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Japanese American Experiene of Misei Parents and Their Sansei Children and Implications for Education

Seiichi Michael Yasutake

Loyola University Chicago

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JAPANESE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE OF NISEI PARENTS
AND THEIR SANSEI CHILDREN AND IMPLICATIONS
FOR EDUCATION

by

Seiichi Michael Yasutake

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

January
1977
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VITA

The author, Seiichi Michael Yasutake, was born in Seattle, Washington on September 25, 1920, first of four children, to Japanese immigrants Jack Kaiichiro Yasutake and Hide (Shiraki) Yasutake.

He was educated in the public schools in Seattle, graduating from Franklin High School in 1939. During 1943-44, he attended University of Cincinnati, and from 1944, Boston University, from which he received the Bachelor of Arts degree with major in history and minor in philosophy in 1948. From 1947 he attended Seabury-Western Theological Seminary and received the degree of Master of Divinity in May, 1970. He resumed graduate studies in 1969 and received the degree of Master of Education in June 1971 from Loyola University of Chicago with major in Student Personnel Work in Higher Education in the School of Education and minor in Educational Psychology.

He was in Japan at two different periods. The first time was from 1923 to 1927 to live with his paternal grandparents in Fukuoka prefecture. The second time was after his high school graduation in June 1939, for a year and a half. Part of that time he studied Japanese fencing (Kendo) in Tokyo, for which he attained the rank of Third Rank, Black Belt, and the other part was spent in living with his maternal relatives in Fukuoka.
After the outbreak of World War II in 1941, the author and his family members were evacuated from their home in Seattle to concentration camp with other Japanese Americans then living on the West Coast. In 1943 he was released from Camp Minidoka in Idaho to attend college.

He was ordained in the Episcopal Church in December, 1950. Since ordination he served successively in various Episcopal church posts: Curate, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, 1950-53; Executive Secretary, Department of Christian Social Relations, Episcopal Diocese of Chicago, 1953-56; Pastor, St. Raphael the Archangel Episcopal Church, Oak Lawn, Illinois, 1953-1963; and Executive Secretary, Ministry in Higher Education, Midwest Province 1964-1969. From September 1970, he began work at the Central YMCA Community College first as a counselor and later (from November, 1974) as Director of Counseling, which position he currently occupies.

He serves in various voluntary associations. He is Treasurer of the Commission on Higher Education, Episcopal Diocese of Chicago; Chairman of the Episcopal Asiamerica Strategy Task Force; Coordinator of the Great Lakes Asian Center for Theology and Strategy; and Diocese of Chicago representative in an ecumenical Chicago Metropolitan Task Force for campus ministry. He also serves as a pastor for the Japanese Episcopal Congregation in Chicago.

He is married to former Ruth Sonoko Tahara and they have three children, two of them recent college graduates and the youngest presently in college.
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CHAPTER I

OVERVIEW OF ETHNICITY AS RELATED TO COLLEGE STUDENT PERSONNEL

Statement of the Problem

The focus of this study is the Japanese Americans' perception of themselves, of others and of the society, and the effect that this could have on approaches to education and college student personnel work. For this end, two research tasks have been undertaken. One, a summary analysis and evaluation of pertinent sociohistorical publications on Japanese Americans in the United States generally and the Chicago Metropolitan area specifically. Included in this research is a close scrutiny of the evacuation event during the Second World War, as a major factor in American history affecting Japanese American lives. Two, the interviewing of 123 second generation and third generation Japanese Americans in Metropolitan Chicago to identify and examine points of agreement and disagreement of Nisei parents and their Sansei children in order to sharpen the focus of intergenerational continuity/discontinuity in the transmission of cultural attitudes and values.

Persons of Japanese descent who have resided in the United States for a greater part or all of their lives constitute a small segment of the American population, .29 percent of the U. S. population.¹

Nevertheless, they have been part of the American scene for nearly a century and they have been affected by the majority American culture; they in turn have affected the American culture. How they feel about all this affects their self-definition, their understanding of others and of the society. Considerable attention is devoted to these factors.

This study attempts to draw some implications for change in certain aspects of higher education by calling attention to some of the concerns, needs and attitudes expressed by the Japanese Americans about themselves, their society and education. Their needs have often not been met as well as they might have been, because, as one of the smaller minority ethnic groups, Japanese Americans have not been considered significant enough to merit particular attention. This study points out some of the uniquenesses of the Japanese American situation. It is hoped that a study such as this can lead to a better understanding of other American groups and individuals as well.

One unique characteristic of Japanese Americans is in their history. This study examines in particular their own impressions of their experience during World War II and how these impressions affected the attitudes of both the second and third generation Japanese Americans. An important part of their particularity lies in the ancestral background of the Japanese Americans—different especially from persons of European stock. Over a period of two or three generations much adjustment was necessary for the Japanese Americans to accommodate themselves to the majority culture. The differences between the generations in attitudes, opinions, and values seem quite pronounced among the Japanese Americans. They are examined with particular care.
It is assumed that all groups need to define themselves on their own terms and not on the terms of others. For minority groups, it has been particularly difficult to do their own defining. Women's movement, for example, in recent times is calling our attention to the fact that the woman's roles in society in the past has been defined for them by men. Now more women are realizing that they must do their own defining. It is hoped that this study will contribute toward a self-definition of the Japanese Americans as Asians, Americans and human beings.

Much has been written on the Japanese American experience, including the history of that experience. This research attempts to bring together various studies contained in the literature and interpret them through the eyes of the writer who is himself a Japanese American. In addition, this writer gathered data from a sample of individuals in some of the Japanese American families in the metropolitan Chicago area. The data, secured through questionnaire responses and personal interviews, are evaluated and interpreted.

Not only what the minority think and do but what the majority think and do in relation to minority populations is significant to society. In this study, the majority culture and the people of America come under scrutiny not only by this writer, but by those who are the subjects of this research. What a specific minority people, the Japanese Americans, say about the majority people and their ways can give an added dimension to the understanding of the total American society. It is hoped that this study also makes some contribution toward this end.
Based on the findings outlined in this research, some possible changes in educational approaches, particularly in post high school education, are suggested. In this regard, special attention is given to what the Nisei and particularly the college educated Sansei have said regarding higher education and the society. With a high proportion of Japanese Americans having had post secondary education, the opinions and views particularly of the Sansei are of special relevance to educational development. ¹

Definitions

All immigrant groups coming after the original white Anglo-Saxon settlers were considered different, and they needed to adjust to new ways in a new world. For the Asians more than for their European counterparts, the adjustment problems were intensified. The customs, languages, and the physical appearance of the Asians made them seem more different from those of English descent than those from Europe. Thus, the Japanese Americans as Asians were easily stereotyped.

Contributing to the overall problem of the Japanese Americans were the generational differences among them. The Asian immigrants by law were made ineligible for citizenship, whereas their offspring were citizens by virtue of their birth in the new land. Furthermore, the Japanese immigrants had been born, reared, and educated in Japan, re-

¹ According to the 1970 U. S. Census report, for the Japanese the median school years completed is 12.5 and percentage of high school graduates is 68.8. For other ethnic groups: Chinese, 12.4 and 57.8 respectively; Filipinos, 12.2 and 54.7; Whites, 12.1 and 54.5; persons of Spanish heritage, 9.8 and 36.0 and Blacks 9.8 and 31.0. Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States, 1970 Census of Population (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), p. 1.
taining much of their ancestral customs, whereas their second generation children were born and educated in America and adopted "American ways" and attitudes. The third generation, in turn, became the first of Japanese Americans to be raised and educated in the context of predominantly "Americanized" Nisei families.

At this point, the definition of terms indigenous to Japanese Americans may be helpful. The first generation Japanese immigrant residents gave themselves the designation of Issei, which in Japanese literally means first generation, and their children came to be known as Nisei, which in Japanese literally means second generation. The age of the living Issei in 1976 would generally be in the eighties and nineties, while that of the Nisei would be in the fifties and sixties. The children of the Nisei parents are known as Sansei, which in Japanese means third generation. A large number of these youths would be in the age range where they are in high school or in college or are recent college graduates. Now, the offspring of the Sansei are being called Yonsei, which in Japanese literally means fourth generation.

There are other designations used to distinguish Japanese American generations and backgrounds. The term Kibei, literally meaning "Japanese American," is used for the American born Japanese reared and educated in Japan, usually in their childhood and youth, and then brought back to the United States.

It is worth noting that this clear demarcation of difference between the generations and in cultural backgrounds is unique to Japanese Americans. Other ethnic groups, such as those of European
origin, do not seem to have comparable meaning accepted by the entire ethnic community.¹

Reasons for such strong consciousness of generational and cultural differences may be explained as deriving from several historically conditioned factors unique to Japanese Americans. The fact that the Nisei children were eligible for citizenship and all the rights which go with it (although in practice racial discrimination limited these rights), while the Issei parents were not—could be considered a major factor in the consciousness of generational difference. Social implications by this fact alone were numerous. The legal system itself was a reflection of the prejudiced society which, as a matter of course, split up a family of a particular racial stock into "citizens" and "aliens." Such an unequal treatment by the society was bound to create tension within the family.

Other social forces which created the generation gap in the Issei-Nisei family, in addition to the cultural language difference already alluded to, were the big age difference between the two generations and the tight nuclear family system of the Japanese American family without extended families. The Issei males in particular married late in their lives, thus causing a larger age gap than commonly prevalent in either Japan or in the United States. Most Issei

¹This writer is indebted to Dr. Paul Mundy, Department of Sociology, Loyola University, for a reminder of this point of exceptionally marked generational consciousness among Japanese Americans. The term Nisei is defined in modern Japanese dictionary as the second generation Japanese American as well as "second generation," its literal meaning. It is a term introduced into the Japanese vocabulary in Japan by Japanese American usage. In Kokugo Jiten, Japanese language dictionary, Nisei is defined as "Children of Japanese immigrants born in the United States with American citizenship." Kokugo Jiten, ed. Tetsuji Uno (Tokyo: Tokyo Shueisha publishers, 1969), p. 403.
came to the United States without their relatives. In close nuclear family relationship the Nisei children were perhaps more dependent on their Issei parents, and the Issei parents were more dominant over their children's lives than common in other middle class families. This awareness of the generational difference seemed to have carried over to some extent in the relationship between the Nisei and the Sansei, although the cultural difference was no longer as great within the Nisei-Sansei family.

Although contemporaneity in age is important, perhaps even more basic are social attitudes of individuals resulting from their commonality of experiences. Therefore, if a youth born in Japan of Nisei parents was brought up in Chicago with common experiences and thought patterns of the Sansei children born in Chicago, it would be quite appropriate to call that Japan born youth Sansei. He would likely be a Sansei in social outlook and views. It happens that he was born in Japan, but this fact alone is not likely to have any significant effect on him. What would be significant are the influences exerted upon him by his peers while he was being brought up in urban America in the Japanese American family. It should be noted that there are a few Sansei in this study who were born in Japan.

The Issei were not part of this study. However, it was quite evident in the interviews of the Nisei and the Sansei that the influ-

1 See below, pp. 65-66.
ence of the Issei were deeply felt. Although ineligible for U. S. citizenship, the Issei had in fact been American residents practically all their adult lives. Although by law and by the society at large, they were not formally identified as Americans, yet their values and attitudes reflected to a great extent those of middle-class white America. It was only by an accident of history that they technically could not be called Americans. They made their contributions to American life; they raised their families within the context of the so-called "American ideals"; they invested their lives in the country of their residence. Therefore, this writer refers to them as Japanese Americans and not just as Japanese. This distinguishes them from the Japanese citizens who reside in Japan, and from the Japanese who are temporary residents in the United States as students, businessmen, or tourists. Those recent arrivals from Japan who intend to reside in the United States may also be considered Japanese Americans, but they are not part of this study.

With respect to the Nisei and the Sansei, there are differences in experience and background, in addition to the fact that there are the usual differences between any generations. The Nisei generation was brought up in a family in which Japanese was spoken at home. The Sansei generation usually grew up without this social environment. The Nisei generation went through the experience of being evacuated from their homes on the West Coast during the Second World War. Most Sansei were not born then. Comparisons in values and opinions expressed between these two generations are made in this study on the assumption that differences in backgrounds and experiences do affect views and opinions. Furthermore, it is hoped that some of the views
and opinions expressed in particular by the present generation of college students and recent graduates would be suggestive to higher education personnel.

The different generations of Japanese Americans in the United States constitute an ethnic minority. The word "ethnic" derives from the Greek word {\textit{ethnos}}, meaning people or nation, and it designates a group of people distinguished by race, national origin or religion.\footnote{Milton M. Gordon, \textit{Assimilation in American Life} (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 24-29; also, see Donald Keith Fellows, \textit{A Mosaic of America's Ethnic Minorities} (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1972), pp. 2-8; Frederick Barth, \textit{Ethnic Groups and Boundaries} (Boston: Little Brown & Company, 1969), pp. 9-38.} There are two ways in which an ethnic group is defined or labeled with certain attributes, characteristics, and names. One way is the defining or the labeling done by group members themselves. The other way is the definition given by those outside of the group. Thus, whites may define Japanese Americans or Japanese in Japan, Chinese Americans or Chinese in China as simply "Orientals" or "Chinese," making no distinction between these varied groups of Asians. The ethnic minority group being defined may have partially or totally accepted the definition by the majority group, or it may have partially or totally rejected the labeling.

With respect to minority groups, the definition by the majority population seems to prevail in the society at large. Thus the blacks in America, as those with certain social and economic problems, have been defined largely by the whites, whether they be men on the street or scholars. Often those labeled as "Negro" have also accepted
the definitions attributed to them by the whites. 1 In the past, there had been some scholars who turned the defining around to the definer by saying that the white man's definition of the Negro is the white man's projection of his own problems. Thus, Gunnar Myrdal wrote that the so-called "Negro problem" is really the white man's problem. 2

In more recent times, the use of the term "white racism" to some extent has turned the problem around to that of the white man. The emphasis has changed from regarding the victim of racial prejudice as the problem to regarding the initiators of racial prejudice, namely, the whites, as the primary source of the problem. The attention seems to be shifting from those labeled, the minority population, to those labeling, the majority population. 3

Whichever the case, no group escapes definition as an ethnic entity in America. The American society expects one to belong to some race or nationality. The ethnic group is not something that an individual can by volition join or withdraw from. Occasionally, an individual may not accept the label attributed to him by the society at large, but he will find that the built-in ethnic social psychological categories are loaded against his denial of the label. 4 Even the white

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4 Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, p. 29.
Protestants, traditionally considered the mainstream of the American society, must be considered an entity, although self-awareness of this on their part is often much less than with the ethnic minorities. The unstated assumption is that their way is the "American way." They do not belong to any particular ethnic group as far as they themselves are concerned, but all other residual groups do. It is up to all others, so the assumption runs, to conform to the "American way" and to be assimilated.

Certain social psychological concepts are appropriate for consideration in relation to ethnic groups. One such concept is social class, which refers to an arrangement of groups of people according to a hierarchy of economic and political power and social status.\(^1\) Gordon describes the upper-middle class as "the solid substantial citizens who have adequate income but not wealthy. They have been to college, and increasingly a college education is the passport to upper-middle class status."\(^2\) They are middle-level executives of large corporations, professionals such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, clergymen, professors, and executives of the various service and civic bureaucracies. Below the upper-middle are the lower-middle and the upper-lower classes. Although historically, the lower-middle was composed of "white collar people of the lower ranks," clerks, salespersons and the like, and the upper-lower included the skilled and the

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\(^2\) Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, p. 44.
semi-skilled manual workers, the distinction between them has become blurred. 1

Another concept relevant to the consideration of ethnic groups is culture, which may be defined as "social heritage of man," and refers to prescribed ways of behaving, sets of beliefs, values and skills. The ethnic group as a subsociety within a society has its own subnational heritage or subculture. On this Gordon writes:

This unique subnational heritage may consist of cultural norms brought over from the country of recent emigration, it may rest on different religious values, or on the cumulative domestic experiences of enforced segregation as a group within American borders over a number of generations, or on some combination of these sources of cultural diversity. 2

In the course of this study, certain attitudes and behaviors are pointed out as quite common to Japanese Americans by the subjects themselves. These characteristics would be included as Japanese American subnational heritage or subculture in this study.

The concept of social structure is often used by sociologists studying ethnic groups to measure their degree of assimilation with the majority population. 3 The social structure concept is further divided into the primary group and the secondary group. The primary group refers to intimate groupings of people such as the family, clubs, cliques, and institutions in which there is usually intense personal involvement. The secondary group refers to groupings in which there is not that intense involvement, to which there are only partial personal commitments, such as interest organizations, civic or occupa-

1 Ibid., p. 45.
2 Ibid., p. 38.
3 Ibid., pp. 333-81.
tional groups. As in other ethnic studies, this writer employs the concept of social structure with emphasis on the primary group as an indicator to measure the degree to which the different generational groupings of Japanese Americans have assimilated with non-Japanese Americans. This study, however, does not intend to convey the notion that assimilation, per se, as generally defined, is either desirable or undesirable. No assimilationist bias is to be assumed in this study. Any bias that may be found in this research would most likely reflect that of one who prefers a multi-cultural society within a nation.

At this point, some understanding of what is meant by assimilation would be in order. Gordon has outlined steps or phases of assimilation of which three are most relevant for this study. If the American society as predominantly Anglo-Saxon is considered the host society, all others are considered outside groups. Certain changes take place for the newer groups when they are received into the host society.

1) There is a change in cultural patterns of the newer group to those of the host society. This is cultural or behavioral assimilation and it is called acculturation.

2) There is a large scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society. This is structural assimilation.

3) Intermarriage takes place on a large scale. This is marital assimilation. When two different "gene pools" intermix in this fashion, it is called "amalgamation."

The total framework of assimilation is oriented toward what Gordon calls Anglo-Conformity:

1 Ibid., p. 71.
If there is anything in American life which can be described as an overall American culture which serves as a reference point for immigrants and their children, it can best be described, it seems to us, as the middle-class cultural patterns of, largely, white Protestant, Anglo-Saxon origins. ... 1

In what may be considered the same assimilation framework, various terms are used to indicate equality among people of different subcultures. The "melting pot" theory envisages a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon with the newer immigrant groups, where the various cultural elements are ultimately united as one. In the "cultural pluralism" ideology, significant portions of the previous cultures of origin are maintained and somehow integrated into the mainstream of American society. However, in these concepts, the white Anglo-Saxon culture remains the chief integrator. The melting-pot and the cultural pluralism theories both make concessions to some non-Anglo-Saxon elements in the society, but they remain concessions only. The word Americanize is commonly used synonymously with the term Anglicize. 2 In the assimilative steps thus far outlined, the Japanese Americans in this study for the most part can be said to be characterized by cultural assimilation or acculturation. However, in the assimilative process, the second phase of structural assimilation, rather than the first phase of acculturation, is considered more advanced. 3

The assimilation framework has been a useful tool to many sociologists and psychologists in the interpretation of changes in

1 Ibid., p. 72.
2 Ibid., pp. 85-86.
3 Ibid., pp. 70-71.
Some attempt is made in the present study to determine the degree to which Japanese Americans may be considered to have been assimilated. However, inasmuch as the uniqueness of Japanese Americans is stressed, the assimilative process is not the focal point of this study as in some other ethnic studies.

Frequently mentioned in the studies of immigrants is the so-called "Hansen (Marcus L. Hansen) principle." Although applied to the study of generations of European descent, the principle may be applicable partly to the three generations of Japanese Americans. This writer makes references to this principle and considers to what extent it may be useful for the understanding of the Nisei and the Sansei. The Hansen theory hypothesizes that the sons and daughters (comparable to the second generation Nisei) of the immigrants (comparable to the first generation Issei), in their zeal to become Americanized, tried to abandon their parents' cultural attachment to the old country tradition. The third generation (comparable to the third generation Sansei), in contrast, tried to revive the ways of the original immigrants. Hansen writes, "What the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember."²

The marginal man concept is also useful in the consideration of Japanese Americans with two or more different cultural orientations. The cultural and subcultural roots of the Japanese American are the combination of Japanese and the Anglo-Saxon traditions in what may be

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broadly termed Japanese American. The concept of the marginal man was first introduced by Robert E. Park and further developed by Everett V. Stonequist. The marginal man is one who finds himself between the two cultures where he is not quite fully a member of either one. He may be a racial and/or a cultural hybrid. He experiences inner conflicts in response to his attempt to adjust to two or more different orientations in such matters as languages, moral codes, and political loyalties. ¹ Marginal characteristics are most marked when there are cultural transitions and tensions between the cultures.

Because of the social pressures put upon him by different cultures, the marginal man suffers from a sense of inferiority, hypersensitivity, ambivalence, and compensatory reactions. He may suffer from personality problems as he undergoes cultural crises within himself. It is in the second generation individual that problems become most acute, according to Stonequist. The culture conflicts are incorporated into his personality.

On the other hand, there are some positive effects resulting from the personality dynamics of the marginal man. Some marginal persons have learned how to make an orderly transition from one cultural orientation to another. When cultural changes occur, the marginal man who has already incorporated such changes within himself, can meaningfully interpret and expedite the process of change. Changes in culture seem to be inevitable. Even in the most stable of cultures, changes

changes occur. Changes also take place in an individual's life cycle. The marginal man in such situations has certain advantages, having gone through the experience of disorientation to the old and of orientation to the new. ¹

The term marginal man, which is inclusive and global, lacks precision. Critics of this concept like Green says that it does not lend itself to "statistical nor even differential case-study analysis."² Ambiguous and somewhat nebulous as the term may be, the marginal man concept does catch something of the nature of disorientation and orientation experiences of those exposed to different cultures or subcultures. As such, the concept serves the purpose of identifying certain experiences of the different generations of Japanese Americans.

The various concepts so far outlined are attempts to categorize human beings experiencing the swirling maelstroms and quiet calms of social living for the sake of understanding them in different levels or kinds of social settings. If persons are to be understood in their social relationships, it becomes necessary to group and label them. However, the very process of labeling without appropriate qualifications and safeguards can lead to misunderstanding. Labels often distort the identity of a group by exaggerating only one feature while ignoring others. For example, one person may be a scholar, physician, Chinese, male, and an athlete simultaneously. Of these many characteristics only one is likely to be abstracted and used as the label

¹See David Riesman, Individualism Reconsidered and Other Essays (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954), p. 163.

for that person. In a racially prejudiced society, that label for this person is likely to be "Chinese."¹ Allport calls this a label of "primary potency." The fact that he is Chinese is abstracted and all other factors are ignored. Each label used in such highly abstracted fashion distracts from concrete reality. The next step in this kind of mental process is to associate the label "Chinese" with such adjectives as reticent, inscrutable and other allegedly ethnically linked traits in popular thinking.²

Indications are that the labelers of such traits (usually negative) which distort the concrete reality do so out of their own personal and cultural needs. Often the need is to attribute certain traits considered as undesirable (e.g., treacherousness, sycophancy, aggressiveness) to minority groups easy to victimize.³ During the Second World War, the Japanese Americans became the target of blame for problems related to war. There was a need on the part of a fearful public, most politicians and military men, to find a scapegoat powerless to retaliate, and they found this in the Japanese Americans.

Studies indicate that the differences among individuals within a group are always greater than differences between groups.⁴ Nevertheless, labeling continues and group differences are emphasized even though at odds with concrete reality. The prevailing labels of minority groups for the society at large are given by the majority, as pre-


²Ibid., p. 176.

³Ibid., pp. 179-82.

⁴Ibid., Chapters 7 and 8. See especially p. 139.
viously indicated. In response, how do the minority groups react? There are several possible reactions, some of which can be mentioned as relevant to this study.  

One consequence of victimization can be a denial or at least a minimizing of the importance of one's own ethnic group. This also may be accompanied by guilt with a sense of betraying one's own people. Related to this is the dynamics of self-hate, whereby one's own group is seen through the prejudiced eyes of the majority group. 2 Faced with severe discrimination a Japanese American might minimize his own background in an attempt to identify more closely with the white majority. Popularly, this is phrased "outwhiting the whites."

Another trait due to victimization is passive acquiescence to the rules attributed to them by the majority and ruling population. There is fear that rebellion or aggression against the given role may meet with severe punishment. Still another characteristic of the victim of prejudice is that they in turn direct their prejudice against other minority groups. Thus, among Orientals in the United States, it is common knowledge that the Chinese and Japanese often mutually discriminated against each other, in spite of the fact that they were both victims of prejudice and discrimination by the whites.

Traits which are entirely different from those mentioned above are present in still other victims of prejudice. Instead of discriminating against other minorities, exactly the opposite happens. Some of the outstanding defenders of minority rights are minority group

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1 Ibid., pp. 138-58.

2 Ibid., p. 147; CIIark, Dark Ghetto, p. 64.
organizations defending not only their own rights but those of other minorities. Some of the Japanese American interviewees indicated that they were treated well by the Jews during the height of discrimination against the Japanese during the Second World War. The Jews themselves had suffered severe persecution. As a result, many of them identify easily with the minority plights of others. Such a stand can be duplicated among other minority members against various forms of injustice. Not much research seems to have been done that would show just why certain minority individuals react to discrimination with discrimination of their own against other minorities, while others react to the same oppression by siding with those who are oppressed.

One of the most frequently mentioned characteristics of Japanese Americans about themselves was that they tried harder, whether in work or in raising families, because they faced economic hardship and social discrimination. In the American culture, to redouble one's effort in the face of obstacles is much admired. This trait of "enhanced striving" is attributed to minority groups.¹ Stories are numerous of how immigrants from the Orient as well as from Europe worked all day and went to school in the evening to try to better themselves. The idea is that discrimination makes some of the minority members try harder. The work ethic is practiced with vengeance by some minority people and their descendants.

It is a well recognized phenomenon that a person's conception of himself is largely derived from others and from the society. Stonequist says, "the individual conception of himself is . . . not an

¹Ibid., p. 152.
individual but a social product."¹ A person develops his self identity in terms of how others treat and relate to him. What Cooley called "looking glass self" is a pivotal concept in how personalities develop in social relationships, as members of families, other similar units and societies.² A person's estimate of his own worth is to a great degree culturally induced, socially mirrored.

As indicated previously, the cultures or subcultures of the Nisei and Sansei are derived from many strands. Among others, these strands can be traced to Japan, to the mainstream of middle-class white America, to the Japanese American ethnic communities and to the common heritage of minorities who have and are still undergoing discriminatory experiences. These are all cultural influences which necessarily play a part in the definition of Japanese Americans. Where the cultures of origin are not just one but many, the possible influence in their interrelationship should be considered.

Although self-perception is culturally influenced, in the final analysis, the members of an ethnic group end up defining themselves. The definition may be predominantly that given by others, or it may be largely that of a group's own determination. Whichever way, the definition adopted is ultimately the group's own. This study is in part an effort to explore how one ethnic group, personalized in the two generations of the Nisei and the Sansei in the Midwest, defined themselves in response to their singular history and their shared social setting.

¹Stonequist, The Marginal Man, p. xvii.
In one of the few comprehensive books on college student personnel work published, Kate Mueller listed some objectives that seem relevant to this study.¹ Some of these objectives are outlined here with additional comments from more recent sources as they may apply to Japanese American college students.

One objective of college student personnel is to preserve, transmit and enrich the culture. The American Council on Education publication, The Student Personnel Point of View, stated the importance of cultural setting: "It is axiomatic today that no man lives in a social vacuum. Rather individual development is conditional by the kind of society in which a person lives, and the quality of interpersonal and group relationships which operates around him."² This point is further amplified by Alexander M. Mood, who takes seriously the context in which higher education operates.³ Among other things, Mood sees the society's working toward the alleviation of injustices as significant. In his report, prepared for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, Mood identifies one of the contributing social forces opposing injustices as "recurrent intergenerational renunciation."

In asserting independence, the newer generation deny certain values cherished by the old one. Among the values abandoned are those that

perpetuate injustices. Mood adds, "Thus the renunciation of today's new generation will surely bring about appreciable amelioration of racism and militarism in the United States."\textsuperscript{1}

With students of minority background such as Japanese Americans, the social context in which they live, and such a factor as "inter-generational renunciation" takes on added significance more than for majority students. A student personnel worker needs to be aware of this type of force if he is to assist in the development of the total personality of students. For example, a student's vital need for socio-psychological growth and racial identity must be considered, perhaps as much as, or even more than, his intellectual needs when the Asian American curriculum development is being considered.\textsuperscript{2} There is then less likelihood of students of the minority extraction being abstracted from their cultural settings in the minds of the college student personnel as they set policies and plan programs.

The cultural heritage as described in this study constitutes an important part of the college student personnel concerns as well as of the total higher education need to be involved in the developmental task of students with due recognition given to their cultural background and social milieu. In such a task as the development of ethnic studies program, the teaching faculty's contribution would be particularly vital. In matters related to understanding the student in his home and social settings the perspectives of the student personnel educators would be important.

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., p. 3.

The student personnel, as represented by such workers as counselors, financial aid advisors, student activities and admissions officers, are in close contact with students in ways often different from the classroom instructors. For example, the financial aid worker would be more likely to have relevant information on the economic and social needs of the students than the teaching faculty. The financial aid officer then can be valuable as an interpreter of the student's cultural setting and needs. The student personnel worker thus becomes an important part of the college team to help preserve, transmit, and enrich the culture.

Mueller had another objective of the college student personnel as "training for citizenship." In a study involving ethnicity as in this dissertation, the understanding of citizenship takes on added meaning. The underlying assumption of Mueller's book and the like writings published well before the rise of civil rights movement is that good citizenship means upholding the white middle-class tradition. No thought is given to how multi-racial and multi-cultural settings can broaden the meaning of good citizenship, or how perhaps national citizenship in these settings can be interpreted as more global and less narrowly nationalistic. Questions must be raised as to what good citizenship means or what it is to be an American. A study of this kind, which focuses on the non-Anglo-Saxon facets of the American tradition not ordinarily thought of as American, perhaps raises more questions than it resolves. But questions must be raised and it is hoped that this study will help open up some related issues. In contrast to Mueller's work of 1959, the contributions of a multi-cultural approach in training college student personnel and college counselors
presently (1976) is emphasized in an article by another college student personnel educator, John Eddy. He says:

The need for guidelines to aid counselor educators in preparing cultural awareness units in their graduate courses has been apparent for years. . . . This article deals with specific bias and related to the racial, the sexual, the ethnic and religious areas. It helps those preparing for cultural awareness units in counselor education to avoid words that would show bias in these four areas.1

Although not speaking specifically of racial identity, educator Arthur W. Chickering refers to a similar point.

Once the principal task of education was "socialization" and the problem of individuals was to learn the attitudes, actions, and skills necessary for the satisfying and productive fit with "society." . . . In twentieth century society, where change is the only sure thing, not socialization but identity formation becomes the central and continuing task of education.2

Finally, Mueller points to the "training for leadership" as an important function of the student personnel division. She urges that personnel workers help identify leaders, "motivate them toward assuming responsibilities and develop in them the personality traits which will make them ardent and effective workers."3 In any ethnic group, a proportion of community and other leaders are college trained. It is an indispensable function of student personnel to help develop the best leaders and provide them with ample opportunities and an


environment conducive to leadership development. Some of the inter-
viewed Japanese Americans would be among those who are deeply cog-
nizant of their racial or national roots and have enough confidence
in themselves to provide the leadership in meeting the challenges of
change. It would be the function of the student personnel educator
to cooperate with concerned students and help interpret their thoughts
and actions for the benefit of their educational development.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review is divided into four main sections. First section briefly outlines pre-Second World War publications. Second, pertinent writings on the evacuation event during the Second World War are examined. Third, some publications on Nisei college students are described. Finally, some of the research and more popular writings related to socio-psychological aspects of Japanese American experiences are evaluated.

Pre-Second World War

What could be considered a classic on the Japanese immigration documentation is *Japanese in the United States* by Yamato Ichihashi, late Professor of Japanese History and Government at Stanford University.\(^1\) It is an indispensable book for any background information on Japanese Americans. Taking his sources from both Japanese and American materials and documents, Ichihashi in 1932 published what he considered to be an unbiased factual account at a time when there was still much misinformation and ignorance concerning Japanese immigrants and their children. A product of research of many years, begun when Ichihashi was a graduate student at Harvard University, the book

demonstrates careful documentation and intensive research.

The author traced the beginning of Japanese immigration, first to Hawaii and then to the mainland United States. He gave some pertinent facts of the life of Issei immigrants and presented detailed analyses of the anti-Japanese agitation, particularly in California. In the concluding chapters, he surveyed the so called Nisei problems, one of the more prevalent being the lack of job opportunities for the young Nisei college graduates in the 1920s. The concluding note of Ichihashi, the Issei scholar, on the future of the Nisei is a mixture of glum realism and optimistic faith in the American sense of fair play. The Issei historian appealed to the American people of the 1930s in behalf of the new generation—the Nisei. He could not foresee that the international conflagration of the 1940s would again deeply cut into the lives of Japanese Americans. In behalf of Nisei Americans, Ichihashi appealed to Americans to assume a more kindly and sympathetic attitude toward these unfortunate sons and daughters of Japanese descent. They are Americans, and as such, their interests deserve to be properly looked after. It is, indeed, gratifying to know that signs of this improvement are beginning to appear.¹

Some early writings on the Nisei present their views and opinions when they were about the age of the Sansei interviewed in this dissertation. One of the earliest books on the Nisei is by Edward K. Strong, Jr., The Second Generation Japanese Problem, which was written, the author stated, because of the feeling that the Nisei "had great difficulty in finding decent jobs."²

¹Ibid., p. 363.
As he surveyed the vocational preferences and opportunities of the Nisei, he stressed the importance of their adjustment to the American environment. He reviewed the historical development of the Japanese immigration and the race problems, offering some possible solutions. Among other things, he advocates a quota system on Japanese immigration to the point of allowing 185 Japanese per year to enter the United States by revising the 1924 Oriental Exclusion Act, which prohibited all Oriental immigration, and also urged naturalization for all who had settled in the U. S. permanently, thus permitting citizenship to the Issei. After pointing out that all immigrants face problems similar to the Japanese, the author thought it unfortunate that the Japanese themselves felt that their problems were solely due to the fact that they were Japanese.

Extensive research findings of the Japanese American population in California are reported in the book. In education, the level of education of the Issei—eight years—was higher than that of the average American of their age. The Nisei between twenty-one and twenty-seven years of age had, on the average, completed high school. The grammar school Japanese Americans scored somewhat lower on subjects requiring linguistic ability, while "they were equal to or superior to whites in arithmetic and spelling."¹ In mental ability tests, the Japanese American and the white children were about equal.

In terms of occupational preferences, Strong predicted that many of the sons of the Issei would continue in the same lines of work as their parents, which prediction probably did not come about due to

¹Ibid., p. 207.
evacuation and the resulting loss of family businesses. Observing the prejudices of the American society at large against Japanese Americans in the 1930s, Strong advised against too many Nisei going into the medical profession, although the interest and preference tests showed that a higher percentage of the Nisei than the whites chose that field. He also saw difficulty in the Nisei going into engineering and architecture. Moreover, the Japanese had an interest in becoming teachers and social workers. Here, he advised against the teaching profession, since during the 1930s any Nisei being accepted into the teaching profession was unheard of except for teaching the Japanese language.

These are interesting findings and observations from one who had done extensive research on the Japanese in the State of California, the state with the largest concentration of Japanese in the mainland to this day. Employment opportunities are quite different today, but remnants of occupational difficulties seem to be present in the 1970s. Now the difficulties are felt by the offspring of the Nisei, and they are not so much employment difficulties as perhaps subtle barriers in advancement and promotion beyond certain levels in the world of business and profession.

One of the earliest studies by a Nisei on Japanese Americans is a Master's thesis later published by the University of Washington, Social Solidarity Among the Japanese in Seattle by S. Frank Miyamoto. Miyamoto refers to the ethical influence of duty or giri that pervades the whole social system in Japan and which value was brought to the United States by the Japanese immigrants. It is a strong sense of

1Frank S. Miyamoto, Social Solidarity Among the Japanese in Seattle (Seattle: University of Washington Publications, 1939).
obligation or duty to one's group, family or nation that constrains
the Japanese in social activities to accept authoritarianism, resulting
in their behavior of "inhibitions, reserve, non-inventiveness, imi-
tativeness, and so on."\(^1\) In the Japanese society, "group valuation"
is given more weight than "individual valuation." The Japanese immi-
grants brought with them this cultural support of solidarity as opposed
to individuality and retained it. They found support in their own
community in the midst of a strange American culture. Anti-Japanese
agitation only reinforced them in their mutual support of community life.
However, Miyamoto comments that there were forces inside that community
that tended to disrupt unity. For one thing, a continual struggle for
social supremacy was taking place within the ghetto-like Japanese com-
munity, resulting in constant "bickering and petty competition."
Furthermore, the predominant American cultural emphasis on individual-
ism had ways of breaking into the Japanese community, and he saw the
need of the community to become assimilated into the American way and
move away from group solidarity to individualism. Nevertheless,
Miyamoto also saw a need in the majority American culture for some
ethical sense of solidarity. He asked, "What are the conceptions of
ethical meanings among the American people?" He implied that there are
no comparable ethical integrative forces, but that there should be
among the majority Americans.

Concerning strong emphasis on education that Japanese Amer-
icans received from the Japanese culture, Miyamoto asked a pointed
question. Where is this almost obsessive craving for high scholastic

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 17.
standing and formal education leading the Nisei? After documenting that an unusually high proportion of the Seattle Nisei graduated from schools as top ranking students, Miyamoto wrote,

What the first generation Japanese have done in training their children to apply themselves to their studies is without doubt, highly commendable, and they can perhaps be justly proud that their sons and daughters have won the scholastic laurels that they have. But their failure to broaden the children's outlook upon life by opening other vistas of knowledge than the ones to be found in textbooks, and their failure to emphasize more the pragmatic test of living, the ability to reflect upon new situations as they occur, shows the tendency of the Japanese to view society as a relatively static structure. Undoubtedly, this is a heritage from the recent feudal background, but the Japanese have not raised the question as to whether the formalized frame of reference is suitable to a mobile society.¹

A well educated and acculturated Nisei, Miyamoto, writing from the perspective of one who knows what America is, perhaps more than other Issei or Nisei of the times, was asking specific questions in a changing society, when an adult generation seemed not be discerning the signs of the times. Perhaps only a Nisei researcher could have asked such questions of his fellow Japanese Americans as Miyamoto did in the 1930s.

The Evacuation

Of the many books on the evacuation of Japanese Americans during World War II, a few are reviewed here, particularly those by Japanese Americans. Although most of such writings are by Caucasians, an increasing number are now being written by Japanese Americans.

In this dissertation, the camps in which the Japanese Americans were placed during the wartime will be referred to by various

¹Ibid., p. 440.
"Assembly Centers" were temporary shelters in existence until the more permanent "Relocation Camps" were set up and in which the evacuees were ultimately confined. "Assembly Centers" and "Relocation Camps" had been used by the government officials and by those evacuated and interned. More recently, "concentration camps" began to be used, more appropriately perhaps symbolizing the denial of freedom. This present research will use "relocation camps," "concentration camps" or simply "camps." The experience of removal from West Coast homes, subsequent confinement and relocation to other parts of the United States will be generally referred to in this work as the "evacuation" experience. (See Glossary below, pp. 388)

Concentration Camps USA: Japanese American and World War II by Daniels is a well documented book with numerous references to source materials that give valuable clues as to how crucial decisions affecting Japanese Americans were made.\(^1\) Daniels asserts that the story of the Japanese American evacuation and detention was more than a mere "wartime mistake." It was a "teleological outgrowth of over three centuries of American experience, an experience which taught Americans to regard the United States as a white man's country in which non-whites had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."\(^2\)

In response to this discrimination by the majority, Japanese Americans rather submissively acceded to the denial of their freedom during wartime. Today in spite of their high level of education, they


\(^2\)Ibid., p. xii.
seem to be making less money, and have less promotional opportunities in their jobs than their white counterparts with comparable levels of education and training. Politically, the Japanese Americans until recently seemed rather passive and not wanting to "make waves." To what extent this accommodationist posture is due to their wartime experience or to their "Japanese American character" is difficult to determine, writes Daniels. Some of the Sansei, however, have become radical and militant "to a degree that shocks their elders."\(^1\) Then the author surmises, "Despite these examples of rebellion, there is every probability that this third generation of Japanese Americans will be even more middle class, more professionalized, more Americanized than its predecessors. . . ."\(^2\)

Daniels elaborates on the theme of decision-making that led to evacuation in his later book, The Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans.\(^3\) He reports numerous verbatim conversations between major and minor officials who participated in the decision-making process that sealed the fate of Japanese Americans during wartime. It gives insight into how casually life-and-death decisions are made, with little or inaccurate information on the people most directly affected. It is a fascinating collection of documents that more than defines the meaning of political expediency.

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\(^1\)Ibid., p. 173.

\(^2\)Ibid.

War II, is an "impact" study of what effect evacuation and administrative governmental policies had upon families as groups and what adaptive measures were taken by them to ameliorate the situation in which they were placed.¹ It gives detailed accounts of the effects of evacuation and relocation upon ten families and their members as case studies, of how some administrative decisions affected families in ways not intended by the government. For example, the book deals at length with the so-called loyalty questions, which had little to do with the matter of loyalty or disloyalty to the United States. The intent of the Army and the War Relocation Authority personnel was to seek documentation on the loyalty of Japanese Americans in the United States. According to social scientists Broom and Kitsuse, the questionnaire used to seek information was faulty and circumstances were not conducive to eliciting clear answers. For example, if it was thought necessary to answer the questionnaire on the "disloyal" side to keep the family together, the family members so declared themselves. Consequently, many Japanese American respondents to the questionnaire were mistakenly labeled as disloyal to the United States.

The cases selected for the research were not claimed to be representative of the majority of Japanese American families. The authors included different types of families with a wide variety of occupation, religion, education, urbanization, generation, and with different degrees of acculturation to Japanese and American cultures.

"Evacuation Claims Act" by John Y. Yoshino, a Nisei, is an unpublished Master's thesis on the evacuation claims law of 1948 and its implementation. Congress had passed a bill to compensate partly for the evacuation losses suffered by Japanese Americans. The amount was a pittance in relation to the actual loss. Yoshino documents how this small amount was distributed to those few who did make claims. His research shows that during the period that the law covered, it cost the government an average of $1,500 in administrative expenses to award a mere $440 in compensation per case.

A partial answer to the question, "what ever happened to those who renounced their U. S. citizenship during the turmoil of answering the loyalty question in the concentration camps?" is given in an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by Gladys Ishida, a Nisei. The author went to Japan and interviewed twenty-seven renunciants. Intensive interviews were conducted according to prescribed forms at their places of work. The author divides her sample into two groups of renunciants, the Kibei and the Nisei. Although both groups were American born, the Kibei were reared and educated in Japan during youth and then went back to the United States, whereas the Nisei were reared and educated in the United States, many of them never having been to Japan before.

1John Y. Yoshino, "Legislative History and Administrative Procedures of the Evacuation Claims Act" (Master's Thesis, Chicago: Loyola University of Chicago, June, 1953).

2Ibid., p. 34.

The Kibei as a group had adjusted well to Japanese life and had no thoughts of going back to America, the research revealed. Not so with the Nisei. After close to a decade of living in post-war Japan, the Nisei had not accommodated their thinking and attitudes to Japanese ways, and they looked forward to the day when they could have their United States citizenship restored.¹

_Kikuchi Diary_ is one of the rare documents written by a Nisei in the "assembly center," a temporary shelter, before removal to the more permanent "relocation center."² Kikuchi perceptively describes the day-to-day thoughts, rumors, conversations and activities of the people confined against their will in the Tanforan Assembly Center in California in 1942. He was one of the evacuee field workers for researcher Dorothy Thomas, who also wrote on the evacuation.³

Autobiographical books by Japanese Americans are rare. One describes the tumultuous period of evacuation and detention, _Nisei Daughter_, by Monica Sone.⁴ It covers the period of her childhood and youth with her family in Seattle, Washington, her evacuation experience and her years in a small liberal arts college in Indiana. It is a poignant story of the life and times of a sensitive young Nisei woman.

There is a scene of the evacuees in Seattle boarding the

¹See below, pp. 155-58.


³Dorothy S. Thomas, _The Savage_ (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1952).

⁴Monica Sone, _Nisei Daughter_ (Boston: Atlantic, Little, Brown Company, 1953).
chartered bus in the process of being evacuated to the "assembly center," appropriately and officially named Camp Harmony. Some non-Japanese friends had come to bid goodbye to the departing families. Among them were two Caucasian clergymen who were ministers of the Nisei youngsters in their congregations. She writes that they smiled brightly "as if to lift our morale. But Miss Mahon, the principal of our Bailey Gatzert Grammar School and a much beloved figure in our community, stood in front of the quiet crowd of Japanese and wept openly."¹ Miss Mahon was the Caucasian principal so respected and loved by the Japanese community that the Issei leaders had raised enough money to send her to Japan for a visit several years before the war broke out.

Sone wrote her impression of the first day in the relocation camp, located in the middle of Idaho, almost devoid of plants; the new residents were welcomed by a blinding dust storm. This was to be a common occurrence from then on. "We felt as if we were standing in a gigantic sand-mixing machine as the sixty mile gale lifted the loose earth up into the sky, obliterating everything. Sand filled our mouths and nostrils and stung our faces and hands like a thousand darting needles."²

Like the majority of other Nisei, Sone was subjected to the evacuation experience during her adolescent years. Her writing reveals the tension within the lives of many Nisei, stretched tautly between the Issei culture of their parents and the Anglo culture of their educational and employment environments.

¹Ibid., p. 171.

²Ibid., p. 192.
Farewell to Manzanar is an intimate account of a family life in the concentration camp Manzanar, located in the California mountain desert country, by a Nisei graduate of that camp's high school, Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston, and her writer husband, James D. Houston. 1 Mrs. Houston tells an unusually honest and straightforward story of the daily pleasures and pains of her family confined to the limited and narrow routines of camp life. An example of the humiliating lack of privacy is in her depiction of how her mother and other Issei ladies going to the outdoor public latrine without partitions improvised a corrugated cardboard partition wall between themselves, which cardboard they carried with them whenever they went to the outdoor toilet. With feeling, but with dispassionate honesty, she writes of the rapid demoralization of her once proud fisherman father, subjected as he was to the dehumanizing routines of purposeless camp life. He drank heavily to the distress of the wife and the children.

Mrs. Houston revisited the site of Manzanar thirty years later in April, 1972 and recounts her feelings:

At its peak, in the summer of '42, Manzanar was the biggest city between Reno and Los Angeles, a special kind of western boom town that sprang from the sand, flourished, had its day, and now has all but disappeared. The barracks are gone, torn down after the war. The guard towers are gone, and the mess halls and shower rooms, the hospital . . . Even the dust is gone . . . Manzanar would always live in my nervous system. . . . 2

The only book on evacuation and concentration camp life written by a Japanese born in Japan (others were written by the American born)


is *Issei and Nisei: The Internment Years* by Daisuke Kitagawa, an Episcopal Church pastor, himself a victim of concentration camp life. Born, reared and college-educated in Tokyo, he came to Seattle, Washington a few years before the outbreak of the Second World War and ministered to the Japanese American population for several years. Being neither an original Issei immigrant nor an American-born Nisei, he writes with rare perception and sensitivity on the plight of the Japanese Americans.

To outsiders, the Japanese--more commonly viewed as such, not Japanese Americans--segregated in the concentration camps seemed homogeneous, clannish and self-sufficient. But to those inside the community, the intra-group tensions of people confined behind barbed wires were painfully apparent. The vicious prejudice of the people outside were taking their toll inside the camp in the shrunken lives of these vulnerable people. Kitagawa chillingly reminds the reader that the incarceration and oppression of these people were not the illegal act of a minority of demented American whites; the evacuation was a result of the official policy of the United States Government. The book is a rare first hand source book of the evacuation experience.

The Japanese Americans in the United States were not the only ones uprooted during the war. The same thing happened in Canada. A moving account in water color painting with poetic narratives to accompany them is *A Child in Prison Camp*. Seen through the eyes of a

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ten year old girl, it is the story of life with her family and with other Japanese confined in the camp among the mountains. It is a story of family members caught up in the effect of international conflicts and discrimination, not of their own making and wholly beyond their control. The quiet poetic mood of the book evokes empathy for the imprisoned innocents.

The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp is the first empirical study done in a relocation camp. A psychiatrist with previous experience in studying Navaho and Eskimo communities, Leighton and a team of anthropologists did research on human relations during 1942 and 1943 in the Poston camp located in the Colorado River valley on Indian land. This governmental study was used to advise the administration on the situation in the camp and also to make analyses and observations on the problems of administration, particularly as related to the occupied people. The same research team later formed the nucleus of a unit in the Office of War information to work on problems related to the U.S. occupation of Japan.

Part I of the book describes the organization and life of the evacuees of the Poston Relocation Center, including the events which led to a strike by the evacuees some eight months after the camp opened. Part II presents "Principles and Recommendations" based on observations and analyses of life in the camp. The book is a study in depth of how

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people under stress act and what may be done to govern groups of people in that situation.

One of the principles derived from the research refers to the tension between the Issei and the Nisei generations in the camp: "Conflict between older and younger generations is characteristic of the organization of many societies and has important bearing on the patterns of leadership."¹ The author warned that although the youthful generation is more plastic and amenable to change, it would be a mistake to by-pass the older generation in the decision-making process as the camp administration often did. Although the young and the old may not get along well with each other in a stress situation, "the administration can very quickly become a substitute target for all the resentments and aggressions old and young harbor for each other."

Therefore, it would be wise to include the parents with the young in any kind of educational program. This is one of the numerous principles that Leighton derived from the research on the relationships of people confined behind barbed wires.

Written from the perspective of the administrators of the War Relocation Authority (WRA) put in charge of the concentration camps is Impounded People: Japanese Americans in the Relocation Centers, a report of the WRA.² It reviewed the process of evacuation, detention, and relocation from 1942 through 1946, for the purpose of understanding "what happens to people when democratic processes go wrong and a gov-

¹Ibid., p. 339.

The authors attributed the causes of the evacuation to "some of the leaders" and not to the American population as a whole. They pointed to pressure groups, political leaders, newspapers, and radio commentators who demanded the ouster and confinement of the Japanese Americans.

The report described the problems of creating camps overnight, as it were, that would adequately house and feed over 100,000 people of all ages and families of various sizes. The authors wrote how the army was responsible for transporting the evacuees from the "assembly centers" to the "relocation camps." But once the transporting was finished, the army was no more responsible for what happened, and the civilian agency WRA took over. In view of many difficulties experienced in the coordination of the army and the civilian agency's operations, the authors' summary must be considered an understatement: "Two agencies (the Army and the WRA) were not always coordinated."^2

Generally, the report takes the approach that what happened to Japanese Americans was undemocratic, the WRA's role was to help correct the mistake in a feasible way, and that, in response, the Japanese Americans behaved as any people would under such conditions. The book concludes, "For the most part . . . Nisei as well as Issei live and work and approach problems generally like normal people."^3

James M. Sakoda described the interaction of the evacuees with each other and with the administration personnel in "Minidoka: An

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^1 Ibid., p. 1.
^2 Ibid., p. 41.
^3 Ibid., p. 237.
Analysis of Changing Patterns of Social Interaction."¹ As a Nisei participant observer, he carefully recorded the interplay of human beings under tension. The picture that emerges from his analysis is that of continual turmoil and unrest among the evacuees, and the difference in what Sakoda calls the "definition of situation" between the white administrative personnel and the evacuees. The author observed, for example, that the administrative personnel blamed the so-called evacuee "troublemakers" for conflict situations rather than themselves as the source of trouble. Among the evacuees, their unhappy plight found expression in some in-fighting. Some evacuees were singled out as being informers or *inu*, a derogatory term meaning dog in Japanese--those suspected of siding with the administration. Toward the end of camp life, only the old and the very young were left behind. Their anxiety centered around material security, which they felt would be lost should they be thrown out into the cold and antagonistic world beyond the confines of the camp. Among the older Issei, rumors were rampant of Japanese military victories when the exact opposite were the case, emphasizing even more the pathetic status of the helpless evacuees who felt trapped and abandoned.

Japanese Americans are depicted by many writers as, on the whole, conforming and obedient to the rules imposed upon them by the government and administration officials. Where there has been protests by the evacuees, they had been few and far between and were only instigated by a minority of discontents in the camps. Certain frustrat-

ing experiences may have led to dissatisfaction from time to time, but through the release of pent-up emotions by temporary acts of resistance, such as strikes or minor riots, the Japanese Americans returned to a reasonably satisfactory life of routine existence. An article which questions this kind of interpretation by most writers on Japanese American experience is "Japanese Resistance in America's Concentration Camps: A Re-evaluation" by Gary Y. Okihiro. Okihiro takes a revisionist historian's point of view that the acts of resistance to externally imposed rules were continuous and effective. The author gives examples such as the Poston Camp strike of November 14, 1942, and the Manzanar "riot" of December 5, 1942. In the former incident, the strike was in protest over the arrest of two Japanese Americans for the beating of a Kibei bachelor. The result was a negotiated agreement between the administration and the evacuee representatives.

Instead of the "pressure release" theory, Okihiro proposes a view that there was "a pre-existent, underlying layer of resistance" which continually expressed itself in anti-administration actions, with a movement toward self-determination. The Japanese Americans were far from being compliant, cooperative, and accommodating. They were continually resistant to authorities. Okihiro differs substantially in perspective from the majority of writers on Japanese Americans when he asserts, "Beyond the visible forms of resistance, 


2Ibid., p. 32.
between the occasional petition, strike or riot, is the true nature of Japanese resistance to white control.\textsuperscript{1}

A well written work that provides penetrating insights into the decision-making process in government that led to evacuation is Morton Grodzins' \textit{Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation}.\footnote{Morton Grodzins, \textit{Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).} It deals with a single decision: the decision of the U. S. government to evacuate Japanese Americans at the beginning of World War II. Grodzins called it an unprecedented major event in this country's history with disturbing implications for the future. He asserted that the "process betrayed all Americans."\footnote{Ibid., p. 274.} Part I traces the antipathies against the Japanese Americans resulting in the demand for mass evacuation and incarceration. Part II analyzes the ways in which decisions were made in the governmental administration, and how the conclusion was reached that evacuation and detention were of "military necessity." The roles taken by the Congress and the Supreme Court in confirming the decision are also covered.

