop a set of categories including basic human emotional states such as love, hate, anxiety, guilt, and shame drawn from the psychodynamic literature. I also sought to include some of the virtues and vices recognized as desirable or undesirable in various cultures (i.e. harmony, endurance, etc.).

I also separated stories in respect to instrumental and expressive emphases, a distinction I borrowed from the work of sociologists with “pattern variables” being examined in small group research by Parsons and Sales (1955). Additionally, rather than repeating Murray’s distinction between needs and pressures I focused on the active or passive stance of the stories’ central characters and the positive or negative evaluation attributed to the social acts depicted in the story material by the individual giving the story. I was equally concerned with developing categories reflecting personal perceptions that depicted the status differentials and distinctions marking horizontal and vertical social relationships, and socially evaluative considerations that could be internalized or remain an external pressure on a subject.

Rather than focusing on the concept ‘personality,’ per se, I consider social concerns and their attendant attitudes to be a reflection both of socialized motivation and the socialized perception of how interpersonal roles are enacted in particular social or cultural settings. So doing, I have found it possible to include almost every story taken from a stratified sample of 728 rural and urban Japanese within ten basic interpersonal categories and two sets of impersonal ones each elaborated into a number of subcategories (De Vos 1973). These categories have also been successfully applied to samples of interview and projective data taken from a variety of cultural or social groups.

Interpersonal concerns (considered “values” in some contexts) are placed in categories I consider to be universal. They are to be found in one form or other in every culture. The content or context may differ, but human interpersonal concerns in every culture are basically *self oriented*, *vertical in* respect to status and power differentials or basic *horizontal* peer level relationships. Some relationships are marked by concern with the *evaluations* or *judgments* of self and others, or with concord or discord in human relations. Some others are concerned with what are perceived as internalized standards or directives governing behavior. Status and role considerations influence concerns such as nurture, appreciation, harmony, achievement, etc. Since certain concerns grow out of the basic interaction patterns of humans as social animals they are elemental and appear in every social group. They are

inherent in childhood socialization in one form or other. Cultures differ however, as to how, they are relatively emphasized, interrelated or blended with one another in molecular patterns that may be quite culture specific.

Thematic fantasy therefore, is self, interpersonal, (dyadic or group) oriented in horizontally or vertically structured situations. These categories are represented in basic or complex form in all interview materials as well as on specially devised projective tests directed toward specific theoretical concerns. Particular fantasy about personal behavior in the social world is either focused on the “self” excluding the awareness of others from immediate concern, in “group” processes or in “dyadic” relationships. Behavior takes place in “vertical,” unequal status relationships, or in “horizontal” situations occurring **between** or among those of equivalent status. Interpersonal concerns in their social context are socially judged implicitly or explicitly as either positive, negative, unresolved or ambiguous in accordance with established norms. They divide into concerns that are essentially expressive in nature contrasting with instrumental goal oriented concerns. Since interpersonal concerns grow out the basic inherited interaction patterns of humans as social animals, they are elemental and appear in every social group. They are inherent in childhood socialization in one form or other. Cultures differ, however, as to how they are relatively emphasized, interrelated or blended with one another **in molecular patterns** that may be quite culture specific. This difference in emphasis is what we are demonstrating in comparing the present sample of Koreans in Japan and in the U.S.

[Chart 1 about **here**]  
Results:

We used the same Murray set TAT cards with a sample of immigrant Koreans tested in Los Angeles and another located in the Kyoto, Osaka area in Japan. In previous work with the TAT in Japan, De Vos noted the fact that the original Murray and the Japanese set with special cards produced similar results with Japanese. For comparative purposes the original set can be used as identical stimuli with several different cultural groups. No serious difficulties in these comparative analyses has arisen.

In this report we shall consider only the partial results obtained by a brief analysis of three cards as they reveal attitudes related to questions of achievement and alienation, and a fourth card dealing with attitudes toward authority. What we report is only one part of the results we are obtaining by systematic comparisons of a samples of 100 records from Korea with a small sample of 31 from Japan and a sample of 50 Koreans from Los Angeles. A previous publication (De Vos 1983). reports in detail the findings on the Korean sample compared with previous samples of immigrant Japanese done by William Caudill in 1947 (Caudill and De Vos 1956). What was remarkable in comparing these samples was the similarity in attitudes and concerns about achievement reflected in the thematic fantasy of both the Korean and Japanese samples. In this report we am not considering the strong contrast to be noted when comparing the minority

Koreans with recent samples of majority Japanese youth, who continue to exhibit in recent samples the concerns with achievement on which there have been previous reports (De Vos 1973).

#### Achievement Themes.

The standard initial request of the examiner asks for themes which interpret, not only the present, but also the past and future suggested by the given pictures. Comparison of the American and Japanese Korean samples strongly contrasts their stories in respect to any future time **orientation**.

The boy with the violin, (Card 1) a farm scene (Card 2) and a man on a rope (Card 17 BM) all evoke, for most samples, some percentage of stories related to achievement motivation projected into the future. Let us illustrate for you the kind of glaring differences reported in accompanying tables. Illustrative material can be more telling than the simple noting of statistics.

#### **Card 1: The Boy with the Violin**

Card I, the boy with the violin, has proven to be extremely useful in comparative studies. In De Vos' past work this card was used with North American Indian cultures as well as samples of Japanese, Chinese. Doctoral students have used the card with individuals from Kenya, central America and the Philippines. Colleagues and associates have used this card with Moroccans, Turks, Sicilians And Marteniqueans in Europe. In each instance the card elicits a concern with self-motivated ambition in some percentage of those tested. Such stories, by and large, have a future time orientation which depicts either optimism or a lack of resolution of fantasies about possibilities of successful achievement.

Compared with American counterparts, The sample of Koreans from Japan suggest much less incentive to resolve stories toward a self motivated positive view of the future. Of the 50 sampled in Los Angeles 25 gave stories of eventual success in contrast with the Japan sample from Kyoto and Osaka wherein only 2 of 31 gave such stories.

[Table 1 about here]

Stories of parental pressure appear as an element in some stories. Parental pressure appeared in 42% of the Korean Japanese sample. However, only in 2 of these 13 stories was there a positive compliance. Parental pressure also appeared in 32% of Los Angeles sample, in which 5 of 16 were resolved positively.

Overall, 87% of the Osaka-Kyoto sample gave stories with no resolution or with negative outcomes compared with 3670 among the American Koreans. The Koreans in Japan, do not give stories like the majority Japanese who worry about possible incompetence, but persist. The Koreans coming directly from

Korea to the United States give similar stories to majority Japanese. For example, in the Los Angeles sample we obtained such as the following:

L.A. Female age 22: The boy hopes to be a good violinist. Today he played the violin badly before his violin teacher. He would practice the violin harder. He will eventually be a good violinist.

L.A. Male, 25: The boy is a pupil who learns to play the violin. He practiced the violin concerto several times but his performance was not very good. He thinks now how he will be able to master the tune. He will practice very hard and he will eventually master this concerto.

Although concern with competence in 26% of their stories in Los Angeles, they fantasy overcoming incompetence and gaining eventual mastery in all but 2 of the stories. It is the single most prevalent theme dealing with personal motivation. In brief, the fantasies elicited on card 1 give evidence that the Korean immigrants, by and large, maintain a very positive attitude about the possibilities of future achievement. They seem very aware of a necessity to have a strong will to overcome individual weaknesses and disabilities in attaining a long range goal. Contrast this with these illustrative stories from the Koreans in Japan:

JK Male 25: He was bought and given a violin. But he does not know how to play the violin, so he is watching the instrument. He is worrying if he will become a violinist. I wonder if he has a toothache, That's all.

JK Female 25: He is bemused by an accident that has no relation to this violin. If this scene were after his violin practice, the accident might be related to the violin.

JK Male 18: Well, he is practicing the violin, and it seems that he is tired of playing the violin. And now he sighs, looking at the violin. He is completely fed up with it... And after all, when he is asked if he wants to quit the violin, he cannot decide. I don't know.

JK Male 26: He was receiving the lesson of the violin from a tutor. As he could not make a good sound however, he was annoyed, and then, ...that is all.

JK Male 22: Troublesome indeed. Past and future of this man? In this kind of era there is nothing special to say about the past. Nothing about present. Well, a violin and a child...They may separate in future... That's all.

JK Female 21: He is sunk in thought about how to play the violin better because he could not play well at his lesson . . . .(refuses to end story)...

The next large category of stories are those in which there is some mention of parental insistence on learning the violin. Both groups give stories of compliance wherein results are not depicted or are negative in tone. However, among the Japanese Koreans, 8 or 25% of their total stories (compared with 10% of the L.A. group) depict a boy complying only temporarily, or outright rejecting parental insistence. This result is in the direction of the results reported by William Caudill with a lower class American sample where the rate of refusal was even higher. To illustrate:

JK Male 23: Parents had hoped this boy would have a lot of musical skill. But now he is thinking he should do otherwise. He will probably quit music although I can't guess what he will do. I don't know what he will do next but now he is being lazy.

JK Female 25: He was scolded by his mother once because he quit playing it. He feels gloomy because he has to go practice again. He will not be a violinist.

What differs from American samples generally is that among Japanese or Koreans there are very rarely stories of wishing to go out to play baseball as is often the case with either lower or middle class American youth. Such individualistic interests in play are not readily depicted by youth from a Confucian family tradition.

Card 17: A man On a Rope.