Grodzins' work, begun in early spring, 1942, was not finished until after several years of data collection. The author wrote that he began the book with no preconceived notion, but claimed a bias in his outlook that "Americans must be accorded their legal rights and privileges as individuals and not as units of a group with real or imagined special characteristics."\footnote{Ibid., p. ix.} Grodzins quoted President Roose-

\footnote{\textsuperscript{1}Ibid.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{2}Morton Grodzins, \textit{Americans Betrayed: Politics and the Japanese Evacuation} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., p. 274.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., p. ix.}
velt who affirmed "Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry" and contrasted that statement of idealism with the actual policy which was adopted that denied basic rights purely on the basis of ancestry. Grodzins made a convincing point "That the policy-making process is a crucial point of study for the understanding of government."\(^1\)

From numerous writings on the constitutional and legal implications of the evacuation and incarceration of Japanese Americans, a few are reviewed here. One of the series in the University of California Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study is *Prejudice, War and the Constitution*.\(^2\) This book has three main sections: the first part presents the history of anti-Orientalism in the West Coast during 1849 and 1942; the second part, the evacuation, detention and relocation; the third part, the constitutional aspects of human rights. Much of the data are the same as those used by Grodzins in *Americans Betrayed*, but the conclusions drawn are different in that the authors contend that Grodzins and other writers attributed more influence to the pressure groups on the evacuation decisions than was warranted. The blame for evacuation cannot be placed mainly on these pressure groups, politicians, the Executive Branch, the Courts or the military. These factors did not so much lead the people as they were led by the people. This interpretation squarely places the blame on the American people as a whole rather than only on a few segments:

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\(^1\) Ibid., p. vii.

Most undeniable of all is that the American people generally and the people of the West Coast in particular, were anxious, angry, and afraid; that in this mood the familiar specter of the "yellow peril" appeared before them, and that they struck out blindly at its shadow—not knowing that by this blow they were to damage, not the enemy, but the constitutional safeguards of their own free way of life.  

A thoroughly researched work on the law and the constitution affecting Asians in the United States is The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law. The author points out that the United States Government, which until 1875 (the Page Law) welcomed all immigrants, began passing a series of legislation from 1884 to exclude Asiatics, beginning with the Chinese. The book goes into much detail on the Supreme Court's response to problems of Asian aliens and the Americans of Asiatic descent. On Japanese Americans, specifically, the book covers the Supreme Court decisions from 1922, which held that the Japanese-born were ineligible for American citizenship, to the more recent decisions that the World War II impositions of curfew and evacuation were constitutional, while the detention in the camps of United States citizens of Japanese origin was not. The book is a clear and concise summary of constitutional issues interestingly written.

The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) prepared a brief

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1 Ibid., p. 208.


3 The term "Asiatic" rather than "Oriental" is used here and other places in this writing. In more recent years, the usage of "Asian Americans" in reference to those of Asian descent in the United States is more common than other words.

entitled *The Case for the Nisei.*

Included in this well prepared and documented work are the opinions of the Justices of the Supreme Court in the cases of *Korematsu* and *Endo.*

In the former case, the defendant Korematsu, who violated the wartime curfew law, was the loser, for the military commander was declared to have the authority to differentiate between citizens by "ethnic affiliation." In the latter case, the defendant, Endo, who claimed her rights as a citizen to be free from wartime detention, was ordered released from the concentration camp.

The Supreme Court ruled that the government had no right to detain United States citizens. The brief states in part,

There was no public threat to persons of Japanese ancestry and no genuine popular demand that they be removed. . . . Evacuation was not a military necessity, but was due to false reports of sabotage in Hawaii, to the activities of anti-Oriental pressure groups and unscrupulous competitors, and most of all to the admitted race prejudice of the Commanding General who issued the evacuation orders.

The dissenting minority opinion of Justice Frank Murphy (in Foreword) in the *Korematsu* case relied partly on the findings of this JACL brief.

The sources used in this brief are extensive and varied. They include books, journals, newspaper reports and government documents.

**Nisei College Students**

An extensive research on the Nisei college students was done in an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation of 1949 by a former teacher in


2 *Korematsu v. U.S.* 214 (1944); *Ex parte Mitsuye Endo,* 323 U.S. 283 (1944).

one of the relocation camps. Joan Smith, in this work, "Backgrounds, Problems and Significant Reactions of Relocated Japanese American Students," took a sampling of 1,000 student folders of some 3,305 Nisei college students during the War years. Smith secured these files from the National Student Relocation Council, an agency set up to assist the Nisei in concentration camps relocate to various colleges, graduate and vocational schools across the country. She reviewed questionnaire responses on opinions, attitudes and reports of college experiences from 304 students, and in addition, interviewed some other students. Since the students selected were a random sampling, the results obtained can be considered fairly representative of the Nisei students who were attending colleges at the time in the mid-1940s.

Of the 1,000 students sampled, 689 had finished high school at the time of the evacuation and the average grade for all students was "B," on the A to F scale. Those who did not finish high school, presumably, continued to "graduation" in the concentration camps, where public education was provided for after a fashion. Of the 304 students from the group of 500 who returned the questionnaire, 22.4 percent withdrew from colleges before completing courses, but most did so for the purpose of entering the Armed Forces. Smith says that the percentage of students who withdrew because of academic failure was low.


2 Ibid., p. 68.
On the whole, Smith reports, the Nisei students met "widespread acceptance and happy adjustments in literally hundreds of colleges and university communities." However, there were incidents reported which made life tense for some of the unfortunate Nisei. In some communities, the reaction against the Nisei bordered on violence. Some of the letters written by the Nisei students to the staff of the National Student Relocation Council are quoted.

In the "Moscow incident" at the University of Idaho, because of the protest of the townspeople against six Nisei students who were to be relocated there in the spring of 1942, two Nisei girls were put in jail for their own protection. One of the girls wrote from the jail on April 17, 1942:

... 10:30 a.m. and Mr. Hart and Mrs. Burden [representatives of the friendly sentiment within the city] were in to see us. He informed us that we will have to spend the day and the night in jail--this being Saturday night and they are afraid of the mob... The jailer was talking to someone over the telephone and said that he is afraid that a mob will come to lynch us tonight... I will write you another letter as to how it will turn out and in case you don't hear from me, you'll know what has happened. Please write. I'm scared.¹

Among the problems most often reported, understandably, one was financial and the other was related to "a heightened consciousness of race."² On the financial worry, one student put it well in his letter: "... to do that [finish school], I'm forced to borrow from my parents and brother. Ordinarily, that's not so bad, but they haven't relocated yet and they're sacrificing their future for me. ..."³ The evacuation loss of properties and savings, wholesale

¹Ibid., p. 61. ²Ibid., p. 89. ³Ibid., p. 93.
incarceration of families had depleted the family resources for most people. Apparently, mostly through their own earnings these students survived, with some help from scholarship aids.

An overriding issue for many Nisei was related to their place in the American society with Caucasian students and other people. Seventy-nine percent of the students were distressed by the fact that the Japanese Americans were referred to as "Japs." To the question whether they would favor forming a Nisei club "on your campus or in your city?", 50 percent replying to the questionnaire opposed such a separate organization, while 34 percent replied either "yes" (23 percent) or "maybe" (11 percent). Among those favoring a formation of a Nisei club, a majority gave the reason as social, since the Caucasian world seemed unready to accept the Nisei socially. The following comments were representative of some of their views: "I feel that Nisei in communities are forced to form clubs, etc. for social outlet."¹ "We are a minority race and people accept us as thus. We might as well face the facts and accept the truth."² Among the 50 percent who opposed the formation of a Nisei club, many gave their reasons as the need to "play down" their Japanese American status and lose themselves among the Caucasians. They gave a variety of reasons for their unwillingness to be differentiated as a special group, among them being their fear that discrimination may be thus intensified.

I would be against forming any kind of Nisei organization. Before the war, the Nisei found "security" in their own little "tight" society, but the war, evacuation, and relocation opened the eyes of many of us to the fact that there wasn't security after all in the Nisei society.

¹Ibid., p. 123.
²Ibid., p. 124.
... evacuation could have been averted if the Japanese were spread out more with Caucasian groups. We may have to lose ourselves as Japanese Americans in order to find ourselves accepted fully as full Americans. ... ¹

In advocating integration, some Nisei said that bad as evacuation was, the one "bright spot" about it was that Japanese Americans were forced to disperse in the resettlement program among the Caucasian communities and thereby become assimilated.

Of the divided Nisei opinions on the possible integration of Japanese Americans into the white society, Smith comments:

There is a seemingly sharp dichotomy of opinion among members of this particular group in relation to their views of their place in America. One sector feels that, "we will never be Americans on our own rights, so the best we can do is to make our contribution as well-organized minority groups"; the other feels, "we need to forget racial and cultural differences and become amalgamated into the American pattern." The very knowledge of the insecurity, the desires, the thinking of these students may help us face more intelligently the problems created by the presence of minority groups within the college as well as understand the problems faced by the members of the group themselves.²

Smith drew some implications from her study. One is that the term "Americanism" has to be rethought:

Nisei students think of themselves not as Japanese but as Americans with Japanese faces—American by birth, education, and culture, Japanese by racial ancestry. ... The fact that we classify students as "Japanese" because of birth and culture, may indicate a need for questioning, "who is an American?" It may also demonstrate that some of us must substitute knowledge and understanding for "tolerance." ... More than any other problem, resentment at Americans being referred to as Japanese was paramount in the reactions of these Nisei students. Knowledge of the interpretation of these students of their place in the "American way" is valuable to counselors who work with representatives of this and other minority groups.³

¹Ibid., p. 130.
²Ibid., p. 131.
³Ibid., p. 190.
The second implication drawn is a need for more clarity in vocational guidance for the Nisei in view of changing circumstances before and after the Second World War.

Strong's study of 1934 on vocational preferences had indicated that the Nisei limited themselves to occupations which they thought were open to them, such as the operation of small farms and businesses. The 1949 study by Smith showed that the Nisei had a wider range of possibilities such as engineering and teaching, which positions were not as available to them before the war. Smith thought it significant that 41 percent of the students agreed with the statement, "my ancestry is responsible for my inability to secure the type of employment which my training warrants," and that of this group, 58 percent felt quite "keenly about it." This feeling of discrimination and also self-blame was something that vocational counselors had to take into serious consideration.

The third implication were the "two-fold" adjustment problems of the Nisei. The family life with Issei parents had been Japanese in language, custom, and in some cases, religion, but otherwise, the social orientation of the Nisei was "radically" different from that of their parents, Smith claimed. A good number of the Nisei agreed that they were distressed, because they had a difficult time communicating with their parents, and in their inability to speak Japanese adequately. In response to this type of need, Smith suggested understanding and guidance of the Nisei faced with this "marginal status." She even suggested adult education for the Issei parents to help narrow the gap between the two generations in cultural patterns.
Smith dealt with the plight of the Nisei students during the war. Some of the feelings of the Nisei parents twenty-five years later in 1974 on their status as Japanese Americans will be recorded in later chapters. Smith's study sheds some light on some of the feelings of the Nisei today.\(^1\)

Robert W. O'Brien, as Joan Smith did, used the files of the Student Relocation Council in Philadelphia, and in addition, the private files of a number of individuals as source materials for his book, *The College Nisei*.\(^2\)

O'Brien took the position that the Nisei were already well assimilated before the war. He mentioned in particular the high academic achievements of the Nisei, their keen interest in American sports, and a larger percentage of them being Christians than Buddhists as being indications of their high degree of assimilation. The assimilation process was even more hastened by the dispersion of some five thousand Nisei college students to various parts of the country. Before the war, most of the Nisei students were concentrated among the few colleges in the West Coast. O'Brien saw the advancement of interracial education in the ways in which the Nisei students adjusted and white Americans welcomed them to various colleges and communities.

The book, one of the few published writings on the college Nisei, contains much data concerning the distribution and movement of the Nisei students before, during, and after the war. Other than pro-

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\(^1\) See below, pp. 305-306.

viding some interesting statistics on the Nisei, the book made no pre-
tense of providing any new insight into the Nisei life.

There are also some journal articles on the Nisei junior col-
lege students while the war was still in progress. A symposium pub-
lished by the Junior College Journal of September, 1943 "Nisei Students
in Junior Colleges," reported that one hundred students were enrolled
that year in seventeen junior colleges from New York to Idaho, according
to the figures released by the Japanese American Student Relocation
Council in Philadelphia.¹

A summary of reports from administrative heads of the junior
colleges was presented in the symposium. In academic performance, the
Nisei students seemed to have done average or better than average. On
social adjustments and on the acceptance of their presence by others
during those wartime years, reports varied. The Nisei at the South
Branch, University of Idaho were thought to be cliquish. The Dean of
Women there said that no more than the twenty-eight students that they
already had then were welcome, due to possible adverse public reaction.
The President of Colorado Women's College also said that he would not
be willing to take any more Nisei students than the few that they
already had. At Scottsbluff Junior College, Nebraska, the Dean of
the College had high praise for the five Nisei enrolled there. He
pointed with pride to the one Nisei female student who wrote a theme
on "What We Americans Will Do To Those Japanese," and read it in the
English class. The Dean wrote, "Any other Nisei of this type would

¹"Nisei Students in Junior College, A Symposium," Junior Col-
lege Journal 14 (September, 1943): 5-11.
be welcome to come to school here."¹ Most reports from the colleges said that their college would take more Japanese. Two colleges indicated that they would not increase their "quota."

Another article, "Nisei Evacuees--Their Challenge to Education," by a concerned junior college professor at Los Angeles City College in California, was published in Junior College Journal of September, 1942. It was estimated that some eight thousand Nisei school children from the Los Angeles area alone were placed in concentration camps. From the college in which he was teaching, Los Angeles City College, no less than 268 Nisei students were taken away. Professor Richardson wrote former Los Angeles City College Nisei students dispersed then in various camps and asked them whether provisions had been made for the education of children and young people in their camps. He reported on the replies that he received in abundance from these young people.

At one camp, an "Administrative Notice No. 13," directed that no meetings can be held by the evacuees to discuss the subject of "international affairs," domestic politics, and the war. No languages other than English were permitted and a transcript of every discussion in the presence of one or more "Caucasian American citizens" was demanded.² Generally, the social climate and programs were not conducive to quality education, let alone minimal formal education. The camps lacked basic educational tools such as blackboards, textbooks, pencils, not to speak of qualified teachers.

¹Ibid., p. 9.

Professor O. D. Richardson, chairman of the Department of English, who was a sponsor of the Student Nisei Club at the college, wrote of the Nisei young people in 1942, the very year in which the one hundred thousand Japanese were stigmatized as disloyal or potentially so and removed from their homes. "My own feeling, in visiting my former students, is that a sort of apathy has settled over them. They eat, they sleep, they look well, but something like the 'prison stupor' seems to have affected their minds." Then, he made a plea in their behalf.

Their average age today is twenty-one years. The influence of steady, thoughtful, well-educated young people at this time can be of tremendous consequence. ... In bringing such young persons together, encouraging them, and keeping the sparks of hope and knowledge alive in them, I believe the junior college could be doing a work of tremendous importance.2

These two articles in the Junior College Journal are valuable in that they reflect an uncommon concern of a professional journal for a persecuted minority at a time when most journals were going the route of either being unaware of the problem or deliberately ignoring it.

Sociopsychological Findings

Much of the postwar literature on Japanese Americans dealing with personality, cultural traits and attitudes is preoccupied with the subject of how much or how little the Japanese in the United States have been assimilated into the core culture of the American population. Some of these which are more frequently referred to in various writings and articles are reviewed here. "Need patterns in Two Generations of

1 Ibid., p. 11.
2 Ibid., p. 12.
Japanese Americans in Hawaii\(^1\) used Edwards Personality Preference Schedule\(^2\) test results of some 320 students enrolled in undergraduate psychology courses at the University of Hawaii. The study was submitted and published in 1959. Of this number, 137 were Nisei and 183 were Sansei men and women. The two generations of Japanese Americans were compared with each other and with the American normative group.

Generally, it was found that the Nisei fitted more closely the Japanese stereotype of greater need for deference ("To get suggestions from others, to find out what others think . . . ") and abasement ("To feel guilty when one does something wrong . . . ") and lesser need for dominance ("To argue for one's point of view . . . ") and exhibition ("To say witty and clever things . . . "), when compared with the American normative sample. The Sansei were between the Nisei and the American norm in the measurement of many of these needs. The differences between the Sansei and the Nisei in the pattern of needs were not statistically significant in the t-test, but important differences appeared between the Japanese American and the normative sample, with the former having "a significantly higher need for deference, abasement, nurturance, order, and change, and a significantly lower need for dominance, achievement, exhibition, and heterosexuality."

In a somewhat similar study submitted and published in 1962, involving 113 Japanese college students in Japan labeled as Motherland

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Japanese, 63 Caucasian Americans and 76 Japanese American Sansei (third generation) in the University of Hawaii, a modified dominance-deference questionnaire devised by H. S. Murray was utilized. This particular research found that there were significantly higher dominance scores for the Caucasian Americans than for the Japanese Americans, but that there were no significant differences between the Caucasian Americans and the Motherland Japanese. Among the three groups, the Japanese American group was the lowest in dominance and highest in deference. The authors had hypothesized that the Japanese Americans would more closely mirror the dominant American culture in terms of the dominance-deference research tool, but surprisingly, the Motherland Japanese turned out to be closer to the Caucasian Americans in this respect. Reference was made to other investigations which pointed to the change in attitudes and behavior in the Japanese culture in Japan after the Second World War. According to this study, therefore, it could be said that the Japanese students in Japan—subject, of course, to American influence during and after the occupation—were more assimilated to American culture than the sampled Japanese American college students.

Another study, received for publication in 1964, exploring the attitude of "male dominance" and "equalitarian" characteristics in marriage, also reached the conclusion that third generation Japanese Americans in Hawaii were more "classically Japanese" than the Japanese students in Japan who show more "American" patterning. The research


2 Abe Arkoff, Gerald Meredith, and Shinburo Iwahara, "Male Dominant and Equalitarian Attitudes in Japanese, Japanese-American, and
employed an instrument devised by Jacobsen to measure dominance and equalitarian attitudes among three groups of college students: 145 Japanese in Japanese universities, 75 third generation Japanese Americans and 60 Caucasian Americans, the Americans being enrolled in the University of Hawaii in introductory psychology courses. Although the Japanese American males in other studies measured low in dominance scale, when it came to the marriage relationship, they scored highest in male-dominant attitude, higher than the other subgroups of males and females, both Caucasian and Japanese. Also, the Japanese American females were less equalitarian in attitude than the Japanese and the Caucasian females, although the Sansei females were more equalitarian than their counterpart males. The premise on which the study was based is that generally in attitudes on marriage relationships in the American culture there seems to be "a rapid movement away from traditional patterns of male dominance toward a greater equalitarianism."1 According to the findings, however, the Japanese Americans were less like the Caucasian Americans than the Japanese students.

The above two studies suggested that Japanese Americans were more traditionally "Japanese" than the Japanese in attitudes. The authors hypothesized without further research that the college students in modern Japan were different in their attitudes from the Japanese of the pre-World War II generations. The Issei, who came from the pre-World War II generation in Japan, handed down certain traditional

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1 Ibíd., p. 225.
Japanese attitudes to their Nisei offspring, who in turn influenced the formation of attitudes and values of their Sansei children. Thus it was assumed that, quite logically, there was some discrepancy between the modern young people in Japan and the Sansei young people in America on certain personality characteristics.

Studies of this kind usually presuppose that the Japanese Americans, deriving characteristics from both the Japanese and the American cultures, tend to become increasingly Americanized over time. Therefore, when the studies do not seem to bear this out according to expectations, the interpretation of the findings are rather unclear.

What is implied when it is said that Japanese students in Japan are more "Americanized" than Japanese American students in Hawaii? If both the Japanese in Japan and the Caucasian Americans are more "Americanized," then perhaps some other less nationally oriented terminology of personality characteristics should be employed. The researchers reached the interesting conclusion that the Japanese in Japan are "Americanized" by using the characteristics of the Caucasian middle class college educated Americans as norms.

There are numerous studies which link, what are believed to be, the characteristics of the Japanese in Japan to those of the Japanese Americans. In several of these studies, the concept of *amae* is used as one characteristic that is carried over from Japan in the lives of Japanese Americans. A much quoted work on the concept of *amae* is in that of Takeo Doi. Doi calls *amae* a basic Japanese characteristic--

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1 Ibid., p. 228.
the feeling of dependence of a small child toward his mother. It is
generalized to include feelings in the relationship of the husband and
the wife, the employer and the employee, and of other close ties.
(There is no English or European equivalent of the word which expresses
this kind of dependency needs.)

In "Amae and Acculturation Among Japanese American College
Students in Hawaii," Meredith attributed the more "inhibited" attitude
of the Sansei in his study as compared with the Caucasian Americans to
the amae trait of dependency which the former have had transmitted cul­
turally through their Japanese ancestors.¹ Similarly, Babcock noted the
overly passive attitudes and behavior of the Nisei mental patients in
Chicago.² She also attributed this to the fact that the Nisei have
retained elements of amae characteristics, which in the mental patients
have been frustrated and repressed, resulting in hostility, guilt, and
anxiety. Caudill in his 1952 research, involving some thirty Issei and
forty Nisei in Chicago as subjects, saw a close relationship between
the Japanese in Japan and the Japanese Americans on several points.³
He pointed out that one outstanding feature of the Japanese is the sub­
ordination of the individual will to the good of the group, family or
nation. The discipline of the growing Japanese child is carried out

¹Gerald M. Meredith, "Amae and Acculturation Among Japanese
College Students in Hawaii," The Journal of Social Psychology 70

²Charlotte G. Babcock, "Reflections on Dependency Phenomena as
ment and Characteristics, ed. Robert J. Smith and Richard K. Beardsley

³W. Caudill, "Japanese American Personality and Acculturation,"
mostly through ridicule and teasing rather than physical punishment, so that the Japanese child grows with a heavy sense of responsibility to the group to which he belongs, be it family or nation.

Thus, in Japanese or Japanese American society, the approval of the outside world becomes exceedingly important, and an individual comes to feel that the eyes of the world are continually upon him.\(^1\)

In contrast to the Japanese sense of moral obligations to the group is the American sense of moral obligation to one's "inner conscience." Thus the American moral hero is one who can stand up for his own convictions against the society, whereas the Japanese moral hero is one who can stay faithful to the group to which the highest loyalty is due.\(^2\)

Caudill made some interesting observations regarding the burden of moral obligation that the Nisei have absorbed from the Issei. The Issei brought with them a weighty sense of obligation to the group to which they belonged, so that wherever they went they represented their family and/or the Japanese nation and/or their community. This moral burden imposed strain upon them. In Japan there were institutional means to find periodic release from such a heavy sense of responsibility by means of relaxing in a daily bath, enjoying food, intoxication and sexual gratification, such as socially approved houses of prostitution (available to men). On the American scene, the Issei, although denied many of the outlets available in Japan, had access to tension-relieving

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\(^1\) Ibid., p. 31.

pleasures such as drinking family brewed rice wine, which they con-
sumed in great quantity (mostly by men) and soaking themselves in home
hot baths.

What is interesting is the comment that the author made about
the Nisei in regard to tension release. The Nisei accepted the Japanese
sense of obligation to the family and to the Japanese community in
America, but they had extremely limited means of sensual gratification
for momentary releases such as were available to their Issei parents or
to the Japanese in Japan. The strict, austere middle class morality of
the American culture of which the Nisei were a part frowned upon any
kind of tension releasing that might have been approved in Japan.
Furthermore, the author observes that the harshness of the Nisei child
rearing was not mitigated by the proverbially indulgent grandparents.
The childhood world of the Nisei was a world without grandparents. The
Issei, under pressure to see that their children grew up properly, had
not the benefit of child rearing shared by their parents, who were left
in Japan by and large when they left their home villages. The role of
the grandparents, whether it be in America or in Japan, seems to be
that of indulgent guardians, as opposed to that of the parents, who
have the primary responsibility of supporting and disciplining the
family.

This writer might add further that the Nisei by and large had
not had the benefit of a close relationship to their aunts and uncles,
since most Issei left Japan by themselves, without siblings. The home
and social environment of the Nisei therefore was rather a sombre one,
without the usual means of tension relieving avenues available to them.
Caudill attributes evidence of hypochondriasis in the Nisei projective records and in the social agency case materials to this kind of restrictive home and social environment. Furthermore, in modern highly industrialized and segmentalized society, by and large most middle class Caucasian families also live away from members of what may be considered their extended families such as grandparents, aunts and uncles. One of the consequences of all this is that a nuclear family is often intensely ingrown in which affections are not diffused, which tend to make members of the family more tensely dependent on each other. ¹

Caudill bases his interpretation of the Japanese American psychology and culture on his analysis of the Thematic Apperception Test records of the Japanese Americans and a sample of non-Japanese Americans (probably all Caucasians). He explains what he means when it is said that the Japanese Americans have been "Americanized."

It is one of the major tenets of this report that while the overt behavior of the Nisei may, in many situations, be indistinguishable from the behavior of the white middle class, this behavior arises in considerable part from a Japanese system of values and personality structure. ²

The connection between the traditional culture and the Japanese American is seen also in the study of George DeVos. ³ Samples were derived from the 1,022 Japanese American Chicago population from which Caudill also selected his sample. DeVos used Rorschach and the Mal-

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adjustment and Rigidity Scales developed by Seymour Fisher on some 50 Issei, 60 Nisei, and 30 Kibei and on 120 non-Japanese Americans. DeVos found high rigidity scores among the Issei in terms of such characteristics as inhibition in the use of intellectual potential, tendency toward stereotyping and dependence on authority. On the other hand, the author found the Nisei to be less rigid than the Issei and closer to the American Normal Rorschach variables (if somewhat less flexible) and attributes this to the influence of the greater over-all flexibility of the American culture in contrast to the social rigidity of the culture in Japan within which the Issei were brought up. DeVos explains the "facile acculturation" of the Nisei, namely, the strong "super ego formation" and the compatibility between the value systems of old Japan and of the "American middle class." The very Japanese characteristic of conformity to community standards with which the Nisei were endowed helped them to be like other Americans through peer group influence. The Japanese values were transmitted to the Nisei through the Issei parents. Somehow this helped to shape the Nisei in becoming middle class Americans. Certain Japanese personality traits compatible with the American middle class ones are identified as "tact, compliance, cleanliness, ability to delay gratification for long term achievement and a strong achievement drive. . . . "

A study which has a different perspective is Steven Abe's dis-

1 Ibid., p. 78.
2 Ibid., p. 84.
He used both the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (PPS) and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) on a total of 207 Nisei, with the mean age for the men being 33.34 and the mean age for the women being 31.80, with the number of men and women being about equally divided. The data were collected in 1957 among the residents in Utah, Idaho and California. The Nisei samples were compared with the PPS and the MMPI normative samples. The results were similar to the findings of other studies.

On the PPS, Nisei men and women, when compared to their respective normative sexual counterparts, were more withdrawn, possessed stronger feelings of inferiority and inadequacy and showed greater respect for authority. Nisei men and women were conversely less dominating and exhibitionistic. In addition, Nisei men were less prone to assert their individuality and to be unconventional than their normative counterpart.

Recognizing a basic personality structure characteristic of Nisei men and women, Abe was unwilling to attribute this solely to the influence of Japanese culture upon them. He considered more seriously than other researchers the effect of minority status upon the Japanese American personality: "Such significantly higher traits as Abasement and Deference may well be the result of experiences of discrimination and prejudice in this country and have less dependence on cultural influence per se [emphasis in original]." Abe surmised that personality characteristics of the Nisei were influenced by the fact that they were members of "visible subcultural groups in America" as well.

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1 Steven Kiyoshi Abe, "Nisei Personality Characteristics as Measured by the Edwards Personality Preference Schedule and Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Salt Lake City: University of Utah, 1958).

2 Ibid., p. 73.

3 Ibid., p. 69.
The book that is much quoted and frequently referred to on the subject of Japanese Americans is *Japanese Americans--The Evolution of a Subculture* by Harry H. L. Kitano. A Nisei social psychologist at the University of Southern California and a graduate of one of the concentration camp high schools, he has written other books and numerous articles on Japanese Americans. Considering the possibilities of adaptation, acculturation, integration and assimilation, Kitano asserts that the Japanese Americans have been successful in adaptation and acculturation in that they have adopted the "values, goals, and expected behaviors of the majority." Integration and assimilation, however, are only partial in that Japanese Americans do not have complete access with majority Americans to equal housing, employment, marriage (inter-racial) and education. Although Japanese Americans still retain sub-cultural characteristics which set them apart from the main segment of the American population, complete assimilation can be ultimately expected. Considering the many difficulties faced by this minority group, Kitano judges that it is remarkable how successful they have been in adapting themselves to the larger society.

In reference to Japanese American personality, Kitano agrees with the results of such personality studies as those carried out by Caudill, DeVos and Arkoff. Like them he stresses the strong influence of the Japanese culture on Japanese Americans. He does attribute certain behaviors of Japanese Americans such as group conformity to their minority status in the United States, but he does not develop this

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1 Ibid., p. 70.
2 Kitano, *Japanese Americans*, p. 3.
theme. One of his hypotheses is that Japanese Americans, including the Sansei, have retained much of Japanese culture about them, although the third generation is much more acculturated than the previous two generations. He asserts that it is a certain Japanese quality of the Japanese Americans that has enabled them to become acculturated and will eventually help them to assimilate into the mainstream of the American culture totally.

Kitano is ambivalent in his perception about the place of Japanese Americans in the American society. On the one hand, he claims that group loyalty enabled the Japanese Americans to adapt well externally to the American ways; on the other hand, he claims that the Japanese Americans should be more assertive as individuals in the interest of creativity and spontaneity. He concludes his book on an optimistic note:

When we look back on the past prejudice and discrimination faced by the Japanese, we find that even their most optimistic dreams have been surpassed. Such a story may give us some optimism for the future of race relations in the American society.¹

Changing Cultures, Changing Lives by Christie W. Kiefer is a study of personality change in life cycles related to two cultures, Japanese and American.² The personality is viewed as interacting continually with cultural and historical changes. The author, an anthropologist, made a study of three generations of Japanese Americans and shows how flexible and adaptive human beings are.

¹Ibid., p. 147.
The author and his assistants in this research interviewed seventeen Issei, fourteen Nisei and twenty Sansei. Each person was interviewed in three or four sessions on the average, for about nine hours in all. The original plan to study entire families was abandoned when it became impossible to secure the cooperation of different members of the same family, and no mention is made as to how many of the subjects were related to each other.

Using the interviews and the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) results, the author explains how the Japanese Americans coped to bridge and reconcile the differences between the two strong cultures. In the midst of rapid social change, cultural continuity and group identity were retained.

Keifer describes how each of the three generations, while maintaining its identity, adapted to changing environments in its own way. Although the Issei brought with them much that was Japanese in origin, the very fact that they left their homeland for the United States led them to depart "radically from the expectable Japanese" life styles.1 The Issei community, unlike the society in Japan noted for extended family relationships, depended upon other non-family persons for mutual peer support, rather than upon their relatives, most of whom were left behind in Japan. The Issei culture generally discouraged individual aggressiveness, stressed harmony, and paid careful attention to the wishes and acts of others.

Kiefer disagrees with the interpretation of Caudill's study of 1952 of the Rorschach Test results that the Issei displayed "vulnerable

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1Ibid., p. 189.
and inflexible ego."¹ Kiefer's opinion is that such an interpretation is unwarranted when the Issei were most likely "scared" by their then recent concentration camp experience. The Rorschach Test results, then, would not necessarily reflect the normal emotional state of affairs for the Issei.

If the life of the Issei was characterized by the preservation of harmony, the developmental task of the Nisei was that of living in the midst of "fragments of two cultures."² The Nisei had few if any models upon which they could have relied for guidance. One of the predominant characteristics in this situation for the Nisei was the Protestant work ethic, which runs counter to the Issei Japanese cultural stress on harmony and stability. Although the Issei have been called pioneers who paved the way in America in the face of such obstacles as prejudice and economic hardship, Kiefer claims that the Nisei have also been pioneers in their way. They are now exploring new "cultural horizons" as they approach old age. They have retained their solidarity as an ethnic community in the midst of change.

Although the Sansei are more attuned to the American culture than their Nisei parents, they are nevertheless troubled by their own indecision and self-doubt as minority Americans of Asian descent. The internal conflict of the Nisei has provided the environment within which the Sansei have been nourished. One noticeable difficulty of the Sansei, according to Kiefer, is in their being aware of and in their trying to deal with their aggressive feelings. Japanese culture stresses harmony and the American culture encourages assertiveness and

¹Ibid., p. 196. ²Ibid., p. 208.
the two cultural factors are not well integrated among many Sansei. 
Even in the third generation, therefore, the historical and cultural 
traces of both the Japanese and the American cultures continue to per-
sist. Above all, middle class ideals are deeply ingrained in the San-
sei, Kiefer maintains.

Kiefer's work on the three generations points to their dif-
ferences in values and life styles while stressing the continuity of 
Japanese American heritage. The author's hypothesis is that Japanese 
influences pervade Japanese American culture even to the third genera-
tion. Since subjects that he selected were closely related to the 
Japanese American community in San Francisco, that fact probably helped 
to confirm his working hypothesis. Had he randomly interviewed 
Japanese Americans, especially the Nisei and the Sansei who were not 
so immersed in their own ethnic community, his findings could have 
possibly reflected less influence of the Japanese culture as handed 
down through the Issei.

The foregoing studies, with the possible exception of Abe's 
dissertation, confirm the hypothesis that Japanese Americans continued 
to absorb certain Japanese traits and culture, that their Japanese 
characteristics and values blended well with the middle class American 
culture, and that this cultural compatibility had been chiefly instru-
mental in the success of acculturation or assimilation of Japanese 
Americans. Such conclusions are reached through the use of rather 
limited measuring instruments, i.e., Edwards Personality Preference 
Inventory and the Rorschach, which were not designed originally to 
account for variables affected by cultural values and heritages. The
conclusions of these studies derive from generalized hypotheses that the cultures of Japan and America were similar to each other in many respects; that the Japanese who came to America had not needed to make radical cultural adjustments to achieve success; that somehow all worked out well for both the Japanese Americans and the American society. ¹

Quite logically, the studies conclude that the Nisei are less like the Japanese and more like the "Americans" than the Issei and that the Sansei in turn are less like the Japanese and more like the "Americans" than the Nisei. So goes the acculturation process. The very nature of the studies, however, precludes any serious look at the social dynamics as related to racial prejudice, discrimination and awareness or lack of awareness about the Japanese Americans' minority status in the United States. The Chicago studies (Caudill and Babcock), for example, do not seem to take seriously the historical fact of discrimination and the recent experience of dislocation of evacuation and resettlement during World War II.²

There are a number of literary rather than scholarly reports written for popular consumption which stress the success and the assimilation of Japanese Americans. A well-known Japanese American


² Caudill, "Japanese-American Personality"; Babcock, "Reflections on Dependency Phenomena."
journalist, Associate Editor of the Denver Post, William Hosokawa, is the author of *Nisei: The Quiet American*, a book written in an easily readable journalistic style. Hosokawa claims that the Nisei, in spite of the anti-Japanese—and blindly un-American—discrimination that they faced, did well as Americans. Although the Nisei tended to minimize their Japanese heritage, they were in fact the products of two cultures, Japanese and American. Ironically, the Japanese heritage helped the Nisei to become better Americans, Hosokawa claims. Such Japanese cultural values as diligence in work and respect for education were factors that overcame the weaponry of racial discrimination fired against them.

Regretably, Hosokawa provides no bibliography or footnotes. The uncited sources of his writings vary from Ichihashi's scholarly works on the Japanese immigrants to numerous news items from the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) weekly, *Pacific Citizen*, in which he has a regular column. Although Japanese American history is reviewed interestingly, the bulk of the book is on JACL accomplishments during the war years, with emphasis on the deeds of the famed all-Nisei 442nd Infantry Unit. The title, *Quiet Americans*, as descriptive of the Nisei was objected to by a small contingent of younger Japanese Americans when the book was about to be published. They thought such a description to be an unwarranted stereotyping of the Japanese. But Hosokawa perceived strength in the quiet resolve of the Nisei to bear discrimination and


still remain loyal to America. The Japanese Americans thus achieved
the goal of assimilation and success in American life.

One of the few novels written by a Japanese American is *Hawaii, End of the Rainbow*, by Kazuo Miyamoto. He traces the lives of two
generations of Japanese Americans, beginning with the Issei in Japan
and Hawaii. The main character is one Dr. Minoru Murayama, a Nisei
physician, whose story, including medical school and relocation camp
experiences (since he was on the mainland during the war), is vividly
and interestingly presented. The author has an intimate knowledge of
the Japanese life in Hawaii. He explains in the preface that the char-
acters in the novel represent a composite of personalities, but that
the events described are true to history. Aware of the sufferings
incurred due to discrimination, the physician-author expresses his
purpose for this novel: "What happened is important history and as
such is recorded so that in the future—in the handling of her minori-
ties—America may not repeat the gross mistakes of the past."  

*American in Disguise* is an autobiographical account of one who
critically examines his own life as it related to both Japan and
America. The author, Daniel Iwao Okimoto, was interned as an infant
in the concentration camp with his young Issei parents. He went on to
receive his B.A. from Princeton in 1965, his M.A. from Harvard in 1967,
then attended the prestigious Tokyo University, returning after that to
the University of Michigan to complete his Ph.D. He graphically

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2 Ibid., p. 9.
describes, on the one hand, his bitter experiences of discrimination, continued against Japanese Americans in California in the post World War II years, and, on the other hand, his sense of alienation from the people in Japan when he lived among them for an extended period. He analyzes carefully his own emotions and perceptions as one who is both a product of America and Japan. He has some hard questions regarding some uncritical praise showered upon the Nisei in their "successful" rise in the American society:

Can we perceive praise without losing perspective? Can we adjust to middle-class living without necessarily accepting wholesale the built-in prejudices and undesirable characteristics? . . . Can we enjoy our freedom without forgetting the oppression other minorities suffer? . . . Our present responses to them . . . will determine whether the much publicized Japanese-American experience is really a success story.¹

The success-in-achieving-assimilation view, which most of the literature reviewed to this point represents, is criticized by more recent writers, many of whom may be classified as a younger breed commenting on Asian Americans. A brief but lucid article critical of the assimilationist view is Kagiwada's "Confessions of a Misguided Sociologist."² Criticizing his own dissertation written three years earlier ("Ethnic Identification and Social Economic Status: The Case of the Japanese Americans in Los Angeles")³ Kagiwada asserts that this type of writing presupposes that the movement of the ethnic cultures toward


what Gordon calls "Anglo conformity" is both inevitable and desirable.¹ Research done with such built-in bias reinforces the view that "the assimilation of ethnic individuals to the Euro-American core culture is the acceptable or preferred mode of adaptation to American society."² Thus sociologists who have done research with this assumption have become unwitting tools of the dominant view in the society favoring Anglo-conformity.

To help counteract this bias, Kagiwada calls for a "syncretistic form of pluralism."³ In syncretism, he contends, the culture of the immigrant forefathers is retained at the same time that some identity with the host culture is maintained. Thus, "the traditional culture of the immigrant's country of origin" continues, but it is greatly modified by the American experience such as in American Buddhism.⁴ Kagiwada suggests research that could elicit a more accurate assessment of such an experience which the assimilationist biased research cannot.

In even stronger language, Takagi labels the assimilationist orientation as basically racist.⁵ He refers to numerous works on Japanese Americans that make much of the similarities between the Japanese and the middle-class cultures and says that they represent "an evolutionary view of cultures."⁶ The underlying assumption of the

¹ Gordon, Assimilation in American Life.
² Kagiwada, "Confessions of a Misguided Sociologist," p. 162.
³ Ibid., p. 163. ⁴ Ibid.
evolutionary view is that the more those in non-Anglo cultures resemble the superior middle class Anglo American culture, the better the chances of their success.

Takagi asserts that the use of the words assimilation and acculturation was originally derived from Robert E. Park, who presupposed the desirability of the dominance of white culture. The concept assimilation was a "war cry" of the bigots at the height of anti-Oriental movement, he insists, and sociologists like Gordon gave this term a scientific respectability. Takagi says: "Scholarship (sic) Third World communities is presently undergoing a renaissance, and one of our tasks is to strip the 'science' from social science to reveal in its bald form the racist ideologies that are frequently contained with it."¹

An interesting study on images of Japan that Japanese Americans have is Nakashima's "The Visual Panacea: Japanese Americans in the City of Smog," based on interviews with some twenty-eight Issei, Nisei, and Sansei in the Los Angeles area. The study was done by a Sansei graduate student of political science from Harvard University. The interview schedule posed a series of sixteen projective questions such as "When you think of Japan, what comes to mind?" "What are those impressions of Japan based on?" "What does it mean to be a Japanese in American society?"² The interviewees were all members of and often leaders of Japanese American organizations and interest groups.

The Issei, who were well over seventy years old, viewed Japan as being progressive, since its contacts with the United States--

¹ Takagi, "The Myths of 'Assimilation in American Life,'" p. 156.
world power. The Nisei and the Sansei had less glorified images of the United States. They looked upon this country of their birth as needing improvement. To the Nisei, Japan is the land of their ancestors with images derived from what their Issei parents had transmitted to them, from contacts in Japan as tourists, association in the United States with Japanese businessmen, visiting officials, tourists and from other sources. The Nisei see themselves as crusaders who can contribute "Japanese culture, history, and ideas to America."1 From their Issei parents, the Nisei acquired an image of Japanese as being courteous, humble and having enryo (an accommodating attitude to others—their peers and superiors). The Nisei in their childhood and youth rebelled against anything Japanese, but now in adult years, they have come to recognize and appreciate their own dual heritage, Japanese and American.

To the Sansei, Japan is not only the "land of my ancestors, but also the land of my grandparents."2 They view modern industrialized Japan as substantially like the Western nations. They derive no vicarious pride in the technological progress of Japan as do the other generations. Their pictures of Japan are from the Samurai (medieval warriors) movies and from what they have heard their Issei grandparents relate.3 Whereas the Nisei expressed their desire to be crusaders in contributing Japanese culture to America, none of the Sansei felt this way. The main purpose of the Sansei in shaping an image of old Japan was for the "immediate goal of seeking a group identity" in which the

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1Ibid., p. 113.  
2Ibid., p. 114.  
3Ibid., p. 118.
the best elements of both Japan and America are incorporated. According to the Sansei, Americans in general see Japanese Americans as Japanese, making no distinction between them and the Japanese in Japan. Although the Sansei saw their own images of Japan as being closer to those of the Issei than to those of the Nisei, the Sansei, nevertheless, do not accept that part of old Japan in which commoners were looked down upon.

In his concluding section, Nakashima emphasizes that the Japanese Americans occupy a unique position in international relations in that neither the people in Japan nor other Americans can appreciate the experience of evacuation and internment that Japanese Americans went through during the wartime. Also, Japan and the United States in sharing a common people called Japanese Americans, ask a common question: "Who and how should we be concerned about these people, and why?" Both Japan and the United States have been major powers since the migration of the Issei. This fact has affected historically the fate of Japanese Americans.

Nakashima deals mostly with the images of Japanese Americans, but these images had been responses in part to international and internationally related domestic events. He provides hints as to some other ways in which international conflicts may be understood—differing from the traditionally common history books with more purely nationalistic perspectives.

An illuminating piece of writing on multi-cultural heritages is a study of the Hawaiian population and history by Lawrence H. Fuchs. ³

It is based on the research of various published and unpublished writings and documents. The author also interviewed some 155 persons who had made significant contributions to the political and economic life in Hawaii. The book concludes that Americanization or acculturation does not mean that each ethnic group loses its identity and merges into the dominant culture. Nor does intermarriage, which is becoming more common with all groups, mean the automatic loss of cultural heritages represented in the resulting unions.

Fuchs gives a detailed history of each of the nationality groups and their struggles and successes in the predominantly white dominated political and economic settings. He asserts that in spite of the trend of Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos and partly native Hawaiians to intermingle with each other and even to intermarry, there is a strong movement at the same time for each cultural group to retain and even reaffirm its own heritage among the third and fourth generation descendants. Among the Japanese and other nationality groups, there is even a trend to establish new associations and organizations of business, social and religious interests. According to the author, "... acculturation to American ways did not mean the loss of group identity."¹

There is some more recent literature that concentrates on the Sansei as subjects. There are also writings representing more assertive Asian American points of view emerging from some of the younger breed of writers and scholars that include some Sansei.

A study of a limited number of nine Sansei in Chicago, "Sansei: ¹Ibid., p. 12.
An Ethnography of Experience," an unpublished dissertation by Mark Gehrie was based on ten interviews for each of the subjects. The author studied the Japanese Americans in the context of what he calls "the relationship between patterns of social behavior, and the dynamics of individual development."¹

Gehrie claims to have a representative sample of Sansei, since they include college graduates, college drop outs, "overt leftists, and Nixonites, single, married males and females." However, the number of nine individuals can hardly be called a representative sample. The variety of views and opinions quoted profusely in this work does contain a wide range of outlook on self and society, but they all seem to have rather well articulated feelings about their own ethnic situation. A representative sample will more likely contain a good proportion of those less articulate about their place in society as an ethnic minority. The fact that each subject engaged in an intensive kind of conversation for at least ten hours (one hour per each interview) is, itself, indicative of the kind of Sansei who were selected--rather articulate, self-aware individuals.

Gehrie does not put too much stock on the Japanese heritage of the Sansei. He focuses on interpretations that concern the Sansei as a visible minority. In his attempt to illustrate certain anthropological theories (as often Ph.D. dissertation writers understandably feel compelled to do), the author perhaps overplays some aspects of social and intra-personal dynamics, but he makes some interesting observations. He writes that the Sansei lack "self-definition" and a feeling of

autonomy, and they are overly concerned about how others view them. Gehrie attributes this lack of self-definition to the inability of Nisei-Sansei families to adequately cope with the identity question. Interpreting the interview materials of the Sansei, he claims that the Nisei parents had tended to deny their cultural heritage and tried to lose themselves in the mainstream of white society. Such behavior had deprived the Sansei of their share of cultural inheritance as Japanese Americans, he claims.

Gehrie says of the Sansei, "They are not satisfied with having to deny that heritage in order to become 'white,' or to have a 'white' image." Concerning the Sansei's encounter with racial prejudice, the subjects hardly mentioned it in the beginning of the interviews. However, eventually, all the interviewees "showed strong feelings about prejudice in their daily lives."¹

After quoting interviewees saying that they were upset by being called names (Japs, Chinamen, etc.), Gehrie writes, "there already exists a relatively low reserve of self esteem which includes doubts about the quality of self." This is why they are so upset, Gehrie says. When the World War II concentration camp experience was talked about, in spite of the fact that only their parents and not they themselves were confined in them, Gehrie was surprised by their "emotional reactions to the event [of evacuation] after the fact."²

Gehrie's reaction to the issue of prejudice raised by the Sansei is rather mild and sanguine. He refers to the strong feelings of the Sansei against prejudice as "inappropriate" or even "paranoic."

¹Ibid., p. 170. ²Ibid., p. 172.
Although Gehrie apparently intends to concentrate on the concerns of the minority, his work lacks seriousness regarding the pervasive nature of racism and its effect on the minorities. Furthermore, interpreting the criticism of the Sansei of their Nisei parents, Gehrie, himself of the age of the interviewees, seems to go overboard in criticizing the lack of self-identity and autonomy of the Nisei. This criticism, however, is not based on direct interviews with the Nisei. His study is based only on interviews with the Sansei.

A more direct and forthright recognition of pervasive racism in America than is prevalent in many other volumes is *Roots: An Asian American Reader*. The title was chosen to indicate that the book is an attempt to get at the "roots" of issues on Asian Americans in the United States. It is an anthology of articles and interviews from various sources, many derived from the younger generations of Asians in America reflecting what might be referred to as the "Asian American" perspective, rather than the "traditional" or the "marginal" Asian perspective.

Divided into three parts, the first part contains articles with the theme on racial identity, the second on the history, from the beginning of emigration of Asians to America to their present situation, and the third part has a collection of articles on various groups of Asians and their experiences. As is often true of this kind of work on

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Asians, the Chinese and the Japanese dominate the subject matters in the writings, but the concerns expressed are representative of those of other Asian Americans.

The perspective reflected in the editorial framework of Roots is that the Japanese in America are definitely part and parcel of the whole minority picture. The so-called virtues of Japanese Americans, it is claimed, are sometimes set in the context of American racism so that they may no longer be considered virtues. In criticizing Hosokawa's Nisei, for example, the reviewer of that book claims that grace-ful accommodation to white society is no virtue. The reviewer sees no future in gratefully assimilating into the society without raising many questions regarding racism, militarism, and social hypocrisy.

The book covers people and cultures of various Asian nationali-ties and it is being used in Asian American study projects and groups as one of the few books available on Asian Americans with a more radical perspective than is common in other books.

In addition to Roots, another work useful as a possible text-book for Asian American studies is Asian-Americans: Psychological Perspectives.¹ The editor states, "We have a singular purpose in this book: the integration of research findings with impressionistic material to provide a better understanding of Asian Americans."² The book contains many research materials of behavioral and social scientists, differing in this respect from Roots, which does not contain articles that are heavily statistical, analytical or technical. The selection of topics is diverse. The articles range from those assuming

¹Ibid.
²Ibid., p. xiii.
a more assimilationist point of view to those with a more radical approach, urging institutional recognition of cultural diversity.

Asian-Americans: Psychological Perspectives is one of very few works available that contains in one volume various kinds of research on Asian Americans. Again, as with similar books, most of the articles are on the Japanese and the Chinese, with the authors also being mostly Japanese Americans or Chinese Americans when not Caucasians.

Designating the Asian American as the "neglected minority," Derald Wing Sue edited a special issue on Asian Americans in the Personnel and Guidance Journal.\(^1\) This well edited work presents interpretive articles on services to Asian Americans in educational settings. The editors explain that Asians in America have often been labeled the successful minority, and as a result their special needs have been overlooked. The effect of white racism on "educational-vocational deficiencies, counseling inadequacies, culture conflicts, unemployment, poverty, and mental illness" has not received enough attention.\(^2\)

In two articles, "Self Expression and the Asian-American Experience"\(^3\) and "Cultural Factors in Group Counseling and Interactions,"\(^4\) the authors explain the restrained attitudes and behaviors of the Asian American youngsters as reflections of the virtue of humility and modesty often stressed in their cultures. Counseling services need to

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\(^2\) Ibid., p. 387.

\(^3\) Ibid., pp. 390-96.

\(^4\) Ibid., pp. 407-12.
take account of such factors. The Asian American studies should be instrumental in changing educational institutions from their past practices of stereotyping Asians and transmitting biased history to forcefully presenting Asian American points of view in their regular curricula. In reference to counselors, one of the articles demand, "... counselors need to become agents for social change rather than attempt to adjust students to a white middle class way of life."¹ Such edited materials as presented in this issue provide a model for what may be done in other similar journals to promote awareness of the Asian's place in educational settings.

Asian American Bibliographies

There are few comprehensive bibliographies on Asian Americans produced by the Department of Applied Behavioral Sciences, University of California at Davis, and more are being published. Asians in America: A Bibliography of Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations compiled by William Wong Lum, is a preliminary bibliography of some 750 theses and dissertations on the Asian American experience.² This is part of the Asian American Research Project which is generating more resource materials. Lum writes:

Topics involving societal reaction to Asian minorities such as prejudice, discrimination, and the evacuation of the Japanese were found to be more often than not researched more by non-Asians. On the other hand, investigations into the social organization of specific Asian ethnic groups seem to have received the attention of researchers who can be identified as

¹Ibid., p. 405.
being of Asian descent. Chinese and Japanese were the subjects of nearly 75 per cent of the titles examined.¹

Most of the graduate research studies listed were done at the University of Chicago, the University of Southern California, and Columbia University, with a scattering of other universities having a share of writings on Asian Americans.

Another bibliography is Asians in America: A Selected Annotated Bibliography, compiled by Isao Fujimoto, Michiyo Yamaguchi Swift and Rosalie Zucker.² Some eight hundred annotated items were selected from more than two thousand bibliographic items available in English. Materials on the following ethnic groups are included: Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, East Indian, Korean, and Thai.


¹Ibid., p. iii.


Conclusion

The writings of the newer breed of Asian Americans probably indicate the trend of the type of literature that may be expected in the future. It is likely that more and more Japanese Americans will be considered as of only one of the many Asian ethnic strands in the United States. The uniqueness of the Asian American experience in its entirety (rather than one or two of its ethnic components) is likely to be presented as a factor that is worth more emphasis in the future. Even in this context, however, the World War II experience of evacuation of Japanese Americans still remains as one of the more unique experiences in recent history. In the historical analysis of Japanese Americans in Chapter III, the evacuation event will be presented in some detail.
CHAPTER III

JAPANESE AMERICAN HISTORY

Japanese Immigration to the United States

Modern Japan had its beginning with the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and the long reign of Emperor Meiji. Feudalism of the Tokugawa era came to an end, and modern Japan began to emerge with the reorganization of the armed forces, reformulation of political system and the revitalization of agriculture and industry. Also of significance was the establishment of compulsory educational system beginning in 1872. Already by 1886 attendance nationally in grade school, first through six years, was 46 percent and by 1906 it was 95 percent.¹ The phenomenal growth in the literacy rate in Japan in a short period of time has been attributed to the farsightedness of the Meiji government and the members of the ruling class of Japan with their respect for learning derived from Confusian training. This historical development was to influence the attitude of the Issei who brought to the United States from late nineteenth century a high regard for education.