Let us turn now to card 17 which is another symbolic measure of achievement concerns. There is a kinesthetic response to this card that results in the individual on the rope either being perceived as climbing up, resting, or climbing down. This card can be used as an indication of a relative amount of spontaneous vitality and upward surge projected spontaneously by particular individuals. The content elicited is also symbolic of attitudes of self confidence, the awareness of performance before an audience or concern in some instances with possible illegal or sexual activities.

*[Table 2 about here]*

Expressions of confidence and vitality betoken interest in active accomplishment. By and large the Korean stories are highly imaginative compared to some other samples studied. Out of the 50 stories, most of those sampled in Los Angeles see activity of an active energetic nature. Their stories are much more positively toned than those of the Koreans in Japan.

**L.A. Male**, age 21: He is an acrobat. He climbs up the rope. He seems to be an old man but he is healthy. He is a veteran acrobat. He is full of confidence in climbing on the rope. He is looking at somebody. He has a slight feeling of repugnance for his job but he will climb to the end of the rope.

L.A. Female, age 29: He climbs the rope. He must be climbing up a mountain. Maybe he will go to the top of the mountain easily. He is a person who enjoys mountaineering. He enjoys rock climbing.

L.A. Female, age 21: This man is a circus performer. He wants to demonstrate his talents to his friends so he goes up a castle wall. He will climb to the top of the castle.

L.A. Female, age 22: He is a naive country person but he wants to get a job in a **circus** troupe. He is now showing his talent to others. He will become a circus performer and will succeed well in such a job.



There is direct contrast between the L.A. and the Japanese group in the tone of the stories dealing with these stories of performance or sportlike activity. In contrast to the American Koreans with a very vital positive tone, the Japanese Koreans give some stories in which the performer is malformed, or is clownish in a depreciated way.

JK Male 25 Should I look at picture lengthwise or crosswise? He is playing a fool. His face is playing a fool. He is playing a show for a show booth. He is masculine. This is more cheerful one than the other pictures. I don't mind if he is naked or not. This is the most masculine and cheerful picture.

JK Female 20 This reminds me of a hunchback of Notre Dame. He may be a clown in a circus. Is he naked? He may wear a tight wear. He is very masculine. He seems to be opposed against the law of gravity. This is the poorest picture that I've seen.

JK Male 31 This is....(laughing)...The present is that he is practicing a circus performance. He is coming down. He is an acrobat of the swing show. But he looks pretty old. So in the past...let's see, he is an orphan and has lived in a circus. This is because I have a prejudice regarding circus life. He has been brought up there as an orphan, or a child of a refugee. He joined the circus group and was taught acrobatic skills. Well, the present is that he is practicing it and well, the future is that he will live as a circus man as he lived, and lives, because this is the only way for him to live.

However, among the American Koreans it must also be noted that in 8 of the active stories, the climbing is done positively but for illegal or unsanctioned activity. Here are examples of vigor being put to questionable purposes.

L.A. Male 25. The man is an inquisitive person and he likes to see games. He is climbing on a rope to see a game free. He will enjoy seeing the game and will satisfy his risky attempt.

L.A. Male 31: The place is a public bath. On the other side of a window is the woman's bath. This fellow tries to climb on the rope because he wants to look. He satisfies himself looking at many naked women's bodies. He will then come down on the rope without any accident. He is not a sincere man, but may be someone like a bad drunk.

Both groups have a number of reactions to the seeming nudity of the performer. a small number (4 in the American and 1 in the Japanese group) see the figure as insane or demented. In the negative stories given by the Kyoto-Osaka group there is a tone of despair and degradation found in none of the American sample,

JK Male 23: This is a monotonous wall, isn't it? (past) Probably he might have been a hero of a circus but he was once discouraged by a physical accident like breaking a bone or by a mental shock. Then he become afraid of going up high, was kicked out of the circus and indulged in drinking heavily. (present) This could be a prison. Anyway he is trying again, recalling his past. (future) He will not be able to go back to the colorful world that he was in before. Like in this picture, he will fall low. And probably he will find no release from his drinking. His face is gloomy. He has a recollection of the past, but reality is coming upon him... least he should do so.

Both groups give a number of escape stories, but the American Koreans are more apt to see an escapee from prison apprehended by the police. Negative scenes of escape, climbing down, or some form of failure occur in 28% of the American Korean stories as opposed in the past samples of Caudill to 30% among the Issei and 22% of the American Nisei Japanese. This contrasts with 40% among Koreans in Japan.

Two of the Japanese Korean stories refer to a short story by Akutagawa evoking the sad plight of an alienated man doomed to hell. The Buddha, glancing down a well sees him. Compassionately he has a spider send down a filament to allow the sufferer to climb. In his anxiety to prevent others from following up the delicate strand he kicks at his fellow suffers causing the thread to break, dooming him to hell once more.

JK Male 23: This one reminds me of the "Thread of a Spider" by Akutagawa. And this man is the first one climbing, and there are some others following him, and he is telling them to stop, Well, so the story goes, a spider's thread is coming down....and when he says something, it is cut suddenly...The thread is cut suddenly, and he will return to hell...This picture reminds me of that story. But if so, his body...His masculine body bothers me...the rope. He is not climbing a tree. But he may be competing in a rope climbing contest....