Japan was closed to the rest of the world, for all practical purposes, until late in the history of nations. From 1638 to 1854, the Japanese government forbade emigration under penalty of death. The

signing of a treaty of peace between the United States and Japan on March 31, 1854, virtually under the muzzle of American guns commanded by Commodore Matthew Calbraith Perry, opened the door of Japan to other countries, particularly the Western world. It was not until 1885, however, that laborers were allowed to emigrate. Thus began in earnest the migration of Japanese to the United States, first to Hawaii and then to the mainland. In the early stages, the Japanese government was cautious about allowing too many Japanese laborers to emigrate, apparently out of concern for the welfare of these overseas countrymen. The concerns of the Japanese government were in many ways justified.

Mistreatment, exploitation and hardship were common occurrences for these young transocean immigrants, according to the reports that found their way back to Japan. In spite of this harsh experience, however, the demands for more cheap labor won out, and many Japanese became residents of Hawaii and later of the mainland, mostly in California. The "sugar interests" hired Japanese agents to recruit and contract for more workers in the sugar fields. The unpleasantness of the experience of the Japanese immigrants in Hawaii seems to be indicated in the fact that 56.6 percent of those who arrived in earlier years returned to Japan. During 1886-1924, some 199,564 Japanese reached Hawaii but only 87,772 remained by 1924.¹

During the first decade of the twentieth century about 37,000 Japanese immigrants from Hawaii entered the continental United States. As in Hawaii, many Japanese immigrants in the mainland also did not stay. Although 104,000 Japanese came to "test" the mainland, only

¹Ichihashi, Japanese in the United States, pp. 28-29.
47,841 (45 percent) of them remained. During the next decade, 1910-1919, 80 percent of Japanese immigrants did not stay. Nevertheless, there was a gradual increase in Japanese population due to the increase in American-born Japanese children. The census figures are reproduced in Table 1.

**TABLE 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>2,039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>24,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>72,157 (4,502 Nisei)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>111,010 (29,672 Nisei)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>138,834 (70,000 Nisei)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>127,000 (80,000 Nisei)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Many of the Japanese from 1896 to 1908 were in laboring classes: laborers, farmers, and fishermen, 39 percent; merchants, 22 percent; and students, 21 percent. In the period, 1908-1928, the laboring classes constituted 35.4 percent (56,980); women and children, 35.2 percent (56,557); and all others, such as students and tourists, 29.4 percent (44,267). The sex ratio of these long-distance immigrants was typically skewed in that Japanese immigrants were overwhelmingly male.
The 1910 census showed 12.6 percent of the total population to be female; the 1920 census, 34.5 percent female. The 1930 census revealed that of 138,834 Japanese, 81,775 were males and 57,059 were females. It was estimated that 70,000 of the total were the American-born Nisei in 1930, a result of the establishment of families. In spite of the rapid increase in female population, 59 percent were males in 1930, still an abnormal proportion in sex distribution; a majority of the population belonged to the "marriageable age group." Restrictive legal measures were effective in maintaining this imbalance of the sexes. Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-1908 stringently limited laborers from admission to the United States. In 1921, the Japanese government stopped female emigration due to the American hostility to it. The Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 effectively cut off any hope for rectifying the sexual imbalance thus created. Of the Japanese males in the United States, 43 percent were not married. Intermarriage between the Japanese and the Caucasians was made illegal; consequently, with little chance of marriage, according to Ichihashi, many of the single males have become "forlorn and hopeless in their outlook."

With typical restraint, the Japanese scholar wrote:

Admitting the justice of the restriction on female immigration in 1921 and of the exclusion law of 1924, it is still impossible not to reflect upon the unnatural and unjust position into which so many young and middle-aged Japanese males have been cast. No matter who is to be blamed for this state of affairs, society cannot escape responsibility for it.

A report of the Immigration Commission estimated that 75 percent of the immigrants were under twenty-five years of age. By and large

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1 Ibid., p. 92.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. 73.
these immigrants were neither from the highest nor from the lowest
escalons of their society. Many were drawn from the "middle farming
class, neither very rich nor very poor; these were the adventurous and
the ambitious"\(^1\) and from a country that had one of the highest literacy
rates in the world.

The Japanese immigrants did not come to the United States to
avoid religious or political persecution, but many young men did come
to avoid military conscription, which was imposed upon all men twenty
years of age.\(^2\) This may partly explain the high proportion of male
immigrants (22.6 percent) who were under twenty years of age. The
other predominant reason for emigration from their homeland was
economic. The vissicitudes of social and economic conditions of Japan
did place undue burdens upon many lower middle class groups, such as
farmers. Therefore, unlike the poorest groups of people who had
neither the menas nor the ambition to escape from their deprivation,
these agrarian immigrants came to the United States mainly to better
themselves economically.\(^3\)

**Origins of Racial Discrimination**

**against Orientals**

Discrimination is one of the predominant themes that run through
the history of Asian Americans, particularly in California where the
Asians have been most numerous on the mainland. The legacy of prejudice
originated with the Chinese. The Gold Rush attracted many men to
California. In order that these male "Forty-niners" may be fed and

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 82. \(^2\) Ibid., p. 87. \(^3\) Ibid., p. 89.
clothed while they went about digging for gold, the Chinese males were imported to do the "women's" work, such as cooking and laundering. The origin of Chinese restaurants and laundries in the United States date back to that era.

In the 1860s the second wave of Chinese came to provide the labor force for the building of the Central Pacific Railroad. As "heathen Chinee" and "coolie labor" they were severely discriminated against, culminating in the Chinese Exclusion Law of 1882, by which the Chinese laborers were successfully shut off from entering the United States. (That ten-year Exclusion Act was renewed in 1892 and made "permanent" in 1902.) Japanese laborers filled the vacuum of excluded Chinese workers. Unwittingly, the Japanese became the new victims of hostility of the previous white "immigrants" to California. These new white settlers in California were made up of those who left the "western frontier" states and even the Deep South. They brought with them more than dreams of riches and new opportunity: their distrust of all things foreign, including dark-skinned people, came with them, ingrained in their customs and attitudes. These intensely rural people constituted the bulk of the California population. Orientals became the convenient target for ridicule, vindictiveness or paternalism, whichever suited the fancy of those who considered themselves now the "natives" of California. The state of California developed a highly emotional brand of jingoism masquerading as patriotism.

In 1905 Japan emerged as a great military power, having defeated Russia in the Russo-Japanese war. This historic event making Japan a competitor of the United States in the mutual struggle for international
dominance undoubtedly contributed toward a feeling of uneasiness on the part of American Caucasians. A "Yellow Peril" scare—instigated by various anti-Japanese groups, particularly the Hearst press—seemed real and threatening to many insecure Californians. In 1906, the year following Japan's military victory, San Franciscoans suffered a devastating earthquake. There was also a severe economic depression. West Coast Chinese and Japanese were eligible targets for scapegoating and increased violence.

When international relations between Japan and the United States were strained to a near-breaking point because of the Californians' violence against Japanese residents, someone had appropriately said that perhaps it would be cheaper for the United States to go to war with the State of California than with Japan! This remark seems not too far from the target. California eventually succeeded in embroiling the whole nation in its anti-Oriental posture. What began as series of legislative acts directed against Japanese residents of California spread like an infection to other states as well, until the whole federal system was inflamed with it. A classical example is the segregation incident involving ninety-three Japanese children attending twenty-three public elementary schools in San Francisco in 1906.¹

The San Francisco Board of Education on October 11, 1906, passed a resolution directing principals to send "all Chinese, Japanese and Korean children to the Oriental school, situated on the south side of Clay Street, between Powell and Mason Streets, on and after Monday, October 15, 1906."² The Labor Party, which by its own admission had

¹Ichihashi, Japanese in the United States, pp. 236-42.
²Ibid., p. 236.
taken a lead in the anti-Japanese movement since 1888, dominated the city government and the school board. The local Japanese, failing to have the school board rescind its action, appealed across the Pacific to the Japanese government, which in turn protested to the federal government the violation of the treaty of 1894 between the United States and Japan. By this treaty, the rights and protections granted to American citizens were accorded Japanese aliens by the "most favored nation clause." President Theodore Roosevelt then directed Secretary of Labor and Commerce, Victor C. Metcalf, to work out an agreement with the San Francisco Board of Education to resolve the problem, no longer "just a local matter." As a result of Metcalf's intervention on March 13, 1907, the San Francisco Board of Education rescinded the "segregation" resolution of October 11, 1906. The Japanese children were again allowed to attend the public schools in their districts. However, this policy reversal won by the federal executive branch of the government from a municipal school board was exacted at a great price. The federal authorities had apparently assured the San Francisco authorities that the Japanese immigration would be stopped, because soon after the San Francisco school incident the famous/infamous "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907-1908 was signed.¹

It would be appropriate here to offer a graphic impression of that experience by one person directly affected by the San Francisco segregation resolution. One of the interviewees of this study is a Nisei professional now semi-retired. Of the ninety-three Japanese attending the public schools of San Francisco in 1906, sixty-

¹Ibid., pp. 243-45.
eight were born in Japan and twenty-five in the United States. He was one of the twenty-five Nisei pupils in grade schools at that time. He recalled vividly how the school board resolution affected him, although as a child he was totally unaware that he was a participant in an international incident. He spoke vividly and lengthily of his behavior and feelings almost seventy years before:

I had a taste of that (politics affecting my life) ... in 1906 when they kicked us out of schools—that was the (year of) earthquake and fire of San Francisco ... I was the only Japanese there in school. Called in the principal's office ... I was an obedient kid. I didn't fuss around, you know. You know how the Japanese parents are, as far as school is concerned. Respect your teachers. We did! Around Christmas, my parents used to say, give just a Japanese trinket or something like that; I said no, I don't want to bring it to the teacher. You know, the other kids will call me teacher's pet. I didn't want to, but still, it was the Oriental thing and my parents used to make me bring it to the principal. So the teachers all knew me (even when they didn't have me in the class).

When the principal called for me, Jesus, I was scared as a dickens. What did I do now that I get called into the principal's office? And here she comes and says, "Tom, ah, I've got some bad news for you." Then I knew that I didn't do anything wrong. Because, usually when you go to the principal's office, you have some infraction in the class, and they send you to the principal's office and you get a strapping, strapping on your hand. And, oh, it wasn't that. She had a paper with her and she said, "This is a transfer." I said, "Transfer to where?" She said, "Well, we want you to go to Oriental school." I said, "The heck I will." I didn't know about the new law even though I had an inkling. We had heard our parents talking about it, but it didn't impress me very much. Well, then tears were running down from the principal's eyes. And she could hardly talk to me and gave me the transfer and she said, "Some day, Tom, you'll be able to come back. When you come back, be sure to come back to this school again."

Well, I was so angry then that this happened, you know; that's one of the biggest shocks that I got because all this time I always felt that I was an American, you know, and just like the rest of the kids. Why should I be picked out here and kicked out? So, no tears came out of me then. But as soon as I got outside, it kind of hit me just like that; I sobbed, "doggone it"; I cussed my head out and I tossed my transfer out and threw it away. "Nothing doing; I'm not going to the Chinese school." Well, you know the Oriental School is way out in Chinatown. We were living
way up in the Mission District. Those days, we didn't have any automobiles; cable car or street cars was the means of transpor­tation, you know. It will take me an hour to get down there, maybe more, to Chinatown.

Interviewer: "What was the final outcome?"

Well, the final outcome was that our parents, as soon as they got a whiff of that—they got together. And they decided they were not going to send us to the Chinese school. You know that there has always been a friction between the Chinese and the Japanese (laughing); there was that sort of a feeling. So they decided on paid tutors (in the Japanese school building classrooms) . . . Two retired teachers were hired, so that we could keep up. Of course, we didn't keep up very much. I think it was about six months that we didn't go to school (regular public school). We stayed there.

Then in the meantime, we moved, so we couldn't go back to the old school, and I went to the school in the district where we moved. So when I went to the new school, and I went to the principal's office and told her that the reason why I'm coming here is that I don't have the transcript; I (asked her to) call up the school where I was; (they will) tell you that I was there . . . Well, the first thing that the principal did—I hated the looks of her from the very beginning when I went in there—she took up the phone and she called the Board of Education.

She said, "I've got a Jap here, can I let him in?" Oh, did that make me mad! I couldn't take that. Well, I just kept my mouth shut. I said to myself, "someday I'm going to get you." But I didn't stay in that school very long. That's the one event that kind of hurt—especially a principal calling you a "Jap." We always thought that the principals and so forth were people a little beyond us. And I lost all respect for her then. The teachers were very nice. All my younger brothers went there. I was just about ready to go to high school (112).

Historically, the San Francisco School Board incident led to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-1908. This entente put the burden of responsibility upon the Japanese government to control the flow of emigrants to the United States. Only three classes of laborers were allowed passports: "relative" of the resident immigrants, "former residents" and "settled agriculturalist."¹ The flow of labor was effectively cut off.

¹Ibid., p. 246.
The Japanese government probably had thought that this agreement would tone down the anti-Japanese feeling on the West Coast; however, the anti-Japanese forces only picked up momentum in due time. In 1913 by an overwhelming majority vote the California state legislature passed an alien land law by which it became illegal for the Japanese to buy or to own land. The Japanese government took this as "indicative of race prejudice."\(^1\) The author of this state bill, the Attorney General of California, U. S. Webb, openly acknowledged this: "The simple and single question is, is the race desirable ... (The law) seeks to limit their presence by curtailing their privileges which they may enjoy here; for they will not come in large numbers and long abide with us if they may not acquire land. . . ."\(^2\)

In addition to California, a dozen states passed similar laws, including Oregon and Washington, where most of the Japanese aliens resided. The law forbade legal ownership of land to all ineligible for citizenship. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld such laws. In 1922 the Supreme Court also held that the U.S. citizenship could be denied persons of certain races. Thereby the Court justified the denial of naturalization to all Orientals.

The climax of discriminatory acts came with the passage of the Exclusion Law against Japanese immigrants in 1924 by the U.S. Congress. In support of the bill, the advocates of the bill from California played a prominent part. What Senator V. S. McClatchy said was typical of the openly racist nature of the arguments being used: "Of all the

\(^1\) Konvitz, The Alien and the Asiatic, p. 159.

\(^2\) Ibid.
races ineligible to citizenship, the Japanese are the least assimilable and the most dangerous to this country. . . . "1 When the bill was under consideration the ambassador of Japan, Hanihara, wrote a note of protest directed to the U. S. government. It said, in part, "I realize . . . the grave consequences [italics added] which the enactment of the measure (the anti-Japanese bill) . . . would inevitably bring upon the otherwise happy and eventually advantageous relations between our two countries."2 This note with the "grave consequences" phrase attracted great attention and was taken as a letter of threat and an insult to the United States. It was used further as an excuse to pass the Japanese Exclusion Law, which was overwhelmingly approved by the Congress.

Ambassador Hanihara's "grave consequences" phrasing, in the light of the subsequent events proved not too far off the mark in terms of the impact that the Oriental Exclusion Law had upon the relations between Japan and the United States. The famed historian, Arnold Toynbee, who happened to be in Japan at the time of the passage of the Exclusion Act, said, "The news of the enactment aroused the nation for several weeks to a dangerous pitch of excitement . . . [and] two persons committed suicide as a protest against the passage of the Act."3 Throughout Japan, the passage of the law received wide coverage and resulted in much anger and distress. The Osaka Asahi, one of the two leading national press with over a million circulation, said that the

1 Ichihashi, Japanese in the United States, p. 303.
2 Ibid., p. 306.
3 ten Broeck, Prejudice, War and the Constitution, p. 28.
act was a "deliberate insult." The equally influential Osaka Mainichi declared that "the national honor of Japan had been hurt."¹

The Japanese government formally protested that the discrimination based on race violated justice and fair play in international relations; the assertion that "the Japanese are not assimilable" has no basis in fact; and that the Gentleman's Agreement of 1908 had been accepted on the assumption that no discriminatory legislation would be enacted against Japanese immigrants. The American reply was, in part, that the Exclusion Law was a doing of the Congress, which had the prerogative to do so, and that the executive branch could do nothing about it.² The Japanese politicians hostile to the West and the Japanese military were provided with further fuel to step up their chauvinistic stance; the American politicians and the military hostile to the Japanese were, in their turn, provided with ammunition to support their claims that Caucasian supremacy must be maintained at all cost. Many of the writings on the Japanese and American relations indicate that the series of discriminatory laws directed against the Japanese residents on the West Coast brought about untold damage, finally resulting in the complete rupture of international relations with the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941.³

Here it is worth commenting that the treatment of ethnic groups within one nation does carry with it international implications. Par-

¹Ichihashi, Japanese in the United States, p. 315.
²Ibid., p. 314.
³See, ibid; ten Broeck, Prejudice, War and the Constitution; and Konvitz, The Alien and the Asiatic.
particularly is this true in the United States, which probably embraces more diverse ethnic groups as Americans than any other nation. The militarists in Japan were provided with excuses to increase their defense budget to "defend" their homeland from possible attacks from the hostile "racist" United States.

As the San Francisco school board decision to segregate Japanese pupils deeply affected the Nisei interviewee (pp. 99-100), so the discriminatory 1913 law affected adversely the family relationship between the alien Issei and the U.S. citizen, Nisei. Ichihashi in the early 1930s described the problem thus:

As Japanese children grow older they become more conscious of the difference in legal status between themselves and their parents; parents not only do not enjoy rights and privileges that children do, but they suffer economically because of the discriminatory land laws. Such a condition could not remain without affecting the social status of Japanese aliens in the eye of their own children who are American citizens. Parents are losing control over their children, and this tendency seems to become more pronounced in towns and cities; of course, it is not claimed that this tendency is confined to the Japanese in America. In fact, it is a universal phenomenon, but is more serious with the Japanese, who are legally handicapped; in their case, domestic relations between parents and children have been rendered more conspicuously abnormal by the effective measures of discrimination.1

The Decision for Evacuation

Every concession to anti-Japanese forces only seemed to encourage them to further discriminatory practices. First, the Orientals were excluded from being naturalized as U.S. citizens. Next, laws were passed to prohibit those "ineligible for citizenship" from immigration and from the ownership of land. With the worsening

1Ichihashi, Japanese in the United States, pp. 281-82.
of international relations between the United States and Japan and the deterioration of social and political climate in the West Coast, life became more oppressive for the Japanese. Later, with the outbreak of World War II, the Japanese were removed from their West Coast homes to concentration camps. This did not end the clamor of anti-Japanese movement, however. The imprisonment of Japanese Americans in camps only confirmed the stereotype of many jingoist that they were "inscrutable, treacherous, and disloyal."\(^1\) Toward the end of the War and even after, there were influential voices that vigorously opposed the return of the Japanese to the West Coast and advocated their expulsion from the country altogether.\(^2\) Lieutenant General DeWitt continued to oppose the return of the Japanese to the West Coast, one year after he had banished them from there. In the Fresno Bee of April 14, 1943, DeWitt is quoted as saying, "It makes no difference whether the Jap is a citizen or not. He's still a Jap and can't change."\(^3\) If Japanese Americans could have been successfully deported from the United States, according to the sequence of events the next logical target could possibly have been Chinese Americans. The course of history did not progress exactly that way, but it could have. The Orientals were brought to the brink of total expulsion from the shores to which their original immigrants came from across the Pacific.


\(^2\) Ibid., p. 178.

Although racial discrimination has been a common imposition on all Orientals, the evacuation experience of the West Coast Japanese was not part of other Asians. However, this particular experience of Japanese Americans points dramatically to the humiliation and irreparable losses suffered by countless Asians since their arrival across the Pacific. In the case of the Japanese American, the effect of evacuation has been so deeply traumatic that feelings remain to this day with most of the Nisei, who suffered evacuation with their Issei parents, and with many of the Sansei, a majority of whom were not yet born in 1942 when it happened.

The evacuation experience brings into sharp focus the mass behavior of majority-group Americans during a time of social crisis, and the varied responses of the persecuted minority under great stress. The paranoid fears and acts of most Americans at that time reveal significantly some of the basic weaknesses of the American society and its people. Furthermore, the social flaws made so obvious with evacuation seem to perpetuate themselves through the hostile attitudes of the majority toward minorities in general—whether they be racial minorities like the blacks or Asians, or other kinds of minorities like women or social-political dissenters. Asians in the United States, by and large, continue to be ignored in various aspects of the national life. Notable is the educational institution entrusted with cultural transmission. School textbooks perpetuate distorted images of Asians, when they are occasionally mentioned. In this context, it is not

surprising that ignorance prevails as to what happened to Japanese Americans during wartime. This chapter dwells on the history of the evacuation, because of its significance to the life of both the Nisei and the Sansei in this study.

The outbreak of the war found Lieutenant General John Lesene DeWitt charged with the defense of the Western Defense Command (WDC), which covered the entire Pacific Coast. Among the millions whom the commanding general was charged with protecting, were some 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry. Approximately, 40,000 of them were Issei, averaging about fifty-five years of age, and most of the others, some 70,000, were their offspring, the Nisei, averaging about twenty years in age. As it turned out, shortly after the outbreak of war, these 110,000 persons were treated as the enemy instead of those entitled to the full protection of the law and the Constitution. The war put all these people under the aegis of the Commanding General DeWitt, whose attitude toward the Japanese can be succinctly captured by specific remarks in both his speeches and conversations: "A Jap's a Jap. They [sic] are a dangerous element. . . . There is no way to determine their loyalty. . . . It makes no difference whether he is an American citizen. . . . You can't change him by giving him a piece of paper. . . . "¹

Or consider this contrast of European people with the Japanese:
"You needn't worry about the Italians at all except in certain cases. Also, the same for the Germans. . . . But we must worry about the Japa-

¹Testimony before a subcommittee of the House Naval Affairs Committee on April 13, 1943, quoted by Hosokawa, Nisei, p. 260.
nese all the time until he is wiped off the map. Sabotage and espio-
nage will make problems as long as he is allowed in this area. . . . "\(^1\)

Or this view of biological and national characteristics: "The
Japanese race [sic] is an enemy race and while many second generation
and third generation of Japanese born on United States soil, possessed
of United States citizenship, have become Americanized, the racial
strains are undiluted."\(^2\)

Informal telephone conversations are also revealing of DeWitt's
feelings about the Japanese. In view of his having said so much about
the danger of sabotage by the Japanese, DeWitt apparently felt compelled
to concoct a theory as to why Japanese Americans in the United States
had not yet engaged in fifth column activities. On January 24, he told
Major Karl Bendetsen over the telephone: "They may be communicating with
each other, but the fact that nothing has happened so far is, well, let
me say more or less ominous, in that I feel that in view of the fact
that we have had no sporadic attempts at sabotage that there is con­
trol being exercised. . . . "\(^3\)

The then Attorney General of California, Earl Warren, who had
previously met privately with DeWitt, put this thesis more eloquently
in the hearing before the U. S. Congressional (Tolan) Committee on
February 21, 1942:

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\(^1\)Hearing before a Congressional Subcommittee, quoted by

\(^2\)From War Department's Final Report, quoted ibid., p. 282.

\(^3\)Daniels, *Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans*, p. 25.
To assume that the enemy has not planned fifth column activities for us in a wave of sabotage is simply to live in a fool's paradise... I am afraid many of our people in other parts of the country are of the opinion that because we have had no sabotage and no fifth column activities in this State since the beginning of the War, that means that none have been planned for us. But I take the view that this is the most ominous sign in our whole situation. It convinces me more than perhaps any other factor that the sabotage that we are to get, the fifth column activities that we are to get, are timed just like Pearl Harbor was timed. . . .

In his conversation with Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy on February 3, 1942, DeWitt said of the Japanese in the West Coast, "... if they are allowed to remain where they are, we are just going to have one complication after another, because you just can't tell one Jap from another. They all look the same... a Jap's a Jap. . . ."

The available evidence on decisions which led to evacuation indicate that General DeWitt vascillated considerably in his opinions. On December 26, 1941, he had told Provost Marshall Allen Guillian that he was opposed to mass incarceration. However, seven days earlier, he had proposed to the War Department a mass alien round-up. Attorney General Biddle had expressed the opinion that DeWitt was apt to give in easily to popular pressure and that he had a "tendency to reflect the views of the last man to whom he talked."

DeWitt, who is symbolized as the mastermind behind the mass incarceration of the Japanese, apparently was not that well respected

1 Quoted in Hosokawa, Nisei, p. 288.
2 Transcript of a telephone conversation, February 3, 1942, 2:00 P.M., quoted by Daniels, Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, p. 98.
3 Ibid., p. 18.
by his colleagues and superiors. Daniels describes him as an old man. Although of same age as the Chief of Staff George Marshall, the latter was a vigorous sixty-one, with much important work ahead of him. DeWitt had reached the peak of his life in 1939 when promoted as lieutenant general, and he was quietly retired from the Western Defense Command (WDC) post in September, 1943. His overall administration of the WDC had been mediocre. In January, 1942, the Chief of Army Field Forces, Lieutenant General Wesley J. McNair, is quoted as having told General Stilwell, "DeWitt has gone crazy and requires ten refusals before he realizes it is 'No.'" In December, 1941, Major General "Vinegar Joe" Stillwell of the Burma Campaign fame and DeWitt's chief subordinate in charge of Southern California, wrote caustically in his diary of the many false alarms he was receiving from DeWitt's headquarters about alleged imminent attacks of the Japanese on the West Coast. He described his commander DeWitt as a "jackass" and marked in his diary a maxim: "Rule: the higher the headquarters, the more important is calm."¹ The headquarters of DeWitt was reportedly in a constant state of panic.

It was in this unsettled state of affairs that within seventy-two hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor that the first military proposal was formulated for the mass removal of aliens to an interior part of the United States and to hold them "under restraint."² This proposal was to go through many revisions and refinements. Originally, all enemy aliens, Italians as well as Germans, were included in the plan. This would have had untold political consequences. There were

¹ Ibid., pp. 14-15. ² Ibid., p. 15.
more than a million European enemy aliens, "about seven hundred thousand Italians and more than three hundred thousand Germans." 

Any proposals for their mass incarceration immediately drew protest, and such suggestions were quickly withdrawn. With the Japanese the story was altogether different. Not only those ineligible for U. S. citizenship, the Issei, but those born and reared as U. S. citizens, the Nisei, were to be directly affected by the military orders emanating from the offices of the Western Defense Command. The man put in charge of the WDC, whose views of Orientals "had probably been shaped by four tours of garrison duty in the Philippines," was given almost life or death power over 110,000 Japanese Americans. That power from the President of the United States, the Congress, and therefore, under the representational system of the democratic government, was ultimately from the American people at large.

Although it became apparent that the Japanese in the United States had few non-Japanese friends of any consequence after the War broke out, there was some opposition to evacuation. Morton Grodzins writes about the struggle within the higher governmental bodies and their representatives. U. S. Attorney General Francis Biddle and his staff consistently opposed evacuation from the time it began to be discussed. They raised three objections:

1. It probably would not be constitutional to thus control U. S. citizens of Japanese ancestry.

2. The Justice Department was not equipped to handle any mass movement.

3. Evacuation was unnecessary.

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1 Ibid.

2 Ibid., p. 17.
The first point, on the matter of legality, was promptly disposed of in the minds of the politicians and the military by the authorization of evacuation by the President and the Congress. Two meetings (February 11 and February 17) served as prelude to the order signed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt on February 19, 1942. Their importance requires some detailed review.

On February 11, Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson talked on the telephone with President Roosevelt. According to Stimson's Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy, the President in effect gave the army "carte blanche to do what we want to." This meant that the army was to be given the authority to forcibly remove and incarcerate the West Coast Japanese. As he gave his blessing to evacuation in the same February 11 telephone conversation, Roosevelt was reported to have said, "Be as reasonable as you can." Why did President Roosevelt so easily accede to demands for evacuation? According to Roger Daniels, not only did he harbor racist views toward Asians, but he also apparently decided his approval of evacuation as politically expedient to him both on Capitol Hill and across the nation.

He did not want to see any rift between himself and the establishment--Republicans like Secretary of War Stimson and Assistant

1 Ibid., p. 44.

2 See ibid., pp. 44-45. As late as June, 1944, more than one year after Roosevelt stated that "Americanism is not . . . a matter of . . . ancestry," he opposed ending the exclusion orders on the West Coast for the Japanese when the termination was recommended by Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes. About allowing the Japanese Americans to return to the West Coast, Roosevelt wrote, "I think it would be a mistake to do anything drastic or sudden," ten Broeck, Prejudice, War and the Constitution, p. 172.
Secretary of War McCloy, both of whom favored evacuation. Roger Daniels, who has done considerable research on evacuation decisions based on recent availability of relevant government documents, tries to recapitulate the scene at the White House when the crucial telephone conversation of February 11 with Stimson took place:

And one can imagine him [Roosevelt] on the phone in the great Oval office where so much of our history has been made, that leonine head lifting up and with the politician's charm and equivocation saying, "Be as reasonable as you can." Thus do great and good men do evil acts in the name of good.¹

On February 17, 1942, two days before President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 authorizing evacuation, the crucial meeting took place between War Department and Justice Department representatives. At this meeting, the Justice Department officials made a tactical error (as they later acknowledged it) by stressing to the War Department officials that it was impractical for the Justice Department to implement mass evacuation. They stressed impracticality, expecting that the army would not wish to undertake such a tremendous administrative job when a real war had to be fought. Grodzins wrote:

This was a miscalculation of the first order. It prevented Justice Department officials from emphasizing in interdepartmental conferences what they emphasized in their own discussions, i.e., "Mass evacuation is unnecessary: it won't be done," and lured them into saying, in effect, "mass evacuation is unnecessary; the Justice Department won't do it." The position thus taken was untenable. War Department officers replied in effect on the evening of February 17, "The Justice Department won't evacuate Japanese, therefore, the Army will."

"The worst mistake we made was believing the Army would not accept the administrative job," was Mr. Rowe's final evaluation of the Army-Justice Department negotiations. . . . Attorney General Biddle was not willing to oppose the War Department's recommenda-

¹ Daniels, Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, p. 45.
tion. He refused to continue his opposition to mass evacuation because he did not believe it incumbent upon him to oppose the Army on a matter that the Army chose to call a "military necessity."

This stand was not taken because the nation's chief security officer believed evacuation was necessary. On the contrary, from first to last the Attorney General and his staff were firmly convinced that evacuation was not [emphasis provided] necessary.¹

The wartime fate of Japanese Americans was further sealed at that meeting of February 17, 1942. During the discussion on aliens, General Gullion pulled out of his pocket a draft of a Presidential Order giving authority to the Secretary of War to evacuate both aliens and citizens. James Rowe, Jr., the Assistant to the Attorney General, who recalled this incident later in an interview, noted that neither he nor Edward Ennis, the chief of the Alien Enemy Control Unit, both vigorously opposed to evacuation, had any previous knowledge that such a draft was to be considered. "Rowe was angry and hurt. Ennis, as he made a last appeal for the individual examination of citizens, looked as if he were going to cry."² At this meeting, Attorney General Edward Biddle, without any protest, merely began to refine the language of the draft in preparation for the President's signature for Executive Order 9066.

Since the evacuation proclamation was presented to the President as a joint document of the War and the Justice Departments, it was not given the close scrutiny that it might have received if it had been fully noted that there had been disagreement over the matter

¹Grodzins, Americans Betrayed, pp. 269-70.
²Field notes, Grodzins' interview with James Rowe, October 15, 1942, ibid., p. 266.
between the two departments. The Bureau of Budget did not scrutinize
it; President Roosevelt did not review the document in signing it;
nor was it discussed at the Cabinet meeting. The President signed
Executive Order 9066 in the early evening of February 19, 1942 by
which order the Western Defense Command was granted authority to pro-
ceed with the evacuation (See Appendix I, p. 347). This was followed
by Public Law 503, drafted by the War Department, which passed both
houses of the Congress without much debate and by voice vote. This
invested the government with power to prosecute any violation related
to evacuation orders.

Statements by Other Officials on Evacuation

Next to DeWitt, the individual most closely associated with the
implementation of evacuation was Karl R. Bendetsen. Born in 1907 in
Aberdeen, Washington, he graduated from Stanford University and its
Law School. He joined the army in 1940 in the Judge Advocate's depart-
ment as captain and quickly rose to the rank of colonel in early 1942.
In the early stages of the evacuation discussion, Bendetsen was
assigned by the Provost Marshall General's office to work closely with
DeWitt. Thus, by his own admission, Bendetsen "conceived method,
formulated details and directed evacuation of 120,000 persons of
Japanese ancestry from military areas." He was richly rewarded for
his "meritorious services" with the Distinguished Service Medal.¹
Bendetsen had numerous conversations on the evacuation plans with
DeWitt. The following is a telephone discussion between DeWitt and
Bendetsen on February 1, 1942:

¹Daniels, Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, p. 19.
Major Bendetsen: All right Sir. Sometime Tuesday morning. Rowe also wanted to know just what the details would be if the Army were to undertake a mass evacuation.

General DeWitt: I tell you Bendetsen, I haven't gone into the details of it, but Hell, it would be no job as far as the evacuation was concerned to move 100,000 people.

Major Bendetsen: Put them on trains and move them to specified points.

General DeWitt: We could do it in job lots you see. We could take 4,000 or 5,000 a day, or something like that.

Major Bendetsen: We are now making a survey here of all available shelter facilities to find out what there is that is not required for troops and we have asked the Corps Area Commanders to tell us about Fair Grounds and agricultural farms owned by the States, etc. I think we can find places for them.

General DeWitt: Yes, you see we would move the men first, then move the women and children after.

Major Bendetsen: Of course, there is a large administrative problem involved in keeping the record straight so that we would not have another Evangeline situation.

General DeWitt: Oh yes, we could work this up but I mean to say that it is an impossible task, or an extremely difficult task, I don't think so.

Major Bendetsen: No Sir, I agree. All right Sir, we expect to have your comments sometime Tuesday morning after you have had the conference with Mr. Clarke.¹

The three-way telephone conversation among Bendetsen, General Gullion and General Mark Clark of February 4, 1942, is revealing of the important role the then Colonel Bendetsen had as an "interpreter" in the evacuation discussions and plannings. Bendetsen is explaining to General Clark the statistics on the Japanese Americans:

¹Ibid., p. 85.
Major Bendetsen: Well, if you would include all the Nisei, plus all alien enemies for all the category A areas on the three coast states you would have closer to 30,000 people because in those areas are the bulk of the Japanese. There are 93,500 Japanese in California including Nisei.

General Clark: Now what is this Nisei?

Major Bendetsen: Yes Sir, the second generation and the third generation. They are the people who are citizens. ...

General Clark: Well thank you, General, I've gotten the big picture and I appreciate the time you have given me Sir.

General Gullion: All right. Glad to have talked to you.¹

When the interviewees for this study, particularly the Nisei who underwent evacuation with their Issei parents, were asked what they thought were the reasons for evacuation, almost no one gave the reason offered by the army: that the evacuation was a "military necessity." The Nisei considered this a mere pretense by which racial discrimination was justified for economic and political gains. The report bearing the signature of DeWitt officially published and presented to the Chief of Staff General George C. Marshall in June, 1943, is notable for presenting this argument, supposedly backed up with much evidence. This report, titled Final Report: Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, 1942, was written by Bendetsen. Among other things, it purports to record faithfully the events and the reasons that led to evacuation, which decision was already made by February 19, 1942 when the Executive Order 9066 was signed. Grodzins' research on the various sources of information in the Final Report indicate that much of the materials intended to justify the army's position on evacuation were copied from

¹Ibid., p. 91.
other sources, mostly without acknowledgment. Many of the discussions
and events which supposedly led to the evacuation decision took place
after Executive Order 9066 was signed, and many of them long after the
Japanese were behind barbed wires in the concentration camps.¹

There are startling contradictions of fact presented. The
Final Report says that sabotage and fifth column activities had taken
place. This contradicted another official document, "Final Recommenda-
tions" of General DeWitt, dated February 14, 1942, which said that
sabotage was not committed, but that it was likely to be committed;
therefore, the recommendation was that the Japanese should be removed.
It is now a well documented fact that by the time the decision was
being made for evacuation the top military authorities had concluded
that Japan was no threat to the West Coast. General Mark Clark of the
U. S. Chief of Staff, reflecting the views of the highest U. S. mili-
tary officials, told a gathering of Pacific Coast congressional leaders
during their meeting on February 2 and 3, 1942, that the Japanese
military had not the capability for a full-scale attack on the West
Coast.²

One of the most publicized statements was made by the Secretary
of the Interior Frank Knox. He made a quick tour of Pearl Harbor after
the December 7, 1941 attack. In conjunction with the report, he pre-
presented on December 15, 1941, he said, "I think the most effective fifth

¹See Grodzins, Americans Betrayed, Chapter 9, pp. 274-302 and

²Daniels, Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, p. 42.
column work of the entire war was done in Hawaii with the possible exception of Norway. This was interpreted by the press and by a part of the general public to mean that the Japanese Americans were guilty of sabotage. Stories circulated of secret signaling and directional arrows cut in the sugar cane fields by the Hawaiian Japanese to aid the enemy pilots at the time of the attack. All such rumors were determined later to be false. Significantly, throughout the entire war not a single case of sabotage or subversive activity was reported as having been committed by any Japanese Americans on the mainland U. S. or in Hawaii.

Another highly official report came from Republican Supreme Court Justice, Owen J. Roberts, assigned by President Roosevelt to find the causes of unpreparedness at Pearl Harbor. He said that the "Japanese spies and saboteurs" made the attack effective. This also was found to be untrue later. When the War Department (through DeWitt and Stimson) asked for evacuation, it had numerous stories from "the highest sources in the government" to back up its position. Among the newspapers, the Hearst enterprises relentlessly and viciously kept up their openly racist attacks upon the Japanese Americans, in line with their traditional stereotyping of Orientals, dating back to the nineteenth century. Against such odds, whatever effort to prevent or even to delay evacuation would not have had much of a chance to succeed.

1 Hosokawa, Nisei, p. 253.
2 Daniels, Decision to Relocate the Japanese, p. 25.
It is instructive to note the difference in the treatment of the Japanese in Hawaii and on the mainland. Hawaii's Japanese population, according to the 1940 Census, was 150,000, as compared to the 127,000 on the total U. S. mainland. The Hawaiian Japanese population amounted to more than 37 percent of the total Hawaiian population, 80 percent of whom were native-born and therefore U. S. citizens. It should be further noted that Pearl Harbor is where the attack took place and not the West Coast. The handling of "the war problem" differed substantially between the commanders in charge of Hawaii's and the Western Defense Command. Two weeks after Pearl Harbor Day, Lieutenant General Delos C. Emmons, who replaced the disgraced Lieutenant General C. Short, reported to the War Department that his careful investigation revealed that there was one minor incident of sabotage on the islands perpetrated by the resident Japanese. Pressures were brought upon Emmons from Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and the War Department staff, with Presidential backing, for removal of the Japanese, as had been done on the mainland. Emmons, however, stood his grounds. The Japanese were, on the whole, left alone. Not the least of considerations was the economy of Hawaii. Had there been mass evacuation the life in Hawaii would probably have been paralyzed. Some 1,875 Japanese were interned on an individual basis, as with Germans and Italian enemy aliens.¹

As of this writing, not all salient points of the evacuation story have been told. Many of the relevant issues of this phase of U. S. history are still being uncovered. When this writer visited the

¹Ibid., p. 28.
Bancroft Library in Berkeley, California in the summer of 1974, he was told that many of the documents from the internment years, such as letters written by evacuees and their friends, government papers, etc. were labeled as "classified material," by the U. S. government and still not available to the public, or to anyone else. In the U. S. Congressional Record of April 6, 1976, U. S. Senator Daniel Inouye had recorded the story about the existence of concentration camps within ten miles of Pearl Harbor and Honolulu, first on Sand Island, a military reservation, and later at the Federal Quarantine facility in Honolulu Harbor. In March, 1943, some 320 aliens and Nisei were sent to this Camp Honouliuli. Senator Inouye did not know about the existence of any concentration camp in Hawaii, nor did many others, until it was reported in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin on March 16, 1976.

Recently, additional facts about the evacuation were revealed in the book by Michiko Weglyn, based on some materials which were finally "declassified" by the government after thirty years. According to an advance review, one of the revelations in this book is that there was a governmental plan to use the Japanese American Issei and Nisei evacuees in America's concentration camps as "pawns" in exchange for American prisoners-of-war held by the Japanese military. Weglyn also uncovered the use of FBI informers among the evacuees. For the past five years, major U. S. publishers had refused publication of her book. Two years ago, a Japanese translation of it was published

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in Tokyo. More recently, William Morrow and Company agreed to publish it.¹ There is a need to declassify other historical documents related to the evacuation. The fact that the evacuation is now considered to have been a mistake is reason enough for the truth to be uncovered, so that lessons may be learned from past mistakes.

Outbreak of the War

On December 7, 1941 a total of 736 Japanese "suspected aliens" on the mainland were arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). This writer's father was picked up that evening by two young FBI agents as one of the "suspects," and sent to several internment camps away from his family; he was not to be released until 1944. Before he was finally allowed to rejoin part of his family, he had been sent to three different camps in Montana, New Mexico, and Texas. Finally, in 1944 his wife and youngest child (the only one left of the family in the Idaho camp, where the family minus the father were confined) joined him for a while in the Montana camp until released. Our father was under suspicion by the FBI as a leader in the Seattle Japanese community. He had come to the United States as a young man of sixteen years old, supported himself as a houseboy through Lowell High School in San Francisco and attended Stanford University. When arrested by the FBI, he was employed by the U. S. Immigration Service as an interpreter. For a while, he was incarcerated in a cell at the place of his employment until sent elsewhere.

By the middle of February 1942, some 2,192 Japanese aliens were under arrest along with some German and Italian aliens. In Hawaii 879 Japanese aliens were similarly arrested by early 1942. These arrests were in accordance with the long prepared "alien-enemy control" program. The details about the criteria and methods used to place certain aliens under the category of possible threats to the security of the U. S. are not known to this day. The first arrests on and after Pearl Harbor day affected the Japanese communities deeply. Those picked up and taken away were important persons in the Japanese communities. They were almost all Issei, well known businessmen, prominent community leaders, officers of Japanese associations, editors of Japanese-language newspapers, Shinto and Buddhist priests, Japanese language teachers and many others. The leadership in the Japanese communities was literally decimated overnight at the very time when it was most needed.

A series of orders emanating from DeWitt's WDC was issued through the Department of Justice, defining certain areas as "off limits" to aliens. First, these limits were around the so-called military strategic locations such as airports, railroad terminals and public utility centers. Progressively, however, the areas of restriction were enlarged, until almost the whole Western part of the West Coast states was considered off limits to the Japanese. The orders were initially aimed at all enemy aliens, soon the Japanese were singled out, and finally the Japanese American citizens were included with Japanese aliens. The rapidity with which the series of orders

came, often through the mass media, can be appreciated by noting the various dates of announcements. On December 29, specific areas were designated as restricted to enemy aliens, with additional areas announced as restricted on January 31, February 2, 4, and 7. By February 7, the restricted areas covered Arizona, as well as most areas where the Japanese resided in the coastal cities and rural districts. Those directly affected by the orders were at first Japanese aliens or the Issei, but many Nisei were children or young people dependent upon their Issei parents. The orders, alleged to be for the safety of the Japanese residents themselves, seemed not to have considered that each Japanese family was composed of "enemy alien" parents and American citizen children. Naturally, the parents would not leave the restricted areas without their children, and children could not stay without their parents.

At first, the departure of the Japanese from the restricted areas was "voluntary." Numerous families tried hurriedly moving to interior unrestricted areas. In many cases, however, no sooner had the families settled outside of the restricted areas than they had to move again, since subsequent WDC orders expanded the restricted zones to cover the localities into which families had just relocated. This process of voluntary evacuation did not end when DeWitt was given direct authority by virtue of Presidential Executive Order 9066. It continued for a while longer, as innumerable families so forced out were encountering prejudice and hostility by local people, according to reports.
The government, in the meantime, had approved the so-called "Final Recommendation" to "the Japanese problem" made by DeWitt. It was in the form of a memorandum to Secretary Stimson, dated February 14, and curiously titled "Evacuation of Japanese and Other Subversive Persons from the Pacific Coast." DeWitt recommended mass internment of the Japanese population as a "temporary" measure. The "Final Recommendation" served as the basis for Executive Order 9066, the subsequent granting of immense authority to DeWitt. He then turned over the implementation of mass evacuation to Bendetsen, who on March 11 was authorized to head both the Civil Affairs Division of the Western Defense Command, as a planning agency of his staff, and the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA), to carry out matters of "civil control."\(^1\) Bendetsen was promoted to Colonel for this double responsibility.

Thus was set off a process by which unprecedented numbers of unindicted, untried, unconvicted people—the Japanese Americans but no other group—were carted off to America's concentration camps in very short order. After establishing Military Areas Numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 in a rapid series of orders, from which the Japanese were to be excluded, on March 27, 1942, General DeWitt in his fourth public proclamation suddenly forbade the moving of any Japanese from these military areas.\(^2\) Public Proclamation No. 4 merely prohibited the Japanese from leaving the areas, with no mention or hint in it of internment. In addition, it should be noted that one of the orders had

\(^1\) Ibid., p. 118.

\(^2\) Daniels, Decision to Relocate the Japanese, p. 55.
previously imposed curfew on all Japanese, prohibiting them from being outside of their own houses between certain hours (8:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M.). The reasons given for the proclamation were announced through press release as "to ensure an orderly evacuation and partly to protect the Japanese."¹

This writer remembers those months immediately prior to evacuation, of apprehension and waiting to see what would happen to his family and Japanese American friends in Seattle, Washington, where we resided. With most of the leaders gone in the Japanese community, effective means of communication was not available and organizing group support was difficult, if not impossible. The main sources of information were highly biased newspapers (the Hearst newspapers, in particular) and the radio. The derogatory term "Jap" permeated the mass media. Rumors were rampant within the Japanese community, hemmed in without adequate communication. These rumors included stories about vicious physical attacks and property damage on the Japanese population by Caucasians as well as by other Asians—alleged attacks by Filipinos and Chinese upon Japanese individuals. To this day, it would be impossible to sort out which rumor or rumors had any basis in fact. Many were subsequently proven to be false. It would be difficult to describe the sense of helplessness and desperation that hung over the Japanese communities of the West Coast. Much of these feelings of the Japanese population at that time remain untold and unwritten even now.

¹ten Broeck, Prejudice, War and the Constitution, p. 121.
The Removal of the People

Most of March, 1942 was a period of anxious waiting, while all
the governmental planning, the organizational establishing and the
making of appointments and reappointments were going on in high places.
Finally from March 29, beginning with a group of fifty-five families
on Bainbridge Island, Puget Sound, near Seattle, the Western Defense
Command began the systematic removal of the West Coast Japanese
families and individuals. The Bainbridge Islanders "were used as
guinea pigs by the Army in a kind of dress rehearsal for the full
scale evacuation."¹ They were allowed to take only what they could
carry with them, including blankets, toilet articles, clothing and
eating utensils—knives, forks, spoons, bowls and cups. The Army
hastily constructed army style barracks at the Washington State Fair-
ground at Puyallup. Most Seattle residents, including this writer and
four family members (except for father, of course, who was already
incarcerated in a Department of Justice Camp) were taken to this
assembly center "Camp Harmony" on the fairground.²

Bendetsen and his staff systematically divided the entire West
Coast into 107 additional areas of unequal territorial size, each with
about 1,000 resident Japanese and evacuated them one after the other.
A separate exclusion order was published, released to the press and
posted in each area, usually one week prior to the effective date of

¹Daniels, Decision to Relocate the Japanese, p. 54. The
brother-in-law of this writer whose family members were evacuees from
Bainbridge Island says that forty-five (and not fifty-five) Japanese
American families were removed.

²Ibid., p. 55.
removal. In this way, by June 5, all the Japanese residents on the West Coast plus southern Nevada and Alaska, designated as Military Area Nos. 1 and 2, were evacuated. Although the policy was never enunciated, Italians and Germans, the other "enemy" aliens (and, of course, U. S. citizens of Italian and German ancestry) were left alone as groups; only the Japanese were affected by 108 civilian exclusion orders. The orders affected anyone who was defined as Japanese, regardless of age, sex, state of health (except those hospitalized) and citizenship. First, the evacuees were sent, mostly by buses, to the assembly centers. This was to be a temporary stay, although evacuees were not told what the plans were. For convenience and economy, these places were located in such locations as fairgrounds and race tracks. There were fifteen such locations, as shown in Table 2.

After a few months, before the cold winter weather set in, the evacuees were again removed by buses or trains to more unpopulated interior parts of the country. Tables 3 and 4 contain a list of ten "Relocation Centers" and seven "Internment Camps." The "Relocation Centers" were for all evacuees and ultimately were under the control of the Army. The "Internment Camps" (such as the one in which this writer's father was confined) were for those on the suspicion list of the FBI and the Department of Justice. Mostly family men, the "suspected" were separated from their families, until years later when families were allowed to rejoin them in certain camps.

1 Ibid., p. 56.
TABLE 2

FIFTEEN "ASSEMBLY CENTERS" OF THE WARTIME CIVIL CONTROL ADMINISTRATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centers</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Peak Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fairgrounds,</td>
<td>Apr. 28 to Sept. 12, 1942</td>
<td>7,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puyallup, Washington</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Livestock Exposition Hall</td>
<td>May 2 to Sept. 10, 1942</td>
<td>3,676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portland, Oregon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marysville, California</td>
<td>May 8 to June 29, 1942</td>
<td>2,451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacramento, California</td>
<td>May 6 to June 26, 1942</td>
<td>4,739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanforan Race Tracks (near San Francisco)</td>
<td>Apr. 28 to Oct. 13, 1942</td>
<td>7,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockton, California</td>
<td>May 10 to Oct. 17, 1942</td>
<td>4,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turlock, California</td>
<td>Apr. 30 to Aug. 12, 1942</td>
<td>3,661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salinas, California</td>
<td>Apr. 27 to June 4, 1942</td>
<td>3,586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merced, California</td>
<td>May 6 to Sept. 15, 1942</td>
<td>4,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>May 6 to Sept. 15, 1942</td>
<td>4,508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merced, California</td>
<td>May 6 to Sept. 15, 1942</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merced, California</td>
<td>May 6 to Sept. 15, 1942</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pinedale, California</td>
<td>May 7 to July 23, 1942</td>
<td>4,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fresno, California</td>
<td>May 6 to Oct. 30, 1942</td>
<td>5,120</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tulare, California</td>
<td>Apr. 30 to Sept. 4, 1942</td>
<td>4,978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Santa Anita Race Track, Los Angeles</td>
<td>May 7 to Oct. 27, 1942</td>
<td>18,719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pomona, California</td>
<td>May 7 to Aug. 14, 1942</td>
<td>5,434</td>
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<td>Mayer, Arizona</td>
<td>May 7 to June 2, 1942</td>
<td>245</td>
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### TABLE 3
THE TEN WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY (WRA) "RELOCATION CAMPS"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Centers</th>
<th>Dates of Operation</th>
<th>Peak Population&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poston, Arizona</td>
<td>May 8, 1942 to Nov. 28, 1945</td>
<td>17,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tule Lake, California</td>
<td>May 27, 1942 to Mar. 20, 1946</td>
<td>18,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manzanar, California</td>
<td>June 1, 1942 to Nov. 21, 1945</td>
<td>10,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gila River, Arizona</td>
<td>July 20, 1942 to Nov. 11, 1945</td>
<td>13,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minidoka, Idaho</td>
<td>Aug. 10, 1942 to Oct. 28, 1945</td>
<td>9,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart Mountain, Wyoming</td>
<td>Aug. 12, 1942 to Nov. 10, 1945</td>
<td>10,764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granada, Colorado (Amache)</td>
<td>Aug. 27, 1942 to Oct. 15, 1945</td>
<td>7,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topaz, Utah</td>
<td>Sept. 11, 1942 to Nov. 30, 1945</td>
<td>8,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohwer, Arkansas</td>
<td>Sept. 18, 1942 to Nov. 30, 1945</td>
<td>9,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerome, Arkansas</td>
<td>Oct. 6, 1942 to June 30, 1944</td>
<td>8,497</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>The maximum population is given for each camp.


### TABLE 4
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE INTERNMENT CAMPS

- Fort Missoula, Montana
- Santa Fe, New Mexico
- Lordsburg, New Mexico
- Crystal City, Texas
- Livingston, Louisiana
- Seagoville, Texas
- Fort Lincoln, Bismark, North Dakota

The "Cost" of Evacuation

Untold losses and unnecessary hardships resulted from the short time given to the evacuees for their removal. Most of them had only five days in which to sell, rent, loan, store, or give away their properties and possessions. The government provided places to store such items as household goods and cars, but only at the owner's risk and with no insurance. Toward the end of the war, when the evacuees returned, quite understandably, most of these stored items had been stolen, vandalized or otherwise destroyed. The situation was made to order for anyone who wanted to take advantage of the Japanese by buying expensive items cheaply, lying in order to be entrusted as caretakers, or by using other devious means of acquiring valuables hastily left behind.

From the standpoint of the army, however, the evacuation was a success, with no major mishap. This opinion was well stated by the Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy in June, 1942 with no apparent sense of incongruity:

I wonder if anyone realizes the skill, speed and humanity with which the evacuation of the Japanese has been handled by the Army on the West Coast? I am struck with the extreme care that has been taken to protect the persons and foods and even the comforts of each individual. Certainly an organization that can do a humane job like this and still be a fine fighting organization is unique and American. I hope other countries that have similar problems will not overlook how an answer has been found in this country.¹

For the evacuees, the sense of helplessness was complete. The feeling of being exploited is movingly expressed by one Nisei poet. A Seattle newspaper pointedly compared the "good treatment" of the

¹Daniels, Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, p. 56.
"Japanese" in the U. S. by "Americans" with the allegedly atrocious treatment of the American prisoners-of-war by the Japanese military in Japan—the kind of false comparisons which the Japanese Americans were commonly subjected to in those years. One young evacuee captured the circumstances in these words:

**EVACUATION**

As we boarded the bus
bags on both sides
(I had never packed
two bags before
on a vacation
lasting forever)
the Seattle Times
photographer said
Smile!
so obediently I smiled
and the caption the next day
read:
Note smiling faces
a lesson to Tokyo.¹

In the country fairground converted into the Assembly Center, the same poet evokes the feeling of being caged by barbed wired fences, where lines formed for everything from going to community showers to eating in the common dining halls. The camp was ironically and officially named "Camp Harmony":

**HARMONY**

**AT THE FAIR GROUNDS**

Why is the soldier boy in a cage
like that?
In the freedom of the child's universe
the uniformed guard
stood trapped in his outside cage.
We walked away from the gate and

---

¹Mitsuye Yamada, *Camp Notes and Other Poems* (San Lorenzo, Calif.: Shamless Hussey Press, 1976), unpaged.
grated guard
on sawdusted grounds
where millions trod once
to view prize cows
at the Puyallup Fair.

They gave us straws to sleep on
encased in muslin ticks.
Some of us were stalled under grandstand
seats
the egg with
parallel lines.

Lines formed for food
lines for showers
lines for the john
lines for shots.¹

This writer remembers the shelter for his reduced family of
five: mother, sister and two other brothers confined with him in one
room approximately 20 x 25 feet, separated from other similar rooms
only by one layer of poor quality wooden planks. Each hastily con-
structed elongated barracks with one layer of outer covering--knot
holes and all--had perhaps ten such divisions, one family to a "room,"
with the wooden plank partition between rooms not reaching up to the
top of the inverted "V" shaped ceiling. A family conversation of normal
volume in one part of the barrack could be easily overheard at the
other end. Army cots occupied most of the space in each family
rectangle, which had to serve as a combination living and bedroom.
Grasses and weeds grew through the cracks in the wooden floor, barely
raised off the dirt fairground. Fifteen such assembly centers served
as habitats for the West Coast Japanese. Under such abnormal situations
governing the daily routines of human relationship, it is not surprising
that some commentators on life style of evacuation and internment year

¹Ibid.
believe that the traditional family discipline and cohesiveness quickly began to break down.  

Yamada evokes the mood of this lack of privacy between different families and between individual members within each family. She also refers to life in the more permanent "Relocation Camp" to which the evacuees were moved after a few months in the Assembly Center. To pass the time, many Issei collected sagebrush stems from which they carved everything from handsome lampstands to legs for "homemade" coffee tables.

The barbed fence protected us from wildly twisted sagebrush. Some were taken by old men with gnarled hands. These sinewed branches were rubbed and polished shiny with sweat and body oil.

They creeped on under and around our coffee table with apple crate stands.

Lives spilled over us through plaster walls came mixed voices. Bared too a pregnant wife while her man played go [Japanese chess game] all day she sobbed alone and a barracksful of ears shed tears.

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2 Yamada, Camp Notes and Other Poems, unpaged.
While in the assembly centers, rumors had circulated among evacuees that they would soon be moved again. Finally, before the winter weather set in for 1942, the second removal took place to ten "relocation centers" in the more interior parts of the land (Table 3, p. 130). This writer and his family were moved to Camp Minidoka near Twin Falls, Idaho, in the sagebrush desert prairie. An old train carried us across the western states, with shades drawn ominously and the final destination kept secret from the traveling prisoners. The procedure for transporting evacuees was a typically military operation. No one was permitted out of the train when it stopped. When some ten thousand evacuees arrived at the hastily constructed camp, many things were not yet ready; the showers did not have water. The whole uprooted sagebrush terrain was a "sand mixing machine," as dust was churned up with every little puff of wind in the open plain. Many other camps like this were the places where the Japanese Americans were to be kept for the remainder of the war. For some, the stay extended beyond the end of the war.

Some thirty years later, in August of 1974, this writer and his wife, a Nisei also evacuated with her family, revisited the Minidoka camp site in Idaho. With them were two of their Sansei teenaged children. After a considerable amount of driving around and searching, the site was finally located. In startling contrast to what it was, the whole area is now a lush, well irrigated rich farmland, still located in sagebrush prairie. One of the local residents said that the land, formerly government property was not privately owned and operated. Only faint evidence of the concentration camp era remained, and one had
to look hard for that. Found were remains of two battered barracks, with some of the apparently original tar paper coverings still on the walls. One building looked like a part of the camp hospital. Another building had some semblance to the family "apartments" in which the evacuees lived. There was the door still hinged to the front entrance and a broken spring door. The familiar sights and layout were now all gone: the hospital area, where this writer's wife worked, the blocks and blocks of residents' barracks, the mess halls, the shower rooms and the outhouses; they still remain in the memory of those of us who were evacuees.

Tule Lake, California, the former "segregation camp," was also visited by this writer and his family that same summer. There, some migrant workers were living on the site, it was explained to this writer by one of the local residents. A few of what seemed to be the original barracks still remained. The wall ruins of what apparently was a jail within the camp were standing with some remains of caged cells. A few pieces of barbed wire were scattered about the area, which was still largely prairie land, with a low mountain rising up beyond in the west on top of which was visible a large cross, placed there in memory of the dead at Tule Lake. It was awesome to recall that some thirty years ago, these places were teeming with Japanese Americans, who knew not then what fate awaited them.

Similar "family pilgrimage" had been made by others. One of the interviewees (113) told of the experience with his family in 1954, when he bought a new car for a trip to the West Coast. On the way he tried to locate the Minidoka (Idaho camp) site and had difficulty in doing so.
It was getting toward dusk; we couldn't find the place. So I told my daughter (who was born there), it was getting late and we better go on because we have to be in Twin Falls to stay overnight with friends. . . . And she started to cry! So I began to realize, well there is a sentimental attachment to your birthplace . . . I was surprised, because I was insensitive (I was saying to myself about her) "you're a young kid; you won't have any particular attachment." She did . . . She started crying, so (I said to myself) I better make an effort to find it. So just at the dusk, (we got there) to see the two, I guess, the entry posts to the gates. . . . Two blocks of cemented blocks that formed the anchor for the gates (113).

In recent years concerned small groups of Japanese Americans have organized "pilgrimages" to these concentration camp sites on certain occasions, such as on a Memorial Day, offering speeches and prayers.¹ Memorial plaques and monuments have been set up in such concentration camp sites as Tule Lake and Manzanar, California; Rohwer, Arkansas; and the Department of Justice camp in Crystal City, Texas (where this writer's father was interned, among other places).

Life in the camps went on as life would go on anywhere in the world—births, deaths, social rituals and ceremonials, and eventually schooling for the young. The big difference between this and the normal society was that this was an enforced ethnic ghetto, with no legalese about de jure or de facto, surrounded by armed guards and barbed wire fences, beyond which lay stretches of seemingly interminable sagebrush country. When DeWitt casually remarked in a phone conversation, "Hell, it would be no job as far as evacuation was concerned to move 100,000 people,"² from his and the army's perspective,


²Daniels, *Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans*, p. 85.
he was correct. The bewildered people were moved here and there several times; the army was used to doing that. These "movable people," however, were not only men; there were males and females, old and young, the healthy and the infirm. The army did indeed do what it said it could do. For the job completed, Bendetsen, its chief planner and executor, received the Distinguished Service Medal. Yamada again recaptures the feeling of life in the concentration camp from the perspective of a sensitive Nisei youth:

"THE WATCHTOWER"

The watchtower with one uniformed guard in solitary confined in the middle of his land.

I walked towards the hospital for the midnight shift. From the rec hall the long body of the centipede with barracks for legs came the sounds of a live band playing Maria Elena You're the answer to my dreams. Tired teenagers leaning on each other swayed without struggle.

This is what we did with our days. We loved and we lived just like people.¹

In one of the telephone conversations on February 4, 1942 Brigadier General Mark W. Clark of the Army Chief of Staff asked Colonel Bendetsen, "Now what is this Nisei?"² By the end of 1942, the

¹Yamada, Camp Notes and Other Poems, unpaged.
²Daniels, Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, p. 91.
majority of the Nisei, about whom the Army still did not know too much, were put away safely behind barbed wire. Among those who were worried about the Japanese living close by were the townspeople near the concentration camps. Clues as to the nature of their anxiety are revealed in the editorial dated May 28, 1942, in the Klamath Herald and News of Klamath Falls, Oregon, about thirty miles north of the Tule Lake camp. In the summer of 1974, this writer found the following editorial in this local newspaper office. The editorial was entitled "Evacuees and the Land":

In a statement released this week, the Bureau of Reclamation reports that one of the regulations governing the establishment of Japanese evacuation centers is that the evacuees may not acquire an interest in the lands they temporarily occupy and farm.

This is a point of considerable interest here because of concern lest Japanese who occupy the Tule Lake relocation center may settle on the land after the war. The Reclamation Bureau's statement as quoted above is the first definite declaration of policy on the matter we have seen. . . . It is only fair to insist that the Japanese be removed entirely from the area once the emergency is over.

The project is depriving a number of white lease-holders of their holdings this year, and will at least defer the opening of a large block of homestead land to white settlers. This must go down as a part of the sacrifice required in war effort.¹

Another local news editorial further reflected the attitudes of the people in the town: "It is clear that the Tule Lake center contains many disloyal evacuees and troublemakers. . . . It (Tule Lake location) had concentrated thousands of people of questionable loyalty within a short distance of the coast facing the Pacific and Japan."²

¹ Klamath Falls (Oregon), Klamath Herald and News, 28 May 1942.
² Klamath Falls (Oregon), Herald and News, 1 June 1943, p. 4.
Although the WDC was ultimately in charge, once the evacuees were put in the "Relocation Camps," their operation and administration were handled by the War Relocation Authority (WRA) directors and their staff. The army style barracks were built higher from the ground level than at the assembly center and their exterior was covered by tar paper. An average sized "apartment" was about 25 x 25 feet; the walls separating each apartment from the others in the same barrack reached the ceiling. For the bachelors, however, only dormitories were available with cots as beds lined up as in prison or hospital wards. Again, as in the assembly center, each room was mostly occupied with bedding, which served for sleeping and sitting. Each room was provided with a pot bellied stove, not yet ready for use immediately after the move-in. Subsistence was provided by the government. Jobs in the camps were available for those who wanted to work. "Wages" of $12 a month were paid for unskilled workers, such as farm laborer, cook, dishwasher; $16 a month for skilled workers; and $19 a month for professionals, such as physicians, teachers and lawyers. This writer remembers working for a while as a "sanitary inspector," touring mess halls and kitchens to see that sanitary rules and regulations were observed. The pay was $16 per month. Since the evacuees brought nothing except what they could carry, they spent whatever money they had available to order needed articles by mail through Montgomery Ward catalogues.

"Resettlement" Program

During 1943 the resettlement of evacuees in the outside communities began in earnest. The WRA, with units of the War Department, such as the Provost Marshall General's Office, and the Japanese American
Joint Board playing a part, checked each applicant for "security clearance" for resettlement outside the restricted Western Defense Command zones. As a result of the policy decisions of the WRA and the WDC, the evacuees were sifted into three main categories during the two and one-half years of the WRA camps' existence, from the mid-1942 to the ending of mass exclusion in December, 1944. Of the evacuees, 81 percent (88,000) were belatedly considered not dangerous to national security and were given conditional authorization and indefinite leave. Slightly over one-third of this group (36,000) relocated. They were mostly young American citizens. However, two-thirds of the total number of those adjudged eligible to leave (62,000) chose to stay in the camps, remaining there until near the closing of the camps. These were chiefly the Issei. The second group of evacuees was made up of those considered by the WRA to be "disloyal," or potentially dangerous to national security. They were called "segregants," composed mostly of Kibei (Nisei born in the U. S. but reared in Japan), and they were forcibly removed to Tule Lake camp. In the third group were the inductees or volunteers for the Army.¹

Before the exodus of people in larger numbers from the relocation camps in 1943, there had been groups of laborers given temporary leaves to various farms to help harvest crops such as potatoes or beets. Although ousted from the West Coast as unwanted economic competitors, after evacuation they were welcomed by local employers to relieve the labor shortage during wartime. Also, among those who were

¹tenBoreck, Barnhart and Matson, Prejudice, War and the Constitution, pp. 141-42.
granted indefinite leaves were some five thousand college students admitted across the country in over five hundred institutions of higher education.\(^1\) Many students were assisted by the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, a voluntary organization supported by educators and religious leaders. This writer and his sister left Camp Minidoka, Idaho, in the Spring of 1943 for the University of Cincinnati, leaving behind their mother and youngest brother. The other brother had joined the all-Nisei 442nd Infantry unit before that. This kind of family separation was a common occurrence as months progressed in the camps. Only the old and the very young were left, while the youthful generation left for colleges, employment, or both. This writer's mother and youngest brothers later joined his father in the Department of Justice "internment camp." They were ultimately released together from there for domestic employment in Cincinnati, Ohio. The WDC and the WRA kept ultimate control over the movement of all evacuees. Since all were given conditional leaves, they were subject to recall to the relocation camps at any time.

It would take volumes to tell even partially the story of the life in concentration camps from varying perspectives. Just to present some differing perspectives of the Issei alone would be a formidable task, without even considering the many ways in which different kinds of Nisei regarded their own experiences. The Caucasian administration personnel differed widely among themselves as to how they regarded their responsibilities, or how they understood their fellow American Nisei and their Issei parents. Perhaps, one striking

\(^1\) O'Brien, College Nisei, p. 111.
event that dramatically surfaced much of the heretofore hidden fears and anxieties and raised issues on evacuation as nothing else did was the "loyalty question" episode. The matter of loyalty, which was to be raised for many other Americans during the Cold War in post World War II period, hit the Japanese Americans with a viciousness that left deep scars.

The "Loyalty Oath" Turmoil

Quite suddenly on February 1, 1943, it was decided that Japanese Americans were to affirm openly their loyalty to the United States government and to disclaim loyalty to the Japanese government. As if in anticipation of such a time, a number of Nisei youthful leaders had publicly expressed their loyalty in various statements, to the United States, particularly right after the outbreak of the War. The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) leaders were most vocal in the affirmation of their loyalty. Of the loyalty statement written by its young able director, one writer of Japanese American history observes,

... the hypernationalistic Japanese American Citizens League, which barred aliens from membership [therefore, their Issei parents were not allowed in], put their faith in an idealized America: "Although some individuals may discriminate against me, I shall never become bitter or lose faith, for I know that such persons are not representative of the majority of the American people." This almost reflexive patriotism, not untypical for insecure second generation Americans of almost any origin, would be severely tested during the war. What the Japanese American community did not know was that, almost from the initiation of hostilities, there were those in the highest governmental circles who contemplated mass incarceration.1

Like many immigrant groups' descendants, the JACL leaders and other young Japanese Americans went out of their way to demonstrate

1 Daniels, Decision to Relocate the Japanese Americans, p. 11.
their attachment to the country of their birth. Unlike the European
descendants, however, the Japanese descendants were in a double bind.
Not only was there a long history of discrimination against Orientals,
but now the country of their parental origin was at war with their
country of birth. In January 1942, when it became evident that the
government was serious about mass evacuation, which up to then seemed
unthinkable, some of the JACL leaders, foremost among them Mike
Masaoka, proposed that a special unit of Nisei be sent to fight the
Japanese in the Pacific. This was rejected on the grounds that the
armed forces did not believe in a segregated unit, except for "the
Negroes." Masaoka, then, is reported to have suggested that a Nisei
"suicide battalion" be organized to fight the Japanese, while their
Issei parents and families be kept as hostages in the States. Although
the War Department rejected the idea of the special Japanese American
unit at that time, it was to be revived and implemented a year later
in 1943.\(^1\) It turned out that in the actual turn of historical events,
the discussion about the segregated unit and "family hostages" was not
completely off the mark. While the Japanese American families were
still incarcerated, their young men were soon to volunteer for or to
be drafted into the Army.

In response to the request from various sources such as the
JACL leaders, Dillon S. Myer, Director of the WRA, and John J. McCloy,
Assistant Secretary of War, the War Department officials decided on a
segregated all-Nisei army unit.\(^2\) WRA administrators said that this

\(^1\) Hosokawa, *Nisei*, pp. 269-72.

\(^2\) The first Director of the WRA appointed by President Roosevelt
was Milton S. Eisenhower. He was followed by Myer. As Presidential
would help public relations in the resettlement program of Japanese Americans. The War Department did not open up Selective Service for the Nisei completely. Instead it settled for a special segregated Nisei unit; the army was to seek volunteers in the relocation camps. In late November 1942, JACL leaders (Mike Masaoka, Saburo Kido, Dr. Tom Yatabe and others) had a meeting in Salt Lake City, Utah at which time they decided to endorse Mike Masaoka's proposal to petition the President for reinstatement of the Nisei in Selective Service.

Secretary of War Stimson, in announcing this plan for "voluntary induction" for a "separate combat unit" on January 28, 1943, stated that it is "the inherent right of every faithful citizen, regardless of ancestry, to bear arms in the Nation's battle." President Roosevelt addressed a letter on this to Secretary Stimson, dated February 1, 1943. This much quoted letter was actually drafted in the offices of the WRA for the President's signature:

No loyal citizen of the United States should be denied the democratic right to exercise the responsibilities of citizenship, regardless of his ancestry. The principle on which this country was founded and by which it has always been governed is that Americanism is a matter of the mind and heart: Americanism is not and never was, a matter of race or ancestry.

appointees, they were both directly responsible to the President. See Dillon S. Myer, The Uprooted Americans: The Japanese Americans and the War Relocation Authority during World War II (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), p. 71; Hosokawa, Nisei, p. 361.

1 Thomas and Nishimoto, The Spoilage, p. 56.
2 Hosokawa, Nisei, pp. 360-61.
3 Thomas and Nishimoto, The Spoilage, p. 56.
4 Hosokawa, Nisei, p. 366.
In preparation for the "voluntary induction" program in all of the ten concentration camps, the Army planned to administer a questionnaire aimed at Japanese Americans about their loyalty to the United States. The WRA officials decided to administer the questionnaire jointly with the Army. The WRA staff planned to "capitalize for publicity purposes on what it believed would be a successful program of Army enlistment, "do security checks to expedite the resettlement program, and thus to demonstrate to the critical American public outside that the Japanese Americans were 'loyal Americans.'" Registration forms were prepared in Washington, D.C. One was for Japanese male U. S. citizens, seventeen years of age and over, with the seal of the "Selective Service System." It was titled, "Statement of United States Citizen of Japanese Ancestry." The other (for female citizens, Issei males and females) was titled, "War Relocation Authority Application for Leave Clearance." Each of the lengthy and complicated forms contained about thirty items, asking for such information as the "individual's sociodemographic history and status," whether close relatives resided in Japan, contributions made to clubs and organizations, magazines and newspapers read, etc. The crucial items were Questions 27 and 28. The form for male citizens read:

Question 27: Are you willing to serve in the Armed Forces of the United States on combat duty, whenever ordered?

Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any other foreign government, power, or organization?2

1Thomas and Nishimoto, The Spoilage, pp. 56-57.
2Ibid., p. 57.
The questions for female citizens and alien males and females read:

Question 27: If the opportunity presents itself and you are found qualified, would you be willing to volunteer for the Army Nurse Corps of the WAAC?

Question 28: Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, or any foreign government, power or organization?  

All persons seventeen years of age and older were required to register, except those who had formally requested repatriation to Japan. The WRA considered the registration procedure to be just a routine matter. The War Department, however, anticipating problems, prepared ten teams of men, one team for each camp, with a carefully prepared speech for the Japanese American audience. Each team was composed of a commissioned officer, two sergeants and one Japanese American soldier. Even the answers to certain anticipated questions were prepared. The speech admitted the hardship of evacuation, but the sacrifice of loyal Japanese Americans was necessary to "protect this nation from the acts of those who are not loyal." The questionnaire was to be used as a means for distinguishing those who were loyal and those who were not. Those of military age, "willing . . . and loyal," were asked to volunteer. It was further pointed out, that those who would not volunteer and qualify for military service will "probably be taken into the military service in due time."  

Items in the two questions clearly revealed ignorance of the Japanese American predicament. Elderly aliens, both males and females,

1Ibid., p. 58.  
2Ibid., p. 59.  
3Ibid., p. 60.
were being asked whether they would be willing to enlist in the "Army Nurse Corps or the WAAC." The inference could be drawn from the title of the form for alien and female citizens, "Application for Leave Clearance," that all willing registrants would be forcibly ousted from the camps for resettlement, although there was an explanatory note denying that.\(^1\) Furthermore, the Issei would be renouncing their Japanese citizenship by forswearing "any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor." They would become stateless, since they were already ineligible by law for U.S. citizenship. The government later changed Question 28 for the Issei to read: "Will you swear to abide by the laws of the United States and to take no action which would in any way interfere with the war effort of the United States?"\(^2\)

By the time the change was made, however, many Issei had concluded that the government was trying "to exterminate Nisei on the battle field and to make the Issei men without a country."\(^3\) Even for the Japanese United States citizens, Question 28 did not make sense. Many Nisei were outraged that they were told to renounce the emperor when they were not Japanese citizens. The absurdity of this predicament and the agony that it caused many families are described with humor in a poetic form by Yamada, who was born in Japan, therefore technically an alien, but reared and educated in the United States:

THE QUESTION OF LOYALTY

I met the deadline
for alien registration
once before
was numbered fingerprinted

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 59.
\(^2\)Ibid., pp. 60-61.
\(^3\)Kitagawa, *Issei and Nisei*, p. 118.
and ordered not to travel
without permit.

But alien still they said I must
forswear allegiance to the emperor.
for me that was easy
I didn't even know him
but my mother who did cried out
If I sign this
what will I be?
I am doubly loyal
to my American children
also to my own people.
How can double mean nothing?
I wish no one to lose this war.

I was poor
at math
I signed
my only ticket out. ¹

Ultimately, the loyalty questions and the voluntary induction
issues raised more questions than either the War Department or WRA or
anyone else could satisfactorily resolve. Many Nisei who saw almost
all their rights as citizens abrogated saw no reason why only the
"right" to serve in the Army was granted, while other rights were still
withheld. Answering "No" could be a form of protest against racial
discrimination that put them in camps, or it could symbolize the gen-
eral frustration and confusion being experienced by imprisoned people,
or that family members wanted to keep from being separated. One of
the evacuee observers wrote about his fellow evacuees, "Their freedom
having been taken away, the Issei in the relocation center were far
from being free moral agents: they were psychologically incapable of
making decisions freely any more, for they were collectively in a

¹Yamada, Camp Notes and Other Poems, unpaged.
pathological state." The same observer said of the Tule Lake center at the time of the loyalty registration crisis, "The Tule Lake Relocation Center became a large mass of mentally unbalanced people."¹

There are many recorded incidents of in-fighting among the evacuees. Confined as they were behind barbed wire, shut out and kept from meaningful communication with the outside world, some of the people turned against each other. A drunken Issei father fighting his family of Issei wife and Nisei children, movingly depicted in *Farewell to Manzanar*, offers a dramatic episode of dissension and tension among family members, individuals and groups. There were accusations and counter-accusations of evacuees siding with Caucasian administrators to curry favor at the expense of other evacuees. Some were accused of or, at least, suspected of being "informers" for the government to spy on their fellow evacuees.² Some of the JACL leaders were physically assaulted by their fellow evacuees for their stand in favor of military services for the Nisei.³ The frustrations and protests of the evacuees often manifested themselves through organized resistance to governmental authorities. The more noticeable examples were the Poston (Arizona) camp strike of November 14, 1942 and the Manzanar "riot" of


³One of the interviewees, a prominent JACL leader (interviewee no. 112) stated that he was attacked by his fellow evacuees, and his life was endangered; see Girdner and Loftis, *The Great Betrayal*, p. 274.
December 5, 1942. Both incidents started when some evacuees were initially attacked by their fellow evacuees. WRA authorities made arrests. Protests followed. In the case of Manzanar, when the military police fired into the crowd, one man was killed outright, and nine other evacuees were wounded.¹

The WRA staff faced many issues beyond their comprehension. Some WRA personnel felt that the evacuees dwelt unnecessarily and obsessively on the evacuation experience. One project director said that the evacuees had a "persecution complex."² One staff member wrote down some impressions of the loyalty oath incident that may have been similarly felt by other staff members. This person was surprised and even angered by the negative responses of the many Nisei on the loyalty question.

Our first reaction, mine anyway, was anger. I wanted to wash my hands of the whole traitorous bunch and consign them to any concentration camp the public wanted to set up. Now that I've had time to reflect a little, and have talked with well over a hundred about their attitude toward this country, and seen the real anguish that accompanied many of the decisions, and the fears that prompted others—well, ... I want to see if anything can be salvaged from the wreck.³

Although many WRA staff members understood that "no" to loyalty questions meant many things, they nevertheless came to look upon those listed "disloyal" as part of an evil to be removed.⁴

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¹Ibid., p. 264.
³Ibid., p. 158.
⁴Ibid., p. 159.
The "Segregation" of the "Disloyal"

From the standpoint of Dillon S. Myer, the second WRA director, and other top administrators, it was important to present the administration of the relocation camps in the most favorable light to the American public. With the turmoil caused by the loyalty questions and the subsequent segregation of "disloyal" evacuees, the Japanese Americans and anyone who "mollycoddled" them received a bad press. Although Myer himself was against establishing a segregated center for the "disloyal elements," he was overruled unanimously in this opposition by his own staff of relocation center directors at the meeting of directors he convened on May 31, 1943, in Washington, D. C. There was renewed public pressure to "segregate" the "disloyals." As a result, Tule Lake camp became the segregated center for those who were categorized as "disloyal" and those who applied for repatriation to Japan and their family members.

The results of the registration were not in accordance with the expectations of the Army and WRA. Although 3,500 Army volunteers was the goal, the actual number recruited was about 1,200. In contrast, in Hawaii, where no mass evacuation was imposed, 7,500 Hawaiian Nisei volunteered when the Army had hoped for 3,000. At the end of the registration period, about 30 percent of eligible adults were not yet registered. In response to Question 28, 28 percent of the male citizens and 18 percent of the female citizens refused to "swear unqualified allegiance to the United States" or to "forswear any form of allegiance

1Myer, Uprooted Americans, p. 83.

or abedience to the Japanese emperor." Aliens, most of whom were permitted to reply to the substitute Question 28, replied negatively to the loyalty question in 10 percent of the cases of males and 7 percent of females.¹

The proportion of non-registrants and negative answers varied from camp to camp. On the one side of the spectrum was Tule Lake (California) camp where 42 percent of persons seventeen years of age and over either refused to register or answered Question 28 in the negative. On the other side was Granada (Colorado) camp where only about 2 percent gave a technically "disloyal" reply.² Both the rigidly structured questions and the methods employed to demand replies stirred up many unresolved doubts and questions related to evacuation.

Camp Minidoka (Idaho) where this writer stayed, from the standpoint of the Army and WRA, was the most "successful" in terms of the registration program. Five days of numerous meetings were held and discussion were encouraged in the publicly sponsored meetings before the Army recruiters came.³ This writer remembers a meeting in which one of the Nisei athletic heroes was among the first to be recruited by the Army with other Nisei leaders. They served on a panel encouraging other Nisei to likewise enlist and serve their country. More recruits were secured at this camp than at any other. This writer's brother volunteered after much discussion with his peers on the matter. He

¹Thomas and Nishimoto, The Spoilage, p. 61.
²See ibid., Chapters III & IV; Kitagawa, Issei and Nisei, Chapter 9, pp. 115-23; Spicer, et al., Impounded People, Chapter 2, pp. 141-86.
went home one day and announced this to his mother. As many other mothers in similar circumstances in the camp, she wept.

Although this writer does not recall exactly how he answered the loyalty questions, he conjectures that he answered "yes" to both questions 27 and 28, since he was cleared to leave for college a few months after in 1943. The loyalty matter followed the Japanese after their departure from the camps. This writer remembers having to answer a loyalty question while he was enrolled as a student at the University of Cincinnati. At that time, this writer replied to what he considered "the loyalty question" involving willingness to serve in the Armed Forces in the negative, giving religious conviction as the reason. Whether the questioner was from the FBI, Army Intelligence or some other agency, this writer does not recall. Soon after, the University of Cincinnati, on order from the government, expelled this writer and two other Nisei students from the University. The Army was not obligated to give reasons for its action. Therefore, to this day for what reasons the Army gave such an order is unknown to this writer. The local newspaper headline said, "Three Nisei Students Barred at University of Cincinnati for Security Reasons--Trio dismissed because of certain classified work at University, War Department explains."

The registration consigned those classified as "disloyal" to the Tule Lake concentration camp, to retain them there for the duration of the war. All others were allowed to leave the camp and they were urged to do so for resettlement. In September 1943, thirty-three trainloads of 15,000 individuals were shuttled between Tule Lake and other camps. Some 6,000 "loyals" left Tule Lake and 4,000 others
labeled as "disloyal" remained behind. Many among the latter were called "No-No's," since they answered "no" to the two loyalty questions.

The Renunciants

After Tule Lake was designated as a segregation center, the population reached almost nineteen thousand. Tension and disturbances were the order of the day. At one time in the Fall of 1943, the Army came and took control of the camp for two and one-half months. On July 1, 1944, President Roosevelt signed a measure passed by the Congress which made it possible for individuals to renounce their United States citizenship, subject to approval by the Attorney General. By January 1945, in Tule Lake camp "one out of every two Nisei and Kibei" had made application for renunciation of their U. S. citizenship. The Department of Justice received over 6,000 renunciation applications, of which 5,589 were approved. Of these, 5,461 approved applications were from Tule Lake and 128 from other camps. During the summer of 1945, however, many of the approved renunciants wrote to the Department of Justice asking that their renunciation be withdrawn.

The Department of Justice in response sent a form letter to the petitioners saying that the matter of restoring the citizenship was not within the power of the Attorney General. Actually, "the Department of Justice was moving to send them all to Japan" under the authority of

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1 Hosokawa, Nisei, p. 378.
2 tenBroeck, Barnhart and Matson, Prejudice, War and the Constitution, p. 177.
3 Ibid., p. 178.
Presidential Proclamation 2655, signed by President Truman. This authorized deportation of alien enemies, who, in the opinion of the Attorney General were considered dangerous to peace and safety.\(^1\) On October 10, 1945 the Department of Justice announced that "all persons whose applications to renounce citizenship have been approved . . ." will be repatriated to Japan, together with members of their families, whether citizen or aliens, who desire to accompany them." The renunciants were also informed that they were now "native American aliens." Alarmed by the announcement about deportation, some 4,322 individuals sought to rescind their renunciation through court action.\(^2\)

A long time advocate of civil rights, the late Wayne Collins of San Francisco acted as their attorney. Although counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Collins represented the Japanese Americans in a private capacity, because the ACLU was not officially willing to intervene in the case. The JACL, fearing that organizational involvement would be damaging to the "loyals," did not come to the defense of the renunciants.\(^3\) Back in July 1945, when Collins had first heard of mass renunciation, he was incensed, saying that one cannot resign from citizenship any more than one can "resign from the human race." The dedication of Collins to the cause of civil rights and the extent to which he went on protecting the rights of Japanese Americans, when most others were against them, is well described by Girdner and Loftis:

\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 178-79. \(^2\)Ibid., p. 179. \(^3\)Girdner and Loftis, *The Great Betrayal*, p. 447.
When he discovered the circumstances influencing renunciation, he became indignant. The people he talked to felt themselves to be helpless pawns of fate. They doubted that anyone successfully could oppose the Army, the WRA, and the Justice Department. But in Collins they had a friend they needed, and an angry man fiercely devoted to principle. Defying the government, he almost literally pulled people off the ships going to Japan. He became virtually a commuter between San Francisco, Tule Lake, Bismark, North Dakota, Santa Fe, New Mexico, and Crystal City, Texas, in his efforts to release the renunciants and aliens and recover the citizenship of the renunciants. He made the cause of these discarded citizens his almost full-time occupation for some twenty-five years. He did not as much as take a vacation during the early years because he was fearful that something might happen to these people, who had no individual access to the United States district courts, in the event of his absence. "I was frightened stiff that if I was not able to be in my office every day early and late that the government might attempt to remove all of them to Japan." Some of his clients called him "a brave man"; others including Nisei, said that he was a "fanatic" and a "maniac."1

The litigation dragged on for twenty-three years. At first the Justice Department insisted, among other things, that the renunciants were motivated by disloyalty and that they were not under any duress which might invalidate their abandoning their citizenship. Finally, on May 20, 1959, the acknowledgment that evacuation itself might have constituted a form of duress was expressed in a statement of Assistant Attorney General George Cochran Doub at a ceremony after citizenship had been restored to 4,978 of 5,409 renunciants.2

At that time, of the 2,031 renunciants who were sent to Japan, 1,327 have had their citizenship restored; 347 have been denied resti-

1Ibid. (Wayne Collins also was prominent in single handedly acting in the defense of Iva Toguri d'Aquino, who was indicted and convicted as traitor for her alleged role as "Tokyo Rose" during the war. Currently Ms. d'Aquino has wide support in her defense. During the immediate post-war period no group came to her defense. After the recent death of Collins, his son, also a lawyer, has continued with the case; see Iva Toguri (d'Aquino): Victim of a Legend (published by the National Committee for the Defense for Iva Toguri, Sept. 1975.)

tion. Wayne Collins almost by himself fought his way through the court for years, and thereby, as Girdner and Loftis say, corrected the "most disastrous of all evacuation mistakes." Even at that, as the result of evacuation, loyalty questions and renunciation, several thousands left for Japan. Through February 23, 1946, a total of 4,406 residents of Tule Lake had left for Japan. Of this total, 1,110 were those who did not appeal from being deported, plus 1,523 aliens and 1,767 American citizens. Of the American citizens, all except 49 were minor children of aliens or renunciants. Altogether, "some 8,000 persons of Japanese descent left for Japan between V-J Day and mid-1946." 1

Military Draft Resisters

The formation of the all-Nisei army unit and its performance in the war has been much publicized through government sources, both by those considered friends of Japanese Americans and by Japanese Americans themselves. The Nisei journalist-author Bill Hosokawa has an illustrative chapter entitled "Proof in Blood" in his Nisei: The Quiet Americans indicating that better acceptance of Japanese Americans as Americans came about because of the valiant deeds of these soldiers. 2

The 442nd Combat Team was the most decorated unit in the entire United States Army in World War II. The soldiers in the 442nd paid dearly for this distinction. They had a casualty rate estimated at 308 percent;

1 Ibid., p. 454.
3 Hosokawa, Nisei, pp. 383-422.
569 were killed outright, 81 died of wounds, 3,713 were wounded, and 67 were reported missing. The predecessor of the 442nd unit, the Hawaiian 100th Battalion, received the Distinguished Unit Citation by Lieutenant General Mark Clark on July 27, 1944.

Not so well known is the fact that some six thousand Japanese Americans served in the Pacific theatre, most of them in the Military Intelligence Service, engaged in secret work such as translating documents and interpreting. Those men were not in a segregated Japanese American unit but were dispersed among the troops in the Pacific.¹

Not well publicized either was the extent and depth of resistance of other Japanese Americans to governmental controls of all kinds. Resistance and dissent against governmental policies and practices were much more widespread than is commonly acknowledged in many of the writings of and about Japanese Americans. These dissenters paid dearly for the vicissitudes of war, exacerbated by long-standing racial prejudice. Between January 1944, when the draft was reopened to Japanese Americans, and November 1946, some three hundred men eligible for military service resisted the draft for various reasons.² One of the more militant actions of protest against the government took place at Heart Mountain Camp in Wyoming, in the form of resistance to the military draft. Most published writings on Japanese Americans make little or no reference to this protest and similar events. A total of eighty-five men were tried, convicted and imprisoned for draft law violations. They originated with the formation of the Fair Play Com-

²Ibid., p. 327.
mittee (FPC), probably composed mostly of Nisei. This group objected to what its members believed to be the injustice of a military draft while their constitutional rights were being violated. The FPC activities intensified after the announcement of compulsory induction for Japanese Americans from January 20, 1944. In spite of the removal of the key leaders of FPC to Tule Lake and continual harassment of the group by the government, the draft resistance movement in Heart Mountain continued. A strong nucleus of resisters fought for their constitutional rights through the courts. At one time, there were three hundred members in the FPC. One sentencing judge, disagreeing with the defendants, said, "If they are truly loyal American citizens they should . . . at least . . . embrace the opportunity to discharge the duties by offering themselves in the cause of our National Defense." One of the local newspaper editors, after the conviction of the Nisei resisters, wrote, "If these Japs are 'good American citizens,' as some people insist they are, why didn't they enlist to show their love and respect for our Country?" Some of the harshest critics of the resisters were their fellow-Nisei, who revealed their anxiety that somehow the loyalty of Japanese Americans would be impugned by such acts of dissent. Ben Kuroki, a well-known Nisei war hero, was quoted in the Wyoming State Tribune as saying, "These men are Fascists in my estimation and no good to any country. They have torn down (what) all the rest of us have tried to do." I hope that these members of the


2Ibid., p. 160.
Fair Play Committee won't form the opinion of America concerning all Japanese Americans.\(^1\) The *Japanese American Sentinel*, through its editor, said that the Fair Play Committee members who encouraged other men not to report for military induction "deserved penitentiary sentences."\(^2\) Nelson, who did extensive research on the draft resistance in Heart Mountain camp concluded:

Given the repressive tactics of the administration and given the very small possibility of achieving any practical results, the fact that one out of nine draft age Nisei (in Heart Mountain) chose to face jail rather than take pre-induction physical examinations is nothing less than remarkable. It is, moreover, further evidence of the militant and noncooperative attitude which characterized the response of many Japanese Americans to the injustice of evacuation and detention.\(^3\)

The Constitutional Question

The violation of personal liberties on such a large scale based primarily on ancestry did not go unchallenged in the courts. The "curfew law," proclaimed on March 24, 1942, was contested by a young Nisei attorney, Min Yasui, a graduate of the University of Oregon Law School, and Gordon Hirabayashi, a senior at the University of Washington. To test its constitutionality, they disobeyed the curfew order to stay in their homes between 8:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m.\(^4\) Those affected were "all alien Japanese, all alien Germans, all alien Italians and all persons of Japanese ancestry in the restricted zones, Military area Nos. 1 and 2."\(^5\) At 11:00 p.m. in Portland, Yasui tried to get arrested by a city

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\(^1\) Ibid., pp. 164-65.  
\(^2\) Ibid., p. 161.  
\(^3\) Ibid., p. 167.  
\(^4\) Hosokawa, *Nisei*, pp. 311-12.  
patrolman, who is reported to have said, "Go home, Sonny, or you'll get in trouble." Upon his own insistence, Yasui was arrested and tried, and eventually the case went before the U. S. Supreme Court. In the course of his trials, he spent nine months in Multnomah County jail in Portland. Yasui was stunned to be informed by the lower court that he had lost his U. S. citizenship, because he had at one time worked for the Japanese consulate in Chicago. This ruling on loss of citizenship was reversed but the Supreme Court determined that the Army indeed had the authority to impose the curfew binding on civilians even without martial law. Yasui estimated that it cost him and his family $10,000 to carry his case through the courts. The JACL leaders apparently did not take kindly to Yasui's disobedience tactic. He wrote from the jail to his friend, "I have been formally and officially repudiated (in a JACL bulletin) as a glory grabbing, self-styled martyr."

Gordon Hirabayashi, from a Quaker family, violated both the curfew and exclusion orders as "a conscientious objector to evacuation." Hirabayashi stated, "I must maintain the democratic standards for which this nation lives. Therefore, I must refuse this order for evacuation. . . . I am objecting to the principle [emphasis provided] of this order which denies the rights of human beings, including citizens."

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1 Min Yasui is at present Chairman of the Commission on Human Relations, Denver, Colorado.

2 Hosokawa, Nisei, p. 313.

3 Ibid.

4 Girdner and Loftis, The Great Betrayal, p. 204.

5 Ibid.
The Supreme Court in May 1943, ruling only on the curfew and not on the exclusion orders, was unanimous in upholding the constitutionality of the curfew order. Justice William O. Douglas, in a seeming contradiction, asserted that "loyalty is a matter of mind and heart, not of race" even as he concurred with the majority upholding the authority of the army to impose a racial curfew and he said, "We cannot sit in judgement on the military requirements of that year" (Hirabayashi v. U. S. 320 U. S. 81).\textsuperscript{1} Hirabayashi served nine months in the State of Washington county jail and three months in a Federal penitentiary for the violation of the curfew and evacuation orders in 1943. In September 1944, he was in court again for refusing to register on the special selective service questionnaire prepared for persons only of Japanese ancestry. He was sentenced to two additional months in prison.

Fred Toyosaburo Korematsu, another Nisei who disobeyed the evacuation order, did so to remain free to marry a Caucasian girl. Attorney Wayne Collins took the case through the Supreme Court. The decision was returned on December 18, 1944, that the evacuation was constitutional. The unanimity of the Hirabayashi case, however, was broken in the Korematsu case when three of the nine Justices (Jackson, Roberts and Murphy) dissented. Justice Murphy, contending that the

\textsuperscript{1}Note the similarity of the first comment to President Roosevelt's statement of February 1, 1943, already alluded to: "Americanism is not, and never was, a matter of race or ancestry." The following year (1944) Justice Douglas expanded his view in saying, "Loyalty is a matter of the heart and mind, not of race, creed, or color" (Ex Parte Mitsuye Endo 323 U. S. 238). Gordon Hirabayashi is Chairman of the Sociology Department of the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada. Girdner and Loftis, The Great Betrayal, p. 478.
evacuation fell "into the ugly abyss of racism," asserted, "individuals must not be left impoverished of their constitutional rights on a plea of military necessity that has neither substance nor support" (Korematsu v. U. S. 234).

In the case of Mitsuye Endo, the Supreme Court by unanimous decision ordered her, concededly loyal, released "unconditionally" from the Topaz relocation camp, where she was being detained. One day before the Supreme Court announced its decision, the Army on December 17, 1944, rescinded its exclusion order of the Japanese from the West Coast. From the time that habeas corpus had been filed on Endo's behalf in July 1942, to its final determination by the Supreme Court in late 1944, the key lawyer in the case was James Purcell. Purcell took the case up with no remuneration, at a cost to him of approximately $5,000, not including his time. Wayne Collins, the lawyer who fought for Fred Korematsu, with support from the American Civil Liberties Union for Northern California, also went unpaid for his efforts. It was obviously a matter of principle for the lawyers in these cases and innumerable other cases. About the evacuation Collins is reported to have said, "It was the foulest goddam crime the United States has ever committed against a wonderful people." Collins also expressed his anger at the JACL leadership in relation to evacuation: "The JACL pretended to be the spokesman for all Japanese Americans but they wouldn't stand up for their people. They didn't speak up for the Issei. They led their people like a bunch of goddam doves to the concentration camps." 1

1 Hosokawa, Nisei, p. 431.  
2 Ibid., p. 432.  
3 Ibid., p. 424.
The Supreme Court did not directly confront the constitutionality of the evacuation issue taken in its essential nature. Thus, in the Hirabayashi, Korematsu and the Endo cases, "the entire program of the government in effecting the curfew and the evacuation of American citizens of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific Coast and their detention in concentration camps passed through the court without at any point encountering constitutional condemnation." In all the cases, the Supreme Court accepted uncritically the government's position that the evacuation was "a military necessity." Mr. Justice Jackson's dissent in the case of Korematsu v. U. S. said that in this kind of easy rationalization,

... the Court for all time has validated the principle of racial discrimination in criminal procedure and of transplanting American citizens. The principle, then, lies about like a loaded weapon [emphasis added] ready for the hand of any authority that can bring forward a plausible claim on an urgent need ... (Korematsu v. U. S. 323 U. S. 214).

In its 1946 convention the JACL passed a resolution asking Congress to compensate the evacuees for their property losses. On July 2, 1948, President Truman signed Public Law 886, Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act, which authorized the Attorney General to "adjudicate certain claims" of the evacuees. About 60 percent of the compensation cases were "pots and pans claims"--for loss of household items of less than $2,500 each--and 75 percent were for less than $5,000.

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3 Hosokawa, Nisei, p. 445.
The processing of this law proved impractical. It was costing the government, on the average, $1,000 to handle a $450 claim. An amendment was signed into law on August 17, 1951, authorizing the Attorney General to automatically settle "all claims up to $2,500 or three-quarters of the amount of the compensable items, whichever was less." On July 9, 1956, President Eisenhower signed another amendment into law to correct some of the inequities of the 1948 evacuation law.

About the final adjudication of the claims, Hosokawa says:

In all, some $38,000,000 was paid out in evacuation claims—less than ten cents for each dollar lost. Furthermore, claims were made on the basis of 1942 prices and payment was made in inflated post-war dollars. In terms of reduced purchasing power, the evacuee were paid only a nickel in compensation for every dollar they had lost as a direct consequence of the evacuation.

Many who had suffered losses did not make claims. Many others had no substantial evidence of their losses—verbal agreements could not be ascertained and written documents were lost in the confusion of evacuation.

Currently, debates are taking place within the JACL membership across the country on some form of "reparation" plan to be presented to the U. S. government. One of the proposed plans call for a payment of two billion dollars, according to Pacific Citizen, the official publication of JACL:


2 Yoshino, "Legislative History," p. 34.


4 Hosokawa, Nisei, pp. 446-47.
The basic plan calls for providing $5,000 per person plus $10 for each day of confinement. Estimated cost would be about $2 billion, it was stated. The unclaimed portion of the reparations would be placed in trust for Japanese American cultural-educational purposes and a legal defense fund to protect Nikkei (Japanese Americans) from discriminatory or unequal treatment under federal rules and regulations.¹

One poll of the JACL membership indicated that 70 percent favored this plan, while 29 percent felt that this plan was "grossly inadequate."²

Executive Order 9066 (E.O. 9066), which authorized evacuation was rescinded officially by President Gerald Ford on February 19, 1976, exactly thirty-four years after its proclamation by President Franklin D. Roosevelt (see Appendix II), although E.O. 9066 actually terminated on December 31, 1946. The JACL promoted this ceremonial affair to be held by the President at the White House. Pacific Citizen listed the dignitaries present for the occasion:

Attending the signing ceremony were Attorney General Edward H. Levi; the Nisei members of Congress, Senator Daniel Inouye, Representative Spark Matsunaga, Representative Patsy Mink, Representative Norman Mineta, Senator Hiram Fong, only Chinese American member in Congress from Hawaii; other Japanese American public officials at state and local levels as well as community leaders.³

When the interviewees of this study were asked what they thought the causes of evacuation were, almost none of the Nisei or the Sansei agreed with the official government's assessment of the situation during wartime that evacuation was a military necessity and for the "protection of the Japanese Americans" from a hostile public. Many interviewees proposed one or both of what tenBroeck and colleagues call the "pressure group" and "politician" theories. Contrary to the views of

¹Pacific Citizen, 14 May 1976.
²Ibid.
³Ibid., 27 February 1976.
many writers and researchers on Japanese Americans, tenBroeck and colleagues discount the primary importance of these two theories which put the blame of evacuation mainly on small but powerful groups of people. They claim that the activities of pressure groups--agricultural, commercial, patriotic, civic and social--were neither that well organized nor timed to influence the crucial decision on evacuation. They note that February 14, 1942 was the date when DeWitt's "Final Recommendation" was submitted, so the actual decision on evacuation was made earlier than, or on that date. Many of the well publicized anti-Japanese activities of the pressure groups, however, took place after that date; thus, they were not related directly to the decision to evacuate.

The "politician theory" is also discounted. For example, West Coast politicians like Earl Warren, California's Attorney General in 1942 and later Supreme Court Chief Justice, were credited with influencing DeWitt in the decision-making. The authors present evidence that this would have been impossible. The anti-Japanese sentiments of Warren were expressed well after the decision to evacuate the Japanese. Similarly, whatever pressure the West Coast congressmen tried to apply to the Army came too late to be influential in the decision-making. The authors say that the decision to evacuate was mainly military--of General DeWitt, his military staff and his superiors in the War Department. The evacuation decision was strictly a military decision, which is not to say that DeWitt's "military necessity" assumption was correct. Available evidence indicates otherwise. However, "the dereliction was one of folly, not of knavery."¹

¹ tenBroeck, Barnhart and Matson, Prejudice, War and the Constitution, p. 208.
Some of the many people who played key roles in implementing the removal and incarceration of Japanese Americans have later made some comments as they reflected on this event of many years back. In 1968 the Nisei journalist Bill Hosokawa wrote to Bendetsen (then chairman of U. S. Plywood-Champion Papers Incorporated), living in New York City, asking him for his evaluation of the evacuation. Bendetsen denied that he was an advocate of evacuation. He claimed that he was only carrying out the decisions made by higher authorities. Also, he referred to the Final Report as a factual report. Earl Warren, the Attorney General of California at the time of the evacuation, and who can be considered one of the chief advocates of evacuation, did not make any public statement on the evacuation during postwar years. Lieutenant General DeWitt was asked for an interview by the researchers of the tenBroeck volume, but the request was denied. Retired Associate Justice Tom C. Clark of the United States Supreme Court (but not on the Supreme Court when the evacuation cases were reviewed) who worked with DeWitt in behalf of the Justice Department, wrote in the "Epilogue" of the book Executive Order 9066, "The stubborn fact is, our fellow Japanese American citizens lost their liberty simply and only because of their ancestry."1 Elsewhere, Clark referring to the evacuation wrote, "looking back on it today, this was, of course, a mistake."2

As one wades through the mass of writing related to events, rules and regulations controlling the lives of Japanese Americans in wartime,

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2Pacific Citizen, 7 May 1976.
one cannot but be impressed by what it all had cost the agencies and the people involved. Actually, it is impossible to estimate with any accuracy what the total cost of evacuation had been. The War Department claims that it cost $80 million to move some 110,000 Japanese Americans, $10.7 million to build the "assembly centers," another $56.6 million for "relocation centers." In 1944 alone, Congress appropriated $39 million to the WRA. Some 45,000 Caucasian workers were withdrawn from other occupations to implement the evacuation program with an estimated loss to the economy the first year of $70 million.\(^1\) The WRA chief of Evacuee Property said that "the evacuated people left behind them about $200,000,000 worth of real, personal and commercial property. It is known that losses have mounted to many millions of dollars."\(^2\) The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco estimated the loss to the evacuees to be $400 million. All these estimates, of course, refer to dollar values of the 1940s.

Thousands of personnel employed by private and public organizations to execute the evacuation and resettlement, millions of pages of paper work, incalculable amounts of waste in expenses, loss in labor of the productive workers—these facts alone boggle the mind, without even considering how many millions of dollars of loss that the Japanese themselves incurred. The greatest loss and waste, needless to say, were in terms of human lives—the hurt to dignity, psychological and social damages—the full extent of which is incalculable. Prejudice

\(^1\)Girdner and Loftis, *The Great Betrayal*, p. 480.

is unnecessarily expensive in terms of economics; it is even more devastating to the lives of both the oppressors and the oppressed.¹ Often the psychosocial results of prejudice are so deeply internalized that they are missed as observable problems until they surface in times of crisis. Then, they explode with terrifying force. The Japanese were the convenient victims of this phenomenon. No instruments, nor interviews, nor writings can adequately tell the story of what happened to the lives of the people as a result of the evacuation experience. Imprisonment is a cruel form of human deprivation, no matter what the reasons. Had the confinement been much longer, perhaps the inmates would have ultimately adjusted to the artificial security. They might have come to prefer the security of prison to the terrifying freedom of the hostile outside world. There were indications that this process of rapid adjustment and accommodation was taking place in the lives of many evacuees, both old and young, as the months progressed in the camps.²

When the exclusion orders were rescinded in December 1944, over half of the 110,000 people were still in the camps, but the others had left for various parts of the United States outside of the West Coast. Most of the evacuees, who were now called "resettlers," were located in the nine states as shown in Table 5.


TABLE 5

RELLOCATION BY STATES OF JAPANESE AMERICANS IN 1949

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idaho</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>2,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>1,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>3,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>42,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Others returned to the West Coast. Many who had previously resettled in the non-Western states also eventually returned to the West Coast. Chicago received the largest concentration, with twenty thousand persons of Japanese parentage being reported at one time, almost all residing within the city limits. Because of restrictive covenants in housing against blacks and Orientals and other minorities, and the economic status of many Japanese soon after concentration camp experience, suburban living was not one of the options open to them. They started life anew in larger metropolitan centers across the country, with most of them concentrated in the midwestern states. Many returned to the West Coast after the restrictions were lifted on December 17, 1944.
Thus came a conclusion to this bitter episode in American history—a culmination of prejudice and discrimination that affected a small but significant segment of the American population. The director of War Relocation Authority, Dillon S. Myer, states in his book, *Uprooted Americans*, that the mass evacuation of all Japanese Americans was unnecessary. Nevertheless, he looks at the more "worth-while results" of evacuation, as some of the Nisei interviewees in this study did, in retrospect. Myer writes:

The most important result of WRA program was the relocation of more than 50,000 Japanese Americans all across the United States and into the Armed Forces during the war period. This dispersion of the population led to an understanding and an acceptance on the part to the great American public that would never have been possible otherwise. It also had a tremendous effect upon the understanding, outlook, and perspective of the Nisei in particular, which provided new opportunities and support for them and developed confidence in themselves which would not have happened otherwise.¹

But such statements of optimism about the consequences of gross mistreatment of one particular racial group brings out even more in bold relief the oppressive side of the nation that has continually plagued the American people. The victims have been, in turn, native American Indians, blacks, other minorities, various later European immigrant arrivals, and Asians. Foreign policies have reflected the traditional contempt of Americans of Asian descent and others related by descent to the minorities in the domestic sphere. American involvement in Vietnam is only the latest in a series of so-called "mistakes" in American policies. None of these historical happenings can be referred to as an aberration or as a social behavior abnormal to the American people. The history of the United States is too replete with

¹Myer, *Uprooted Americans*, p. 286.
innumerable persecution and oppressions to call them mere accidents, temporary abandonment of democratic principles or unusual "incidents."