Twenty five percent of the LA sample responses involved an audience and a confident performer.

L.A. Female 29: He climbs on the rope. He must go up a mountain. Maybe he will go up that mountain easily. He is a person who enjoys the mountaineering. Now he enjoys rock-climbing.

L.A. Female 30: This picture is a circus performance. The man is climbing on the rope. He is prideful before an audience. He is satisfied with his occupation in the circus. He will continue in this job.

This was true for only 12% (3) of the Korean Japanese cases. Instead, they gave such stories:

JK Female 25: He is not a primitive man because he has a long hair. He may begin something after getting drunk. After getting drunk, he said, "I can do everything." He was unclothed and began climbing up the wall.

JK Female 25: I wonder if he is going upwards or downwards. Maybe he is going upwards. He is searching for something desperately. This does not let me feel any fear. I don't know.

In sum, even when symbolically climbing, the Koreans in Japan give negative or disparaging stories compared with the L.A. Korean sample.

## Card 2: The Farm Scene

Card 2 of the Murray series shows a man working with a horse. It is used and generally interpreted as a representation of rural life everywhere. Though horse is not used for plowing in Japan, out of hundreds of

records De Vos has seen only one or two comments to this effect. Generally speaking people accept the card and project willingly into it according to their attitudes. The girl with the book in the foreground represents for many concerns for social change or achievement. Responses to this card typically either put emphasis on the internal family dynamics and the need for work on the farm, a rural context, or on the future concerns of the young woman with the books. Results on this card can be rather complex to analyze since themes can vary considerably. There are cross cutting themes of family harmony and disharmony as well as themes of personal ambition that **conflict** with concern the fulfillment of obligations or other social roles.

[Table 3 *about here*]

Among the Japanese Issei in Caudill's original sample, 43% of the stories emphasized negative feelings about the poverty inherent in farm life and compensatory activities toward betterment. The second most prevalent theme among them, 38% were concerned with ambition. In the recent Korean sample, 43% of the stories focus on problems of family harmony. The story content varies however and no particular issues become paramount.

L.A. Female 28: The picture describes a scene showing that people live in the world naturally. They live in a warm atmosphere. The pregnant woman looks at a distant mountain, and she thanks God for his creation of the beautiful world. The girl on the left walks along thinking that she has to study hard. She attends school. The man works hard to protect his family. The man and the woman on the right are a couple, or brother and sister.

L.A. Female 31: They work on a farm. The three persons are a couple and their daughter. The daughter thinks, "How can we do farming more easily"? and, "How can we sell the **crops** for a **high price**"? She also thinks about farming a modern way. The daughter is a **student**. She **hopes to** marry a good person who is **talented in farming**, and that she and her future husband modernize the farming.

In another 18% of the Korean stories, a daughter is seen leaving for personal ambition. Out of these 9 stories, 5 depict a returning to help the parents revealing a concern with a daughter's obligation to her family.

L. A. Female 19: The woman comes back home from school. she looks at her parents working hard on their garden. She thinks how she **will** serve her parents after graduation from school. After arrival she will rest for a little while, and then she will study very hard.

L. A. Female 21: The three persons are in a triple love affair. The woman on the left and the man were close in past days. But the man got married to the woman on the right. The left woman came here to meet her old lover. The left woman will live alone while waiting for her old lover.

In other stories, Koreans depict sexual triangular situations causing conflict between two women. Such stories were totally absent in the Japanese but present in the Korean American samples. In these stories the American Koreans in effect depict situations in which the man is usually forced to make a choice between one and another woman. In these stories, it is the young woman who invariably loses out to a wife. These stories in this sense graphically illustrate the ultimate duty of the man to his wife, whatever his straying sexual interest. This underscores Confucian emphases, emphases on propriety and legitimacy still very explicitly discussed as moral imperatives among Koreans. A second unusual theme found in the Korean sample, not to be found in some other groups, can be explained by the self-consciousness of Koreans about missionary work in their rural villages. In our sample of 50 there are 9 stories mentioning missionary work as the activity of the protagonist. The Missionary is the protagonist in 5 stories represented by the woman with the books. In these stories the mission work is seen, in effect, as another form of achievement theme. Farmers initially resistive to her missionary efforts ultimately succumb to her persistence. In Japan there is only one such story and the effort fails.

**L.A. Female 22:** This is a country in a pioneer stage. The woman with the books did missionary work in rural villages. Many rural people did not listen to her but the woman must have succeeded finally in her mission work

These stories attest to the fact that Christians have played an important part in Korean modernization. This is acknowledged by Christian and non-Christian Koreans alike. They played and continue to play a forceful role in contemporary Korean society.

There is more consciousness in the L.A. Koreans than in the previous Japanese sample to the girl as playing a woman's role rather than representing an abstract concept of individual achievement. The Korean's see more self-consciously a necessity to continue the woman's role than do the Japanese and the young girl suggests problems of how to marry as well as problems of what to study. Any conflict between the two is resolved more in the direction of maintaining the woman's role. In effect, Koreans remain more Confucian in this respect than are Japanese.

L.A. Male 19: They are parents with their daughter. The daughter goes to school and the parents are peasants in the countryside. The parents want to be helped in their agricultural work by their daughter. The daughter cannot assist them. She is conflicted in her mind. What shall I choose between studying and farming? Sometime later she will assist her parents farming.

L.A. Male 25: The young woman student on the left is in deep thought. In the past she was eager to study in school. Now she goes to school, she thinks, "If I did not study hard, I will have to work hard on the garden like those others. If I marry somebody, I will also be pregnant like that woman. After marriage, I will be a good wife and good mother."

We note how this respondent, throughout his story, makes the girl self-conscious of the alternative decisions to be made by young women. It is to be noted that more of these stories or roles are given by men than by women in our sample. In the stories given by the Japanese, there was less concern with the specific dimension of women's roles. Contrast this with our Korean Japanese sample.

Among the Koreans in Japan their sense of alienation is represented by their withdrawal from the family implications of the card. The American Koreans see family life in 86% of their stories. They directly depict both harmony (30%) and discord (32%) in many of their stories. In others the girl is torn between Ambition and family continuity. In sharp contrast the Japanese Koreans in 55% of their stories see the characters in the picture in unrelated activities or in some state of general dissatisfaction. They even withdraw from the task by various forms of card description.

JK Male 16: Fantastic picture. That is a scene that is appeared in somebody's dream. This **one(left)** seems to sad. He is cultivating a field. What is this woman? The right person seems to be worrying about something. This picture is fantastic as well as realistic,

JK Male 23: What is this? Naked man is disagreeable! I feel as if I have come to a world of different era. (past) (and present) This is a society that male is tortured and female can go to school and have more opportunity than male. A man is required to engage in physical work and woman is not required to do anything. (future) But it became a **male-centered** world after all in the result of males showing their ability.

JK Male 31: Which one shall I talk about ? I don't get a clear image. Well, the present of the woman leaning against the tree is that she is pregnant, isn't she? So her future is that she is going to have a baby. I don't know her past... The person in the middle looks like a Caucasian. But what does it mean that he is pulling his horse? He looks like a manual laborer. In the future, he will continue to work (laugh). The past, I don't know. The woman with the book here does not have much expression. She is a student, and in the future she will have a mediocremarriage. Her present and past are **mediocre...That's** all.

JK Female 20: **This** woman is a daughter of an owner of a farm. she is a student. I don't know when (what era) it is. Exploitation. -They use these people. She is thinking about the exploitation of workers. She is after all the daughter of a landlord, and she is thinking what she should do in this position. The future is, it is difficult to say. Maybe she will feel comfortable in such a life. Or, she will leave home, and live independently. Or she will involve herself in this kind of.. (movement against exploitation)

JK Female 15: Although there are three persons, there is no connection among them. In the past, this man and that woman were a couple, and cultivated their own field. Then a woman who looks like a school teacher, or a daughter of a rich family comes to the country in a school excursion. This is the story of the present. The future is . . . I don't know.

JK Female 25: It is not a pleasant picture. The past, I cannot think much. The past is nothing special. But they may have been poor. This girl was not very attractive. She was inflexible...I don't feel anything about the other two. This scene I don't think that they have been eating good food. This woman seems to be pregnant. She will have a baby and will continue to lead the same life. I don't feel anything.

Card 7: Attitudes Toward Authority.

A second set of attitudes which influence adult adaptation in minorities differently have to do with authority relationships. Responses to Card 7, a picture depict an older and a younger man in some form of conversation. In the Japanese this picture is most often interpreted as some form of mentorship, an older man such as a company president advising or encouraging a younger man. Among the Koreans there is in contrast many stories of conspiracy and plotting (38% in the LA group compared with 55% in Japan). Compared with majority Japanese, relatively less attention is given to the age and status differential of the two figures. In Japanese Issei immigrants ( De Vos 1983), 94% depicted compliant attitudes as did 68% of Nisei. In 28% of the Nisei, however, there was rebellion or assertion of autonomy. Only one Issei gave such a story. In majority Japanese in Japan, this age disparity also remains central to the story (De Vos 1973). However, in the present sample only in 16% of the Koreans in Japan is age or differential status a significant consideration of the story themes whereas in the LA Koreans, a status differential appears in 52% of the stories.