In this sense, what happened to Japanese Americans in evacuation is not unique or exceptional. Others have suffered similarly and the harmful effects are evident in the social ills in the two hundredth year of the founding of the United States of America. One critic of the American scene reminds his reader, evacuation took place by order of the Federal government. . . . It was not the deed of a bunch of hoodlums or of local vigilantes, nor was it done while martial law was in force. To make matters even worse, the forced internment of the Issei and Nisei en masse was later declared constitutionally justifiable by the Supreme Court. And, be it noted, that ruling remains on the books unchanged.¹

¹Kitagawa, Issei and Nisei, p. 168.
CHAPTER IV

SAMPLING AND METHODOLOGY

Japanese Americans in Chicago

The resettlement of Japanese Americans from the concentration camps to various metropolitan areas brought many of them to Chicago from the mid-1940s. The peak population of Japanese American "reset-tlers" in Chicago was about 20,000 during the latter 1940s and early 1950s, as contrasted with the 1940 U. S. Census which showed a Japanese American population of 390 in Chicago. Of the 20,000 persons relocated or born in Chicago, approximately 7,000 were Issei and 13,000 Nisei. When the restrictions against the Japanese living on the West Coast were lifted in 1945, some Japanese Americans residing in Chicago returned to the Pacific coast cities where they had resided before the evacuation.

When Japanese Americans began resettling in Chicago, they resided on the mid-south side of Chicago, especially the Oakland-Kenwood and Hyde Park-Woodlawn areas, and the near north and far north areas. Although there are still clusters of Japanese Americans within the city limits of Chicago, many now reside in the suburbs. Presently, within the city limits, there is a relative concentration of Japanese Americans on the north and far northside areas (as Uptown and Rogers Park).

However, many families and individuals are dispersed widely throughout the metropolitan area, a great contrast to the 1940s. At that time, many faced with economic limitations and overt housing discrimination, most of them were confined to limited areas within the city, with hardly any of them being able to move into the suburbs, which grew rapidly all around the outer limits of the city immediately after the war. Now, numerous suburban communities have Japanese-American residents, with north suburban communities having the larger percentage, such as Evanston and Skokie.¹

The evacuees came to Chicago and stayed here mainly because of job and educational opportunities. The Chicago Resettlers Committee, a nonprofit private agency, staffed by all Japanese American personnel (Issei and Nisei), began operation in 1943 to assist in the resettlement of newcomers. The War Relocation Authority (WRA) had set up a Chicago office to help with the resettlement project in the early 1940s. When the WRA closed its office in early 1946, the Chicago Resettlers Committee continued and expanded the services to newcomers in employment, housing and social organizations. In more recent years, this agency changed its name to the present one, Japanese American Service Committee. Early annual reports of this organization reveal the kinds of problems and needs facing these early resettlers to Chicago. Job placement was crucial both for the then young Nisei and the older Issei. Everything from English language classes to Japanese poetry groups were organized and maintained for the benefit of the Issei. The recreational-social programs for Nisei youth were directed by a full-time staff

member of the agency, a young Nisei professional group worker. Many
Nisei students enrolled in various undergraduate and graduate institu-
tions within the metropolitan region.

Some thirty years after the resettlement of these people, much
change had taken place. Many Issei have died; many Nisei have since mar-
rried and reared children, who now in turn are in their youth. Although
these families and individuals have since scattered to other parts of the
city and into the suburbs, many of them have kept in touch with other
Japanese Americans through friendship groups or Japanese American organi-
zations. Perhaps, a larger number of other Japanese Americans are not
related to predominantly Japanese ethnic groups. It is probable that
numerous Japanese Americans have not kept in close contact with each
other; in varying degrees, they have become "integrated" into other
groups and social circles in the various communities where they are lo-
cated.

According to the 1970 Census the total Japanese population in
the United States was 588,324.¹ There were 15,732 persons of Japanese
descent living in metropolitan Chicago, of which 11,172 were in the
City of Chicago and 4,560 in the outlying suburbs, mostly within Cook
County.² As estimated by the Japanese Consulate in Chicago, there were
some 2,000 temporary visitors from Japan, such as college students and
employees of Japanese corporations.³ The number of those sixty-five

¹U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Subject
Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States, 1970

²Ibid., pp. 50-51.

³Information secured from an official of the Japanese Consulate
years old and over were 1,163 which would have been the age range of the Issei.\textsuperscript{1} The remaining 12,889 then would have been made up of Nisei parents and Sansei children in metropolitan Chicago.

**The Subjects and Their Selection**

The number of interviewees in this study was 123 Japanese Americans in metropolitan Chicago, all but one family member residing within Cook County. Eighty-six lived within the city limits of Chicago and 37 in the suburbs. Among the Sansei, 12 were married. A total of 45 families were contacted. In one of these cases, only a Sansei member was interviewed, and the subject's Nisei parents were not. In all other cases—44 families—both the parents and the children were interviewed. In 33 of these families, a set of 2 Nisei parents and 1 Sansei youth per family were interviewed, and in one family, 1 parent and 2 children were interviewed. Of the 77 Nisei parents, there were 42 males and 35 females. Of the 46 Sansei, there were 29 males and 17 females.

The selection of the participants for the study was made by this investigator. A Sansei member of each family was a college student, a college graduate or at least of college age. At least one of the members of 21 families were previously known to this interviewer. Twenty-four other families, previously not known to this investigator, were contacted with the help of friends, church and other community leaders. Twenty of the 45 families were selected for this study, because at least one of the Nisei parents in each family were known by this writer to be leaders in the predominantly Japanese American organ-

\textsuperscript{1} Subject Reports, p. 52.
izations, such as the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the Japanese American Service Committee (JASC) or in other Asian American groups. Twelve families were selected because the Sansei children were leaders in Japanese American or Asian American organizations. The remaining 13 families were selected because their members were neither leaders nor active in predominantly Japanese American or Asian American organizations or projects.

Japanese American organizations continue to provide social, religious and cultural activities for some of the Japanese Americans in the Chicago area. There are some dozen Christian congregations of various denominations and a half a dozen Buddhist temples of different sects and other community groups.¹ The two best known community organizations are the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and the Japanese American Service Committee (JASC). JACL is a national organization with a membership of about 25,000 in 1970 and 29,000 in 1975. It has a chapter in metropolitan Chicago and other localities across the country. The Chicago chapter membership is about 1,000. JACL is probably best known to the Nisei for its activities during World War II. To the Sansei the JACL would not be as familiar except for those few who are active or have friends in it. Chicago Chapter JACL promotes educational programs related to Japanese Americans, interprets Japanese American experience to the general public and sponsors young people's groups and activities. The local chapter keeps in close contact with the national headquarters, and local leaders attend both regional and national JACL conferences and meetings regularly. The

membership of the Chicago Chapter's governing board is currently composed of almost all Sansei, whereas a few years ago it was mostly Nisei. JASC is a local agency, with about one thousand members, and provides services to families and individuals in counseling, job placement and promotes Japanese cultural and social activities. One of its most widely known programs is the work center in which old people, many of whom are Issei, are given work on contracts with commercial firms.

The two most mentioned Japanese American organizations in which the subjects claimed membership were Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and Japanese American Service Committee (JASC). JACL was mentioned by 31 Nisei and 11 Sansei subjects while JASC was mentioned by 28 Nisei and 5 Sansei subjects as organizations to which they belonged.

A total of 23 subjects, 14 Nisei and 9 Sansei, indicated that they were members of one of the two Buddhist temples, Midwest Buddhist Temple and Buddhist Temple of Chicago, which together have a total membership of about 475 family units. Among Christians in Japanese American congregations, 8 (7 Nisei and 1 Sansei) said that they belonged to Christ Church of Chicago (North Side, Chicago) which claimed a total membership of about 100 Japanese American family units. Another group having a cluster of respondents as members (6 Nisei and 1 Sansei) was the Nisei Veterans' group with a total reported membership of 300.\footnote{Membership information was secured by this researcher from the officials of these respective organizations.}

Seven Sansei belonged to the Asian American Study Group, a small group of approximately twenty predominantly Japanese American young adults promoting study of Asian American history and experiences. Seven other
Sansei indicated that they were active in various Asian American groups in the college campuses where they were located. These groups varied in size, from a dozen in a smaller private college to about fifty in a larger public university. Among the Nisei, four had been active in Asian American organizations. Among them was the Asian Forum with about two hundred "paid members" plus seven hundred affiliated with it, and Association of Asian Americans for Human Services with an active membership at one time (1973-74) of about fifty. Asian American groups included various ethnic members of Asian descent, including recent immigrant arrivals as well as third or fourth generation Asian Americans, such as Sansei. These groups are usually voluntary and limited in resources as compared to such more well established community agencies with specific ethnic base such as the Japanese American Service Committee.

There were numerous other organizations to which two or three of the respondents belonged, such as the Minyo Club (a Japanese dance group) with about fifty members, Nisei Athletic Association composed of various sports teams and leagues with about two thousand participants of all ages and Japan American Society with four hundred fifty "corporate," "sponsoring," and individual members--Caucasians, Japanese nationals in temporary residence and Japanese Americans.

Altogether, some twenty-three Japanese American organizations and fifteen Asian American groups (which included Japanese Americans) were mentioned as those with which the respondents in the study have had some affiliation. The main organizations to which most belonged were the Japanese American Citizens League and the Japanese American Service Committee.
With the exception of one, all Sansei had attended or graduated from college. Of this total, 29 were males and 16 were females. In 34 of the total or 45 families, both the children and at least one of the parents received post-high school education. The 45 Sansei attended a variety of colleges and universities as shown in Table 6.

### TABLE 6
SANSEI AND THEIR COLLEGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Attending or Graduated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Community or junior colleges</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeastern University, Chicago</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Illinois University</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Illinois, Champaign</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Illinois, Chicago Circle</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Michigan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Washington</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Wisconsin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carleton, Minnesota</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coe, Iowa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dartmouth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois Institute of Technology</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knox, Illinois</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyola University, Chicago</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts Institute of Technology</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millikin University, Illinois</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mundelein, Chicago</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwestern University</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roosevelt University</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simpson, Iowa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanford University</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Chicago</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Southern California</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Nisei parents also attended a wide variety of post-high school institutions as shown in Table 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Attending or Graduated</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Commercial schools</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior or community colleges</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools of nursing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Public**

- California Polytechnic College: 1
- City College of New York: 1
- Michigan State University: 1
- Northeastern University, Chicago: 2
- University of California, Berkeley: 8
- University of Minnesota: 2
- University of Southern California: 1
- University of Utah: 1
- University of Washington: 4
- University of Wisconsin: 2
- University of Wyoming: 2

**Private**

- Adrian, Michigan: 1
- DePaul, Chicago: 1
- Drake, Iowa: 1
- George Washington University, Wash., D.C.: 1
- George Williams, Illinois: 2
- Hunter, New York: 1
- Illinois College of Optometry: 2
- Roosevelt University, Chicago: 3
- Simpson, Iowa: 1
- Springfield, Massachusetts: 1
- University of Illinois, Chicago: 1
- Wellesley, Massachusetts: 1
A total of 46 Nisei attended or graduated from post-secondary schools. Among them were 26 males and 20 females. Either the mother or father or both of the 30 Nisei-Sansei families attended college, so that 67 percent of the Sansei youths in the study can be said to be second generation college students.

The subjects' occupation can be classified broadly as professional, business and skilled, with the category of housewife added for women not employed. The 22 Nisei professionals included computer science analyst, dentist, engineer, library science worker, and photographer. Twenty-three Nisei in business included accountant, insurance broker, graphic arts firm owner, personnel and training executive, supervisor of personnel, and travel agency owner. The skilled category with 19 Nisei had art dealer, cabinet and furniture maker, and secretary. There were 13 Nisei housewives. Among the Sansei were 27 students (with two who recently graduated and were not yet employed), 10 professionals of engineer, computer analyst, library worker, photographer, hospital administrator, social worker and teacher. Sansei in business included executive, personnel supervisor and salesman. One Sansei was engaged in skilled occupation and two were housewives.

This research is limited to Japanese Americans designated as Nisei and Sansei. At the time of interviewing them, Nisei parents were largely in their middle years (fifty to sixty years of age) and the Sansei, in their twenties. Eleven (ten males and one female) of the parents were born and/or reared in Japan and so were technically Issei or Kibei. There were also two Sansei born in Japan but reared and educated in the United States. One parent classified as Nisei had a
Nisei mother and Issei father. Another subject in the category of Sansei had a Nisei mother and a Kibei father. All others were either literally Nisei or Sansei as previously defined. For the purpose of this study, all subjects are classified as either Nisei or Sansei with finer distinctions in generational or cultural backgrounds noted where they would possibly be related to certain attitudes expressed. All data were gathered between June, 1973 and April, 1975.

**Measuring Instruments**

Four written measuring instruments were employed. The "Interview Schedule" was used as a guide for the interview (see Appendix III). The "Information Questionnaire" was used to secure background data on each individual and it was labeled as "Japanese Americans in Metropolitan Chicago--Part I; Questionnaire" (See Appendix V, p. 357). It is a modified form of the questionnaire in the doctoral dissertation of George Kagiwada.\(^1\) Of the thirty-six items in the Information Questionnaire, twenty-two items were taken from Kagiwada's questionnaire and other items were developed by this researcher. The "Ethnic Identity Questionnaire" was employed to measure ethnic awareness of the respondents, and it was labeled as "Japanese Americans in Metropolitan Chicago--Part II; Opinion Survey" in the form that went out to the respondents (see Appendix VI, p. 366). The first fifty of a total of sixty-four items were taken from "Ethnic Identity Questionnaire" as developed by Masuda, Matsumoto and Meredith.\(^2\) Of the remaining fourteen items, nine

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\(^1\) Kagiwada, "Ethnic Identification," pp. 304-16.

items were from Kagiwada's questionnaire asking for opinions on social issues. The other five items were constructed by this researcher. The items on the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire are constructed on a five-point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Finally, "The Dogmatism Scale--Form E" (see Appendix VII, p. 373), which was labeled as "Attitude Scale" for the respondents, is that of Milton Rokeach in his *The Open and Closed Mind*. This scale was used to compare the attitudes of Japanese Americans in this study with the American norms reported in Rokeach's books from the midwestern and eastern university student bodies, ranging in years from 1952 to 1956. For the sake of clarity and brevity, the four measuring instruments will be identified from this point as follows:

1. Interview Schedule
2. Information Questionnaire
3. Ethnic Identity Questionnaire
4. Dogmatism Scale

The Interview Schedule was used only by the interviewer; the other forms were self-administered by the interviewees.

Data Collection Procedures and Forms

Interviews were set up by appointments over the phone. The questionnaire forms were either mailed or taken in person to the interviewees usually several weeks before the interview, with an accompanying explanatory letter (see Appendix IV, p. 355). They were collected at

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the time of the interview, if they were finished, or several weeks after
the interview if they had not been completed. All interviewing, except
two, was done in the homes of the subjects, usually in the evenings.
All interviews, except one, were conducted individually. The one excep­
tion occurred in which a couple were interviewed together, but their
responses were recorded separately. In the interviews, the given order
of items in the Interview Schedule was varied as seemed appropriate, in
accordance with the mood and flow of a discussion. All interviews, with
the exception of one, were recorded on tape and later transcribed by
the interviewer. Thus, virtually all of the interview materials are
verbatim transcriptions, constituting the main source of information in
this study. The responses to self-administered forms are utilized
largely to supplement the items brought out in the interviews.

In addition to the division made between the Nisei and Sansei,
the subjects were also divided into two groups as "leaders" and "non­
leaders" of Japanese American or Asian American organizations and
activities. Leaders and non-leaders were divided into their respective
groups as Nisei or Sansei for the purposes of comparison, as indicated
in Table 8 below. Leaders are defined as those who have assumed respon­sibilities in the past and/or at present requiring leadership roles in
organizations such as presidents or chairmen, or as leaders and ini­
tiators of programs. The main consideration is whether, in this
investigator's opinion, particular individuals functioned in any leader­
ship capacity. Leaders are those who were active as such at the time
of the interview or during past years in various organizations or move­
m ents. Those who do not fit into the category of leaders are classified
TABLE 8
LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nisei</th>
<th>Sansei</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leaders</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Leaders</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

as non-leaders. Non-leaders are those who occasionally attended meetings or gatherings but who have not assumed any leadership role in any activity or organization.

The transcribed verbatim interview sessions were analyzed by putting together similar responses of individuals on particular issues or subject areas. Individuals were, thus, grouped together with their remarks. The respondents were assigned identification numbers to maintain their anonymity. In this version, the identification numbers are enclosed in parentheses when particular interviewees are referred to or are quoted. The remarks and discussions of individuals on given issues or subjects are organized into various categories for presentation in Chapters V through X.

The other sources of data are tabulations of responses to the three instruments: Information Questionnaire, Ethnic Identity Questionnaire (Appendix VI, p. 366), and the Dogmatism Scale (Appendix VII, p. 373). Selected items from these instruments were punched on computer cards for analysis, using the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) and BMD (Biomedical Data) statistical analysis program. Data were processed on a Control Data Corporation Cyber 73-14
Chi-squares were computed for the Information Questionnaire and the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire comparisons. The t test was employed to compare the Dogmatism Scale scores. In all comparisons throughout this study the probability level of .05 or less is considered statistically significant.

The sampling selection was not intended to result in an exactly representative sample of Japanese American families and individuals in metropolitan Chicago. However, it is thought that among families who have college students or college graduates of the Sansei generation, this study possibly reflects moods, opinions and views of many such family members in the Chicago area and in other parts of the United States. The assumption is that forty-six Sansei students as well as seventy-seven of their parents interviewed do represent other Japanese American families with similar backgrounds in education and class. It is hoped that in this respect this study can serve to alert college and university personnel to be sensitive to some of the needs and concerns expressed by these Japanese Americans with college background.
CHAPTER V

VIEWS ON JAPANESE AMERICAN ORGANIZATIONS

Inasmuch as the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and the Japanese American Service Committee (JASC) are possibly better known than other Asian American groups among Japanese Americans, the interviewees were asked for their views on these two organizations. The discussion of JASC and JACL often led to the interviewees' opinions on the value of Japanese American organizations in general, such as the viability of Japanese ethnic groups in the present American society.

Some 55 percent of the Nisei and 28 percent of the Sansei spoke favorably of JASC, many of them saying that the work center for Issei in particular was beneficial to the old people. Some 52 percent of the Nisei and 22 percent of the Sansei indicated that JACL was performing useful services in behalf of Japanese Americans. It was thought especially valuable as a national organization that can engage in social and political actions. A little over half of those who spoke favorably of JACL were also supportive of the activities of JASC, indicating perhaps that many were joint supporters of both JASC and JACL.

One out of every eight Nisei and one out of every three Sansei said that they knew little about both JACL and JASC. A half of the Nisei who claimed knowing little about both JACL and JASC were active in predominantly Japanese American churches and temples. About a half
of the fourteen Sansei, who said that they knew little or nothing about the Japanese American organizations had little exposure to Japanese American individuals. Three Sansei who admitted to knowing nothing about either JASC or JACL were leaders in the newer Asian American organizations. Others of the fourteen Sansei were active only in predominantly white groups.

The degree of approval by the interviewees of these Japanese American organizations varied widely particularly regarding JACL. There were statements of mild approval for JACL, such as by a Nisei, "I'm not against it. . . . I'm sure it helped (in obtaining equal rights for the Japanese), . . . " as well as expressions of strong support for it, such as that by another Nisei, "The organization of the JACL is a must. I hope that Sansei will take up the reign after the Nisei will leave it" (92). Generally, those who spoke favorably of JASC, JACL or other predominantly Japanese American organizations considered the ethnic voluntary groups as playing important roles socially, politically, or economically. JACL was looked upon as the one organization that can speak for Japanese Americans. They thought it important to continue having representatives based in Washington, D. C., since they were the one and only legislative and lobbying arm for Japanese Americans in general.

JACL in the past had been criticized by many Japanese Americans for its alleged easy submission to the governmental and military policies to evacuate Japanese Americans during the war. In the interviews, 16 percent of the Nisei and 2 percent of the Sansei spoke on this point. Most defended the JACL position to cooperate with the governmental deci-
sion to evacuate during wartime, which they understood as the only alternative open to Japanese Americans at that time. Some 6 percent of the Nisei interviewees criticized JACL for its lack of assertiveness as a Japanese American group. One Nisei (52) who disagreed with JACL's acquiescence to evacuation complained that the "JACL seemed to apologize for (being) Japanese." Another Nisei (29) recalled humorously that JACL has been called a group for "Niseidom." Although this Nisei said that JACL was generally ineffective, he was pleasantly surprised with the success of JACL effort to have Title II (often referred to as the "concentration camp act") repealed by the U. S. Congress. A few years ago he had made an effort to bring about some changes in JACL, but he gave up, he said, when he saw that there was not enough support for any substantial change. Another Nisei (50), who was for more inclusive Asian American groups rather than just Japanese American organizations, commented, "JACL is a static organization that really hasn't caught up with the time. ... It's an ingrown organization."

Currently, since the Sansei, rather than the Nisei, seem to be most active as leaders in the Chicago Chapter of JACL, the Nisei JACL leaders were asked how they felt about the younger generation taking over the leadership. In almost every instance, when comments were made, the Nisei were favorable of this shift in leadership. Only in one case,

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1 See below, pp. 238-39 for a comment on this by one evacuee.

2 One of the most forceful and persistent supporters of Japanese Americans during and after the wartime was attorney Wayne Collins who severely criticized JACL leadership for their lack of assertiveness in behalf of Japanese Americans. Collins said he had nothing but "utter detestation for the JACL; they're nothing but a bunch of jackals," Hosokawa, Nisei, p. 423. See also below, p. 156 and p. 164.
a Kibei leader (19) active in the Japanese community but not a leader of JACL, criticized the Sansei leadership, but only in reference to a specific act. ① Comments from the past Nisei JACL leaders indicated that in the Chicago area the reign of leadership had been gladly turned over to the older Sansei.

All in all, four out of five Nisei and two out of five Sansei spoke favorably of the Japanese American organizations in general such as JASC or JACL, saying that they were important for various purposes, ranging from those related to social and cultural to political and economic needs. In both groups of the Nisei and the Sansei, those who favored Japanese ethnic organizations were mostly leaders.

The reasons varied as to why the respondents thought Japanese American organizations as being important. The majority of those favoring Japanese American organizations mentioned that they were important for social reasons, if for nothing else. One recent Sansei college graduate (107) said that social life among Japanese Americans in their own ethnic group was beneficial. She favored the continuance of Japanese American groups, but she herself had not been affiliated with any of them during college years. She had been involved in Asian American Third World activities, but she still favored the maintenance of groups that were predominantly Japanese American.

One Nisei mother (42) expressed the thought of some of the other parents that the Sansei young people ought to get together with each other. Her family had moved to a suburb and had not been active in Japanese American organizations. She wished that her college student

① See above, p. 256.
son had more exposure to Japanese American girls, which he had not had. She and her husband had tried attending social activities sponsored by a Japanese American church congregation, but this had not led to any appreciable contacts with other Japanese for their son. Their college student son (40) who was interviewed did not particularly express any interest in dating Japanese Americans or other Asians. He said that his dates were Caucasian. He has had no contact with Japanese Americans, having lived in a suburb all his youth. In the area of interracial marriage, he did acknowledge "some problems" with it. He said that his parents and others have not had enough exposure to an interracial situation, implying that perhaps with increasing exposure, they can come to accept it. Like this student's parents, some other Nisei parents frankly admitted that they wanted to encourage their Sansei children to find friends of the opposite sex among Japanese Americans.

Some thirteen persons (six Nisei and eight Sansei) said that Japanese American groups were important for cultural nurture and transmission. One Sansei college student (91) said that a Japanese American student club was organized when he was in high school with a small Japanese American population. This club gave him and others a chance to "rap and talk about" the Japanese American heritage. One Nisei father (105) explained the advantages of the Japanese American Boy Scout troop which he had led. This troop was infused with a combination of "Japanese heritage" and group pride; it was under the subtle pressure of "shame syndrome" to do its best. In adult leadership, the "father is a father and not a pal" (105). Consequently, he said, this troop was superior to predominantly Caucasian scout troops. Another
Nisei (52) spoke of the discipline and mental attitude which was important in the Japanese martial arts, of which he was a volunteer instructor. He stressed the elements of discipline and responsibility that were present not only in his martial arts club but also in other predominantly Japanese American groups, such as the clubs and groups of his Buddhist Temple, where he was also a leader. The Sansei daughter (53) of this Nisei father was a strong advocate of Japanese American or Asian American organizations as a significant means to promote and transmit Japanese culture.

A few saw Japanese American organizations as possible agencies to effect social change. One Sansei professional, active in the Asian American movement, explained that Japanese Americans must be necessarily supportive of each other.

People feel more secure with each other and their own people. I think, also, part of it is that the society is really not all that open. Superficially you can say that there are very little discriminatory acts. . . . But in terms of Japanese feeling at ease and really being accepted (the existence of these organizations) indicate that maybe there is (discrimination) in the society. I just wish that those (Japanese American) organizations would not just continue as they have but make changes (18).

As others active in Asian American and not just in Japanese American organizations, this Sansei expressed the hope that Japanese American organizations like the JACL will move more rapidly in confronting the dominant society to achieve social change as he saw some other Asian American groups doing. He saw such groups as JACL as too self-contained, but he recognized the need for such predominantly Japanese American groups. Another Sansei (71) who was deeply committed to more inclusive Asian American and other social change movements called the Japanese American organizations such as JACL and JASC as "too enthnocentric."
He recognized their values nevertheless.

Until they (Japanese American organizations) become more Asian oriented, I'm not sure I will participate, but I realize that they are important organizations, and in reality I must begin to participate. . . . We always have to look to these ethnocentric organizations for strength. We do have background, and we do have riches. Philosophically, I do not have much respect for (JACL and JASC).

He said that there should be a more Third World type of thrust in Asian American groups to confront racism. The Nisei parents (19, 70) of these two Sansei (18, 71) were not as radically inclined to look upon Japanese American or Asian American organizations as social change agents, but the parents, nevertheless, were both leaders in Japanese American groups.

One of the often repeated reasons for supporting Japanese American groups was "to help our own kind." Some eleven Nisei and six Sansei explained their support in this way. As one Nisei (101) put it: "They (Japanese Americans) need us . . . I'm helping my own group. . . . They have more of a need than the suburban (Caucasian) group." She was active in a Japanese American congregation located in the city of Chicago, although she and her family lived in the suburb. She saw her church as needing manpower help and financial support more than Caucasian congregations. About aiding the older Issei she said, "We need to help our own; this sounds selfish. . . . We as a group need more support from our own." She saw the chief value of JACL as the defender of the rights of Japanese Americans. "We have to have one national group and this is one and only" (101). This Nisei mother did not favor an overall Asian American organization, since she felt that Japanese Americans had enough problems of their own without having to
join up with other Asians. Her Sansei daughter (100), a student at a West Coast university, also strongly favored Japanese American organizations. The daughter, however, was active in Asian American groups and programs, which included more than just Japanese Americans. Although her parents (101, 102) did not favor Asian American over predominantly Japanese American groups, they were nevertheless sympathetic toward the development of Asian American curricula in education.

One Kibei leader (109) in a Japanese American organization said it was a "prime duty" for him as well as his sons to serve the Japanese American community. His one son was a leader in JACL. His other son, also a college graduate (110), had not been active in any Japanese American groups, but he intended to become active one day because he said that Japanese Americans needed to take care of themselves. Apparently the encouragement of the Kibei father had influenced the sons. Even when this particular son so far had not been active in any organizations, he expressed a desire to become active. One Sansei (83), whose father was a leader in JASC, gave his reason for being a leader as his own need to serve the Japanese American community. Another Sansei son (111) of a JACL Nisei leader said that the Japanese people need to be served by the Japanese. He pointed with approval to the Issei workshop program as an example in which the Issei old people were served by the Nisei and Sansei who understood them best.

In the foregoing list of reasons for organizational participation is present a sense of what Gordon calls "peoplehood" where ethnic
group members feel that they belong to each other as "my people."¹

This sense of peoplehood was further amplified by four of the Nisei leaders of Japanese American organizations, who also saw the need to have Japanese Americans participate in regular community organizations so that it can be demonstrated to the community at large that Japanese Americans are good, responsible citizens. One older, well-respected Nisei leader, a successful businessman, saw a Japanese American person as representing the Japanese American community. "I spoke before the Japanese Chamber of Commerce last week. I explained some of these things. . . . We have (a) role to play in that they (the Japanese American individuals in the audience), too, have a stake in being good-will ambassadors, because Americans really don't know us" (31).

Another Nisei leader and professional (92) regretted that there were not more active Nisei representations in on-going community meetings and programs. He acknowledged that the Nisei courageously passed through the trials of evacuation, but now more is demanded of them in assuming general community responsibilities. These Nisei leaders felt duty bound to be "representing their people," the Japanese Americans. In contrast, there was no such concern expressed by any of the Sansei. Also, among the Sansei there apparently was not that feeling that others were watching them as Japanese Americans, and, therefore, they should be on their best behavior in public. In this sense, perhaps, the Sansei were more free to be themselves without the encumbrance of this "representation" consciousness. This burden of representing other Japanese Americans possibly contributed toward the "enryo

¹Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, p. 23.
syndrome" of the Nisei which is often referred to as one of their characteristics.¹

Although the Sansei children did not express any need to be representatives of the "Japanese American" people, a number of them nevertheless felt strongly about retaining Japanese culture with the help of Japanese American organizations. The daughter (33) of the above parent (31) explicitly so stated in the interview. As an adult, this Sansei was no longer active in Japanese American groups, but she thought them important as a kind of "watch dog" to protect the rights of Japanese as needed. She also acknowledged that she was brought up to respect her background and she "agreed with it." Her Nisei mother (32) pointed out in the interview that her Sansei daughter gave only a Japanese name to the latter's newborn child. In contrast to this Sansei daughter, the Sansei college student son (93) of the other Nisei leader (92) referred to above had not been too active in any Japanese American or Asian American organization. He did not express any particular interest in such organizations nor did he indicate that he thought them important. He said that during his early adolescent years the family moved to the suburb and that he lost contact since then with Japanese Americans.

There were those (seven Nisei and six Sansei) who thought that Japanese American organizations were unnecessary or at least not that crucial. Many of them reasoned that Japanese American groups were no longer socially necessary. Perhaps, for the Issei who had language and cultural differences from other Americans, it was important to retain

¹For definition of "enryo" see glossary below, p. 388.
ethnic groups, but not for succeeding generations who had no such barriers. One Nisei woman (36), who perhaps represented a stronger view than other Nisei, said that she actually preferred the company of hakujin (whites) to Japanese Americans, whom she considered too "cliquish." Her husband also said that Japanese Americans were cliquish. Their Sansei son (35), a community college student, expressed no thoughts about his own Japanese American background or status, knew little about evacuation, and had no knowledge of the existence of Japanese American organizations. When his Nisei father was asked whether he ever talked about evacuation with his children, he replied, "They couldn't care less." In this family, there was no feeling that being a Japanese American family was anything different from being a white family.

Others said that for those who wanted to retain Japanese American relationships and organizations, they were "valuable" for them; but otherwise for themselves they served no essential function. They all acknowledged that ethnic groups were necessary for the Issei. One Sansei student (121) explained that she preferred to mix with "all kinds of people." Perhaps this explanation was representative of some of the other Sansei's reasons for having no need to associate mainly with Japanese American groups.

In summary, 38 percent (seventeen families) of the forty-five families had both the parents and their Sansei children who were leaders of Japanese American or Asian American organizations. In these families, one or the other or both of the Nisei parents were leaders in Japanese or Asian ethnic groups and so were one or more of their Sansei offspring. They naturally spoke positively of organized activities
among the Japanese or Asian ethnic groups. In another 38 percent of the families, either the Nisei or the Sansei generation were leaders of Asian or Japanese American organizations, but not two generations together. It should be noted here that these figures only include interviewees themselves and not other members of the family not interviewed. Therefore, in families with several offspring the response of one child does not reflect the leadership status of other siblings. Nevertheless, in one-third of the families where at least one of the Nisei parents were leaders, their Sansei offspring also were leaders. In the remaining 24 percent (eleven families) of the families, neither the Nisei nor the Sansei children were leaders. Indications are that family and social influences are definitely factors in the growth of self-awareness as Asians. These factors will be examined more closely in the following chapter.
CHAPTER VI

SELF AWARENESS RELATED TO FAMILY INFLUENCE, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Family Influence

The self awareness of the interviewees as Japanese Americans seem to have come mainly from a combination of social and cultural forces. One was through family influence and continuation of Japanese related customs. These factors influenced most of the Nisei brought up by the Issei, but they also affected some of the Sansei. Another prevailing influence most often acknowledged was racial discrimination. Incidents of racial discrimination were most vividly described by the Nisei. Finally, self awareness as Japanese Americans often came with changed social environment. This was mentioned more by the Sansei than the Nisei.

The Japanese American family background culturally provided one of the bases for the interviewees' self awareness as Japanese Americans. Nisei in particular talked of how they were routinely reminded as Japanese to be obedient to parents, teachers and others in authority. Many Nisei also attended the Japanese language schools, and on certain Japanese holidays like the New Year they participated in Japanese family-cultural activities. There were all kinds of Japanese American social activities such as picnics, Japanese martial arts and dances for
which there was always family support. With the Sansei, however, the influences of family and Japanese American heritage were not as clear-cut, but they nevertheless became evident in the various responses that the Sansei made in the interviews.

Family influence is an important consideration in Hansen's so-called principle which speaks to the attitudes of the second and the third generations of the immigrant families. Hansen held that the second generation of immigrants, for example, the American born offspring of the immigrants, try to get away from the culture of the parents in their eagerness to become "Americanized," but the third generation try to regain the culture of their immigrant grandparents. Although Hansen was referring to families of European descent, his theory seems to apply to Japanese Americans also, with some modification. In the case of the Nisei, within their lifetime—that is within one generation—there had been both a rebellion against and a return to the culture of the immigrant Issei generation. Therefore, for several Japanese Americans "flight from" and "return to" the Japanese or the original immigrant's culture had taken place not only in two generations, but within the span of one generation. In this respect, Hansen's theory applies to Japanese Americans, but with this modification.

The Nisei in their youth by their own admission, often rebelled against their Issei parents' heritage. Twenty-nine percent of the Nisei said that, in their youth, they rejected the Japanese culture of their parents. In their eagerness to be accepted in the mainstream of Ameri-

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1 The exact quotation is, "What the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember." Hansen, "The Third Generation in America," p. 495.
can society, they admitted to having held a negative attitude toward the Japanese language, music and customs of the Issei society. However, one in five of the Nisei stated that in their older years they have appreciated more the Japanese culture and heritage.

Some 15 percent of the Sansei said that earlier in their life they too more or less "rebelled" against Japanese culture, but most of them currently appreciate that background. The seven Sansei who made such comments were older (about twenty-five to thirty-five years of age), who possibly had been exposed to more Japanese culture than the younger Sansei brought up in families of the Nisei parents with less Japanese cultural orientation. This group of older Sansei, apparently went through a shorter period and a more modified form of rebellion. Although the Sansei who expressed interest in Japanese or Japanese American heritage were in the minority it was a substantial minority, some 35 percent of the total number of Sansei.

Concerning the return of the Nisei to an appreciation of Japanese culture, several explanations are possible. One is the emotional and economic security that they now seem to enjoy as compared with former years. Presently in their middle years, they no longer have the "need" to rebel against their parents and their culture, nor do they any longer feel that they must be like their white counterpart Americans. The Nisei are approaching the stage of life which Erickson calls senescence, in which they have attained a certain amount of "ego identity."¹

At this stage of their life cycle, they seem more at ease with their Japanese background and even cherish it. When they see their offspring desiring Japanese culture, Nisei feel satisfaction and even pride. Furthermore, the Nisei, as parents of youth during the late 1960s and early 1970s, have possibly been influenced both by their own children and the mood of the times, stressing minority rights and ethnic pride.

A related factor that may have contributed to the Nisei's reappreciation of their Japanese American heritage may have been the changing attitude of the American majority toward minorities in general. It is no longer legitimate to practice discrimination openly as in former years. Added to this possibly is the improved image of Japan in the minds of the majority. This, in turn, upgraded the Nisei's perception of the country of their parents' origin. Although, Japan was not the country that they could easily identify with, at least it was regarded with respect by the Western powers.

A Nisei educator agrees with the Hansen view that children wanted to forget what the grandchildren want to remember of the immigrants' culture:

I think the Sansei can accept a lot of things Japanese that we did not accept in being Japanese . . . I would be more hazukashii (bashful) in taking an onigiri (rice ball) to school and eat it in front of Caucasians. But our Sansei kids don't give a damn. . . . It does not bother them. . . . The point of it is that many of us (Nisei) wanted to grow up American and hide the Japanese, although we went to Japanese language school, we took up judo (Japanese martial art) . . . I think they (Sansei) flaunt some of the Japanese cultural things, whereas we did not. . . . The language--Japanese--they (Sansei) will get into it later . . . I think as Nisei we tried to escape that (Japanese) identity bit (in order) to be identified with the mainstream, whereas they identify as Japanese and are proud of it. I think we were too, but we wanted to show the other ways . . . (105).
A Nisei business executive, with a strong Asian and Japanese sense of identity, looked back to his life in the concentration camp in Manzanar and said, "It just used to bug the hell out of me to hear the shakuhachi (Japanese bamboo flute)." In contrast, commenting on the Sansei, he said, "I think the interesting thing about it to me is that their attitude toward the Japanese culture is much more positive" (29).

An older Sansei leader, who remembered vividly his life in the concentration camp during his grade school years, spoke approvingly of how the Sansei were searching for Japanese culture:

With the Sansei, maybe it's a fad, but a lot of them are beginning to read or study Japanese culture. At least with some of the younger ones (with whom) I've spoken . . . They know more about it than I do. Possibly from courses, I don't know. But the Nisei -- I suppose it (Japanese culture) was just part of their growing up. What do I think the Nisei's attitude toward the Japanese culture has been? I think it's changed. They are a lot prouder of it. . . . I think I'm the same way. I'm very happy (being) Japanese. Twenty years ago I wasn't so sure . . . Years ago I heard Japanese music going down the street. I cringed--felt embarrassed. It doesn't bother me today, or going to Japanese restaurants, or eating with chopsticks . . . I think they've (Japanese) been accepted. Their culture has been accepted (111).

In some families, both the parents and the children expressed strong identity as Japanese Americans. The older Sansei (111) quoted above had a still older Nisei father (112), who expressed pride in both the American and Japanese traditions. A contemporary of many Issei immigrants, this older Nisei held the double heritage of "Japanese" and "Americans" in high regard. The Nisei father's appreciation of the two traditions apparently "rubbed off" on this Sansei son. The fact that this particular Sansei son married a non-Japanese seemed to have no relevance to his pride in being a Japanese.
Another older Sansei spoke of how his Sansei acquaintances were seeking out Japanese culture.

Most of the people I know are going back to the Japanese first name or the middle name, going to school to learn (to speak) Japanese and (to) write. I think that the fourth and fifth generations—they will be going back to pick up all that is lost to the third generation . . . They (Sansei) are basically feeling their roots. They are caught in a cultural warp where they are trying to be American; it's nice, but everybody is an American something else: Norwegian, Japanese, Chinese, Polish . . . I feel Sansei are basically right in the middle. Yes, they know they are Americans, but yet they have to know just a little bit more. I think the Nisei were trying so very hard to be American to be accepted that the Japanese culture . . . was suppressed, so that their children would be 100 percent American, and totally assimilated into the American society. I think in this way—I hate to use the word, because it sounds so strong—that the Sansei were cheated. They were cheated of their own culture. They really don't have one. They really have to go to school to learn (120).

Interviewer: "You would say the same for your family?"

Respondent: "Yes, my parents both spoke Japanese, but I can't . . . What I basically know I learned from grandparents. . . ."

This older Sansei said something similar to what his Nisei parents said about themselves at one time.

At one point, I was ashamed at being a Japanese . . . (during) adolescent years . . . I think particularly I was ashamed because I didn't know anything. When people say, "you're Japanese," I felt embarrassed about it. I think that has to be gotten over. It's not bad to be Japanese any more than it is to be Polish (120).

Both parents of this Sansei regretted that they had not paid more attention to learning the Japanese language. The Nisei father said he and other Nisei had looked upon themselves as "being American Japanese." He said he could speak Japanese, but not read or write it.

After affirming the advantages of a pluralistic culture which "exposes the best in being an American and . . . the best in being a Japanese," he said, "I feel very strongly that any culture is worth preserving as
long as it contributes to society." As to how he now came to respect
his Japanese background and culture in his adulthood more than in his
youth, he said, "I think it was a process of maturation. It's naive
to say you're American. You are an American, . . . but . . . other
people see me as someone with an Oriental face. This is a kind of
realism." In the course of the interview with the Nisei father, the
interviewer interjected, "It's not surprising that your son ______
feels pretty strongly about being Japanese. Did you notice that?"
After a pause and a moment of reflection the Nisei father replied,
"Well, this may surprise you, but I'm not aware of it . . . I'm glad
to hear it (chuckle)."

The Nisei wife and mother of this same family also expressed
her regrets for the past neglect of Japanese culture in her life. About
Japanese culture she said, "I already have it and I'm proud of it. I'm
more proud of it today than before. Before I just used to 'pooh-pooh'
the stuff."

Interviewer: "When do you think that change to appreciation of
Japanese culture took place?"

Nisei mother: "I think it was gradual, like the white hair on
my head. It just came on." She further recalled the relationship of
the Issei parents and the Nisei children in former years and how the
appreciation of the Issei has grown over the years. Speaking of the
Nisei's attitude in general toward their parents and their culture she
said, "They were ashamed that they (Issei) couldn't speak the English
language and all that. But when you think how hard they worked, strug-
gled and made a living . . . then you really appreciate . . . " (118).
This mother worked as a volunteer for some time to assist the Issei old people in a specially established old people's work center for Japanese. Her Sansei son (120) during his adolescent years, also volunteered his services, although unlike his mother, he knew no word of Japanese to communicate with the Issei, who spoke little English. In the interview, the Sansei son expressed his pleasure in this opportunity to relate personally to the Issei old people and their tradition, reminding him of his intimate and warm relationship with his own grandparents.

In this family, all three interviewees of Nisei parents and Sansei youth expressed a need for more Japanese culture. The Nisei parents lived in a suburb and were active in predominantly Caucasian groups. Nevertheless, instead of their interest in Japanese culture abating, it increased. The Sansei son (120), living in another suburb, had attempted being active in a Japanese American organization but felt socially uncomfortable in it. It may be that he liked Japanese culture, but not Japanese American culture. The difference is that the latter involved the minority experience of Japanese Americans in contrast to Japanese culture in Japan with no minority implications.

The reverting of interest to things Japanese on the part of the Nisei parents was not uncommon after their adolescent and college years. Talking of the Nisei in general, one Nisei said, "Whether we verbalized it or not, perhaps we denied that we were Japanese . . . didn't want our parents to come to our school because they spoke with an accent, something like that; that's being ashamed" (122). Her Nisei husband also acknowledged that in his younger days he "wanted to be assimilated into
the large group like everyone else and reject(ed) the Japanese culture" (123). Their Sansei daughter (121), a freshman in a small midwestern college, has not expressed any strong interest in things Japanese as had her parents, although she seemed to be at ease with herself as a Japanese. For example, she said she enjoyed taking Aikido (Japanese martial arts) with friends. The interviewer observed in her a certain sense of self-assurance regarding her ancestry by commenting on the interview sheet, "She expresses no strong attachment to the idea of being Japanese or Asian like her father, but she seems well anchored in the acceptance of her racial and cultural origin. She neither craves nor affirms it, nor does she deny it" (121).

As a number of Nisei subjects looked back to their past experiences, they regretted that they had not taken more seriously their study of the Japanese language and culture. In the Information Questionnaire (item no. 7), 95 percent of the Nisei and 54 percent of the Sansei replied that they have attended the Japanese language school. It should be noted that in the case of the Nisei the Japanese language school was usually held daily after the public school hours. The schools were privately supported by the Issei parents and lasted for an hour to an hour and one half daily. Many attended schools in this way for several years, going through the equivalent of sixth grade reading courses or higher. In contrast, the 54 percent of the Sansei who replied that they attended the Japanese language classes usually studied about an hour or two each weekend at the Buddhist Temple where classes were held. Many of them continued less than a year and usually not more than two years. Very few of them actually studies the Japanese language at a public school or university.
Although to the Information Questionnaire (item no. 5), "Do you speak Japanese?", 54.6 percent of the Nisei answered with "very well," or "fairly well," still 45.4 percent answered, "a little" or "hardly any or none." It is generally acknowledged, by those who know the Nisei, that by and large the language schools to which the Nisei were sent by their Issei parents were a failure, if success is to be measured by how well the Nisei learned to communicate in Japanese.¹

To the Information Questionnaire, among the Nisei, on the matter of language (item no. 6), "Do you read Japanese?" only 18.2 percent answered "very well" or "fairly well," and 82.9 percent answered "a little" (41.6 percent) or "hardly any or none" (40.2 percent). Among the 18.2 percent who replied that they read Japanese "very well" or "fairly well," a majority of them were Kibei or Issei educated in Japan and not the Nisei who learned the language in the United States.

To the same question, none of the Sansei offspring replied that they read Japanese "very well" or "fairly well" and only 15.2 percent replied "a little," but 84.8 percent replied "hardly any or none." The differences between the Nisei and the Sansei were statistically significant with respect to their understanding of the Japanese language and the number of years they attended the Japanese language classes.

Table 9 gives the breakdown on Information Questionnaire (item nos. 5, 6 and 7).

TABLE 9
BREAKDOWN AND COMPARISONS ON INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE (ITEM NOS. 5, 6, 7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Percent. Nisei</th>
<th>Percent. Sansei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Do you speak Japanese? (item no. 5)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly well</td>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very little or none</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>73.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do you read Japanese? (item no. 6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly well</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very little or none</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>84.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you attended Japanese language classes?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(item no. 7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>94.8</td>
<td>54.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>45.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As noted, one in three of the Sansei (35 percent) expressed interest in the Japanese culture.\(^1\) They said that they appreciated the Japanese language, dancing, flower arrangements, conscientiousness to duties, and family loyalty. In confirmation of this, one-third (35 percent) of the Nisei, many of whose Sansei children professed interest in things Japanese, indicated that the Sansei generally were interested in Japanese culture.

With so many of the Nisei and the Sansei speaking favorably of

\(^1\) See above, pp. 205-8.
their Japanese background, as they understood it, it may be relevant to note what some have said about Japan and the Japanese people from and in Japan. Two Nisei leaders and one Sansei leader felt that, unlike Japanese Americans, the Japanese from Japan showed less inhibition. It has become fairly common for many Nisei and Sansei in recent years to travel to Japan. Of the seven (five Nisei and two Sansei) who gave their impressions of Japan, five were positive about their experiences, but two Nisei merely referred to bad sanitation or the crowded condition of Japan. One Sansei (71), whose father is an Issei, spoke of how deeply moved he was by his visit to Japan. Another, a Nisei (39), spoke of how impressed he was by the fact that for the first time in his life he was not considered a member of a minority group. Even with cultural differences, he felt good about being a part of a majority population for a change.

Most Sansei did not express any particular attachment to Japanese culture nor did they affirm their Japanese American background in the discussions. Six percent of the Nisei and 11 percent of the Sansei specifically commented that ethnic identity was not their concern. One Nisei said that he never "paid too much attention to ethnicity." Another Nisei said that being a Japanese "never bothered me." A Sansei living in the suburbs, where he had no contacts with other Japanese Americans, also said that being a Japanese "never bothered" him. Another Sansei college student said that he never felt different from anybody else. This unconcern with ethnicity might be representative of many Japanese Americans not involved with Asian Americans or Japanese Americans, their organizations or activities.
Many Sansei and Nisei expressing attachment to the Japanese culture or affirming pride in Japanese American identity do so in the context of the total American culture, not accepting any definition of Japanese culture as an alien phenomenon in the American scene. They chose to do their own defining of identity, not passively accepting the majority's more stereotyped definitions. Japanese culture is as much American as English or Polish or Irish or any other European derived culture. They see America not so much as a melting pot as a multi-faceted and pluralistic society, which includes the Japanese American perspective.

Affirmation of one's own racial and national origin involves one's sense of values, which in turn often relates to one's religious convictions. The Information Questionnaire (item no. 39) asked for the religious background of the respondents and the results are in Table 10. Most interviewees did not speak of their religious faith, since this was not specifically asked for. However, a few did reveal their religious beliefs in relation to their views of society and their understanding as Asians or Japanese Americans. In four Buddhist families, it seems that religious thoughts and activities pervade family life and that Buddhism continues to be practiced by the Sansei youth during their college years (4, 25, 47, 52).

Among the eight Christian families which referred to their religious affiliation in one way or another, only one Sansei youth, a seminary student (82), said anything about religion in relation to his Asian American group activities or identity. This seminary student explored his belief at some depth with this interviewer and related it
TABLE 10

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buddhists</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No affiliation or other</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>123</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

to his membership in a predominantly Asian American religious community composed of committed Christian young adults. In all others, only the Nisei parents acknowledged active religious affiliation. In the case of the Sansei seminarian, his Nisei parents had at one time been active in the local Protestant church, but they withdrew their membership some years ago, when the predominantly white congregation became embroiled in an open housing controversy, about which the Nisei father asserted, "I said if this is a church, I want no part of it. If you have to take this long to decide if a black man is entitled to live in this community ... At that point I dropped ... from the Church—my wife too" (80). Another Christian family of Nisei parents (50, 51) revealed that their faith is closely related to their sense of responsibility to themselves as Japanese Americans and to the society. However, their offspring, apparently, have no religious affiliation. One of their children, according to them, was active in an Asian American movement. The other child was a conscientious objector during the Vietnam War, with the encouragement of the father (50). Unlike some
of the Buddhist families, none of the Christian families has both generations actively affiliated with religious institutions.

Five Nisei and seven Sansei commented that religious thoughts were important to their life. Most of them articulated beliefs in such ways as to relate them to their awareness as Japanese Americans or Asians. Nine were Buddhists (three Nisei and six Sansei) and three were Christians (two Nisei and one Sansei). Among those having religious beliefs, the Buddhist have a higher percentage of those articulating their faith—24 percent of thirty-seven Buddhists and 4 percent of seventy-six Christians.

Some explained how Buddhism served to enhance their self-awareness and identity. One Nisei (52), with an Episcopal Church background but now a devout Buddhist, explained why he gave up Christianity. He had joined a small rural Caucasian Episcopal Church congregation on the West Coast because they seemed to represent strong "Christian spirit," but this congregation let him down when he needed them at the time of evacuation. "When the war broke out the church members turned their backs on me ... I saw them floundering with no commitment. This was more disgusting to me than my own situation ... The churches must have supported evacuation" (52). This Nisei businessman saw his life now in which both elements of "Japanese spirit" Bushido and the way of the Buddha were present. He considered himself "philosophical" rather than "dogmatic" in his adherence to the precepts of religion. "I do believe in the freedom of mind and in discipline ... In that, I respect Catholics (who believe in discipline)."

This Nisei father's daughter (53), who was also interviewed,
similarly took her Buddhist religion seriously. In the student newspaper on her campus, she explained that she wrote a letter of protest to the editor when she saw a slur made on Buddhism. Somebody had used an expression "ignorant as a buddhist monk." She considered such use of the term Buddhist (uncapitalized at that) an affront to her religion and a form of racism. This student remained a committed Buddhist in college and attended the temple whenever she visited home. Asked for reasons of her attendance of the temple, she explained, "Buddhism meant a lot to me and I wanted to share it . . . My interest was to interest them (others) in Buddhism as an everyday thing." Apparently, the religion of her father and mother (also interviewed) has been transmitted to this young woman. Such transmittal is not evident among the professing Christian families interviewed. In another dedicated Buddhist family, the interviewed Sansei son (26), a successful businessman, has well articulated reasons for his faith. He was a leader not only in the local Buddhist temple but also in a national Buddhist league. He closely associates his identity as Japanese American and Asian with his Buddhism. "I have such a pride and respect for Japanese Americans . . . To me that's religion . . . I'm a very religious person . . . To me, though, being religious and being Japanese American is the same . . . " (26). Buddhism for this young man, brought up in an active Buddhist family, is a significant fact in his life and obviously plays a key role in giving him a strong sense of racial and cultural identity.

In the above Buddhist families, their Japanese American identity is taken as an integral part of their American life. With their Asian or Japanese inheritance, they consider themselves as much rooted in the
American tradition as other American ethnics. A higher percentage of Buddhists than Christians, particularly the Sansei Buddhist, relate their Asian identity to their faith. The Sansei Buddhists who articulated their faith are particularly committed to their religion, whereas hardly any Sansei in Christian families reveal any similar commitment. Apparently for the Sansei Buddhists, it is necessary that they understand their faith well, since they are in a society that considered any religion other than Christianity or Jewish as alien.¹

In their adherence to religion from the Far East, they find their roots in Asian or Japanese heritage as integral to their American background.

Self Awareness in Racial Discrimination and Changed Social Environment

The interviewer asked the subjects at what stage in their life they became most aware of themselves as Japanese Americans (Interview Schedule, item no. 5). Some 47 percent of the Nisei and 46 percent of the Sansei said that they had always been aware of their Japanese origin, and several of them added that they were proud of their Japanese heritage. As to when they remembered having been most aware as a Japanese American, one out of six (16 percent) Nisei said that they became most aware when they were in their teens, mostly during their high school years. One out of three (35 percent) Sansei thought that the awareness also came mostly during their teens, half while still in grade school and the other half while in high school. One out of ten Nisei specifically mentioned evacuation as the predominant event that

made them self-conscious of their Japanese background. Most Nisei were in their youth when evacuated. The fact that they were in their adolescence when subjected to this mass discrimination, probably contributed toward making them even more aware of their difference from other ethnic groups.

Particularly for the Nisei, their self-awareness as Japanese came with the experience of racial discrimination. Although 75 percent of the Nisei and 54 percent of the Sansei replied that they had not experienced personal discrimination, still some 38 percent of the Nisei and 41 percent of the Sansei considered that discrimination was a social problem that affected Japanese Americans. The most common discrimination practices mentioned by the Nisei was in housing. Most of such incidents referred to were in more recent years. One-fourth of the interviewees made references to the lack of job advancement opportunities for Japanese Americans. However, most of them were not talking about themselves, but had heard about it from others.