[Table 4 about here]

Distrust is an immediate reaction to a picture of two individuals with their heads together. Over half the sample (55%), immediately thinks of a conspiracy, either by politicians, business men, criminals or simply friends. Such stories appear in The Los Angeles sample, in 42% of all cases. One notes that the Koreans in Japan are much less mindful of status differentials than are the Koreans in LA in respect to conspiratorial situations. Moreover, the remaining Japanese Korean stories show almost no positive themes. In contrast to the LA sample who see positive younger-older situations in 24% of their stories the Japanese sample gave only 4 such stories(13%). One must conclude that the propensity to be distrustful is heavily present in both samples, but inordinately high in those in Japan as further evidence of alienation. Moreover, the problems of distrust toward authority, strongly also evident in those coming to the United States, is compounded in Japanese Koreans by a bleak conviction that the future holds no hope. There is hope for success only if you curry favor with someone who is corrupt as is suggested in the following:

JK Female 22:           The two are in high posts of a large company, president or executives. They are planning something evil. About Peanut (a name in the Lockheed bribery incident) (laugh). Well something about the work, or about a woman. They are plotting something evil. The future is.. .They are discussing that they don't have much hope of success in the plot.

JK Female 25:           They seem to be doing something evil. They are directors of a company or politicians. This older man is saying, "How is that business going? You have to manage successfully by using a bribe." So, younger one answers, "Yes, sir. I'll do it skillfully." This older man is talking calmly, this younger man ( points to the right) is carefully listening to him. He is trying desperately to gain his favor .

**JK** Male 31: My imagination is that two men, politicians or prosecutors (lawyers) are working out a plot... Or the top ranking people of a company are conspiring..... The aged man with beard is pretty smart. He holds a top position, and will live a comfortable life in the future, too. The right hand man wants to receive his favor, playing the same game, to be on the right track to enter the elite. The younger one is receiving some suggestions from the older one. The future of this kind of man is that he also will gain a central position in the power structure, either in politics, in a company or in a circle of prosecutors or lawyers.

Contrast these stories with the more positively tone of the LA stories.

**LA** Female 23: They are discussing business. The person on the left is the other man's boss. The topic they are discussing is about the sales strategy of the company. The plan which will be produced from their discussion will be successful because they seem to be very bright men.

**LA** Female 19: The two persons are psychologists. They talk to each other about psychology. The man on the right speaks now and the other listens to him. They will do research together in their major field.

**LA** Male 25: The man on the left is a professor and the man on the right is his assistant. They are waiting for the results of their experiments to test their hypothesis. Their hypothesis will be proven right and they will become famous scientists.

**LA** Male 52: The young man on the right has a cause of anxiety. The old discusses the cause of anxiety with the young and he comforts the young. The old seems to be the young man's father or teacher. As they do not find an appropriate solution to the problem, they only worry about the problem together.

However, distress about conspiracy is not absent in LA.

**LA** Male 76: The two people are conspiring. They are very close and they trust each other. They will endeavor to work out their conspiracy but I cannot forecast the result. Maybe their conspiracy is in a legal strategy of some sort.

**LA** Female 22: They are friends. Their facial expression is not so good. They are concocting a plot. But the plot will be not be successful.

### Conclusions:

The exigencies of time do not permit us to take on other themes with you that show similar or contrastive attitudes Between Koreans and Japanese.. In each instance the themes of the Koreans in Japan show a sense of alienation and lack of resolution toward either future accomplishment or a future positive destiny in interpersonal relationships. We have tapped themes of deep personal alienation which are pervasive and characterize many of this Korean minority. This material gives indirect evidence of a contention that De Vos has raised generally about the effect of degradation over several generations on any minority population. We do not posit that the Koreans remaining in Japan are genetically inferior or in any other way inferior to the sample that we obtained from new Korean immigrants in the United States. We must see, therefore, that their social history and the vicissitudes of Japanese Domination has effected Koreans as a minority population. Central to the negative influence of minority status in Japan is the

pervading sense of personal alienation. There is very obvious contrast with what is found in attitudes among voluntary immigrants to the United States who come here with the intention of self and family betterment to be actualized in their new setting.

The effect of minority degradation and disparagement is a general process whether it appears among Koreans in Japan or, in the American society when groups are subjected to caste-like status for several generations(De Vos 1982).



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Chart 1. Basic Thematic Concerns in Human Relations.

		EXPRESSIVE BEHAVIOR					INSTRUMENTAL BEHAVIOR				
Thematic Concerns		Positive (Socially Sanctioned)	Passive or Indeterminate	Negative (Socially Unsanctioned)		Thematic Concerns	Positive (Socially Sanctioned)	Passive or Indeterminate	Negative (Socially Unsanctioned)		
VERTICAL	ELF	Active initiated and/or resolved	Passive or unresolved	Active, initiated and/or resolved	Passive, withdrawal and/or resolution	Achievement (will do) internalized goals (S)	Goal-oriented activity	Internal conflict, over commitment, role diffusion, daydreaming	Goal-oriented criminal activity	Anomic withdrawal from social goals	
		Pleasure (within oneself) self-expression (E) enjoyment	Satisfaction sense of curiosity, creativity.	Indifference boredom	Masochistic behavior asceticism	Control-Power (must do) external power					
		Nurturance (for someone) (V)	Donor Nurturance can. help, comfort succor security	Recipient Dependency	Withholding	Sense of personal social, or economic deprivation Some "egocentric" suicides incurably lack of protection	superordinate: (V)	Legitimate authority power-mastery, persuasion	Defensive insecurity	Authoritarian dominance, security, control through destruction	Failure to assert properly authority (spineless, gutless)
STATUS AND CONCORDANCE	2	Affiliation (toward someone) (H)	Affiliation intimacy union, responsiveness, contact	Isolation loneliness, alienation	Rejection of another	Sense of loss due to rejection or separation Some "egoistic" suicides	subordinate: (M)	Liberation autonomy or compliance	Ambivalence about authority or power	Rebellion trickery	Submission
	5!	Appreciation (of from someone)	Awe, Deference Respect			Distrust	competitive: (a Or) !2	Regulated competition games, contests	Envy	Unethical competitive behavior	Capitulation withdrawal from competitive situation
	9	self: (S)	Recognition of achieved or ascribed status	Feeling ignored unappreciated	Disdain, disparagement	sense of degradation Some "anemic" suicides	cooperative: (a s)	Concerted behavior (mutual trust)	Distrust, disagreement	Plotting, deception of a cohort	Sense of betrayal distrust
	H	Harmony, peaceful relationships (II-V)	Harmony, peaceful relationships	Jealousy, fear of threat emotional discord	Violence injury, revenge Some "egocentric" suicides	Withdrawal into hostility and resentment Fear	competence: (S)	Avowal of capacity	Doubt about capacity, worry, diffuse anxiety, chagrin	Failure due to personal inadequacy	Sense of incapacity and inadequacy
	INTERNALIZED	Responsibility (ought to do) internalized moral standards and controls	Sense of duty, assumption of obligation Some forms of "altruistic" suicide	Remorse, guilt regrets over acts of commission or omission	Profligacy irresponsibility	Avoidance, escape Some forms of "anomic" suicide					

CONCERN WITH FATE IMPERSONAL FORCE EVENTS

IMPERSONAL CONCERNS

CONCERN WITH OBJECTS

TABLE 1  
Summary Comparison of Card I-Los Angeles Koreans and Korean Japanese

Groups		Los Angeles	Japan
Total Cases		50	31
<b>Themes</b>			
1.	Questions of motivation and competence Percentage of Total Sample	29 58%	14 45%
	Positive direction	25 (86%)	2 (14%)
	succeeds-or studies hard	5	0
	studying in process		
	concern with ability but succeeds	;	0
	blind man studying to improve his attitude	1	0
	concern with broken object, fixes it , succeeds	2	0
	receives violin, will learn to play well	3	1
	ambivalent about motives resolved positively	3	0
	Negative or unresolved	4 (14%)	12 (86%)
	receives violin- unresolved (physical complaint)	0	2
	ambivalent about motives, unresolved or quits	1	6
	concern with ability, unresolved	0	4
	no ability, gives up	2	0
	not concentrated falls asleep	1	0
2.	Questions of Parental Pressure Percentage of Total Sample	16 32%	13 42%
	Positive	5 (31%)	2 (15%)
	complies and continues positively	4	
	changes task and succeeds	1	0
	Negative or unresolved	11 (69%)	11 (85%)
	forced, results not indicated	5	3
	complies but results no good		0
	complies only temporarily	2	3
	refuses to study	3	5
3.	Other Percentage of Total Sample	5 10%	4 13%
	Resolved	2 (40%)	0 (0%)
	instructs the feeble minded	1	0
	receives & throws it away	1	0
	Unresolved	3 (60%)	4 (100%)
	sad son seeking mother	1	0
	scolded by father or teacher	1	1
	cripple studying instrument to assist himself	1	0
	accident trouble	0	3
	Total unresolved and negative results	36%	87%

TABLE 2  
Summary Comparison of Card 17-Los Angeles Koreans and Korean Japanese

Groups	Los Angeles	Japan
Total Cases	50	27
<b>Themes</b>		
<b>1. Climbing</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>14</b>
Percentage of Total Sample	54%	52%
climbing positive tone	20 (74%)	3 (21%)
going to the top (mountains.sportsma etc.)	4	0
competing in contest	0	1
circus expert performing well	11	1
practicing.exercise	4	1
escape(very positively toned)	1	1
climbing, performing, ambiguous tone	5 (19%)	5 (36%)
searching, watching, dreaming	1	2
escape from danger	4	1
performing (flat tone)		2
performing, but with negative tone	2 (7%)	6 (43%)
performing.but with despair	0	1
refugee or orphan must earn living in circus	0	
playing a fool, clown.(Hunchback 2)	0	:
drunk	0	1
just a blue collar worker, not so good	2	0
<b>2. Climbing for unsanctioned activity</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>
Percentage of Total Sample	16%	8%
mischievous	3	0
sexual	4	2
thief	1	0
<b>3. Escaping,climbing down or falling</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>10</b>
Percentage of Total Sample	26%	37%
escaping from prison,etc	2	4
unsuccessful escape(recapture by police,etc)	5	0
falls <del>is</del> escape from hell	0	2
running away, mad	4	1
Accident, falls into alcoholism	0	1
falls to death (in circus 1)	2	1
self destruction in elevator shaft	0	1
<b>4. Other</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>
Percentare of Total Sample	4%	0%