Among the Nisei, the specific incidents of discrimination were quite vivid in their minds as they reflected on their Japanese American awareness. The recollections were often from the far past during their youth. One Nisei male related an incident during adolescence when he was sitting next to a hakujin (white) girl at a high school assembly. A particular teacher came by and expressed her disapproval. The Nisei said:

She (the teacher) made a pretty dirty remark . . . Well, I couldn't hit her . . . So, I just made believe that I was going to spit on her . . . And she started screaming, yelling at me, 'We don't do that kind of stuff in this country! You get out of this room!' I remember that. Freshman year. But I can't forget it (45).
Such incidents were common occurrences in those days, according to this Nisei. Those were the years when the hakujin high school students regarded the Japanese as "inferior beings . . . They treated you like that . . . " The teenage period is when discrimination experience is most deeply felt, he thought, since younger children can more easily "pass it off." A Nisei woman (37) remembered an incident when she was about twelve years old. She was excluded from joining her white friends to swim in an indoor swimming pool restricted to whites only. Her girl friends blithely left her outside, while they went in to swim where she was not allowed in. Recalling this incident led her to say that whites were not now among her intimate friends.

I looked upon the whites as something that I could never be close to because of my physical difference. But it (this particular incident) didn't make me, like some people, angry. I just accepted it because they couldn't help that. It wasn't their fault. That was the policy of the place. And somehow, too, we were never taught to fight (for equality). I never mourned over it either. I never forgot it.

The interviewee asserted that she was not "angry." Nevertheless she ended her retelling of the incident with considerable emotion by saying "I never forgot it." A detailed recollection of such incidents of outright discrimination was not uncommon among Nisei respondents. The fact that these events took place some thirty years ago and they were still remembered indicate that they made a deep impression on them.

With the Sansei, generally the experiences of discrimination were not as intense or numerous; nevertheless, the awareness was related to acts they perceived as discriminatory against them. Much of the experience had to do with what the Sansei were called by others, particularly by children and other youth. Twenty-eight percent of the
Sansei mentioned that they were called names by children such as "ching chong chinaman." One Sansei college student recalled his experience while in high school.

I don't even know whether I should count this (as discrimination), because I went out for a basketball team and I made it (the high school varsity team) . . . Just gobs of kids were going out for it. There were lots of black kids . . . You walk down the hall and they would say "ching chong" name calling "you're good . . . " I could remember I used to get pretty mad . . . What really made me mad was when they called me "chinaman."

The racial slur "chinaman" or "chink" seems to be the term used against the Sansei on occasions. Apparently, it is not as common for a Sansei to be called "Jap," which was the term of opprobrium used during and before World War II. In most cases, apparently, the occasional name-calling of the Sansei which they alluded to in some interviews did not bother them.

Racial prejudice is learned; so apparently is the feeling of being the object of prejudice. This is exemplified by the discovery made by one Sansei as a child. Until then, she had been brought up in Japan. She said that when she first came to the United States as a third grader, she did not know that "Jap" was "a derogatory word . . . It wasn't until my friend started crying (when called 'Jap') . . . Later on I began noticing that a lot of my Sansei friends were very defensive . . . Then, I started to relate to that. . . . " Before she knew it, she was also becoming defensive with her Sansei friends whenever they were called names.

The general impression received by this researcher in his interviews comparing the Nisei and the Sansei in their perception of discrimination is that many of the Nisei had come to terms with the fact
of discrimination in one form or another over the years. Many of the Sansei, in contrast, would not easily accede to the inevitability of discrimination. They were sensitive to subtle forms of racial bias. What one Sansei subject described as discrimination was revealing. She has become acutely aware of her Asian identity since entering a West Coast university and she is more sensitive to the discriminatory attitudes reflected in remarks and behaviors couched in good intentions. She is a Sansei brought up in an all white suburban neighborhood.

I took this Asian-American class (in a West Coast university), and I became more aware of problems and stuff (of being Japanese) . . . I think you tend to become more cynical about the treatment of quote "the majority" in my society, if you want to call it that . . . Now when I come in contact, I become more aware (when people ask) "Are you Chinese?" . . . Automatically people said to you, "I've been to Japan . . . I have a Chinese neighbor" and they figure that you're all alike and stuff; and I catch these comments more and I'm aware of a kind of bigotry . . . As far as white Anglo-Saxon people, they don't know what you're talking about and what you're feeling. And they come up with these remarks, and they're trying to be nice, you know. When you're younger you don't understand these things, at least I didn't . . . People done (sic) it to you all your life and you just accept it, and as you get older, and dating experiences make you more aware, I think, because you come in closer contact with one person, you know. I dated a Caucasian for ___ years, and you get in closer touch with parental kinds of problems and stuff; after going through all that . . . (she says to herself) "How could you have taken it so long?" and I never put up with that anymore (100).

Changes related to life cycle apparently reinforced the sense of distinctiveness in being of Japanese or Asian background, particularly for the Sansei. One out of four (28 percent) Sansei stated that they became most aware of themselves as Japanese during their college years. In comparison, only one out of seventeen (6 percent) Nisei indicated that awareness came mostly during their college years. Most of the comments among the Sansei are related to change in social environment either through their joining new groups or by their feeling
different in a new environment. Three Sansei (16, 83, 117) became active in Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) during their college years, which, in turn, made them more aware of their Japanese American background. One Sansei leader (16) of a Japanese American group, who until college was only in Caucasian groups, said that he felt quite self-conscious when he first began associating with Japanese American groups. He was brought up in a suburb with no Japanese American contacts, outside of his own relatives.

Three other Sansei leaders (1, 100, 107) became most aware of their Asian status when they became active in Asian American groups in their respective campuses. Two of these (1, 100) were brought up in suburbs and all their former associations had been with whites; to be with a group of Asians was a new experience for them and they liked it. It helped them in their self-awareness as Asian Americans. Another Sansei (46), while a graduate student at a Big Ten University, began working with Spanish speaking population about the time of the campus unrest in the late 1960s. She was, thereby, strengthened in her consciousness of Asian American identity. A Sansei female college graduate (58) definitely felt the difference in being a Japanese in the midst of whites when her family moved from the city to an all white suburb. She was also surprised by her experience in Europe when she traveled there, where she was considered as just plain American and not primarily as "Japanese American." Changes of social environment to nearly all white campuses were mentioned as a particularly noticeable factor for one Nisei (70) and two Sansei (6, 28). Although the Sansei were already used to middle class white companions, they nevertheless
felt the change when they lived together with white students in dormitories.

A few of the Japanese Americans, almost all of them leaders, perceived how the change in political or economic climate in international relations affected the social relations of Japanese Americans. Twelve percent of the Nisei, and 9 percent of the Sansei, definitely saw a relationship between the international relations of Japan and the United States and the fate of Japanese Americans. They said that as relations between the two countries improved so do the attitudes of the American public toward the Japanese Americans: conversely, when the international relations deteriorate the Japanese Americans pay the price with renewed discrimination directed against them. There is a general recognition that distinction between Japanese Americans and the Japanese in Japan is not made by the general public. Several expressed concern that the increasing economic competition between the United States and Japan would spell ill for Japanese Americans. One Sansei leader, with a radical political outlook, expressed graphically how the fate of the Japanese Americans is tied up with that of Japan. Contrary to what writers on Japanese Americans say, he said, it was not so much due to the achievements of Japanese Americans that they seemed to be getting along fairly well now:

It's only because of the good relations between the U.S. and Japan that gave the Japanese Americans the good image, and you changed from "sneaky" to "quiet," from "slant eye" to "almond eye." That's the only thing that it did, and it's only because of the mother country, Japan. I don't want to sound chauvanistic, but it's only because of the economic relations between Japan and the U.S. that our condition in the U.S. has improved economically, and it can just as easily get worse, when Japan and United States come again to rivalry (71).
One Nisei expressed the concerns of some of the leaders:

I think the trade relations . . . (between the United States and Japan now are) not so good . . . The people can't differentiate us. We're all Japanese regardless of whether American born of Japanese national. The Japanese nationals are being accused, but at the same time, like during evacuation, people can't distinguish between the two, so we're going to be accused in the same (way) . . . It's the same cycle coming around. I'm hoping that it won't get that bad. I think we've got to be alert to the situation . . . (112).

It is noticeable that almost all those who made this point were leaders, those who apparently thought about human relations globally.

One Nisei student, after doing much reading concerning the causes of the Second World War, reached the conclusion that the United States provoked Japan into starting the War and not the other way around (17). In the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire (item no. 59), the following statement appeared: "Japan was provoked by the U.S. into starting World War II." A majority (59 percent) of the Nisei indicated that they "agree" and "strongly agree," 20 percent indicated "disagree" and "strongly disagree," with the remaining 21 percent "undecided." With the Sansei, however, the opinions were: 26 percent "agree" and "strongly agree," 28 percent "disagree" and "strongly disagree," with the largest percentage of them, 46 percent "undecided." There is a statistically significant difference between the Nisei and the Sansei. Comparing the Sansei leaders and the Sansei non-leaders on this same item, 43 percent of the Sansei leaders indicated "agree" and "strongly agree," while only 12 percent of the Sansei non-leaders put themselves in the same categories. The largest number of both Sansei leaders and Sansei non-leaders placed themselves in the "undecided" category. There is a statistically significant difference between the Sansei leaders and the
Sansei non-leaders. Between the Nisei leaders and the Nisei non-leaders, there is no significant difference on the same item. On the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire, item no. 60 (Appendix VI, p. 366), "The use of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was definitely not justified," an overwhelming majority of both the Nisei parents and the Sansei youth put themselves in the categories of "agree" and "strongly agree"; the former totaled 78 percent and the latter, 74 percent.

The foregoing interview and questionnaire responses can possibly be interpreted as Japanese Americans having more affinity in sentiment with Japan as Americans. They are aware of the close relationship between their own future and the relationship of Japan and the United States. Also, the replies to the two questionnaire items do indicate that Japanese Americans are not by and large in agreement with the official U.S. government positions about World War II, any more than they are in agreement with the government position regarding reasons for the evacuation.

In summary, family influence played a major role in the development and formation of self-awareness of many of the Nisei and the Sansei. Many of the Nisei by their own admission were negatively influenced by the Japanese culture of their Issei parents in their childhood and youth, but in recent years as adults they have come to appreciate their Japanese background. In contrast, some of the Sansei in their youth expressed appreciation for Japanese heritage and background and spoke positively of things Japanese, although there is little evidence that the Sansei have actually acquired Japanese cultural knowledge in any depth.
With respect to racial discrimination, although a majority of Japanese Americans said that they personally faced little or no discrimination, a significant portion of them acknowledged that discrimination against Japanese Americans was still a fact of life. Racial prejudice is manifested in many subtle ways, particularly felt by the more sensitive Sansei. Behind the facade of placid society lurks the seed of racism, and any kind of provocation, such as critical international incidents, can incite Americans to exercise racial discrimination with impunity. The self-awareness of the Nisei and the Sansei as Japanese Americans has been affected both by their family influence traceable to the Issei immigrants' transplantation of the Japanese culture to the United States, and by the prejudice response of the dominant Americans to them. The Nisei are apparently profoundly affected by these forces, and to a lesser degree so are the Sansei. Charles Horton Cooley wrote that the image that we form of ourself is a socially constructed "looking glass self."¹ The Japanese Americans are affected both by their family heritage and the dominant society's treatment of them.

The Nisei's admission of their initial rebellion against their parents' Japanese culture and their later appreciation of their Japanese heritage, perhaps, reflect the urge of human beings to retain cultural continuity even as they accommodate themselves to changing circumstances. Some of the Sansei, even with less direct contact with things Japanese, expressed their desire to explore the cultural roots of their own background. The dominant cultural forces which influenced the Japanese American were not Japanese but Anglo Saxon. The Japanese

Americans were brought up in a social environment of Anglo conformity. In spite of that, however, some Japanese Americans still choose to define their place in the American society in terms of their own unique background.

**Structural Assimilation and Amalgamation**

To determine the degree of structural assimilation and opinions regarding amalgamation the interviewees were asked to state the ethnic backgrounds of five of their closest friends (Interview Schedule, item no. 3) and to give their opinions regarding interracial marriage (Interview Schedule, item no. 8).¹

With respect to friendship a majority of the Nisei (55 percent) said that their five closest friends were all Japanese Americans, mostly Nisei. Some 20 percent of the Sansei said the same—in their case mostly Sansei. The largest percentage of the Sansei, 43 percent, said that friends were a mixture of mostly Sansei and whites with a few blacks and Latinos; 31 percent of the Nisei said that their closest friends were similarly a mixture of whites and Nisei. One out of ten (9 percent) Nisei and one out of four (26 percent) Sansei said all five of their closest friends were whites.

The Information Questionnaire (item no. 14) asked, "Of all your close friends, approximately what percentage would you say are of the following ethnic or racial groups?" The answers are requested

¹Although Milton Gordon defines "structural assimilation" as involving mainly families, clubs and cliques, it should be noted that one's occupation influences one's choice of intimate friends. See discussion on assimilation, above, pp. 13-15.
in five categories: Japanese, Spanish speaking, blacks, Jewish and
other Caucasians. These were reduced to two categories for tabula-
tion purposes: Japanese and non-Japanese Americans. As answered by
the respondents, most of the non-Japanese Americans were "Jewish and
other Caucasians." Of all 123 respondents, 68 percent stated that
over a half of their friends were non-Japanese Americans. Seventy-
nine percent of the Nisei indicated that over a half of their friends
were Japanese Americans and 21 percent of them answered that over a
half of their friends were non-Japanese. Forty-seven percent of the
Sansei indicated that over half of their friends were Japanese Ameri-
cans and 53 percent of them said that over half of their friends were
non-Japanese Americans. More Sansei, therefore, had friends who were
non-Japanese Americans. The differences were statistically significant
between the generations. The results here are consistent with other
findings that the Sansei are more assimilated structurally than the
Nisei.¹

Between the Sansei leaders (N = 21) and Sansei non-leaders
(N = 25), there was a statistically significant difference. Of the
leaders, 71 percent indicated that over half of their close friends
were Japanese Americans and 29 percent of them that over half of their
close friends were non-Japanese Americans. Among the Sansei non-
leaders, 28 percent said more than half of their friends were Japanese
Americans while 72 percent claimed most friends among non-Japanese
Americans. Accordingly, since a higher percentage of the Sansei non-
leaders had most non-Japanese American friends, they would be con-

¹Arkoff, Meredith, and Iwahara, "Dominance-deference patterning," pp. 61-66.
sidered to be more assimilated than the Sansei leaders. The logical explanation seems to be that the Sansei leaders are active in Asian American organizations and consequently their close friends tended to be other Sansei. Among the Nisei, between leaders and non-leaders there was no significant difference in friendship patterns.

One of the measures of assimilation is intermarriage or amalgamation, defined as the "intermixture of the two gene pools." The subjects were asked whether they believed in or approved of interracial marriage. Over one-half (53 percent) of the Nisei and three-fourths (76 percent) of the Sansei stated, that they approved of it or that it made no difference to them one way or the other. On this Ethnic Identity Questionnaire (item no. 50) stated, "Interracial marriages between Japanese Americans and Caucasians should be discouraged." Seventy-four percent of the Nisei placed themselves in the categories of "strongly disagree" and "disagree," while 86 percent of the Sansei were in the same categories. Also, 13 percent of the Nisei said that they were "undecided" while only 4 percent of the Sansei said the same. There is a significant statistical difference between the Nisei and the Sansei. The interviews indicate and the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire substantiates the view that the succeeding generations of the original immigrants move toward the acceptance of interracial marriage.

In the interview, some 32 percent of the Nisei and 11 percent of the Sansei said that they preferred that the Japanese Americans married those of the same racial origin, with many of them saying that they preferred Japanese to marry each other. The five Sansei leaders

1 Gordon, Assimilation in American Life, p. 71.
who said that they preferred Japanese American or Asian American spouses presented a rationale closely related to their sense of Asian American identity. One Sansei female with a graduate degree gave her reason to the interviewer:

> It (interracial marriage) has to do with consciousness that I'm becoming more and more aware of. I think if you had asked me that (about interracial marriage) four or five years ago, I would have said "well, you know, man, go ahead" (laughing); maybe I still say that, but with a lot of reservation. Those two people better know what is happening . . . And you go through life saying "I don't care what they (say or think)"; you do care, because you're a person and you interrelate with people, and it affects you in relation to other people (46).

Both of the parents of this Sansei daughter stated emphatically that they would prefer to have their daughter marry a Japanese. However, this Sansei's rationale for preferring a Japanese American for a spouse seemed to be more directly related to her awareness of Asian American identity than to the views of her parents, although opinions of others were honestly acknowledged as important. One Sansei graduate student (10) who intended to continue work for Asian human rights said that she preferred a Japanese American as spouse, since it would be more probable that he would understand her work and ideology. A Sansei college senior (100) said that she now was dating Japanese Americans, whereas before she had dated Caucasians. Her reasons for this change was also related to her rising awareness of herself as an Asian in a racist society.¹

Six Nisei and one Sansei said that their attitude had changed in more recent times from being against interracial marriage to approving it. Among the Nisei parents who said that they changed from an attitude

¹See the comments of interviewee number 100, p. 222. Her Nisei mother stated her preference for a Sansei spouse for this Sansei daughter.
of disapproval to approval of interracial marriage were parents of two families (4, 5, 111) whose offspring married Caucasians. Of the eleven Sansei who were married, seven of their spouses were Sansei and four of them were Caucasians (two male and two female Caucasians). When the unmarried Sansei were asked about the race or nationality of the persons they were dating regularly, of the thirty-five unmarried Sansei, 15 percent said that they dated mostly Caucasians, another 15 percent said that they dated mostly Asians or Sansei and another 9 percent said that they dated both Sansei and Caucasians about equally. No information on this matter was given by the remaining 61 percent.

A question was asked of most interviewees as to what they thought of the Japanese marrying blacks. Some 29 percent of the Nisei and 9 percent of the Sansei indicated that they would not like that; many of these same interviewees, however, had no objection to the marriage of the Caucasian and the Japanese American. Why were a higher percentage of the Nisei interviewees reluctant to approve blacks as marriage partners of Japanese Americans? They gave as their reason the fact that the society, including the Japanese American community, disapproved of such a union and that it would cause undue hardship on the offspring of such mixed marriages. One Kibei father (116) thought it not right "to mix blood" any more than to mix "thoroughbreds," but this view was shared by nobody else.

All interviewees recognized that marriage is a matter of personal choice, and although they had preferences, ultimately the decision was up to the partners directly involved. More Sansei took a liberal position than the Nisei in being open to interracial marriage,
including marriages with non-Caucasians and non-Asians. A few of the Sansei leaders who stated their preference for marriage with Japanese Americans were not expressing their opposition to interracial marriage so much as presenting a rationale related to Asian identity and vocation which involved working in the Asian or Japanese American communities.

Among social influences affecting Japanese American families and individuals was the evacuation experience, which is unique to Japanese Americans. This experience of World War II years made deep and abiding impressions on some families which were articulated in the interviews. Attention will be directed to this aspect of their views in the next chapter.
CHAPTER VII

REFLECTIONS ON EVACUATION

Volumes have been written about the evacuation of Japanese Americans during World War II, mostly by those who did not experience it. This writer asked for views of the interviewees regarding the evacuation. Most of the Nisei respondents were evacuated. Some thirty years later what did the Japanese Americans themselves think about the experience? How did the Nisei who were incarcerated in the concentration camps regard it? Did their Sansei offspring, many of college age and not subjected to that experience, have anything to say about it?

The interviewees were asked, "Did evacuation and detention affect you in any way, such as psychologically, politically, or in social outlook?" (Interview Schedule, no. 6, B). Just over one-half (56 percent) of the Nisei said that evacuation, taken as a whole, had been beneficial. The meanings and reasons given varied. A majority of the Nisei mentioned the fact that the evacuation and relocation experience dispersed the Japanese American population throughout the United States, and this was of benefit to them. Before evacuation, the Japanese Americans were concentrated in limited areas on the West Coast. In addition, a few mentioned that the Sansei also indirectly benefited from the population dispersal in that they were brought up in an integrated social environment. The Japanese Americans were forced
to associate with Caucasian Americans, and this was desirable. Furthermore, because of their being scattered in various metropolitan areas of the country, they had many more job opportunities than would have been possible on the West Coast. Because of new opportunities, they asserted, the Nisei were much more successful in business and professional fields than before. In this respect, the Sansei viewed evacuation differently. Only one Sansei took a point of view similar to the Nisei mentioned above.

In speaking of job opportunities before and after World War II, several Nisei mentioned the hard fact of life in the job market in those days. Some of the Nisei mentioned that many Nisei college graduates with degrees, as in engineering and business administration found themselves "manning roadside fruit stands" and working as truck farmers. They contrasted this dismal picture with the opening up of opportunities in business and professional areas after the resettlement from the concentration camps.

To the question about the effect of evacuation on them, 17 percent of the Nisei volunteered the opinion that they were "not bitter" about the experience. The word "bitter" was used without any prompting or questioning about it from the interviewer. The Ethnic Identity Questionnaire (item no. 62) stated, "All things considered, evacuation and relocation as they happened were good for Japanese Americans." Twelve percent of the Nisei marked "strongly disagree" while 39 percent of the Sansei marked the same. Seventy-two percent of the Sansei marked "disagree" or "strongly disagree" on this item compared to 30 percent for the Nisei.
To the question, "Did evacuation and detention affect you in any way . . . ?" (Interview Schedule, item no. 6, B), 26 percent of the Nisei and 48 percent of the Sansei replied that generally the evacuation effect had been bad and harmful to them and to their families. It is to be noted that this high proportion (48 percent) of the Sansei, most of whom had not been born during the World War II years, testified to the negative effect of evacuation. Unlike the Nisei, who spoke of the good outcome in evacuation, no Sansei said that the evacuation experience was beneficial in any way.

The kinds of responses given by the Nisei varied. One Nisei woman said:

For me personally, it didn't destroy my life . . . but I think it was a bad thing to do to people. I just couldn't believe that something like that could happen. . . . Like my parents . . . , they worked their behinds off (to support the family). . . . That's really bad. The injustice of it. For me personally, it wasn't too wrong, I was 14 years old. . . . I had a good time. A block of friends and I just partied around.

Although this woman acknowledged that there were some good effects from evacuation-relocation experiences, such as providing new job opportunities through forced dispersion of the Japanese American population, she concluded, "Well, I don't think anything is worth the evacuation. I don't buy that (that evacuation was on the whole beneficial)" (122). One Nisei woman remembers particularly that she could not continue her college education. "And so this (evacuation) took whatever savings we had, and I couldn't continue my education (laughing); the reason that I remember it . . . , I couldn't continue my education because I felt that all the money should go to other things" (104).
One Nisei leader, now a business executive, spoke of the damage to self-image incurred by the loss of civil rights. He said that many people felt that there was "something wrong with" the Japanese; "maybe they can't be trusted. You get that beaten into you and you begin to feel that yourself. . . . The sad thing is that most of the people (Japanese Americans) simply didn't understand that their rights were being abused. . . ." He further remembered the general breakdown of morale among the evacuees in the Manzanar camp, where his family was detained. He remembered two phrases most commonly used that were descriptive of demoralization within the camp: "lose fight" and "stop solid," meaning that they were helpless victims of circumstances. He was in high school then. "The quality of the school was pretty poor . . ." (29). Eight Nisei leaders revealed the effect of evacuation in terms of the damage that it did to their Issei parents, who suffered emotional stress as well as material loss.

One of the few Sansei interviewed, who remembered being in the concentration camp, had some bitter memories. He spoke of his professional father who could be comfortably retired had he not been uprooted from their home. "I look at my dad; he's still gotta be working. I suppose he can retire, but he can't retire on easy street, but he could have. . . . This, I feel was wasted. . . . He doesn't say too much about it" (111). The Nisei father (112) of this Sansei business executive spoke of the waste and harm of evacuation not only to himself but also to this only Sansei son. This Nisei father described how helpless he felt, when he was "in the prime" of his professional career. The father remembered the disappointment of his son in his not being allowed to
attend the graduation ceremonies due to evacuation.

That was one thing that hurt him (his son). . . . Then on top of that he was wondering, we're Americans and why we had to move. He was thinking about things like that at 12 years old. Very bitter. To this day he's very bitter. . . . That's the one thing that hurt me more than anything else, because there in (the camp) school he wasn't getting the schooling that he should get and on top of that he was quite proficient . . . in piano. That's another thing; he couldn't continue with piano (112).

Another recent Sansei college graduate said that the evacuation experience, which he himself did not go through, brought home to him the fact that the Asian Americans are "very dependent upon white's stereotype of us. In that sense, I'm affected" (14). Another Sansei college graduate called evacuation a case of "blatant discrimination" (83), but since it is in the past, he thought it could be forgotten.

The fact that many Nisei (34 percent) spoke well of their own evacuation experience must not be interpreted as a statement of approval of the event. Many of them said that given the unfortunate circumstances of the times there were certain good outcomes, but the evacuation was still wrong. One Nisei business executive had no question that evacuation was uncalled for. "It was wrong, but the by-product of the evacuation (was good), because it dispersed us through the U.S. I think it's the greatest thing that ever happened to us. . . ." At the same time this Nisei said, "I know it was wrong because it was not necessary. . . . We were evacuated without trial (or) charge. . . . The intelligence service knew that there was no espionage among Japanese Americans" (31). Being a Japanese American leader from the World War II years, he recalled vividly the meeting the then youthful Nisei leaders had with the top military brass to discuss the matter of
The meeting in San Francisco was not to discuss with the Army personnel whether we (Japanese American) were to be evacuated, but to tell the Japanese group: "... would you go peacefully or would you go at the point of the bayonet?" That's a pretty tough decision to make! In those days, it was not popular to protest like it is today. ... We couldn't raise a finger and not be called a (traitor).

As to why 56 percent of the Nisei said that evacuation experience was generally beneficial, when they probably had many painful memories about it, can possibly be explained by what some have said. A few of the respondents stressed they would rather concentrate on the positive than on the negative aspects of their experience. As one Nisei put it, he liked to remember the "good things," and in the same breath condemned the evacuation as wrong. As already pointed out, some who saw the accidental benefits qualified their statements by pointing out the injustices of it. It is not surprising that so many who went through the evacuation experience wanted to see the brighter side. This was possibly their way of relieving the shock of this part of the Japanese American history, making it more tolerable to them. Almost one-fifth of all respondents (16 percent of the Nisei and 17 percent of the Sansei) made little or no comment on the effect of evacuation on them.

The interviewees were asked whether they now talked much about evacuation as a social or political issue with others. Very few (13 percent of the Nisei and 4 percent of the Sansei) said that they discussed it from time to time within the family, with Caucasian friends or with fellow workers. Another small group (14 percent) of the Nisei

1 The reference probably is to the 1942 meeting in late January with the then California Governor Olson convened in Sacramento to inform a select group of JACL Nisei leaders of the plan to establish concentration camps for Japanese Americans. See Hosokawa, *Nisei*, p. 269.
acknowledged that they hardly spoke of it or that when they did, it was mostly as a subject of the distant past.

About one-third (37 percent) of the Sansei specifically mentioned that Nisei in general, including their parents, did not talk much about evacuation; when they did, it was usually in the broad context of past social events and happenings. Several (15 percent) of the Sansei commented that the very fact that the Nisei did not discuss evacuation as an issue currently seemed to be an indication that it deeply affected them to the point that they would find it painful to talk about it. One Sansei (120) said of his parents that if the evacuation affected them in one way or another, they "never showed it," and they seldom mentioned it. He commented that his Nisei relatives rarely talked of it and when they did, it was only "after a couple of drinks." He thought that his relatives preferred not to talk about it, a subject "to be avoided."

One Sansei leader complained that the Nisei even refrained from judging the act of evacuation as either good or bad, because when the Nisei talk about evacuation, "it's never in the context of justice or injustice, but in the context of some social event" (18). Another Sansei student said that when his parents and friends talked of it, they spoke of "good times" they had while in the camp. The responses of the Nisei to this interviewer seemed to confirm the observation of the Sansei that the Nisei generally did not talk much about evacuation as a political-social issue. The Sansei who noted this fact implied that they thought it would have been helpful, both to the Nisei themselves and the Sansei, if they had discussed evacuation as something
of social and political significance. Still another Sansei stated that she talked of evacuation with others at the office where she worked. She said when she informed them that Japanese Americans were put in concentration camps, the disconcerting response was, "Where else could the government put them?" She said she wished she knew more about the historical facts of evacuation. Twenty percent of the Sansei said that they did not know too much about evacuation, although they have heard about it and were aware that their parents were in the camps. Two Nisei who said that they knew little about it were themselves not evacuated, although their family members were.

A few mentioned protest in relation to evacuation orders. Seventeen percent of the Nisei and 9 percent of the Sansei expressed the thought that protesting evacuation had been one alternative, although most of them did not think this was possible or practical, given the social and political climate at the time. Nine percent of the Nisei said that if evacuation were to take place today, they would definitely protest. In 1942 they were too young, too immature, and too unorganized to protest, they said. One Nisei (105) said that he would have preferred the Nisei to have protested as a group, if only to have delayed the evacuation decision. Speaking of the possibility of evacuation recurring again, four Nisei and three Sansei said that evacuation could happen again to Japanese Americans as well as to others. Father and son of one family thought that such a thing could not take place again. Another Nisei expressed her ambivalence on the matter by first saying that it could happen again, while later saying that it could not. In addition, she admitted that she still could not
believe that evacuation had really taken place. To a few, therefore, there is an underlying fear that something similar can repeat itself.

Some specific effects of the evacuation experience on the attitudes and behaviors of both the Nisei and the Sansei were mentioned. Five percent of the Nisei said that the evacuation experience made them try harder at whatever they undertook, such as in education and work, and they considered this a virtue. About 20 percent of the Sansei said something similar. Although none of the Sansei said that evacuation was beneficial in the way that the Nisei did, as reported previously, some of them acknowledged benefits from evacuation in terms of character development, in that hardship is often conducive to personal growth. These very characteristics considered as virtues by some were looked upon as Nisei weaknesses by 15 percent of the Sansei. They expressed it in various ways: that the Nisei were trying to "outwhite the whites"; that their "work ethic" was reinforced by their past suffering; and that they were caught up in the "sacrifice syndrome."

One in five (22 percent) of the Sansei further commented that the evacuation experience took its psychological toll, about half of this group saying that the Nisei became more guarded and quiet in their general behavior.

One recent college graduate among the Sansei (14) stated that evacuation made the Nisei realize that their own position was insecure. "In a lot of ways the reason the Nisei tell their kids to go to school (college) is so that they can become professionals, because as a professional you have a certain amount of security. . . . As a professional, you can be rather independent." He himself plans to go to a
professional school, but all this determination to become secure is not considered necessarily as strength. He did not think that white Americans had this kind of "security" problem.

Twelve percent of the Nisei and 7 percent of the Sansei stated that the experience of evacuation helped them to identify with other minority groups. One Nisei leader described the effect in these words:

I think I can much more understand the dynamics (of minority peoples) so that maybe I'm much more tolerant of the differences between people. . . . I think in the final analysis it (evacuation) has been a positive experience for me, but that doesn't justify what happened. That was wrong (123).

The evacuation treatment of the Japanese Americans led one Sansei professional to reflect on the plight of other minority groups among whom she was working. "I was going through a period where I said to myself, 'Do I really belong there (working among the minority people)?' Then, I think I began thinking more in terms of the Third World" (46).

Another Sansei looked upon evacuation as a manifestation of racism against minorities by saying, "I don't think racism is wiped out" (28).

Another specific outcome of evacuation mentioned was suspicion of authorities in general and the government in particular. Fourteen percent of the Nisei and 7 percent of the Sansei said that they generally were suspicious of any kind of power, particularly governmental power that could be easily used against people.

It is quite evident that many Sansei continue to be concerned about evacuation, although they themselves were not victims of it. When Nisei parents were asked whether their children were concerned about evacuation, 27 percent said that their Sansei children were
interested in and thought about this issue. The Nisei parents of one Sansei student commented about their son's reaction to a public exhibit held in Chicago, featuring art and photographs on the evacuation, sponsored by the Japanese American Citizens League. Both parents were moved by the response of their son to the exhibit. The Nisei mother commented on their son's reaction as he looked at the pictures, "The look on his face, I think it really hit him for the first time. And that kind of touched me (laughing, apparently moved)" (8). The Nisei father said of the same incident, "Recently, we took him (son) to that exhibit; he was quite moved. I think he didn't show it; he didn't say much outwardly, but I think he was moved by it" (9). This father noted with approval that his son, brought up in an all-white suburban community, was now beginning to show more interest in the Japanese American experience. Another father (45) said that the Sansei are showing "righteous indignation" about evacuation, although they themselves were not evacuated.

Some 29 percent of the Nisei parents, when asked whether evacuation had evoked any kind of response from the Sansei, replied either that they did not know or that they thought not since the Sansei were not evacuated. Some of them were Nisei parents whose children expressed no concern in their interviews about the evacuation. A few Nisei were parents of Sansei children who expressed interest in the evacuation as an issue. Some of the parents whose children in the interview expressed little or no interest in the evacuation variously commented that their Sansei children "couldn't care less," "it was only of academic interest," and "they show no interest."
Asked about the causes of evacuation, some 45 percent of the Nisei and 15 percent of the Sansei gave answers with economic and political interpretations. They said variously that it was the white farmers' move to grab the property of the Japanese—"purely economic" and "propaganda." Fear and hysteria as causes were mentioned by 26 percent of the Nisei and 35 percent of the Sansei. Such terms as racial prejudice, racism and hatred of the Japanese were given as causes for the evacuation by some 16 percent of the Nisei and 24 percent of the Sansei. In response to the official reasons which had been given by the government to justify evacuation—to prevent sabotage, "military necessity," the safety of the Japanese themselves—some 10 percent of the Nisei and 9 percent of the Sansei specifically denied that any or all of the "official" reasons were the real reasons for evacuation. Only one Nisei and one Sansei (whose Nisei mother denied any need for evacuation) agreed with these governmentally stated justifications.

The Sansei were asked of their main sources of information on evacuation. Twenty-eight percent of them said that they either read literature on it or heard about it from others. The Nisei who said they read books and articles on evacuation made up 8 percent. Not much reading on evacuation was reported by either of the generations. Occasionally television specials or documentaries on evacuation were mentioned as sources of information by the Sansei, and some Nisei said that they watched such presentations in the public media.

In summary on evacuation, 34 percent of the Nisei stressed what they considered to be the positive aspects of the evacuation experience, such as their dispersion resulting in their integration
into the life of the American communities. In contrast, 48 percent of the Sansei openly expressed their outrage over this forced evacuation. For many Nisei perhaps, this event in the past is still too painful to recall, without remembering at the same time the more pleasant consequences. Even when the Nisei stated clearly that they benefited from the evacuation experience, it was often qualified with the statement that the reasons and the occasions which gave rise to evacuation were not justified.

On the evacuation issue, some Sansei reflected the sensitivity of modern youth for social justice. For some of the Nisei, the evacuation event led them to think of society today as being an improvement over the prejudiced world in which they had been brought up. Those who expressed the greatest concern on evacuation were mostly leaders, with a higher percentage of the Sansei leaders than the Nisei leaders expressing themselves on this subject. It could be that one of the reasons that these Sansei were in leadership roles in Japanese American or Asian American organizations was that they could thereby act on their social concerns.

During the turmoils of evacuation, almost all organized forces in the American society supported the removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast; only a few organizations extended help. The one organized group frequently mentioned by the Nisei as having been most helpful was the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). Some 39 percent of the Nisei and 4 percent of the Sansei said specifically that the AFSC was very helpful and supportive. Members of the AFSC came into the concentration camps to perform various services. When the relocation program began to resettle Japanese Americans, the AFSC
established temporary quarters of "hostels" in larger metropolitan areas. Some of those commenting expressed high praise for AFSC.

"They stuck their necks out" (112). "American Friends, oh they gave me counseling--asked whether I needed financing. Gosh, I thought that was fantastic. American Friends, I'll never forget" (92). When most organized groups were persecuting Japanese Americans, one Nisei distinctly remembers the AFSC. "If anything, organizations were against Japanese, not for!" Some of the other organized groups mentioned as helpful were churches such as the Church of the Brethren and local churches in areas where the Japanese Americans were resettled. Some 18 percent of the Nisei and one Sansei mentioned various separate groups including JACL, as helping them. In addition, 13 percent of the Nisei mentioned that specific individuals were helpful during the time of evacuation and in the resettlement process. Another 16 percent of the Nisei said that they were not aware of any organization helping Japanese Americans. All in all, AFSC comes across as the one non-Japanese American group that went out of its way to assist the Japanese when they most needed it.

Whatever views the Japanese Americans expressed, the evacuation experience affected many of them deeply, often more than they could adequately express through a study such as this present one, nor for that matter, perhaps through any kind of research. Although unique to Japanese Americans, the evacuation experience is being more widely felt as an historical event affecting all Asians. This group consciousness of different Asian ethnic people thinking of themselves as Asians is manifesting itself in what may broadly be termed as Asian American
movement. The discussion of the evacuation event as a político-social issue often takes place within the context of such a movement. The next chapter considers the views of Japanese Americans in relation to Asian American movement.
CHAPTER VIII

ASIAN AMERICAN MOVEMENT AND JAPANESE AMERICANS

After the rise of the civil rights movement among the blacks, other ethnic groups in the United States also began to assert their identity. Peoples of Asian descent—especially Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos—began organizing what might broadly be termed the Asian American movement.¹

Some Japanese Americans have joined or cooperated with other Asian persons and groups to participate in events, projects and programs of mutual concerns. Some young people in particular have published newspapers and magazines reflecting Third World philosophies. They have joined movements of Asian Americans to assert their rights and to demand recognition of their presence and experience. For example, in recent years a small number of Japanese Americans have begun to organize and to make "pilgrimages" to concentration camps such as Manzanar and Tule Lake, California. A plaque was first set up in Manzanar to memorialize the establishment of a concentration camp there.

Numerous Asian American groups have formed on the West Coast, where the Asian population is concentrated for the purpose of raising the level of Asian awareness in everything from community organizing

¹The term Pilipino is more commonly used than either Filipino or Philipino by Pilipino Americans.
to educational developments. In larger universities Asian American study centers have been established with libraries, curricula and ongoing research. Chicago has had numerous groups and activities, although not so extensive as on the West Coast. One such group is the Asian American Study Group made up predominantly of Sansei; another is the Association of Asian Americans for Human Services, composed of social and community workers of various nationalities; still another is Midwest Asians for Unity, a loosely structured regional organization which receives some federal funding for its projects and conferences. Asian ethnic organizations have, of course, existed since the arrival of Asian immigrants in the nineteenth century, but they have predominantly stressed a particular national origin, such as China, Japan and so on. The groups with a "movement" thrust are of more recent origin. Many of them have started in the 1970s. As with movements of other racial minorities, such as the civil rights movement, the emphases have been on such issues as human rights, equal employment, welfare opportunities and ethnic identity.

In this section, responses by the interviewees to any aspect of the Asian American movement are described or summarized. The term "Asian American Movement" has several meanings and emphases. One of its emphases is the preservation of the separate national cultures as they have been transplanted to the United States. Another emphasis is on the unity of different Asian nationalities for maximizing support and action. There is also the goal of self-determination for the various Asian minority peoples in a society dominated by European people and culture.
Chinese American Typology

Here a conceptual scheme devised by Stanley Sue and Derald Wing Sue might be helpful. Chinese Americans are divided into three typological characters: "The Traditional Man," "The Marginal Man" and "The Asian American." Although the typology employed are for Chinese Americans, they can be adapted for Japanese Americans.¹

The Traditional Man is one with strongly internalized Chinese values, such as loyalty to one's parents and hard work to achieve success. He would not fight racism in the dominant society but would make the best of it. The Marginal Man tries to be assimilated into the dominant culture and this frequently comes in conflict with the values cherished by the family.² In the process of becoming westernized, he overcompensates by depreciating his own Chinese heritage. He tends to deny the existence of racism in society, since to acknowledge it would be to find fault with the dominant group. Any failure of Chinese Americans to be successful would be attributed to the shortcomings of the Chinese themselves rather than to racism of the dominant society. The Asian American as the third type tries to integrate "his past experiences with his present conditions."³ Instead of minimizing Chinese values as does the Marginal Man, the Asian American attempts to preserve them and to share them as worthy, even as he forms his new identity. His political and social awareness is well developed. He

¹Sue and Sue, "Chinese-American Personality," pp. 36-49; Sue and Wagner, eds., Asian Americans, pp. 113-21.
³Sue and Wagner, Asian Americans, p. 117.
is sensitive to his own racial and national backgrounds as elements that shaped his personal identity. He is concerned with social ills such as poverty and institutional racism. When the Asian American encounters problems, he does not perceive them as primarily his own responsibility, as might the Traditional Man or the Marginal Man. Instead, he looks at racist bias as the source of many problems of minorities. Recognizing that there must be collective action, the Asian American promotes Asian unity both to share common Asian identity and to overcome racism. Thus, the Asian American is inclined to be more assertive, questioning and an activist than either the Traditional Man or the Marginal Man.

Although the typological characteristics are for Chinese Americans, as noted, they could be made applicable to Japanese Americans by changing the word "Chinese" to "Japanese" in the description. The types, of course, are not definitive labels for specific individuals. In practice one individual may share the characteristics of two or three of the types, or another individual may be dominated by the characteristics of one of them. It would be difficult to describe many of the Nisei and the Sansei in terms of a single type. In some cases, however, it seems possible to categorize certain individuals. For example, those who strongly affirm their combined Asian and American roots and identity and who have been active in social change movements can be characterized as the "Asian American" type, whether Nisei or Sansei. Those who strongly favored integration and assimilation and who displayed minimal awareness of racism in the dominant society could be categorized as Marginal Man. In spite of limitations,
the typology is useful in providing a framework in understanding some of the views expressed by the interviewees regarding themselves and their society.

Views on Asian American Development

The interviewees were asked what they knew about the Asian American movement. A third of the Nisei and a third of the Sansei acknowledged that they knew little or nothing about it. They indicated that they had not paid much attention to manifestations of the movement such as the Manzanar pilgrimage or the emergence of Asian American studies and publications. However, 45 percent of the Nisei and 50 percent of the Sansei expressed interest in Asian American developments by favoring the offering of Asian American studies in schools and colleges, programs to promote the study of Japanese language and Japanese American history and experience.

Some, among them, stressed the importance of promoting the development of Japanese culture and Japanese American experience rather than a more inclusive Asian American culture. They said that while it was good for Asians to identify and to organize as Asian Americans, Japanese Americans should first be clear about their own identity and be well organized among themselves. Some others stressed the importance of overall and united Asian American organizations and activities. It was asserted by some that a social and political "power base" (123) would be desirable, not only as Japanese Americans but even more as Asian Americans.

In keeping with the emerging awareness of the multiracial character of the United States, 19 percent of the Nisei and 22 percent
of the Sansei stressed the need for more emphasis on Japanese American and Asian American experiences for the social development of Americans. They apparently saw their advocacy for Asian American cultural activities as an important aspect of American life. A necessity for a multicultural society involving Japanese Americans was expressed in different ways. One Nisei business executive said, "The fact that we are called Japanese Americans connotes a kind of pluralism... I happen to like the world pluralism... because we are in a pluralistic society" (119). Another Nisei acknowledged that the "policy of assimilation has not worked... It's time to try something else" (39). One Sansei (24), a recent college graduate, said that the American society is not so much a melting pot, where different elements have emerged into one, as it is an "Irish Stew" of distinguishable components. These persons reflected opinions expressed by others that assimilation has not been so successful as it had been popularly claimed. Since assimilation has failed to provide Americans with a sense of being rooted in a single heritage, this "failure" really testifies to America's infusion of many ethnic cultures, with specific Japanese and more general Asian heritage being among them.

In the course of discussing the place of Japanese Americans or Asians in America, the respondents revealed their concept of America and what it is to be an American. One Nisei with an unusually strong sense of being a Japanese explained his perspective on what it is to be an American:

Every American, no matter how he think(s) of his country of origin, still thinks of his country of birth, that is America... The idea that just because you study Japanese language or culture (that)
you are not an American (does not make sense). You try to bring
in the better part of other culture, to make America a better
place . . . So, I do push Japanese language and culture . . . (52).

This Nisei, a leader in his Buddhist temple, related that he once had
a Buddhist priest say the invocation before a predominantly Caucasian
civic group. He contended that Buddhism is no less American than
Christianity and that this fact is important for Americans to under-
stand.

One Sansei college graduate, with aspirations of going into
law, confessed that he was not sure "where his mind is at" in terms
of the Asian movement. But he expressed his Asian American concerns
through his participation in an ethnic mural painting project of a
group of Asian American young people. He assumed leadership in
organizing the painting project on the Japanese American Service Com-
mittee building. One of the purposes of this activity was to raise
questions about the identity of Japanese Americans. Speaking of the
mural he said,

We definitely broke it down to different generations: the first
generation being the working class Issei, who predominantly were
male; the women in the ranks came off the boat to (become) wives
for the males who worked in the fields. The second frame is the
(concentration) camp, ten or so camps . . . At the far right end
of that particular frame, you see the Nisei coming out in their
suit and tie trying to lead their children into a better way. I
thought it was a very well thought out piece of work. I take
. . . pride in being a part of that (14).

In contrast to those who looked upon Japanese and Asian cultures
as being American, there were those who did not agree. A few implied
that America was a white man's country and anything Japanese or Asian

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1 The mural is on the north wall of the Japanese American
Service Committee building, 4427 North Clark Street, Chicago.
is not basically American. One Kibei (109), for example, specifically said that he was surprised to learn of the existence of Asian American caucus in his predominantly Japanese American Protestant congregation. A caucus is appropriate for a group demanding its rights, and in this case it was a group of Asians. The reason for his being "shocked," was that he did not consider the Christian Church as a whole to be other than dominated by Caucasians.

There were those who opposed what they considered the more militant tendency of the Asian American movement. Some 17 percent of the Nisei and 13 percent of the Sansei expressed their disapproval of militancy. One Kibei father (19) was disturbed that the Chicago Japanese American Citizens League, whose Board of Directors is composed mostly of Sansei, wrote a letter of protest to President Nixon demanding his resignation at the time of the Watergate scandal. He said that the Nisei, out of respect for authority, would not have behaved like that. A Nisei mother objected to such terms as "Yellow Brotherhood" as a kind of Asian American counterpart of the Black Power movement by complaining, "What are they trying to prove?" (68). One Sansei college student (97) spoke of the Asian American group within his campus as being "too radical." A Kibei (109) flatly stated that he does not believe in social protest. For example, he thought that the protesting Japanese college students in Japan who were much in the headlines a few years ago were wrong in protesting. Some thought that the Asian American movement with its emphasis on cultural roots and minority consciousness, was opposed to an integration philosophy, which they favored.
A few spoke of the Asian American movement chiefly in terms of Asian American unity. While they were not opposed to Asians uniting, they nevertheless thought it impractical. Five Nisei and one Sansei said that they did not think an Asian American organization was a viable group which got anything done. The Nisei who expressed this point of view were almost all older leaders experienced in Japanese American affairs. They remembered some past unsuccessful efforts to bring together the Asian ethnic group. One older Nisei leader (112) questioned whether joining other Asians might not weaken one's own national sense of identity which he thought important.

Some six Nisei were somewhat ambivalent in their attitudes about the Asian American activities and programs. One Nisei defined his position as being in the "middle ground," another Nisei (25) who generally favored Asian assertiveness was not for being "anti," which he thought the Asian American movement often was. Another Nisei (2), while favoring complete integration of the Japanese with the whites and others, nevertheless wanted what he considered Japanese virtues, such as good manners and family loyalty, retained and not be lost in the integration process. To this extent, he favored what the Asian American movement promoted. In the Sue and Sue typology, such an individual could be classified as the Marginal Man.

Views on Civil Rights

Since Japanese Americans belong to a minority group the respondents were asked to give their views on another social movement, the civil rights movement of the 1960s. One item on the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire (item no. 53) read: "I believe in firm but non-violent
tactics in making demands for justice and equality, such as were employed by Martin Luther King, Jr." Of the total number of respondents, 85 percent indicated that they "agree" or "strongly agree," 8 percent indicated that they "disagree" and 7 percent were "undecided." There was no significant statistical difference between the Nisei parents and the Sansei youth. Eighty-three percent of the Nisei were on the side of "agree" and "strongly agree" and 87 percent of the Sansei were in the same categories.

Some comments were made about Martin Luther King, Jr., and his non-violent movement. Four Nisei said that they had been against what Martin Luther King, Jr. was doing during the controversy of civil rights movement, but in more recent times they have changed their mind and agreed with King's method of asserting equality. One Nisei (102) thought at the time of King's activities that he was "going too far," but now he saw that confrontation tactics were necessary. His Nisei wife (101) said that she was always for Martin Luther King, Jr. and their Sansei daughter (100), involved in some aspects of the Asian American movement, said that she did not know too much about King. Another Japanese American community leader (4), when asked about Martin Luther King, Jr. admitted that he was not aware of him when King was in the headlines, and he could not remember his own feeling about it. A Nisei (15), not active in any organization, thought that King was looking for publicity and that Rev. Jesse Jackson, the nationally known black rights Chicago leader, was an opportunist. Another Nisei (60), active in Caucasian social clubs in his suburb, and not in any Asian related activities, had no opinion when asked about civil rights
movement. Although in the interviews those who commented on the non-violent philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr. favored it, they generally expressed no strong feeling one way or the other about it.

In the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire, as the statements became more militant in tone there was less agreement between groups. Item 58 stated, "Integrating our schools will lower the quality of education." Seventy-five percent of the total respondents indicated "disagree" or "strongly disagree." A larger percentage of the Sansei disagreed with it than the Nisei, and between the two groups there was a significant statistical difference. Item 51 read, "Blacks and other minority groups should stop picketing and start showing that they can be responsible citizens and workers." Fifty-five percent of the total 123 respondents indicated "strongly disagree" or "disagree" to this item. If disagreement to "stop picketing" is to be interpreted as representing a more liberal point of view, the majority of respondents took the liberal position.

With the Nisei, the opinions were almost equally divided with 42 percent on the agreement side and 45 percent on the disagreement side. With the Sansei, opinions were overwhelmingly on the disagreement side, 70 percent "disagree" or "strongly disagree" and 15 percent "agree" or "strongly agree." Between the generations there was a significant statistical difference, with more Sansei being on the liberal side (not against picketing). It may be noted that among the Nisei leaders (N = 27) and Nisei non-leaders (N = 50) there was a difference, although not statistically significant (p < .07); 63 percent of the Nisei leaders said that they "strongly disagree" or "disagree"
and 36 percent of the Nisei non-leaders placed themselves in the same categories. Among the Sansei leaders (N = 21) and non-leaders (N = 25) there was hardly any difference; 71 percent of the leaders and 68 percent of the non-leaders were in the "strongly disagree" or "disagree" categories. Among the Sansei a large majority of both leaders and non-leaders took the liberal position, slightly above that of the Nisei leaders.

Ethnic Identity Questionnaire item no. 52 read, "I favor Black Power Movement." Overall, those who agree and disagree were almost equally divided. Thirty-eight percent marked "strongly agree" or "agree" and 35 percent marked "strongly disagree" or "disagree," with 27 percent "undecided." Between the Nisei parents and the Sansei youth, the difference was statistically significant, with 23 percent of the Nisei saying "strongly agree" or "agree" (31 percent undecided) and 53 percent of the Sansei holding the same opinion (20 percent "undecided"). Here again between the Nisei leaders and the Nisei non-leaders there were marked percentage differences although not statistically significant (p < .07). Of the Nisei leaders, 41 percent responded "strongly agree" or "agree" (19 percent "undecided"), and 14 percent of the Nisei non-leaders responded similarly (38 percent "undecided"). Although a higher percentage of Sansei leaders favored the Black Power movement than the Sansei non-leaders, the percentage differences were smaller. Sixty-two percent of the Sansei leaders marked "strongly agree" or "agree" (10 percent "undecided"), and 48 percent of the Sansei non-leaders marked the same categories (28 percent "undecided"). The overall difference between leaders (N = 48)
and non-leaders (N = 75) was statistically significant. Fifty percent of all the leaders marked "strongly agree" or "agree" (15 percent "undecided") and 25 percent of all the non-leaders placed themselves in the same categories (35 percent "undecided"). Clearly, the leaders of both the Nisei and the Sansei have a larger percentage of liberals with respect to human rights issues, and again more Sansei were liberals than the Nisei if favoring "Black Power" is to be considered more liberal than not favoring it.

**Japanese American Radicals**

In the interviews, only a few individuals reported that they had been active in more radical movement for social change. One Sansei (67) said he had attended several Black Panther meetings while on an urban campus. Another Sansei (71), as both an undergraduate and graduate student, had been deeply involved in civil rights and peace movements. As a Peace Corp worker, he went to Africa and later visited Japan. He said Vietnam War was a "racist war." He continued, "I had made a decision that I would not participate in the war, even if I go to jail . . . I decided not to be a CO (Conscientious Objector) against all wars. At that time you had to have a religion. I did not have one . . . " (71). He was unwilling to be a conscientious objector as legally defined, but declared himself a war resister without any formal religion. This position could be interpreted as illegal and he was well aware of this. Another Sansei (24), also while an undergraduate, became deeply involved in the anti-Vietnam War movement and joined small groups of Asian American activists.

Among Nisei parents one couple (29, 30) were involved in both
civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements, mainly through their church and through Asian American movement activities. Another Nisei (50) had considered a conscientious objection position during World War II and expressed opposition to the Vietnam War. He strongly favored the civil rights movement. He had withdrawn from membership in the Japanese ethnic congregation to which he and his wife belonged, because they felt the congregation lacked social concerns. His oldest son (not interviewed) while a college student, became a conscientious objector against all wars during the Vietnam War.¹ Almost all the above persons who had well articulated convictions were professional people with college degrees, who in some way related their Japanese American or Asian American experience to their commitment to social change. Within the typology of Sue and Sue, they are the Asian American.

Those who articulated their concerns on issues regarding Japanese Americans were mostly leaders. For example, among 20 percent of the Sansei who expressed themselves favoring a multicultural society, 90 percent were leaders. With respect to female and male comparisons, there were no significant differences on issues related to Asian American concerns. On other issues and subject matters, also, there were no significant differences according to sex.

The differences were evident between the Nisei and the Sansei and, to a lesser degree, between leaders and non-leaders. The Sansei were more liberal than the Nisei in social views and outlook, more assertive and demanding of their rights as Asian Americans or Japanese

¹See above, p. 215 on case numbers 50 and 51.
Americans than the Nisei. There were individual differences, of course, in which some Nisei were more liberal and assertive than many Sansei. As to many leaders affirming their Asian American or Japanese American identity, it may be conjectured that since most of them were leaders in Japanese American or Asian American affairs, they strongly identified with ethnic concerns. It could be further hypothesized that leaders were active and assumed responsibilities in these organizations because they were originally motivated to consciously act as Asian Americans or Japanese Americans. Their association with others of similar motivation, in turn, possibly reinforced their articulation of their thoughts as persons of Asian or Japanese American background.

In the treatment of various views throughout this study, some contrasts were noted between the Nisei and the Sansei. In the following chapter the contrast between the generations is the focal point of the discussion in terms of what the Nisei and the Sansei have said about each other and about themselves as a distinct generational group.
CHAPTER IX

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
THE PARENTS AND CHILDREN

The respondents were asked what similarities as well as differences they observed between the Nisei and the Sansei. Differences were more frequently mentioned probably because differences are often more "jarring" than similarities.

Generation Similarities

The characteristics mentioned were those often associated as being particularly Japanese or possibly stereotyped as such both by the Japanese Americans themselves and the general population. One characteristic often mentioned was that the Orientals are quiet. Nine percent of the Nisei and 11 percent of the Sansei indicated that both the Nisei and Sansei are on the quiet side in behavior and self-expression. One Nisei said that they are indeed "quiet Americans" as aptly stated in the title of a book on Japanese Americans by Hosokawa, a Nisei journalist,¹ and that they need more to "stand up for themselves." Two other Nisei said that compared to "hakujins" (whites) the Japanese Americans are not as "aggressive," and they are more "restrained." One Sansei leader (67) said that the Sansei are too unassertive, because the Nisei are that way as the result of evacuation.

¹Hosokawa, Nisei.
experience, which made them more timid and subdued in their behavior. 

Another characteristic associated with Japanese Americans or Orientals is family loyalty and solidarity. Seven interviewees (six Nisei and one Sansei) mentioned that both the Nisei and the Sansei exhibit that cultural trait. One Nisei mother said that the Japanese children won't "do anything to shame parents . . . (There is) family loyalty . . . (and) filial piety . . . They (the parents, in turn) take pride in their children" (70). Her married Sansei son (71), who was more radical in his perception of the Asian American role in society, also expressed a strong attachment to his wife and child and explained how family solidarity was crucial to his being.

Members of two generations of another family expressed the importance of family harmony. One Sansei (117) said that his father was quiet and lenient. His Kibei father agreed to this perception about himself and said that his Issei father, at one time a security guard for the Japanese Imperial family, was an overly strict man. This Kibei father, therefore, apparently compensated for his own strict upbringing by being permissive with his own children. The father said that he was proud of his own family in which never an angry word was exchanged between any of them in all their family life. This kind of outward show of solidarity was considered a strength in the Japanese families by some respondents. One Nisei mother (42) compared the Japanese American families with her Caucasian neighbors. She thought the Japanese Americans took better care of the aged than the Caucasians. Also, the Japanese American families possessed a certain amount of pride which made them reluctant to get into debt.
Her Caucasian neighbors, she thought, would get into debt to enjoy luxuries.

Some other similarities were mentioned. Thirteen persons (three Nisei and ten Sansei) said that both generations were motivated by high educational and occupational aspirations in which working and studying hard were considered a virtue. Eight of them felt that these were desirable characteristics; five others said that these characteristics were not all that virtuous. Four Nisei mentioned the similarities of the physical characteristics of the Nisei and the Sansei—the obvious fact that they both had "Japanese" or "Oriental" features. No Sansei, however, mentioned this in talking about similarities.

Thoughts on similarities between Japanese American generations reminded the interviewees of traits passed on by the Issei. Nine individuals (six Nisei and three Sansei) mentioned the Issei's influence as important, particularly for the Nisei, which influence in turn affected the Sansei. One Sansei college student spoke with pride of her grandmother and Japan. Responding to the question of the interviewer on racial discrimination against Japanese Americans, she said:

I don't think it exists, except for jealousy. This sounds terrible, but as a race we are a lot smarter than a lot of others (laughing). I really do—in intellectually . . . like the Japanese people—maybe not intellect, but courtesy . . . well, intellect too—more than an average group of others . . . I have to respect my grandmother (who lives with us). She's an Issei . . . As I understand, she doesn't have much schooling, but I think she's pretty smart . . . Japan is such a big business country . . . To compare this country (U.S.) with that country (Japan)—so much more smaller (sic) and more people, but so organized and well run . . . I think that's the basis of jealousy . . . Not so much discrimination. It's competition more than discrimination (87).

This Sansei youth apparently associated her own Japanese origin with her Issei grandmother and the achievements of Japan. Although she said she
does not identify herself with Japan more than with any other foreign nation, she nevertheless acknowledged that she was "glad" of Japan's accomplishments. Asked whether she would like to go to Japan someday, she replied, "O, yeah . . . I want to go to England and Japan equally." She has a passion for equestrianism, and she thought this was highly developed in England.

One Nisei referred to the amazing feats of the Issei, like his father, who became experienced farmers on their own.

This is surprising for the Issei. Issei were what--about sixteen or seventeen years old--when they came to the United States . . . And they're taking the shovels and digging up the dirt . . . They didn't know too much about chemistry or biochemistry or any of those things. That's pretty good . . .

This Nisei professional expressed his admiration for the ingenuity and perserverance of Issei farmers, of whom his father was one (92).

Sentiments on the Issei were generally expressed with reverence. However, there were a few critical comments about the Issei. One older Nisei professional said,

I don't like the feeling a lot of Issei and some of us (older Nisei) had of being against the Filipinos (and other Asians) . . . I think those are some of the things we should try to eliminate . . . Those things (Asian inter-ethnic conflicts) shouldn't happen anymore . . . In a way it's our parents' fault too . . . They imparted it (prejudice) to us . . . Even though they (were hiding) it from us . . . you hear them talking about it (112).

One Sansei professional spoke of his Issei grandparents fondly.

We went to (the residence of my grandparents) and their house was like a museum. I just liked kind of walking around (their home). They gave me this book (on Japanese fables), and I still have it. I must have read it a thousand times. I think that when we have children that I'm sure I have to go to school (to learn Japanese) right along with them. They will know how to speak Japanese . . . will know about their culture and heritage . . . (120).
The grandparents, however, had their prejudices. This Sansei who was married to a Caucasian said,

I never could understand why I wasn't supposed to marry a Chinese girl. It was made clear to me by my grandparents. Chinese came at the top (to be avoided) and the Jews second, etc. . . . Chinese --(why they should be avoided) I could never understand because they are Asians (120).

**Generation Differences**

One of the often mentioned characteristics of the Japanese is the *enryo* syndrome, which has been identified as "deference" in such personality measuring instruments as the Edward's Personal Preferences Inventory. The respondents in replying to the question about the differences between the Nisei and the Sansei behavior mentioned that generally they thought the Nisei were more quiet and the Sansei more outspoken. A few Nisei used the word *enryo* to describe the Nisei's behavior in contrast with the behavior of the Sansei and whites. Although there is no equivalent to *enryo* in English it may be variously translated as deference, reserve, nonassertiveness or even bashfulness.

Fifty-one percent of the Nisei and 30 percent of the Sansei in this study commented that the Nisei were less assertive than the Sansei. Many of them would probably agree with the findings of Masuda, Matsumoto and Meredith that the succeeding generations of Japanese Americans have become progressively more assertive and closer to middle class Caucasians. However, according to the opinions of several interviewees, Sansei still retained the *enryo* syndrome when compared with Caucasians.

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1 See below, Chapter II, pp. 59-60.

2 Masuda, Matsumoto, and Meredith, "Ethnic Identity."
A few of the Sansei looked upon the Nisei behavior as being too restrained. One Sansei professional (71) said that the Sansei do not want a "sheeplike model of leadership" that the Nisei provided. Another Sansei (120) said,

The Nisei I talk to are guarded (in their conversations). The words are measured out. The impact is measured out; how you might take it is measured out . . . You have to really sit down and figure out—is that the way they feel? . . . Sansei are more apt to say what's on their minds whether it really offends or not (120).

A few Nisei parents (e.g., 34, 4) commented that their children were outspoken within the family, but outside in the Caucasian society they were more restrained. They preferred this than to have their children blow off steam on the outside. They apparently desired to present an image of a united family to the outside world as a Japanese family. Most Nisei were approving of the openness and assertiveness of the Sansei. Only a few thought that perhaps the Sansei were going too far in being outspoken. Many respondents looked upon the outspokenness of the Sansei as a progression of the Japanese American generations toward the behavior of the Caucasians. They also thought the Sansei reflected the tendency of the younger generation in general to be more vocal or frank about everything.

Sixteen percent of the Nisei and 13 percent of the Sansei said that the Sansei were generally more "Americanized" than the Nisei. As to what they meant by "Americanized" varied. One Nisei (86) said that the Sansei were no different from whites in their behavior. Another Nisei (99) said that the Sansei's speech patterns were closer to Caucasian Americans' than those of the Nisei. One Sansei student said
that the Sansei were more "independent"; another Sansei (111) said that the Sansei were more fully assimilated with Caucasians and that the Sansei felt more "secure." The Nisei, in contrast, had to outdo their Caucasian counterparts in achievements to feel secure. A Nisei (4) said the Sansei "feel American and don't have need to prove themselves." A Sansei (14) said that the fourth generation Japanese Americans, the Yonsei, were even more Americanized in that they were losing more elements of Japanese culture; he saw a need for special effort to enable the Yonsei to retain them. Although many said that the Sansei, like the Nisei, had good appreciation of things Japanese, a few (two Nisei and two Sansei) said that the Sansei were "straying away" from Japanese culture.

On social outlook and political perspectives, 9 percent of the Nisei and 24 percent of the Sansei said that between the Nisei and the Sansei there is not much difference. Six (two Nisei and four Sansei) thought the views of both the Nisei and the Sansei generations in their own and in other families tend to be liberal in politics, permissive in morals; they favored social change rather than status quo. Of them, two Nisei parents and one Sansei youth indicated that the Sansei children's social views had a liberalizing effect on the Nisei parents (80, 10, 59). Five other interviewees (two Nisei and three Sansei) said that both the Nisei and the Sansei were "conservative," one Sansei (40) saying that they are "status quo" in their outlook. Three Sansei leaders said that the Sansei, like the Nisei are motivated by materialistic values.

In contrast to those who thought the Nisei and the Sansei were
alike in their perspective of society, 17 percent of the Nisei and 13 percent of the Sansei depicted Sansei as more open minded than the Nisei. Thus, the Sansei were looked upon as more humanitarian, more sensitive to the plights of the oppressed people and less discriminatory toward other minorities. One Kibei father regretted that he was unable to provide a more politically and socially stimulating family environment such as he thought was present in many high middle class Caucasian families. Several interviewees, both Nisei and Sansei, said that the Nisei were more prejudiced against minorities and less concerned for their plights than were the Sansei.

On the Dogmatism Scale, which measures social attitudes as devised by Milton Rokeach, the Nisei scored higher than the Sansei. The higher score represents a more dogmatic attitude. The means were 146.66 for the Nisei, and 136.83 for the Sansei. Comparison by the t-test indicated that difference was statistically significant ($p < .05$). However, when either the Nisei or the Sansei sample was compared with the sample norms of Ohio State University recorded by Rokeach (in 1955) there was no statistically significant difference. The lowest means score of 141.3 and the highest means score of 143.8 for the samples of Ohio State University were between the means scores of the Sansei (136.83) and the Nisei (146.66). Therefore, although there was a significant difference between the Nisei and the Sansei there was no statistically significant difference between them and the Ohio State University norms. Thus, according to the Dogmatism Scale a higher

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1 Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind.

2 Ibid., p. 90.
percentage of the Sansei are less dogmatic and thus more open minded than the Nisei. It is also noticeable that the Sansei whose scores were secured during 1973-1975 had lower mean scores than the Ohio State University students in 1955.¹ It can be surmised that university students in general have moved toward openness in their attitudes, particularly during the decade of 1965-75 and that the Sansei College students and graduates reflect this trend.²

Differences were also noticeable in the liberal-conservative polarities. Under this category were included opinions concerning politics and attitudes toward authorities, particularly in the social-political spheres. More respect for authority could be considered conservative and less respect, liberal or radical. A radical is defined here as one who seeks greater and more rapid change than a liberal. Eighteen percent of the Nisei and 39 percent of the Sansei said that the Sansei are more liberal than the Nisei. One Nisei radical (27) said that the Sansei tend to be more sympathetic toward social change than the Nisei, who generally lacked concern for society. A Sansei radical (24) said that his parents (both Kibei) opposed his activities in Asian American and anti-Vietnam movements, and he thought that he was more radical than other Sansei. One Sansei student (100) described many Nisei as "ultra-conservative." Another Sansei, (107) speaking of the Nisei, said that they are "conservative and conventional." One Nisei (98) said that the Sansei do not have as much

¹Ibid., p. 88.

respect as the Nisei for authority figures such as employers or teachers. But, he added that in more recent years he too had changed in his attitude toward authority figures. Now, he recognized the necessity to speak up against those in authority when situations demanded it. Without being too precise in their definition of "liberal," it was agreed by many that the Sansei were more liberal than the Nisei.

**Political Affiliations**

Information Questionnaire had a question (item no. 41), "What is your usual political party preference?" The answers show that in comparison to the Nisei, less Sansei declared themselves preferring the Republican party, with more declaring their preference for "Independent" or "None," as shown in Table 11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Democrat</th>
<th>Republican</th>
<th>Independent or None</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nisei</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34(26)</td>
<td>25(19)</td>
<td>41(32)</td>
<td>0(0)</td>
<td>100(77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sansei</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37(17)</td>
<td>2(1)</td>
<td>57(26)</td>
<td>4(2)</td>
<td>100(46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total N</strong></td>
<td>(43)</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>(58)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>(123)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**NOTE:** $X^2 = 13.77$  
$df = 3$  
$p < .001$
Preference for the Democratic party was 34 percent for the Nisei and 37 percent for the Sansei; preference for the Republican party was 25 percent for the Nisei and 2 percent for the Sansei; preference for 'Independent' and 'None,' 41 percent for the Nisei and 57 percent for the Sansei and preference for 'others' was 0 percent for the Nisei and 4 percent for the Sansei. The differences between the Nisei and the Sansei were statistically significant. If Republican party preference is interpreted as conservative and preferences for all other categories as liberal, the Sansei are more liberal than the Nisei.

The voting records in the 1972 gubernatorial and national elections as reported in the Information Questionnaire (items 42, 43, 44 and 45) reveal that the Sansei voted overwhelmingly for the Democratic candidates. (Eighty percent for Walker and 84 percent for McGovern, both of whom were considered more liberal than the Republican candidates.) The majority of the Nisei voted for the Republican candidates (58 percent for Ogilvie and 56 percent for Nixon). The differences between the Nisei and the Sansei in both cases were statistically significant.

TABLE 12

VOTES IN THE 1972 GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION (PERCENT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ogilvie Republican</th>
<th>Walker Democratic</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>58 (41)</td>
<td>42 (30)</td>
<td>100 (71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sansei</td>
<td>20 (6)</td>
<td>80 (24)</td>
<td>100 (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>(47)</td>
<td>(54)</td>
<td>(101)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: \( X^2 = 12.1 \) \( df = 3 \) \( p < .001 \)
TABLE 13

VOTES IN THE 1972 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION
(PERCENT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>McGovern</th>
<th>Nixon</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>44(32)</td>
<td>56(41)</td>
<td>100(73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sansei</td>
<td>84(26)</td>
<td>16(5)</td>
<td>100(31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total N</td>
<td>(58)</td>
<td>(46)</td>
<td>(104)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: $X^2 = 13.95$  df = 1  p < .001

Six Nisei and two Sansei made references to the more affluent or relaxed state of the Sansei compared to the more stringent and restrictive life style of the Nisei. Referring to the Sansei, one Nisei mother had this to say:

We (Nisei) kind of push ourselves too much. They (Sansei) live for today ... What I mean is they make certain amount of money and enjoy it (laugh). We kind of worry about having to save and this and that. I think I worry less about money now than I used to ... we had to (worry about money) because we didn't have much (21).

This kind of observation about life style has led others to say that the Sansei are more "selfish" and "spoiled." Sixteen percent of the Nisei and 9 percent of the Sansei expressed this viewpoint. One Nisei professional (105) said that the Sansei are more secure and spoiled, because the Nisei brought them up in the ways of Dr. Spock. In his own family, he said, they compromised between Dr. Spock (permissive) and Dr. Bettleheim (strict). One Kibei father (109) regretted that the Sansei do not "save for rainy day." A few have even said that the Sansei are lazy. Talking about herself as well as other Sansei, one
Sansei student (87) said that the Sansei "don't want to work too hard" in contrast to the Nisei. Acknowledging that their Sansei children's life is much easier than their own, many Nisei seemed to prefer it this way. The Nisei brought up the Sansei in an atmosphere of material security and they apparently derived certain vicarious satisfaction from their Sansei children's more carefree ways.

The middle aged Nisei generation in contrast to the Sansei youth generation, adheres more to a work ethic. Eleven individuals (five Nisei and six Sansei) said that the Nisei tend to work harder and feel more pressure to be responsible and dependable. Some spoke of these characteristics as strengths, while others looked upon them as weaknesses. One Sansei (87), who had a great admiration for her hardworking parents, contrasted the Nisei with the blacks, who she thought are "shiftless."

Several Sansei and Nisei respondents mentioned that the evacuation experience made the Nisei work harder than the whites to make up for the discrimination that Japanese Americans faced. One-sixth (17 percent) of the Nisei and one-tenth (11 percent) of the Sansei said that they thought that the Nisei were more anxious than the Sansei about material security.

One Nisei said of other Nisei "the only way I can characterize (the Nisei) is money, money, money." [The interviewer, laughing in response, "you're not like that--more easy going?"] "I have nothing in the bank ... (The Nisei) want to live in a nice house, they want to have a nice car. I haven't even got a car yet!" There was a feeling on the part of some of the Nisei and the Sansei that it is not an
advantage for the Nisei to be so grim about work and material security. One Nisei (102) explained that the Nisei "had it rougher" in going through life. His wife (101) put it, "with Nisei everything (is) in terms of cash . . . I don't know what they're saving for . . . " (101). She added that the Sansei are spendthrift, and the Nisei parents let them be that way.

Noticeable differences were referred to in the ways in which the generations seemed concerned about "what others think about them" or how self-conscious they felt about being racially discriminated against. Thirteen persons (nine Nisei and four Sansei) said that the Nisei were more concerned about what others thought of them and or about being personally discriminated against. One Nisei mother (119) complained that, unlike the Nisei, the Sansei had little ethnic pride. They were not worried enough about what others think of Japanese Americans. She said she was somewhat disturbed to read in the newspapers recently about a Nisei being involved in a public scandal, although this Nisei was a total stranger to her. She felt shame for the Nisei by this scandal. Another Nisei mother (96) explained that the sense of being concerned about what others think come from giri (a sense of indebtedness), which she thought the Nisei have but the Sansei lack.

One Sansei college student (93), who said that his parents are more "right wing" than he, explained the self-consciousness of the Nisei about racial discrimination.

I think they (his Nisei parents) feel more minority (sic) than I do . . . Things that they told me when I was small make me realize how conscious they were of being Japanese and (of) their place in
society here . . . I was told when I was younger by my father that I had to be good because things I do would reflect on all Japanese . . . I think I feel less a minority, more accepted by the whites, because I grew up in contact with more whites. . . .

His father (92), a successful professional is a leader in Japanese American organizations as well as in local community groups. This Sansei youth, however, is not involved in any Japanese American or Asian American activities. This same youth expressed admiration for his parents' generation: "I guess my parents grew up and took the system and did the best they could, and they've done quite well. So here I am. I get to enjoy everything that they worked for."

**Liberalism and Conservatism**

Ethnic Identity Questionnaire items on racial discrimination elicited mixed responses. To "I would be disturbed if Caucasians did not accept me as an equal" (item 21), a majority of the Nisei (68 percent) and the Sansei (67 percent) marked "agree" and "strongly agree." Both generations would feel bad about being discriminated against. A much larger percentage of the Sansei marked the "strongly agree" category (21 percent Sansei versus 8 percent Nisei) indicating that more Sansei felt more strongly about this.

Some comments were made by the interviewees about how their views and values might compare with others of the same generation of Japanese Americans--the Nisei with other Nisei, and the Sansei with other Sansei. Fourteen percent of the Nisei indicated that perhaps they are more liberal, outgoing, or permissive in their social attitude or behavior than other Nisei. These views were expressed differently by various individuals. One Nisei business executive (119)
said that he was "more outgoing" than other Nisei in that he is more active in local politics. He won an elective position on the local community school board. He said that most Nisei are work oriented and competent as technicians but lack human relations leadership ability. One Buddhist Nisei leader (25), after apologizing that he didn't mean to sound prejudiced, said that he thought the Christians are more pressured to go to college and strive for worldly success. He thought that the Buddhist families, in contrast, tended to be more easy going. His Sansei son (25), also a leader in the Buddhist temple, indeed seemed to reflect this somewhat easy and self assured philosophy about work and achievement. Apparently, a successful businessman, this Sansei related how he wanted to use his talents and leadership skills for the benefit of other Sansei and Yonsei. At one time, he had seriously considered entering the religious life as a Buddhist priest.

One Nisei leader (101) thought that a good number of the Nisei she knows are prejudiced against other minorities, particularly against blacks. "When you think about it, a lot of Nisei are anti . . . If you want my honest opinion, when you get into these groups (of Nisei) I find that they are very discriminatory." The Nisei in her circles feel that they as minorities have to work hard on their own and that the blacks are not doing the same for themselves. Unlike the Nisei that she described, she obviously is not in accord with the mentality of "we made it on our own, so why can't they" (101). One Nisei (3) felt that her opinions on social issues such as on racial equality were more definite and firm than those of other Nisei that she knew.
She said that the Nisei views tended to be more moderate, lukewarm, and perhaps noncommittal. Asked by the interviewer whether she thought the Sansei were like that, she replied, "To some extent, but I certainly hope that they (Sansei) don't end up like that." The ways in which the Nisei and the Sansei responded to Ethnic Identity Questionnaire items on social issues seem to confirm this point of view. On social issue items, a higher percentage of Sansei indicated their attitude on the extreme scales of "strongly agree" or "strongly disagree," while a higher percentage of the Nisei placed themselves in the moderate scales of "agree" or "disagree." In other words, the Sansei felt more strongly about social issues than the Nisei, who in comparison were moderate.

The Sansei also expressed their views about other Sansei on social issues and attitudes. The radically inclined Sansei considered themselves more concerned about social issues and more involved in social change activities than other Sansei. One Sansei professional said that she grew up with a group of Sansei who had not been involved in community change activities. Now she had Sansei peers, almost all of them college graduates or in the professions (but not in engineering or technologies), who are involved in community affairs. She said that such active ones constituted a minority of Sansei. Another Sansei (107), a recent college graduate, active in Asian American projects, said that there were two kinds of Sansei: those who are career oriented and those who are movement-oriented. The former constituted the majority. The four Sansei who said that they are more outspoken and involved in community change activities are all leaders in Asian American or Japanese American projects and organizations.
Chicago and Seattle Samples on Ethnic Identity Questionnaire

The Ethnic Identity Questionnaire is structured such that lower mean scores indicate less Japanese ethnic identity or awareness. For comparison purposes, only the first fifty items were used in the scoring. The mean scores of the Seattle, Washington Japanese American samples in the study by Masuda and colleagues in "Ethnic Identity in Three generations of Japanese Americans" and those of the Chicago samples were compared. Seattle samples had 125 Issei (71 males, 54 females), 114 Nisei (68 males, 46 females) and 94 Sansei (45 males, 49 females). The mean scores of the Chicago samples were higher than those of the Seattle samples. The differences were statistically significant. As evident in Table 14, the mean score of the Chicago Sansei sample was higher than that of the Seattle Sansei sample; likewise, the mean score of the Chicago Nisei sample was higher than that of the Seattle Nisei sample.

**TABLE 14**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample group</th>
<th>$\bar{X}$</th>
<th>$S$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seattle Sansei (N = 94)</td>
<td>135.330</td>
<td>13.320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Sansei (N = 46)</td>
<td>141.957</td>
<td>15.103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: $t = 2.53$    df = 138     $p < .01$

---

TABLE 15

COMPARISON IN ETHNIC IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE MEAN
SCORES OF SEATTLE NISEI AND CHICAGO NISEI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample group</th>
<th>$\bar{X}$</th>
<th>$S$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seattle Nisei (N = 114)</td>
<td>144.825</td>
<td>12.280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago Nisei (N = 77)</td>
<td>149.740</td>
<td>13.667</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: $t = 2.54$  \hspace{1cm} df = 189  \hspace{1cm} p < .01

Also, within the Seattle samples, there were significant statistical differences between the Nisei and the Sansei, with the Nisei mean score being higher than that of the Sansei as shown in Table 16.

TABLE 16

COMPARISON IN ETHNIC IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE MEAN
SCORES OF SEATTLE NISEI AND SANSEI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample group</th>
<th>$\bar{X}$</th>
<th>$S$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nisei (N = 114)</td>
<td>144.825</td>
<td>12.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sansei (N = 94)</td>
<td>135.330</td>
<td>13.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: $t = 5.30$  \hspace{1cm} df = 208  \hspace{1cm} p < .00

Likewise, when the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire mean scores were compared between the two generations in Chicago, the Sansei mean score was significantly lower than the Nisei mean score as shown in Table 17. Therefore, the Sansei projected less "Japanese" attitudes than the Nisei. (See Appendices VIII & IX) In comparing leaders and non-leaders, the leaders were higher in mean score, but the difference was not statistically significant as shown in Table 18.
TABLE 17
COMPARISONS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE MEAN SCORES OF CHICAGO'S NISEI AND SANSEI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample group</th>
<th>$\bar{x}$</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nisei ($N = 77$)</td>
<td>149.74</td>
<td>13.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sansei ($N = 46$)</td>
<td>141.96</td>
<td>15.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: $t = 2.93$  $df = 121$  $p < .01$

TABLE 18
COMPARISON OF ETHNIC IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE MEAN SCORES OF CHICAGO LEADERS AND NON-LEADERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample group</th>
<th>$\bar{x}$</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leaders ($N = 48$)</td>
<td>148.23</td>
<td>13.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-leaders ($N = 75$)</td>
<td>145.93</td>
<td>15.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: $t = .846$  $df = 121$  $p < .20$

Between the sexes, there was no statistically significant difference.

TABLE 19
COMPARISON IN ETHNIC IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE MEAN SCORES OF CHICAGO MALES AND FEMALES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample group</th>
<th>$\bar{x}$</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male ($N = 71$)</td>
<td>146.47</td>
<td>14.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female ($N = 52$)</td>
<td>147.33</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: $t = .32$  $df = 121$  $p < .25$
The hypothesis that the Nisei attitudes are closer to the Issei immigrants' attitudes than those of the Sansei (with the former having higher ethnic identity and awareness) is verified by the use of Ethnic Identity Questionnaire measuring instrument on the Seattle and Chicago samples. There are several possible explanations as to why the Chicago samples have higher ethnic awareness than the Seattle samples. First, the Chicago sample included a high proportion of leaders in Asian and Japanese American organizations, whereas the Seattle samples were more randomly drawn from the local Japanese American population. Persons active in Asian American organizations or movements tend to be more aware of their ethnic background and culture than those who are not so active. Also, the ethnic awareness of the Asians has intensified over the past few years. It is likely that when Masuda, Matsumoto and Meredith made their studies in 1967, the level of ethnic awareness of the people was not so strong as it was some few years later during the 1973-1975 period, when the present study was conducted. The fact that the samples were of the West Coast and the Midwest does not appear to be significant to this writer, but perhaps some unrecognized factors were at work.

The overall picture of contrasts which emerges from the views of the Nisei and the Sansei is similar to a picture of any two generations of parents and youth in contemporary society. The younger generation are perceived to be more liberal and less dogmatic in social views, more outspoken about their feelings, less conforming to traditional ways and less oriented to work ethic. As Americans, the Sansei are considered to be further removed from traits considered as
Japanese, such as *enryo* and *giri*. Yet, in many instances as minorities and descendants of the Issei and the Nisei, the Sansei possess specific backgrounds that need serious consideration in the context of educational development. Possible roles of higher education in general and college student personnel services in particular in relation to some of the views expressed by the Japanese American subjects will be discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER X

IMPLICATIONS FOR COLLEGE STUDENT PERSONNEL

Educational Aspirations and College

In this sample, composed largely of college students and graduates, many interviewees expectedly believed in the importance of college education for their family members. Among the Nisei, 57 per cent had post-high school education and 38 per cent held undergraduate or graduate degrees (or professional certifications). Among the Sansei, 96 per cent had post-secondary education, with 54 per cent of them still attending colleges, and 37 per cent had earned undergraduate or graduate degrees. Eighty-two per cent of the Nisei said that they were supportive of their children going to college, and 22 per cent of the Sansei specifically mentioned that their parents in one way or another advocated college education for them.

Many of them indicated that college education was simply expected of the Sansei children, with little or no need for any pressure from the parents. One Nisei mother said that her children "naturally desired" college (72). A Sansei college graduate said that it was "more or less understood that I was going to college" (58). Although her Nisei father, a college graduate (interviewed), said that college education was up to the child, her mother (interviewed), who had not attended college, said that she would support her daughter through graduate school. A few parents who said that they had no preference
about their children attending college, nevertheless had children who were attending college or were college graduates. Forty-four per cent of the Nisei who expressed approval of their children receiving a college education added that they would support their children through graduate or professional schools if the children wished to continue their education. One Nisei father (119), whose two sons had completed undergraduate education, said that graduate education is a necessity in a competitive society. His wife similarly hoped that their children would soon work for graduate degrees. This kind of sentiment was often expressed by other Nisei parents. When asked about their plans for higher education, 48 per cent of the Sansei said that they have attended or plan to attend graduate school, 11 per cent said that they were not sure whether they will attend graduate school, and two (4 per cent) Sansei said that they would not.

Many American middle-class parents are reputed to give encouragement and often apply pressure to their children to attend college. Nine per cent of the Nisei parents acknowledged that they did openly urge their children to attend college. Others admitted to having "pushed" their children hard to enter and finish graduate studies. Thirteen per cent of the Sansei said that they had felt parental pressure to go on and do well in college. One Sansei university student (73) said that it was more a matter of his putting pressure on himself. He had apparently internalized the pressure for educational achievement. A Sansei junior college student admitted that there was a great deal of pressure on his older brother to excel in university work, but not so much pressure was applied to him, the youngest child
in the family. Asked how much pressure he felt from his parents to do well in school, he said,

I think a lot... Like some of the parents (of Caucasian friends) don't care what they get. But here in this family, you know... I'm not a good student and I don't study a lot. I don't get A's and B's and they (parents) get mad.

One Sansei student (87), who is going to college because her father would be disappointed if she did not, had no qualms about saying that she would like to quit college. An interview with her parents revealed that her father (88), a college graduate, was hoping that she would be graduated from college and "get a good job." Her mother (86), who had attended college for a while in her youth, on the other hand, thought it futile to insist on college when it was apparent that the daughter did not want to attend. She said her husband was still insisting on a college education for their daughter. She said her husband was saying, "Get a college education and then do what you want. But I don't know about that anymore. Four years of expensive schooling and..." This daughter is apparently attending college mostly out of a sense of loyalty to her parents and perhaps to the grandparent. She revealed her negative feelings about the daily routine of commuting to the college which she detested.

I can't stand it (college). It's not for me... Like today, I got real sick sitting in that class... biology. It's not that I don't like the subject. It's that I can't stand downtown (where the college is located). It's just a congested mess down there. It just gives me a headache the moment I get off the tracks... Surely there's something better to do than the life there. There's no other place (college) that I would like to go, because every other place is more expensive than that... Any cost will be waste. Maybe later on I'm willing to go back and take history.

She was asked whether there was anything that the college can do for her to make it more likeable, perhaps provide better counseling or
student activities. She replied, "No, nothing anyone does or says will change my mind. Life is just too short."

Educational aspirations oftentimes carry over across generations. The Nisei were asked whether their Issei parents applied pressure on them to attend college. Twenty-three per cent of the Nisei parents said that there was either pressure or encouragement on the part of their Issei parents for higher education. Most of these Nisei respondents said that they, in turn, wanted their own Sansei children to go on to college. The Nisei women respondents who were not college graduates said that their siblings graduating from college or professional schools influenced their own desire for higher education. One Nisei college graduate (88), acknowledging that he was "not a good student," said that his three sisters all had been graduated from college and his parents "expected" him to do the same. Another Nisei college graduate (99) said that although her parents never verbalized it, they expected her to attend; all of her five siblings had finished college, with her brothers now being in such careers as engineering and business.

One Nisei (30)---really a "half Nisei" (or "Nisei-han") whose mother was a Nisei and the father an Issei---said that her parents were particularly "unpushy" about their children's career or education. This woman did go to college for about two years. She in turn felt quite strongly that college education was not that crucial for her children; she just wanted her children to do what was right for them to be happy.

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2Seventeen per cent of the 35 Nisei women were college graduates while 48 per cent of 42 Nisei males were college graduates.
Her Nisei husband (29), when interviewed, seemed in agreement with her. One (interviewed) of their two children was attending a university and the other had attended college. Ten per cent of the Nisei and 9 per cent of the Sansei said that in their family no kind of pressure was applied to Sansei children to go to college.

Quite often, it seems that the Issei's high educational aspiration was passed on to the Nisei generation and continued on to some extent in the Sansei generation, and reinforced by the general higher educational aspiration of middle-class America. In 1938, as a young Nisei graduate student, Miyamoto (now professor of sociology at the University of Washington) was concerned about the narrow and limited educational aspirations of the Japanese Americans in those days, with overemphasis on grades and a lack of a pragmatic approach to life. However, in retrospect, it cannot be overlooked that college education and good grades were considered tangible evidence of success in the middle-class white America in general. In view of the prejudice and discrimination that they encountered in the 1940s, the Japanese Americans' high value on formal education is understandable. Education was believed to be the chief means to success for many immigrant groups in the United States. This faith in education was particularly strong in Japanese Americans.

Most Nisei interviewees still seemed to retain high regard for formal education as much as their Issei parents did. A few of the Nisei said that their Nisei acquaintances applied pressure on their Sansei

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2 Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew, pp. 21-22.
children to excel in schools. The Sansei interviewees in this study seemed to be carrying on the college education tradition of their parent generation, 54 per cent of them being the second generation college students. But the Sansei's attitude toward education in general was not as approving as that of their parents' and grandparents' generations.

The Information Questionnaire (item 30) asked for the respondent's major in college. The answers indicated that the Sansei youth in the sample leaned more toward liberal arts than the Nisei parents who had gone to college. Some 60 per cent of the Sansei were in liberal arts as against 43 per cent of the Nisei, and 10 per cent of the Sansei were business majors as against 22 per cent of the Nisei. The differences were statistically significant. While many Sansei (30 per cent as against 34 per cent of the Nisei) were in the natural sciences or engineering, the trend seems to be that fewer Sansei are entering business administration and engineering, and more are going into liberal arts. This indicates, at least for this sample of college students and graduates, that while many Japanese Americans still go into the natural sciences and technologies, more are branching out into other areas of interest and careers broadly covered by the liberal arts, including the art forms and music.

In summary, this sample contains a high percentage of college students and college graduates in the two generations. The aspiration for college education is being continued through the Sansei generation. However, some of the Sansei college students and college graduates are no longer so enamored of college education as were the previous generations, the Issei and the Nisei.
Career Choices

The interviewees were asked whether their Japanese ancestry affected their career choices. About 65 per cent of the Nisei and 54 per cent of the Sansei who spoke to this question were about equally divided between those who said that ancestry did affect their career choices and those who said that their racial background had no relevance to the selection of their careers. Many of the Nisei stated that a prior lack of opportunity was the deciding factor in their going into the field that they did. Two Nisei women said that had it not been for evacuation, they probably would have gone on to college and their future might have been different. One (89) of them indicated that as the oldest in the family, she was responsible for seeing that all her siblings were graduated from college, but that the most that she could do for herself was to attend a secretarial school.

Due to discrimination, many Nisei men went into professions or self-established businesses in which race prejudice could have the least influence. One older Nisei professional (112) had gone into an occupation in which he could "be his own boss." He said that when he was young, he was disgusted in seeing how his fellow Nisei college graduates could not find employment commensurate with their education and training. One successful businessman (31) said "very decisively" that his career was determined by his ancestry. This remarkable individual, as the oldest child in his family, helped send his several younger siblings through college. In the absence of the father in that family, he took over the family responsibility. He himself never went through grammar school. He learned both English and Japanese by self-education for the
Most part and by his close association with more formally educated Nisei. He said:

Many Nisei who graduated from college were doing the same thing I was ... couldn't find jobs. ... We used to hear that advancement was difficult if you were working for a corporation. Therefore, I wanted to be in a business where I could be my own boss. ... This is one reason why I'm in what I am.

After his relocation to Chicago during the war years, this individual encountered a series of rejections in his attempt to be employed by large companies with offices in Chicago. "I made the rounds of companies (he named a series of large business firms). They even had clients who were Japanese. They wouldn't hire me. ... (finally) took me because it was doing business in Hawaii with Japanese."

Among the Sansei who believed that their ancestry affected their career choice, several said that their family influence probably related to their choices, such as the Nisei engineer father transmitting the love of technology to his son, or the parents urging the children to work hard at whatever they chose. A few others thought that perhaps popular associations of the Japanese with technology or the arts influenced them in choosing those areas, although they admitted that to label Japanese as artistic or technically inclined would be to stereotype them.

Approximately 30 per cent of the Nisei and 30 per cent of the Sansei said that their choice of career had nothing to do with their ancestry. A few claimed that they went into their particular fields "by sheer accident" or "for no particular reason." One Sansei (18), for example, said that he went into his field "to avoid the (military) draft."
The Nisei were asked whether they intended to stay in Chicago and to retire here if they had given such thought to their future plans. Thirty-one per cent said that they intended to stay and retire in Chicago, a few adding that they have no desire to live on the West Coast, where most all of them were originally reared. Among those who indicated that they would definitely not return to the West Coast was one Nisei (31) who said that the "West Coast was barbaric," recalling the experience of forced evacuation. Six per cent of the Nisei said that they intended to retire to the West Coast, or that they would like to go back to where they originally lived. Twenty percent of them said that they didn't know what they would do in retirement, while 11 per cent said they had plenty to do in retirement. Two Nisei admitted that they had not really thought of retirement. Most of the Nisei families intend to remain in Chicago, to which they had relocated in their youth after their release from various concentration camps during the war years.

Social Life

College social life—in terms of association with peers in and outside of classrooms, student activities and student organizations—constitute a significant part of student development. In response to the question about their college experience being helpful or not helpful (Interview Schedule item 13), many Nisei discussed the presence or absence of racial discrimination on the campuses. Most Nisei were in

colleges during or soon after World War II, and overtly discriminatory acts against Japanese Americans were not uncommon. Twenty-seven per cent of the Nisei who attended post-secondary institutions commented that they were treated well or simply "accepted" as Japanese on the campuses. The other 73 per cent made no comment on this point.

One Nisei woman recalled her experience in a commercial school to which she was commuting from her home: "This was right after the war. Although I'm not a very good mixer among strangers, there was no outward sign of my not being accepted" (21). One Nisei (25) vividly recalls what happened to him in a state university on the West Coast immediately after the Pearl Harbor attack. On the following day, an instructor invited him to talk to the class about how his father was taken away by the Federal Bureau of Investigation agents as an alien under suspicion. He remembered that the girls in the class organized and collected money in his behalf--he being the only Nisei in the class. "It was very touching," he recalled.

Sixteen percent of the Nisei who attended post-secondary institutions said that they joined Japanese American clubs or groups on the campus, with the other 84 per cent not referring to this point. It was common in those days for Japanese American students to live and socialize together, since the Greek "fraternal" organizations were strictly for whites, with separation of the Japanese from the whites a common way of social life for many. While some Nisei remarked that they were well "accepted" as students on the campuses, others said that they faced discrimination. Five Nisei referred to their discrimination experiences. Of these, two said that the college itself did not
discriminate, but that the townspeople around the colleges did. A Nisei recalled that he was definitely discriminated against in an economics class by his instructor, because he did not "go along" with the strictly Western capitalistic, competitive and profit motive system propagated in that class. A number of Nisei made references to the unavailability of jobs to Nisei college graduates in the prewar years. Some Nisei recalled hearing of other Nisei college graduates leaving the United States and going to Japan, hoping to find jobs there.

One of the more dramatic cases in discrimination was related by a Nisei woman (42). Her account is reported here at length in view of the prominent part taken by the dean of women. Both this Nisei woman and her Nisei husband (while they were still single) were students in the same southwestern state university during World War II.

I think it was very unfortunate that I went to a school that was so (laughing) prejudiced. My roommate was Japanese. She was very active and president of a girls' club; it was independent (not related to a national sorority). My roommate invited about four or five of us Nisei freshman girls to come to a tea sponsored by the girls' club. I really didn't care whether I joined that club or not, but she was my roommate, and she said it's a good way to get started socially. So, the next thing I knew, her club had decided that it was going to limit the membership of Japanese, because there were too many. It happened that there were two Japanese officers (laughing) who didn't want any more (Japanese Americans) to come in. So my roommate got very mad and she resigned. And somebody said that (laughing) Life magazine was going to interview her. . . . The dean of women called her in and asked her not to talk to any group. My Nisei student friend said that she wouldn't because she didn't want to make a big publicity deal out of it.

And there was also this thing about a (Nisei) boy who was going into the army. He took the school year book around for people to sign. And there were actually a couple of professors who wouldn't sign because he was Japanese.

She further recalled that her husband, who was graduated first in rank in his class in the school of engineering, was not allowed into the honorary society due to race.
And (my husband) graduated there . . . the brightest in the class, . . . and do you know that he ended up working as a draftsman in the building and grounds department! There was no other job for him (laughing). That draftsman job was apparently offered to him as a favor by the university!

This same articulate Nisei mother (42), whose son is a student at an Ivy League university, also vividly recalled her own struggle at the time as to whether she could continue her college education. Life was made miserable for her by the university, as in the assignment of housing:

They stuck you into homes in the area. You couldn't be in the dorm. Of course, they said (the dorm) was crowded (chuckling). So you had to accept it; that's the reason. But there were some, though, who were very kind to the Japanese, and when I wanted to drop out--I was working for a professor--and he talked me out of it, made me go and take aptitude tests and tried to talk me into staying. But I think a lot felt that the dean was a very prejudiced person and went out of her way to (make things difficult). In this case, it was the dean of women. She was very prejudiced, I think.

Both the husband (41) and the son (40) of this Nisei woman were interviewed. The Nisei husband made no reference to what the wife said about discrimination at the university. The Nisei wife thought that perhaps he did not feel too strongly about the discrimination he experienced, but she knew for sure that both her husband's mother and sister were hurt by it.

Only two Sansei mentioned specifically that they were discriminated against as Japanese. One Sansei college student (55) related that in her Asian Studies class (of an urban state university), her instructor publicly made anti-Japanese and pro-Chinese remarks. Unlike the Nisei in former years, who took such incidents as a matter of course, this Sansei protested publicly. She took the matter up with the university faculty and the administration; the Japanese American groups
in Chicago made a formal protest in her behalf. Another Sansei college graduate (67) in an urban university demanded of the administration the removal of an instructor whose teaching in social studies, he thought, reflected an anti-Asian bias. Nothing specific was done by the university in either case. However, the open protests possibly restrained those university faculty members from further prejudiced remarks and/or discriminatory behavior.

Somewhat related to racial prejudice, but also to economic necessity, was the lack of social life of the Nisei during their college years. Six Nisei mentioned specifically that they wished that they had enjoyed more social life. In addition to the fact that they were isolated from the student population for reasons of race, they had to work hard just to survive while attending school. One Nisei professional (85), who had a Master's degree, recalled that he enjoyed his college days in spite of hardships:

I worked hard and nothing bothered me. I used to wash my own clothes at 2 o'clock in the morning. I had to because I was working my way through college. I was happy. I could do it . . . but you miss a lot if you go through college like that. You don't have the kind of activities that make you a different kind of man. You don't (develop) a kind of character that might be helpful--you're so concerned in making a living.

He contrasted this with the better social life of his children as college students.

I think they had a much wider experience; that's beneficial. . . . They had dormitory life. My daughter held a job of dormitory leader there; she came in contact with other girls who were her responsibility (85).

When he was asked whether financial assistance might have helped him when he was a student, he said that he probably would have found relief from his austere life had he received financial aid from outside
sources. Some of the other Nisei also agreed on this point.

Five Sansei specifically mentioned that their social life on campus was inadequate. Reasons varied, differing from those given by the Nisei. One (10) mentioned the cold physical urban setting of the university as the reason. Another (85) found a social life, not on the campus, but in the JACL organization off campus. Still another (33), living on the campus of a large university near her home, found it convenient to come home regularly on weekends, instead of socializing within that campus setting.

Five other Sansei said that their student social life was adequate. The college friends of these Sansei included many or mostly non-Asians. The importance of social life for the Sansei was expressed in terms of the Sansei students' experience on residential campuses away from home. Seven Sansei students specifically pointed out that having to be independent and to be on their own helped them in their growth. One student called college life "forced independence," and this was considered a positive experience.

Social relationships of the Sansei with other Asian Americans in university settings was thought important enough for comment by a few of the interviewees. One Nisei mother (101) said that it is important for students to relate to various ethnic groups. She had one daughter who attended a midwestern university which had few Asians, and another daughter who was attending a large university on the West Coast with a large Asian student population. She said that the latter had a greater advantage in human relations. This Sansei daughter (100) agreed that she was fortunate in having the opportunity to relate to
Many Japanese Americans and Asians in the West Coast university, which was not possible in a Chicago suburb where she had been reared. Both the mother and the daughter seemed to agree that this additional exposure to Asians deepened this daughter's perception of herself as a Japanese American and an Asian.

Japanese Culture and Japanese American Experience

Many Nisei and Sansei favored the learning and teaching of both the Japanese culture and the Japanese American subculture. Based on positive comments on these subjects in the interviews, substantial support may be expected from some Nisei parents for such development. There is clearly a distinction between the Japanese culture and the Japanese American subculture or subnational heritage. Japanese culture refers to that which was and is the totality of socially shared thought, act, or artifacts and adaptations developed by the people in Japan. The Japanese American subculture, as presented in this study, is the product of what the United States residents of Japanese extraction experienced as Issei, Nisei and/or Sansei. The primary focus is on the American society and not on societies within Asia.

The Japanese American experience involving racial discrimination is not a part of the direct experience of Japanese nationals in Japan. Such encounters with racism as revealed in the Alien Land Law of 1920 and the Quota Immigration Law of 1924 (known as the "Japanese Exclusion Act") are unique to Asian Americans.  

1 The Alien Land Law of 1920 forbade individuals from owning or leasing land and "prohibited corporations in which Japanese aliens held a majority of the stock from leasing or purchasing land." Frank Chuman, The Bamboo People (Del Mar, California: Publisher's Inc., 1976), p. 79.
The Japanese American experience is separate and distinct from the kinds of experience that the Japanese nationals in Japan went through during World War II.

Other Asian American groups likewise underwent experience in the United States different from those of the Asian nationals not residing in the United States. All these can be appropriately referred to as the American experience in a way that we can describe the American experience of those whose ancestors came from Europe or Africa. Thus when Asian American history is being considered, the contents of the discipline would cover basically the American events involving those of Asian descent within the confines of the United States. True, events which took place in Asia, in many cases, did affect the Asian residents in the United States. The rise of military power in Japan, for example, did influence overwhelmingly the lives of Japanese Americans in the United States, but this is not to be confused with the basically American experience of Japanese Americans.

The interviewees in this study, the Nisei and the Sansei, referred to both the Japanese culture and the Japanese American sub-culture as being important. Thus, the needs as expressed by these Japanese Americans can be met partially with the offering of such courses as Japanese language, Japanese arts and Far Eastern philosophies and religions. They should be appreciated with equal importance as other cultural studies, e.g., those of European origin. All are needed for the liberally educated person of today and tomorrow.

Japanese American culture content would constitute the other component of the combined offerings in Japanese and Japanese American
Studies. These could be included within the context of more general Asian American Studies or curriculum offerings. The Asian American Studies, in turn, would be structured within the context of studies which embrace all minorities and ethnic groups. Since Asian American Studies have not had the attention paid to them that many other ethnic studies have had, it would be important for their advocates to be particularly persistent and assertive about making them available. Otherwise, it is likely that the Asian American Studies would be shunted aside as relevant only to special interest groups.

A point of clarification could be added here with respect to foreign student work among Asian students in contrast to work as related to Asian Americans. Foreign student work deals primarily with students who are in the United States temporarily on foreign student visas. The status of foreign students is distinct from that of the American students. The language, culture and life style of students from Asia would be different from those of the American students. The only thing common about purely Asians with American students of Asian extraction would be their common ancestral heritage, often several generations removed for Americans. The international dimension of Asian foreign student work is a significant aspect of student personnel work, but this is distinct from international concerns of American students of Asian parentage. The fact that non-Asian Americans often make no distinction between the Asians raised as Americans and those brought up abroad, reveal the depth of racism in the United States. Foreign student work, though not unrelated to student work among American ethnics, is a subject in itself with issues of cultural distinctions, language differences and national
College Curriculum

Asian, Asian American, Japanese and Japanese American studies are beginning to be offered in more colleges and universities, particularly in larger West Coast universities such as the University of Washington, the University of California at Berkeley, and at Los Angeles. Many of the interviewees indicated that they would like to see such studies introduced in other institutions of higher education. Most frequently mentioned was the desire for learning the Japanese language and for courses on Asian or Japanese American experience, somewhat similar to black and Latino studies. Eighteen per cent of the Nisei and 39 per cent of the Sansei said that they would like to see such studies introduced, or where already in existence, expanded. Twenty per cent of the Sansei suggested a consortium of higher educational institutions and community groups for the development of curricula and programs.

One Sansei speaking for the inclusion of black, Latino and Asian cultures in the regular educational system, pointed to the learning of Japanese language and culture as equally important. Japanese is just as important as Spanish or black from a philosophical point of view. I think there is a lot to be gained, because the majority of the (Japanese American) people don't know anything about it either. (In college) I took a class in Zen Buddhism. . . . It was probably the most pleasant course I ever took. . . . The instructor was from Tokyo. . . . I've learned a lot from that . . . I think if more courses (on Asia) were offered, I would have taken them (119).

Eleven individuals (two Nisei and nine Sansei), advocating Asian American studies in various forms, were in favor of organized
Asian American groups functioning on campuses. Such groups were thought important to students not only intellectually but also socially. Furthermore, they said that a well-organized group could provide a political base for making demands on an often reluctant college or university. Fifteen of the Sansei stressed the importance of Asian American studies as against purely Asian studies. Some pointed out that the knowledge of Asian American experiences, such as racial discrimination, is essential for understanding the American society.

Some comments reflected the political reality of the university administration as the interviewees perceived it. One recent graduate of a large midwestern university spoke of the difficulty in having that university accept Asian or Asian American studies as part of its curriculum. She mentioned the effectiveness of the blacks in their political move, pressuring the university to offer more black studies, and contrasted this with the ineffectiveness of the Asians to make their demands, because the latter group was too polite in its approach to the administration.¹ She gave her opinion as to how the Asian American studies rated in that university.

I think the administration tends to put anything that deals with Asia or Asian Americans on a very low priority, especially ... (this) University because it's so conservative. I guess (there is) more emphasis on European languages and ... cultures. The whole center for Asian studies was being threatened. (It was) going to be consolidated into all other departments" (107).

One Sansei thought that the University administration would be easily threatened when Asian Americans organize. Some other students

¹The smallness of Asian Americans in number can be added to this political assessment: Asians are too few and also not all that united.
thought it important that the Asian American group be student-initiated rather than completely under the auspices of the university, but that the university backing and cooperation would be helpful. They said meaningful programs should be backed by the concerned indigenous communities outside of the university, and the university's role is to be supportive. Some mentioned the fact that the majority of students of Asian descent themselves were not interested in Asian American studies, and it would take some effort to get them to attend and participate in such curricula and activities. They also saw the Asian American program and projects as appropriate for non-Asian Americans as well.

Six Nisei thought it unnecessary for Asian American or Japanese American studies to be offered. One Nisei, whose spouse and college student son (both interviewed) expressed no opinions about Asian American studies, thought that the main need in the American society was to move toward integration with the whites. Asian American studies are not necessary.

I don't see the need of them because if you're going to get along in this society, you have to learn to communicate with your Anglo Saxon neighbors. I think this is the key. I don't think (to demand) more Japanese and . . . Asian studies . . . is going to help the cause. I don't know what the objectives (of Asian American studies) really (are). Is this to be more comfortable together? Well, that's something else again (92).

This Nisei professional was a leader in Japanese American organizations as well as in white civic and community affairs. He strongly affirmed a need for Japanese American organizations. At the same time he stressed integration as a goal. His opinions could be interpreted as reflecting various facets of a flexible person who moves about in multicultural settings--one of the characteristics of a marginal man.
His life style cannot be neatly labeled as having either an ethnic or an integration emphasis.

Another Nisei professional, an active leader in mainly white church and civic groups, thought that the Japanese American history and experience had not been on the American scene long enough to warrant special treatment in schools (119). His Nisei wife (118) had questions about whether the teaching of Japanese language in the schools was as important as the teaching of other foreign languages. Their Sansei son (120), however, felt quite strongly that Japanese culture and language were quite important and should be made available in the educational system.