TABLE 3  
Summary Comparison of Card 2-Los Angeles Koreans and Korean Japanese

Groups	Los Angeles	Japan
<b>Total Cases</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>1. Mission or social welfare work (40 of Total)</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>
succeeds	5	0
failure	0	1
<b>12 Harmony emphasized (% of Total)</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>4</b>
family role	5	2
pioneering	4	1
improve conditions	1	0
guilty about school	1	0
ambitious, returns (help to parents, etc)	4	0
unresolved about farm or school	0	1
<b>13. Leaves Farm without discord (% of Total)</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>3</b>
parental sacrifice	0	1
likes city or study more		1
does not return from city, marries	2	0
ambition but does not return (guilty)	1	0
returns, but dislikes farm	0	1
dislikes farm life	3	0
<b>14. Interpersonal difficulty (% of Total)</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>6</b>
1. Loneliness	1	2
2. sexual involvements		
waiting for lover	0	1
return to native land	1	0
(triangularity)-responsibility	4	0
triangularity/competition	4	1
3. discord		
discord resolution	2	0
dislike farm/discord/leaves	1	0
discord separation	3	0
discord religion	1	0
Discord. no resolution	0	2
<b>15. Other (% of Total)</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>17</b>
Neutral tone		
unrelated activities or motives	5	3
passer-by or observer	1	4
picture description	0	3
dream	0	1
Negative tone		
exploitation of workers	0	1
dissatisfied life	0	4
male lack of opportunity	0	1

TABLE 4  
Summary Comparison of Card ---LOS Angeles Koreans and Korean Japanese

Groups Cases	Los Angeles 50	Japan 31	Total
1. Younger- Older: Cooperate, Advice, Comfort Positive or autonomous	12 24%	4 13%	
Positive older younger relationship	3	2	
son's acceptance of father's advice or comfort	3	2	
son's acceptance of a scolding	1		
son succeeds father's business, but son doesn't give good impression	1		
discord resolved in eventual harmony	3		
son does not follow father's advice	1		
2. Mutual Cooperation and Conflict no status diff.	10 20%	8 26%	
cooperative or positive exchanges	8	4	
dispute or negative exchange	2	4	
3. Conspiracy and Evil or neg Activity Status diff. (older-younger)	13 26%	1 3	%
evil advice	0	1	
businessmen conspiring(age difference secondary)	7		
Older and younger conspire	2		
older man deceives younger man	1		
debauched son does not correct behavior	1		
father bends to strong willed son	2		
4. Conspiracy and Evil Actlvlty no status differences	11 22%	16 52%	
friends together in a plot	2	2	
two conspire against another	0	1	
politicians conspiring	4	3	
businessmen conspiring	3	6	
evil thing going on nonspecific	0	1	
lawyer and criminal	0	1	
Mafioso types	1	1	
hired to kill for monev	1	0	
5. Other Percentage of Total Sample	3 6%	2 6%	
lawyer advises client	1	0	
man pressured to become son-in-law	1	0	
"discussing"-- no elaboration	0	2	



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## **Notes: Koreans in Japan: Problems with Achievement, Alienation And Authority**

‘For example anthropologists and other social scientists in Belgium and Sweden are beginning studies of the children of migrants in North European industrial states.

2The Following discussion draws directly on the emic interpersonal categories presented in detail in Status Inequality: **A** Psychocultural Approach To The Self, Chapter 1. Sage publication.

It also draws on material discussed more fully in Minority Status and Social Cohesion: The United States and Japan, Chapter 4 Ethnic Persistence and Role Degradation: Koreans in Japan

3In yet rigidly maintained class segments of British or French societies for example, certain individuals delight in exposing upwardly mobile pretenders.

4The Rorschach test was used by several investigators attempting research on modal personality structures in different cultural settings (See De Vos and Boyer 1988).

5With some of my former students, I am at present preparing a volume on the use of the TAT in Japan, Korea, The Philippines, Brazil, Argentina, and Kenya. See especially the recent large scale comparison of 900 highschool students in Japan with 900 American students (Vaughn 1988) matched on TAT, “field independence” and the CPI (the California Psychological Inventory test of Harrison Gough).