Thus this Nisei couple were not in favor of Asian American studies, but their son was. However, a close analysis of the interview content seems to indicate that the Nisei parents favored the transmission of Japanese culture, if not the Japanese American experience, which was thought of by these parents as perhaps extracurricular for their Sansei children. However, they considered the learning of the Japanese language important, even if not necessary, as a part of the school curriculum. The Nisei mother expressed great admiration for the Issei experience in the United States. The responses of this Nisei couple regarding Japanese American experience, education, and Asian American studies revealed the complexity of the thinking of some of the Japanese Americans who have thought about Japanese Americans in the broader context of American culture. Moving in two or more cultures, they also may be considered as representative of the "marginal man" type.
On academic life in general, a higher percentage of Nisei than Sansei expressed their satisfaction. The Nisei's comments were limited to general areas of doing fairly well in academic performance. Also, their comments about the Sansei children's college experience was generally favorable. Speaking to the educational system as a whole, the Nisei generally accepted the prevailing values of education as a foregone conclusion. Except for some few specific remarks to the contrary, most Nisei parents spoke favorably of their own and their children's college education. In general, the Sansei also accepted college education as a given in their way of life. Their comments indicated satisfaction with particular aspects of education. However, there were specific areas of education about which they were not happy. Sansei students, unlike the Issei and the Nisei, generally did not uncritically regard education as good. In this report the Sansei were less optimistic than the Nisei about opportunities that education might open to them.

Eleven per cent of the Nisei with post-secondary education and 30 per cent of all the Sansei expressed satisfaction of their academic experience. The other 89 per cent of the Nisei and 70 per cent of the Sansei did not comment on this matter. Understandably, Sansei comments on their experience were much more pointed and specific than those of the Nisei, who had been college students over twenty-five years ago.

One Sansei graduate student (10), who was dissatisfied with the midwest urban university which she was currently attending, spoke favorably of her undergraduate days in her former West Coast university as "comforting, trusting, warming." Compared to her present graduate
school, the West Coast university, she noted, had a larger proportion of Asian American students and professors. Another Sansei (64), who had completed her graduate studies, considered her trip to Latin America from her undergraduate college as a "biggie" in her life and as having had considerable effect on her. Still another student (121), enrolled in a small midwestern college, liked the "competition" she faced academically.

A higher percentage of the Sansei than the Nisei were critical of the educational system. Seven Sansei (15 per cent of the total number of Sansei) and three Nisei (4 per cent of the total number of Nisei) disapproved of specific aspects of academia. Some comments: they were forced to take "irrelevant courses;" there were not enough opportunities for exploration of different programs, with little flexibility in the making of choices between majors; there was an overemphasis on one's grade average and examinations. One Nisei professional (50) complained that his college program lacked variety. He needed exposure to a broader area of possibilities and mind-opening curriculum. One Sansei expressed what other Sansei might have felt: "College is basically straightforward. You do the work, then you get your grades. . . . All that you are is a Social Security number." Then he stated what he did like. He liked upper level classes because they were smaller and more personal. He liked "having instructions over lunch. . . . learning at your own pace. . . . There is homework, but it's not forced on you. . . . It's not busy work" (91). Five respondents (four Sansei and one Nisei) commented specifically that college should be more oriented toward practical education, although this is not to
minimize the value of intellectual pursuits. They used such phrases as "on-the-job training" or "stressing practical skills" in speaking to this point. One Nisei parent thought that college education was overrated in value.

**Asian American Curriculum**

The purposes and goals of both Asian American and Japanese American studies are to allow the heretofore neglected, ignored and suppressed aspects of the multicultural society to surface and be openly acknowledged and appreciated. Past cultural blind spots need be alleviated. There are social cultural factors affecting the lives of Japanese Americans in particular and Asian Americans in general. Also, as this study reveals, the total American society has continually been affected, in turn, by the Japanese American and Asian American presence. Developing sensitivity to these social cultural dynamics among educational administrators and faculty is important. The heightened sensitivity of educators is bound to influence, positively, curriculum planning and implementation involving Asian-Japanese American experiences. Educational institutions, both through their academic and student personnel services, can serve as change agents for the improvement of education. The stimulus and initiative can very well come from such student related arm of higher education as student personnel.

A prominent aspect or component of the Asian American curriculum should be the evacuation event of Japanese Americans. This research indicated that although a significant minority of the Sansei knew and were concerned about evacuation, many others were ignorant about the event. Most Sansei who knew about it were interested in learning more.
There was little evidence that the Nisei who went through that traumatic experience have been communicating their thoughts regarding it to an appreciable degree. Nor are educational institutions apparently aware of this event in their teaching of history, sociology, and other disciplines. Consequently, a majority of the Sansei were largely aware of what happened to their parents during World War II.

In the educational system itself, there is a cultural blind spot on this and many other minority experiences. Thus, there is a need for a curriculum that would include the evacuation experience as an integral part of American history that it is. Materials reflecting Asian American and Japanese American perspectives could be collected, and additional materials produced. The insights of all relevant disciplines could be employed, such as social psychology, economics, politics, and law. Visual aids, oral histories, television documentaries and mementos from the evacuation year—arts and crafts—can be collected for educational and promotional purposes. A university library, a college-based Asian study center, or a community center could be made a repository for these materials to be made accessible to all who are interested.

In the total American historical perspective, the evacuation could be presented as one more recent dramatic manifestation of American racism. In keeping with the rising awareness of self-determination among the Third World peoples in the United States and elsewhere, the Japanese American curriculum on evacuation would highlight the tragic denial of civil rights to minority peoples, as well as the discriminatory reflexes of the national and institutional leadership. The
perspective of the oppressed should be integral to the total historical understanding of America. The record of systematic oppression of native Americans, blacks, early Asian immigrants and all other minority peoples must be fully and honestly told; only thus can their social implications be seriously considered by those who will provide leadership in the future. The offerings of the curriculum on the Japanese American experience should, therefore, be in a setting of the total minority experience of Americans of different strands.

Educational institutions can provide forums in which the Nisei can be encouraged to relate their experiences and to reflect on them. The interviews revealed that only a few of the Nisei leaders, who can vividly articulate their thoughts and reflections, had discussed the stark terror of their evacuation experiences with their children or others. The Sansei who wanted to know more were having to do research on their own, often without the benefit of help from the Nisei. Forums of talks, discussions and debates (some of which can be published) would provide opportunities to the Sansei, the Yonsei and other interested persons for more information and knowledge. This research indicated that there are Nisei who would now appreciate opportunities for reflection on their experiences of evacuation. The fact that many Nisei have not discussed it with their children or others does not mean that they lack interest or social concern. Rather, it suggests a need to repress deeply hurtful memories—and on appropriate occasions to air their thoughts about the evacuation. The benefits derived would not only be for the Japanese Americans alone, but for all other participants in such forums and programs.
Such programs and projects can result from joint efforts of a combination of communities, with institutions of higher education providing the leadership, possibly through the offices of the dean of students and the academic dean. It could involve interested community organizations, such as the Japanese American Citizens League and Japanese ethnic religious congregations and their leaders. The planning and implementation should be a cooperative or a collaborative effort. Among all the departmental or administrative personnel, the student personnel may be the most appropriate professionals to initiate such programs. The student personnel staff could coordinate the research available from the students, the academic departments and the community relations section of the college. Although the involvement of so many different organizations and communities tends to be cumbersome, it can bear lasting fruits for a wide range of community peoples.

Once the Asian American and Japanese American curricula have been established in higher education, there is the further task for them to be shared with other educational institutions on other levels, such as the secondary and elementary school systems. The resource materials and programs thus developed can be made available to teachers and pupils.

In this study, it was recognized by those interested in the development and growth of studies related to Asian Americans that in many cases smaller colleges would not have the necessary resources. Also for many colleges or universities the small size of their Asian American population could be easily interpreted to mean that there is no need to establish Asian American studies. Practical responses to
these situations were suggested when collaborative efforts of various community groups were proposed. In geographical areas having a cluster of such colleges, consortium arrangements are necessary. This would make possible the exchange of faculty members and other resources through joint sponsorship of programs and combined curriculum development. This consortium idea was also proposed for other areas of Asian American needs, as in the joint support of student activities, libraries, etc. Also, where the number of Asian students is considered too small on any one campus to warrant the formation of an Asian American group, the students from different campuses can join forces to form an adequate-sized organization.

Counseling, Advising, and Student Services

Those who had been college students were asked what they thought of counseling, academic advising and other kinds of student services. The Sansei again replied with greater specificity than the Nisei, although the comments reflected a variety of opinions. Four Sansei students spoke favorably of different aspects of student personnel activity. One student in a small prestigious liberal arts college was impressed by the support given him and the Asian American student group to which he belonged. The admissions office subsidized the students' efforts to recruit more Asian Americans to this midwestern college. A junior college student gained a great deal from his sports activities, and another student in a small denominational college liked the way in which she was given an introduction to college life through a good orientation program.
Generally, however, the comments on student services were not favorable. Negative comments about counseling services predominated. Twenty-eight per cent of all the Sansei criticized advising and counseling systems of the colleges. One student in a Big Ten university said that academic advising as he knew it was a "joke" (49); another student in a private, prestigious university on the West Coast said that academic advising was disorganized and chaotic (100). A Sansei college graduate said he went through a major in college without ever having to ask or to have explained what it was good for, and that he was not helped in this regard (110).

The interviewees were also queried on the advisability of having Japanese American counselors. Only three Sansei thought that it would be advantageous for some Japanese American students to have Japanese American counselors available on the counseling staff. Most respondents said that it really did not matter. Several respondents also said that Japanese Americans were no different from whites; that they should not be looked upon as any different from anybody else. A few said it could be a handicap to have Japanese American counselors for Japanese American students. Nisei or Sansei counselors or instructors might expect more from Japanese American students than would the white counselors and instructors and tend to make unrealistic demands on the students.

Those favoring Japanese American counselors had definite reasons. One perceptive Sansei college graduate, who in her professional capacity was serving another minority population, said that sensitivity to people's needs was the key.
It only stands to reason that if your business is to serve people and counsel them, you better have some people who can speak the language or know something about the people... If there is a large enough Japanese American population, it's very crucial to have Japanese American (personnel).

Her main point was that whoever serves Japanese Americans should know well their background and cultural setting. Another Sansei college graduate thought that a Japanese American counselor would most likely have a needed sensitivity to fellow Japanese Americans on such matters as admissions, financial aid and counseling. Another Sansei student (53) in a Big Ten university did not think having Japanese professors from Japan, which her university had, satisfied the needs for Japanese American personnel. She thought those from Japan lacked understanding as to what it is to be a Japanese American. She said Japanese American counselors and instructors would have much to contribute, and they could help expedite organized Asian American activities. In the interviews, the Nisei, on the whole, were not aware of the services provided by student personnel. In their college years the student services were less developed. Therefore, they had few comments concerning student services.

From both the opinions expressed and the lack of comments on student services, it seems that the advising system and the staffings of professional counselors could be much improved in most colleges. It might be that the students who spoke critically of the counseling-advising services were unaware of their availability. If such was the case, better means of communication on the student services would be called for.
The Sansei commented on some possible improvements which could be made in the educational system. One of the suggestions that recurred was that academic advising be closely related to career development. The students seem to be asking for an integrated advising and career planning system with various alternatives for studying as well as for more training in practical skills. This integrated approach would require a closer planning and working together of the teaching faculty and the counselors. Such an integrated advising system would also involve other segments of the college, especially job placement. As a team, all would participate in student development, with full awareness of the interdependence and interrelatedness of the student personnel work. Some such closely-knit network of relationship seems to be called for in response to student needs expressed here.

**Aspects of Counseling Asian-Japanese Americans**

One of the characteristics of Japanese Americans mentioned was enryo, which can have a negative connotation in competitive American society, as lack of assertiveness. Even in the third generation (Sansei), Japanese Americans are believed to retain this characteristic as compared to the more assertive Caucasian individuals and groups. As the review of the literature shows, many writers attribute this to the enryo syndrome of politeness and reticence, which is believed to be a part of behavior characteristics of the Japanese in Japan. A few writers ascribe this syndrome to the minority experience of Japanese Americans, particularly discrimination of such magnitude as that which resulted in the evacuation. Gordon Allport labels two traits of a
minority to be "withdrawal and passivity." These traits may be interpreted as *enryo* in Japanese Americans.

Whatever the causes, the trait referred to as *enryo* needs to be faced in educational as well as other settings. Among others, there are some implications in the area of counseling. Counselors by training assume a certain amount of initiative by the counselees to state their problems or concerns. When counselees do not state their problems or when students do not come to them, counselors may wrongly assume that students do not have problems. A culturally sensitive counselor, on the other hand, can be alert to the culturally conditioned reluctance of some Asian Americans to speak out and be recognized over other individuals and groups. Whether it be in an individual counseling situation or in a group session, a culturally sophisticated counselor can help create a social environment that would encourage self-assertion by those ordinarily not inclined to be that way.

Although Sansei are perceived as being more open and assertive than the Nisei, it was still acknowledged by interviewees, that compared to more open and vocal Caucasian peers the Sansei tend to be quiet and non-verbal. Some of the writings on counseling Asian Americans confirm this view. Edward Kaneshige, Counseling Psychologist at the University of Hawaii, speaking from his experience with many Japanese American

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students, states that cultural factors play a prominent part in the differences of behavior between Japanese American students and their Caucasian peers in counseling and group discussion situations.¹

If a Japanese American student faces personal problems, by his cultural conditioning, he attributes them to a lack of will power to resolve them. To ask for help from a counselor is to admit weakness. Therefore, instead of asking for help he will try harder on his own. Also, confrontation with others in a group situation, in the face of disagreements, is looked upon as impolite. Therefore, the Japanese American client would rather keep quiet than to express himself. Another factor contributing to quietness is the emphasis on humility, in which it is considered a shame to bring attention to oneself by appearing to boast or show-off. Still another cultural factor contributing toward lack of group participation is a sense of group loyalty in which individual needs are subordinated. These and other behaviors are possibly affected by cultural conditionings. It is important to have counselors sensitized to these cultural backgrounds of individual students.

The counselor's role for Japanese American or Asian American students is to understand the presence of cultural elements and to teach or train them in assertiveness. The fact that certain minority individuals do not demonstrate feelings in observable ways (as middle-class people understand them), does not say anything about how much they actually feel. It is up to the counselor to bring out into the

open, if necessary, whatever is covertly or potentially present in the individuals or in groups. The other major task of the counselor is to help those in the majority culture, who by and large have not had to think about cultural differences, to understand other cultures than their own.

Particularly in group counseling there are a number of possibilities for equal participation between the minority and the majority individuals. The counselor would encourage the minority members to express their differences in values or cultures in such ways that would have the mind broadening effect upon the whole group. The counselor can encourage the "less-verbal" or "less-expressive" members of the group to articulate by discouraging those who are more verbal and expressive from intervening. If the Asian American's behavior is misunderstood or is being inadequately understood, the counselor can forthrightly interject a more objective interpretation when the Asian American student is being passive and not defending himself. Still better, the Asian American student can be guided directly to be assertive in particular situations. As Kaneshige writes, the Asian American student "may decide to change his behavior when he understands that his quiet, unassuming, nonassertive behavior is being read by non-Asians as inarticulate, conforming, and obsequious."

The fact that the professional training of counselors has by and large ignored or at least underestimated the cultural dynamics of

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1 Ibid., pp. 411-412.
2 Ibid., p. 412.
individuals can cause something like a culture shock in the counselors themselves. Cultural shock is often spoken of as experience of new immigrants suddenly exposed to the new American culture. However, counselors whose training has been in dominant Anglo-conforming middle-class culture can be shocked similarly when they honestly expose themselves to differing values and life styles than their own. As Filipino American counseling psychologist, Maximo Jose Callao, writes, "Quite often counselors who are oriented toward the dominant culture and its concerns are themselves culturally disadvantaged. Cultural shock can and does occur to counselors who are unaware of important subcultural concerns."¹ There is a need for personnel workers to embrace various cultural and subcultural levels of awareness in which differing life styles are respected and given rightful places in a truly multicultural and pluralistic society.

In the area of vocational career guidance and counseling, there are certain implications that should be noted. Even in a limited sample as in this study, a relatively large number of Nisei were in professions requiring more technical competence than verbal communication and human relations abilities. Many Nisei were in natural sciences, engineering and professions requiring high technical competence. Among the Sansei, although more were planning to enter professions that require verbal competence and human relations skills, still it was recognized by the interviewees that many of their acquaintances were in or going into technical areas such as engineering and certain kinds of business rather than into law, politics, or humanities.

¹Ibid., p. 416.
It is difficult to say to what extent the fact or the awareness of racism has affected the career goals of the Sansei. Some Nisei definitely acknowledged that their career choices were affected by their awareness of racial discrimination.\(^1\) Could it be that subtle forms of prejudice which make it difficult for Japanese Americans to secure top positions in corporations or government, in spite of their years of education and training, make them reluctant to enter certain careers? A sensitivity on the part of the career guidance personnel and counselors on these matters could help students face the challenge of vocational-career choices. An honest appraisal of society as it actually is would be necessary in the vocational-career counseling situation.

In the area of job placement, additional data such as promotion possibilities as related to Asian Americans need to be collected and interpreted for inquiring students and college graduates. A racially biased society is a fact of life in the present society. Even the so called affirmative action policy is an admission, finally acknowledged publicly, of a biased society. Students might as well be informed of the existence of various levels of racial prejudice or sexual bias in institutions and industries. Research which openly recognizes the reality of racial or sexual discriminations has much to commend itself. Furthermore, in the service to minority students and in the interest of promoting a more equitable job market, the placement office can also assume the role of advocacy for further improvement in the

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\(^1\)See Strong, *Vocational Aptitudes of Second-Generation Japanese in the United States.*
employment world. For this, it would be necessary for the personnel staff of job placement to work in collaboration with other personnel and agencies interested in and working for change toward equal employment and job advancement.

In the task of training or briefing job applicants, often the careers or job placement centers educate the potential job applicants on such matters as interviewing and resume writing. In the case of minority students, the additional area of training necessary is the art of being assertive and in responding to possible prejudices. If the placement offices can honestly face racism as the fact of life in the employment world, then a combination of the student personnel office, ethnic agencies, civil rights organizations and the like can work in concert for the improvement of the total social situation.

In a society where racial imbalance exists, with disabilities imposed on each racial minority, for educators to stay "neutral" or to remain silent is to help tip the scale on the side of status quo. The vocational career counselor must be alert to the social situation that would consider members of certain minority groups "new" in certain select professions and positions.

Inservice Training

Student personnel educators are products of the society which "fabricated" them. They are part of the American society that has long practiced racial discrimination. In this context, we focus on discrimination against Asians in general and Japanese Americans in particular. Therefore, without some special training and effort to erase it, the same cultural blind spot prevalent in society is likely to affect
the college student personnel. One of the ways to meet this need for change in higher education is to provide in-service training of the existing personnel and to hire new personnel who have the necessary sensitivity to and understanding of minority problems and challenges.¹

Such in-service training would include what can be broadly termed education in Asian American culture. It may take varied forms: conferences, workshops and special discussions on unique aspects of Asians in the United States. The resources would be composed of existing as well as specially prepared materials adapted for use of student personnel; Asian American centers and their libraries could be utilized; scholars and practitioners of Asian American work could help with planning. As part of the training, there would be visits to colleges and universities which have Asian American studies and research in operation, and to community organizations such as the Japanese American Service Committee and the Japanese American Citizens League. Also discussion sessions could be arranged with leaders of these ethnic organizations. The personnel receiving in-service training should also participate in its planning and implementation.

In terms of hiring practices, it would be desirable to add Asian Americans to the staff and faculty, for they can best articulate the perspectives of Asian Americans. What seemed more important to the interviewees was that whoever constitute the staff, be professionals truly aware of the background and social contexts from which Asians and Japanese Americans come. Obviously, the likelihood of an

administration and staff becoming ever more sensitive to Asian American cultural factors is increased when persons of Asian American descent, steeped in various Asian American perspectives, are added to the staff.

**Ethnic Communities and Student Services**

Activities of students outside the classroom constitute a significant part of student life. The Nisei students, for the most part, had spent much of their time among members of their own ethnic group during their college years. However, even at the height of discriminatory practices during World War II, the Nisei were raising questions among themselves as to whether they should continue to stick by themselves or to integrate among white Americans. This study did not explore to what extent the Sansei students are socializing with other Sansei or non-Sansei. This study, however, does include views of some Sansei who are active in Japanese American organizations. Based on the limited membership of such organizations, it can be assumed that most Sansei students are not affiliated with predominantly Asian American organizations or programs. Asian or Japanese American organizations, therefore, would not attract a great majority of the Sansei.

However, there is a significant minority of students of Japanese descent who have concerns related to Asian American identity and development, and they would be inclined to form groups and engage in organized activities to implement their concerns. In a large state university with a sizable population of Asian Americans, a central body

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of Asian American student groups within one campus might be possible. Such bodies would be less possible in smaller universities and colleges with a limited number of Asians. In such a situation an overall organization that embraces several campuses may be in order. That the existence of such multicampus groups had not been mentioned by the interviewees who talked about such possibilities indicates that formation of such groups would not be easy.

Here, some initial move and encouragement from student personnel offices may make the difference. Those involved in student activities—students as well as college staff—may feel that it is difficult enough to organize and to maintain a student group within one campus. To extend this to include several campuses would seem to compound the problem. In the case of an ethnic organization of Asians, however, it would be sensible to try this approach where various interested individuals can agree on some common issues, problems, or specific goals.

In a metropolitan area like Chicago, what has apparently been successful to some extent is to have college students from various campuses join the ongoing Japanese American groups and activities in existence for the ethnic population in general. The Japanese American organizations were already in operation before these college students individually affiliated themselves as members. College students did not organize new groups. Instead they joined existing organizations and helped shape programs in accordance with their interests. Japanese American Service Committee, for example, had been used as a center for Japanese ethnic mural painting and a weekly weekend tutorial program. These activities point to the important part which community
organizations can play in providing centers for activities of ethnic concern. Colleges and universities are often unaware of the existence of such organizations as possible resource centers for their students and programs. Student personnel educators, perhaps more than other college personnel, are in a position to initiate contacts and build meaningful relationships for students with such community groups and peoples. Establishment and development of such relationships could bear much fruit for all concerned.

The student personnel educators are in a position to identify and to interpret the resources and needs of higher education and the community to each other. True to the title of their office, the student personnel staff members would rely a great deal on the students, with their enthusiasm and talents. The student personnel educators' role would be to provide organizational and administrative talents and resources. Another related benefit would be to offer the unique services that higher education can provide community organizations. There are data, professional personnel and specialists in higher education that are not fully utilized. They need to be shared with just such community groups as are organized around the interest of ethnic populations.

For example, a cross-generational dialogue could be initiated by the student personnel educators in the interest of accurate and authentic transmittal of cultural dynamics from the older to the newer generation and also to improve communication between the generations. In the case of Japanese Americans, as indicated previously, a dialogue can be held with a forum on the evacuation between the Nisei, who went
through the experience, and the Sansei, who did not. Similarly, programs to transmit cultures and to improve communication between the generations or between differing ideologies, or whatever, can be initiated by student personnel administrators.

Many community groups lack skills and talents to identify and to deliver needed services. Higher education can assist here. Conversely, higher education in course and program offerings or research methodologies often lack ethnic perspectives. Close relationship with community organizations can help higher education to be in continual touch with grass roots concerns. Contacts with numerous and diverse community groups can give more options to higher education in its choice of community groups for different needs. Thus, there is less danger of a university becoming attached to only a segment or a clique of a larger ethnic community.

In deciding possible affiliation with groups, the student should have the option to choose from various organizations within an ethnic community. As it is now, possible choices of such organizations for students are limited, since higher education, by and large, seem not that committed to making contacts with a wide variety of ethnic communities that exist. If more contacts were established, this would be an incentive for students to be associated with ethnic community groups, if they so desire. There could also be important links established for students' careers in the future when they leave higher education for the "real world" of work and community involvement.
As Mueller says, one of the functions of student personnel is to encourage students to train for citizenship and leadership.¹ These purposes can be accomplished when mutually satisfying relationships between the university and the community can be maintained. Ideally, then, the traditional town-and-gown animosity can be transformed into that of cooperation and mutual interdependence. The citizenship and leadership functions are learned by active participation and experience in both the educational and community settings.

Conclusion

Some of the suggestions made in this research to develop Asian American studies are now in operation in parts of the United States with a relatively large Asian American population. But not enough is being done in any single area, including the West Coast with its large concentration of Japanese Americans. In the midwest region, there are possibilities for Asian and Japanese American development that can be explored in relation to many higher education institutions and community organizations, particularly in metropolitan areas like Chicago or Minneapolis. Asian Americans need to organize and to initiate planning that would bring these possible resources together.

The kinds of curricular development referred to by the interviewees were not necessarily dependent upon the presence of Japanese American or Asian population on a particular campus. However, from a practical point of view, the presence of concerned Asian Americans

organized to initiate and help implement Asian American development was considered important. If the Asians do not demand recognition, it is not likely that any other group will. Acknowledging this, it was emphasized by some that a well-organized Asian group needs to be established and maintained, which would be in a position to forcefully pursue Asian American development in education. Some of the interviewees were quite aware of the reluctance of colleges in making changes, particularly in curriculum areas, the heart of the traditional educational system. Thus, strong obstacles were anticipated for any movement toward significant change.

The most important part of the development and growth of the Asian American and the Japanese American curricula and program is the fresh perspectives that they can bring to the academic community and the society. The Asians in America would do their own defining of themselves. This would be reflected, for example, in the writings of new materials or rewriting of old materials on all Asian nationalities in America. Since in the past the defining of Asians had been done mainly by scholars and media personnel in the majority population, the Asian life had not been interpreted through the eyes of Asians in America. Existing biases need to be corrected and fresh ways of defining the Asians devised. Some of these ways had been suggested by the Japanese American interviewees in this study.

Opinions and views of the subjects in this study suggest, in general, a multicultural society in which Japanese Americans and the

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1Bernstein, "Pluralism, Myths, and Realities," pp. 131-141.
Asian presence would be duly recognized on an equal par with other cultural or subnational components in the whole society. It was implied by many that such a pluralistic society does not exist, but it is worth striving for. Some of the more perceptive comments made and questions raised posited an educational setting in which cultural pluralism is normal. In such a setting the teaching of Asian religions, the Japanese language or the Japanese American history is accepted as proper subjects along with those originating from the Western world. The educational setting could thus present Asian American perspective as a matter of course. The academic disciplines, especially the social sciences and the humanities, would reflect perspectives other than those of predominantly Anglo Saxon. Thus would be promoted through academic and student personnel services, a new understanding of Asians in general and Japanese Americans in particular as people integral to the life, growth, and development of this pluralistic society. In such a society, Japanese Americans would have a better option of defining their own identity as Americans with an Asian heritage and background.

Naturally, the Asian and Japanese American perspectives incorporated in the educational system would directly benefit students and people of Asian or Japanese American descent. But the ultimate intent of projecting the Asian perspective is to bring balance to the understanding of the total American culture. As such, even where there is no Japanese American population in any given college or university, the Japanese American perspective and interpretations should be included in its curricula and programs. Otherwise, the recommendations that are being proposed here would affect only an infinitesimally small segment
of the American population. The research results are not limited in their implications to just a portion of the society. A Japanese American perspective is surely an American perspective, which needs to be understood as such by Americans in the majority as well as in the minority sectors.

Therefore, the kinds of perspective being referred to here could prevail in relation to any other minority groups such as blacks, Native Americans or Spanish speaking groups. Both in terms of academic studies and student services, the minority perspectives can add immeasurably to strengthen education and its role in the society.


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EXECUTIVE ORDER—NO. 9066

Whereas the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national defense material, national defense premises, and national defense utilities as defined in Section 4, Act of April 20, 1918, 40 Stat. 533, as amended by the Act of November 30, 1940, 54 Stat. 1220, and the Act of August 21, 1941, 55 Stat. 655 (U.S.C., Title 50, Sec. 104):

Now, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the United States, and Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy, I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War, and the Military Commanders who he may from time to time designate, whenever he or any designated Commander deems such action necessary or desirable, to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary, in the judgment of the Secretary of War or the said Military Commander, and until other arrangements are made, to accomplish the purpose of this order. The designation of military areas in any region or locality shall supersede designations of prohibited and restricted areas by the Attorney General under the Proclamations of December 7 and 8, 1941, and shall supersede the responsibility and authority of the Attorney General under the said Proclamation in respect of such prohibited and restricted areas.

I hereby further authorize and direct the Secretary of War and the said Military Commanders to take such other steps as he or the appropriate Military Commander may deem advisable to enforce compliance with the restrictions applicable to each Military area hereinabove authorized to be designated, including the use of Federal troops and other Federal Agencies, with authority to accept assistance of state and local agencies.

I hereby further authorize and direct all Executive Departments, independent establishments and other Federal Agencies, to assist the Secretary of War or the said Military Commanders in carrying out this Executive Order, including the furnishing of medical aid, hospitalization, food, clothing, transportation, use of land, shelter, and other supplies, equipment, utilities, facilities, and services.
This order shall not be construed as modifying or limiting in any way the authority heretofore granted under Executive Order No. 8972, dated December 12, 1941, nor shall it be construed as limiting or modifying the duty and responsibility of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, with respect to the investigation of alleged acts of sabotage or the duty and responsibility of the Attorney General and the Department of Justice under the conduct and control of alien enemies, except as such duty and responsibility is superseded by the designation of military areas hereunder.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
February 19, 1942.
APPENDIX II
AN AMERICAN PROMISE
By the President of the United States of America
A Proclamation

In this Bicentennial Year, we are commemorating the anniversary dates of many of the great events in American history. An honest reckoning, however, must include a recognition of our national mistakes as well as our national achievements. Learning from our mistakes is not pleasant, but as a great philosopher once admonished, we must do so if we want to avoid repeating them.

February 19th is the anniversary of a sad day in American history. It was on that date in 1942, in the midst of the response to the hostilities that began on December 7, 1941, that Executive Order No. 9066 was issued, subsequently enforced by the criminal penalties of a statute enacted March 21, 1942, resulting in the uprooting of loyal Americans. Over one hundred thousand persons of Japanese ancestry were removed from their homes, detained in special camps, and eventually relocated.

The tremendous effort by the War Relocation Authority and concerned Americans for the welfare of these Japanese-Americans may add perspective to that story, but it does not erase the setback to fundamental American principles. Fortunately, the Japanese-American community in Hawaii was spared the indignities suffered by those on our mainland.

We now know what we should have known then - not only was that evacuation wrong, but Japanese-Americans were and are loyal Americans. On the battlefield and at home, Japanese-Americans - names like Hamada, Mitsumori, Mirimoto, Noguchi, Yamasaki, Kido, Munemori and Miyamura - have been and continue to be written in our history for the sacrifices and the contributions they have made to the well-being and security of this, our common Nation.

The Executive Order that was issued on February 19, 1942, was for the sole purpose of prosecuting the war with the Axis Powers, and ceased to be effective with the end of those hostilities. Because there was no formal statement of its termination, however, there is concern among many Japanese Americans that there may yet be some life in that obsolete document. I think it appropriate, in this our Bicentennial Year, to remove all doubt on that matter, and to make clear our commitment in the future.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim that all the authority conferred by Executive Order No. 9066 terminated upon the issuance of Proclamation No. 2714, which formally proclaimed the cessation of the hostilities of World War II on December 31, 1946.

I call upon the American people to affirm with me this American Promise - that we have learned from the tragedy of that long-ago experience forever to treasure liberty and justice for each individual American, and resolve that this kind of action shall never again be repeated.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this nineteenth day of February in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundredth.

/s/ GERALD R. FORD

From Pacific Citizen, February 27, 1976.
APPENDIX III
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Name

2. Colleges you have attended and what years?

3. Identify the race or nationality of your five closest friends.

4. Discrimination Experience
   
   A. Have you experienced discrimination? (To Nisei): Compare how it is now with what it was like before.

   B. To what extent would you say discrimination against Japanese Americans still exist?

5. Racial Awareness

   At what stage in life did you become most aware of yourself as Japanese American?

6. Evacuation

   A. What do you think were the causes of evacuation?

   B. Effect on you. Did evacuation and detainment affect you in a way, such as, psychologically, politically or in social outlook? If so, how?

   C. Effects on others. Did the evacuation experience affect the other generation in your family? How?

   D. How much have you talked about evacuation?

   E. (To those evacuated and relocated): What organization, institution or agency helped you the most during evacuation and relocation?

7. Organizations

   A. Reasons. Give reasons for your participation in social movements, activities and organizations.

   B. Asian American Movement. What is your opinion of the Asian American movement and the affirmation of Japanese American and Asian identity by some of the Japanese Americans (i.e., pilgrimage to concentration camp sites, Asian American newspapers, etc.)?
C. Japanese American Organizations. What do you think of Japanese American organizations like Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and Japanese American Service Committee (JACL)?

8. Marriage and Dating

A. What is your opinion on inter-racial marriage?

B. To Unmarried Sansei: When you date, what races do your dates belong to?

9. College

In what ways was college helpful? In what ways was it not helpful?

10. Student Services

How can student services (such as the Dean of Students, counseling, admissions, etc.) and higher education better meet the needs and demands of Japanese American students?

11. Educational and Career Goals

A. (To Nisei): What educational and career goals do you (did you) have for your child (children)? Do (did) you want them to attend graduate school?

B. (To Sansei): What educational and career goals do you have? Do you plan to attend graduate school?

C. Career Choice. Did your ancestry affect your educational-career choices?

D. (To Nisei): Future Plans. What are your plans for the future? (e.g., retirement, change of occupation or position, etc.)

12. Generations and Family

Differences. What differences do you notice between the Nisei and the Sansei in views and values? What is it like in your own family?

Similarities. What similarities do you notice between the Nisei and the Sansei in views and values? What is it like in your own family?
To the Participant of this Study:

I am doing a Ph.D. dissertation that would include a study of the Japanese Americans in Metropolitan Chicago. Your cooperation in making yourself available for the study is appreciated.

In this study, among other things, I shall review the treatment of the Japanese Americans and their responses in the United States from the World War II period. I shall also consider the differences and similarities in social outlook and values between the two generations of Nisei (or Kibei) parents and Sansei children past high school age. Since my field is in College Student Personnel (I have been a college chaplain for several years), I hope that from this study will emerge some helpful insight that could benefit both the post-secondary educational institution and the Sansei youth, many of whom are now in post-secondary education or training.

Please fill out the attached three forms:

1. Japanese Americans in Metropolitan Chicago - Part I, Questionnaire;
2. Japanese Americans in Metropolitan Chicago - Part II, Opinion Survey;
3. The Attitude Scale.

On the items on opinions and views in the above forms, it is what you feel or think that is of worth for this study. In addition to having you fill out the forms, I should also like to interview you. In each family I would like to meet separately each participating parent and the offspring for an informal interview. For this I shall make an appointment with you at a convenient time.

Please call me if there are any questions.

Thank you for your help.

(The Rev.) S. Michael Yasutake
2744 Bryant Avenue
Evanston, Illinois 60201

home phone: 328-1543

office phone: 222-8328
INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Most of the following items are in a multiple choice form. Please circle the letter beside the answer that best fits your situation. Some items require your writing in a brief answer. If additional space is needed for comments, please use the attached last page.

1. Name: ____________________________________________
   (Last) (First) (Middle)

2. Address and phone: __________________________________

3. Sex: a. male b. female

4. If born elsewhere, in what year did you move to Metropolitan Chicago? ______

5. Do you speak Japanese? a. very well b. fairly well
c. a little d. hardly any or none

6. Do you read Japanese? a. very well b. fairly well
c. a little d. hardly any or none

7. Have you attended Japanese language classes?
   a. No. IF NO, PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION 9.
   b. Yes. IF YES, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 8.

8. Approximately how many years have you attended Japanese language classes?
   a. Less than 1 year b. 1-2 years c. 3-4 years
d. 5 years or more

9. How often do you read Japanese American newspapers or magazines?
   (Please indicate publications.)
   a. regularly ________________________ b. often ________________________
c. occasionally ________________________
d. hardly any or never ________________________

10. What hobbies do you have?

   ________________________________________________
11. Circle, as many as applicable, the following aspects of Japanese culture that you especially enjoy.
   a. art    b. writings    c. movies    d. music    e. food

12. How long have you lived at your present address?
   a. Less than 3 years   b. 3-7 years   c. 8-15 years
   d. More than 16 years

13. Approximately what percent of your neighbors within a block of your home are of the following ethnic or racial group? (Please enter approximate percentage or write "0".)
   a. Japanese ______
   b. Spanish speaking population ______
   c. Black ______
   d. Jewish ______
   e. Other Caucasians ______
   f. Any others (please specify) ________________________________

14. Of all your close friends, approximately what percentage would you say are of the following ethnic or racial groups? (Please enter approximate percentage or write "0".)
   a. Japanese ______
   b. Spanish speaking population ______
   c. Black ______
   d. Jewish ______
   e. Other Caucasians ______
   f. Any others (please specify) ________________________________

15. Please circle the item which best indicates what you think is your social class position in the American society.
   a. Upper class   b. Upper middle class
   c. Lower middle class   d. Lower class
   e. Other (If none of the previous terms seems suitable, please specify the term which might better designate your social position.)
16. Do you belong to any clubs, associations or other such organizations? (Please consider groups such as religious, social, fraternal, veterans, recreational, political, civic and service groups, as well as those connected with your occupation, such as business, professional and union organizations. Also, if you have participated in activities such as civil rights, peace, community projects, Asian American affairs and the like, please include them in your listing.)

a. No. IF NO, PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION 17.

b. Yes. IF YES, PLEASE CONTINUE ON THIS PAGE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME AND TYPE OF ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>Frequency of Attendance</th>
<th>How Frequently do you attend meetings or gatherings?</th>
<th>Approximately what fraction of the other members are Japanese Americans?</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Few or none</td>
<td>Rarely</td>
<td>Never</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1/4</td>
<td>Occasionally</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
17. During the last 10 years, have you experienced discrimination in any of the following areas? (Please circle as many of the items as apply to you.)

a. Housing  b. Job placement  c. I feel that I was not promoted to a higher position in my job because of my nationality or race.
   d. I have not experienced any discrimination in either housing or job during this period.
   e. Not applicable

18. Where were you born?

a. California  b. Hawaii  c. Metropolitan Chicago
   d. Japan  e. Washington or Oregon  f. Others (Please specify)

19. In what type of community did you grow up? (Please circle all items which apply.)

a. Farm or rural area  b. Small Town  c. Large City
   d. Suburb  e. Others (Please specify)

20. Were you in the "assembly center" and/or the "relocation camp?"

a. No. IF NO, PLEASE SKIP TO QUESTION 22.

b. Yes. IF YES, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 21, AND SKIP QUESTION 22.

21. How long were you in "assembly/relocation camps?"

a. Less than 1 year  b. 1-2 years  c. Over 3 years

22. If you have had no evacuation and relocation camp experience, who or what have been your main sources of information about them? (Circle all items which apply.)

a. Parents  b. Friends  c. Readings of books and pamphlets
   d. News Media  e. Others (Please specify)
   f. I have heard or read hardly anything or nothing about evacuation and relocation.
23. How old were you on your last birthday?
   a. Under 17  b. 17-23  c. 24-34  d. 35-44
   e. 45-59  f. 60 and over

24. What is your present marital status?
   e. Widowed

25. If you have ever been married, is (or was) your spouse:
   (If married more than once, indicate first spouse by "1," second
   by "2," etc.)
   e. Others (Please specify) __________________________

26. Are you:
   e. Others (Please specify) __________________________

27. How many children do you have?
   a. 0  b. 1  c. 2  d. 3  e. 4  f. 5
   g. More than 5 (Please specify) ________

28. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
   a. 0  b. 1  c. 2  d. 3  e. 4  f. 5
   g. More than 5 (Please specify) __________________________

29. What was the last grade you completed in a U.S. school?
   a. 8th grade or less  b. 9th grade to 11th grade  c. 12th grade
   d. Some college  e. College graduate  f. attended graduate school

30. What was (or is) your major in college?
   a. Not applicable  b. My major: __________________________
   c. If in college now which college do you attend, and in what year are you? __________________________
31. Please circle the degree that you have and write in the college and the year beside each degree.
   a. Not applicable
   b. Bachelor's _______________________
   c. Master's _______________________
   d. Doctorate _______________________
   e. Professional degrees (Please specify) _______________________

32. In high school, what kind of student would you say you were in terms of grade average?
   a. Not applicable
   b. A or B student
   c. C plus student
   d. C minus student
   e. Below C minus student

33. In college, what kind of student would you say you were (or are) in terms of grade average?
   a. Not applicable
   b. A or B student
   c. C plus student
   d. C minus student
   e. Below C minus student

34. For your college education, approximately what percent of your total financial support came (or come) from the following sources?
   a. Not applicable
   b. Family ____
   c. Self ____
   d. Scholarships ____
   e. Others (Please specify) ______

35. What is your usual occupation? _______________________

   (Name of job or occupation)

   Please give a brief description of main activities or responsibilities.

36. In your present occupation, approximately what percent of the people you serve (customers, clients, students, etc.) are of the following ethnic or racial groups? (Please enter approximate percentage or write "0 ".)
   a. Not applicable
   b. Japanese American ______
   c. Spanish speaking _____
   d. Black ____
   e. Jewish _____
   f. Other Caucasians ______
   g. Others (Please specify) ______
37. What is (or was) your father's usual occupation? 

Please give a brief description of main activities or responsibilities.

38. What was your personal income last year?

- a. Not applicable
- b. Less than $2,000
- c. $2,000-$3,999
- d. $4,000-$4,999
- e. $5,000-$7,999
- f. $8,000-$9,999
- g. $10,000-$14,999
- h. $15,999-$24,999
- i. $25,000 and over

39. What is your religious background?

- a. Buddhist
- b. Roman Catholic
- c. Protestant (Which denomination?)
- d. No religious background
- e. Others (Please specify)

40. What is your religious affiliation now?

- a. Buddhist
- b. Roman Catholic
- c. Protestant (Which denomination?)
- d. Others (Please specify)

41. What is your usual political party preference?

- a. Democratic
- b. Republican
- c. Independent
- d. None
- e. Others (Please specify)

42. Did you happen to vote in the last Illinois elections for governor?

- a. No. IF NO, SKIP TO QUESTION 44. (If you were below voting age than please check here___.)
- b. Yes. IF YES, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 43.

43. For whom did you vote?

- a. Ogilvie
- b. Walker
- c. Others (Please specify)
44. Did you happen to vote in the last Presidential elections?
   a. No. IF NO, SKIP TO ITEM #46. (If you were below voting age then please check here ___.)
   b. Yes. IF YES, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 45.

45. For whom did you vote?
   a. McGovern  b. Nixon  c. Others (Please specify) ________

46. Some Japanese American candidates ran for state and local offices in some parts of the United States. Please circle the answer that best indicates the conditions under which you might have voted for a Japanese American candidate had you been in such a district.
   a. If he (or she) had been the best qualified of all the candidates.
   b. If he (or she) had been one of the two best qualified candidates.
   c. Even if he (or she) was slightly less qualified, since it is important to try to get Japanese American representation in government.
   d. Others (Please specify) ____________________________

Date when this questionnaire was completed: ________________________

- Questionnaire prepared by
  S. Michael Yasutake.
  Grateful acknowledgement is due
  Dr. George Kagiwada, University of California, Davis, for the use of portions of his questionnaire material.
APPENDIX VI
Listed below are a number of statements about which people often have different opinions. You will discover that you agree with some, that you disagree with others. Please read each statement carefully, then circle the letter that indicates the extent to which you agree or disagree with it. Please answer every statement, even if you have to guess at some. There is no right or wrong answer.

Name: __________________________________________________________________________ Date when this form completed: __________________________________________________________________________

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD 1.</td>
<td>A good child is an obedient child.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD 2.</td>
<td>It is all right for personal desires to come before duty to one's family.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>SA A U D SD 3.</td>
<td>Japanese Americans should not disagree among themselves if there are Caucasions around.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD 4.</td>
<td>I especially like Japanese food.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD 5.</td>
<td>A good Japanese background helps prevent youth from getting into all kinds of trouble that other American youth have today.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD 6.</td>
<td>It's unlucky to be born Japanese.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD 7.</td>
<td>It would be more comfortable to live in a neighborhood which has at least a few Japanese Americans than in one which has none.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD 8.</td>
<td>When I feel affectionate I show it.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD 9.</td>
<td>It is a duty of the eldest son to take care of his parents in their old age.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>10. Japanese Americans who enter into new places without any expectations of discrimination from Caucasians are naive.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>11. I think it is all right for Japanese Americans to become Americanized, but they should retain part of their own culture.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>12. A wife's career is just as important as the husband's career.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>13. In regard to opportunities that other Americans enjoy, Japanese Americans are deprived of many of them because of their ancestry.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>14. It is all right for children to question the decisions of their parents once in a while.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>15. In the Japanese community, human relationships are generally more warm and comfortable than outside in American society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>16. I would not feel any more tendency to agree with the policies of the Japanese government than any other American would.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>17. The best thing for the Japanese Americans to do is to associate more with Caucasians and identify themselves completely as Americans.</td>
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<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>18. I am apt to hide my feelings in some things, to the point that people may hurt me without their knowing it.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>19. It is a shame for a Japanese American not to be able to understand Japanese.</td>
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<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>20. Japanese people have an unusual refinement and depth of feeling for nature.</td>
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<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>21. I would be disturbed if Caucasians did not accept me as an equal.</td>
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<td>Strongly Agree</td>
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<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
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<td>33.</td>
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<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Parents who are very companionable with their children can still maintain respect and obedience.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Once a Japanese always a Japanese.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Good relations between Japanese and Caucasians can be maintained without the aid of traditional Japanese organizations.</td>
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<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>37.</td>
<td>It is nice if a Japanese American learns more about Japanese culture, but it is really not necessary.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>38.</td>
<td>It would be better if there were no all-Japanese communities in the United States.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Japan has a great art heritage and has made contributions important to world civilization.</td>
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<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Those Japanese Americans who are unfavorable toward Japanese culture have the wrong attitude.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>41.</td>
<td>I believe that, &quot;He who does not repay a debt of gratitude cannot claim to be noble.&quot;</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>42.</td>
<td>To avoid being embarrassed by discrimination, the best procedure is to avoid places where a person is not totally welcomed.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>43.</td>
<td>I usually participate in mixed group discussions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Many of the Japanese customs, traditions, and attitudes are no longer adequate for the problems of the modern world.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>45.</td>
<td>I enjoy Japanese movies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>46. It is a natural part of growing up to occasionally &quot;wise-off&quot; at teachers, policemen, and other grownups in authority.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>47. A person who raises too many questions interferes with the progress of a group.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>48. I prefer attending an all-Japanese Church.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>49. One can never let himself down without letting the family down at the same time.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>50. Interracial marriages between Japanese Americans and Caucasians should be discouraged.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>51. Blacks and other minority groups should stop picketing and start showing that they can be responsible citizens and workers.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>52. I favor Black Power movement.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>53. I believe in firm but non-violent tactics in making demands for justice and equality, such as were employed by Martin Luther King, Jr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>54. A government-administered health program is necessary to insure that everyone receives adequate medical care.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>55. Economic security for every man, woman and child is a goal worth striving for even at the risk of socialism.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>56. Federal aid to education is desirable if we are going to adequately meet present and future educational needs in the U.S.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>57. If unemployment is high, the government should spend to create jobs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>SA A U D SD</td>
<td>58. Integrating our schools will lower the quality of education.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Japan was provoked by the U.S. into starting World War II.

The use of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was definitely not justified.

Some Niseis worked to make Japanese American evacuation as orderly and comfortable as possible, while others protested the injustice of it and tried to have it declared unconstitutional. Now I agree more with those who protested the injustice of it than with those who worked to make it orderly and comfortable.

All things considered, evacuation and relocation as they happened were good for Japanese Americans.

A Japanese American would be likely to experience some racial discrimination in trying to buy or rent a house or an apartment in an all Caucasian neighborhood.

Although Caucasians accept Japanese Americans in business dealings and work situations, they prefer not to mix with the Japanese socially.

Opinion Survey compiled and prepared by S. Michael Yasutake. Grateful acknowledgement is due Dr. Minoru Masuda, University of Washington and Dr. George Kagiwada, University of California, Davis, for the use of portions of their survey and questionnaire materials.

Fall, 1973.
APPENDIX VII
THE DOGMATISM SCALE--FORM E

The following pages contain a study of what the general public thinks and feels about a number of important social and personal questions. The best answer to each statement is your personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different and opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others; whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many people feel the same as you do.

Mark each statement in the left margin according to how you agree or disagree with it. Please mark every one. Write +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1: I agree a little  
+2: I agree on the whole  
+3: I agree very much  

-1: I disagree a little  
-2: I disagree on the whole  
-3: I disagree very much
Answer Here

1. The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common.

2. The highest form of government is a democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are most intelligent.

3. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.

4. It is only natural that a person would have a much better acquaintance with ideas he believes in than with ideas he opposes.

5. Man on his own is a helpless and miserable creature.

6. Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place.

7. Most people just don't give a "damn" for others.

8. I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.

9. It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future.

10. There is so much to be done and so little time to do it in.

11. Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop.

12. In a discussion I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.

13. In a heated discussion I generally become so absorbed in what I am going to say that I forget to listen to what the others are saying.

14. It is better to be a dead hero than to be a live coward.
15. While I don't like to admit this even to myself, my secret ambition is to become a great man, like Einstein or Beethoven or Shakesphere.

16. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.

17. If given the chance I would do something of great benefit to the world.

18. In the history of mankind there have probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.

19. There are a number of people I have come to hate because of the things they stand for.

20. A man who does not believe in some great cause has not really lived.

21. It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.

22. Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one which is correct.

23. A person who gets enthusiastic about too many causes is likely to be a pretty "wishy washy" sort of person.

24. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.

25. The worst crime a person could commit is to attack publicly the person who believes in the same thing he does.

26. In times like these it is often necessary to be more on guard against ideas put out by people or groups in one's own camp than by those in the opposing camp.

27. A group which tolerates too much differences of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.

28. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.

29. My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong.

30. A person who thinks primarily of his own happiness is beneath contempt.

31. Most of the ideas which get printed now-a-day aren't worth the paper they are printed on.
32. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.

33. It is often desirable to reserve judgment about what's going on until one has had a chance to hear the opinions of those one respects.

34. In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.

35. The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.

36. If a man is to accomplish his mission in life it is sometimes necessary to gamble "all or nothing at all."

37. Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important social and moral problems don't really understand what's going on.

38. Most people just don't know what's good for them.

39. When it comes to differences of opinion in religion we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from the way we do.

40. In times like these, a person must be pretty selfish if he considers primarily his own happiness.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Generations</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. A good child is an obedient child</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
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<td>57.1</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sansei</td>
<td>2.2</td>
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<td>30.4</td>
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<td>11. I think it is all right for Japanese Americans to become Americanized, but they should retain part of their own culture.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>64.9</td>
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<td>12. A wife's career is just as important as the husband's career.</td>
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<td>Sansei</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>37.0</td>
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<td>17. The best thing for the Japanese Americans to do is to associate more with Caucasians and identify themselves completely as Americans.</td>
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<td>5.2</td>
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<td>8.7</td>
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<td>19. It is a shame for a Japanese American not to be able to understand Japanese.</td>
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<td>9.1</td>
<td>53.2</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>31.2</td>
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<td>Sansei</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>37.0</td>
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<td>21. I would be disturbed if Caucasians did not accept me as an equal.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
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<td>Sansei</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>45.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Life in the United States is quite ideal for Japanese Americans.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>15.6</td>
<td>19.5</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sansei</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>32.6</td>
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<td>Items</td>
<td>Generations</td>
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<td>Agree</td>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>33. It is better that Japanese Americans date only Japanese Americans.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
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<td>19.5</td>
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<td>71.4</td>
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<td>4.3</td>
<td>4.3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Japan has a great art heritage and has made contributions important to world civilization.</td>
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<td>68.8</td>
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</tr>
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<td>39.1</td>
<td>32.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>40. Those Japanese Americans who are unfavorable toward Japanese culture have the wrong attitude.</td>
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<td>30.4</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>30.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. To avoid being embarrassed by discrimination, the best procedure is to avoid places where a person is not totally welcomed.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>11.7</td>
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<td>30.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>45. I enjoy Japanese movies.</td>
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<td>62.3</td>
<td>16.9</td>
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<td>23.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>49. One can never let himself down without letting the family down at the same time.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>41.6</td>
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<td>50. Interracial marriages between Japanese Americans and Caucasians should be discouraged.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Blacks and other minority groups should stop picketing and start showing that they can be responsible citizens and workers.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sansei</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>13.0</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>I favor Black Power movement.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>31.2</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>10.9</td>
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ETHNIC IDENTITY QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS WITH NO STATISTICALLY SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NISEI AND THE SANSEI  
(Numbers in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Generations</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8. When I feel affectionate I show it.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>22.1</td>
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<td>Sansei</td>
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<td>47.8</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>4.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>10. Japanese Americans who enter into new places without any expectation of discrimination from Caucasians are naive.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
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<td>61.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>20.8</td>
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<td>47.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. In regard to opportunities that other Americans enjoy, Japanese Americans are deprived of many of them because of their ancestry.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>2.8</td>
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<td>26.1</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. In the Japanese community, human relationships are generally more warm and comfortable than outside in American society.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
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<td>33.8</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>37.7</td>
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<td>41.3</td>
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<td>6.5</td>
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<td>18. I am apt to hide my feelings in some things, to the point that people may hurt me without knowing it.</td>
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<td>51.9</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>33.8</td>
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<td>63.0</td>
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<td>2.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>20. Japanese people have an unusual refinement and depth of feeling for nature.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
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<td>46.8</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>26.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>It is unrealistic for a Japanese American to hope that he can become a leader of an organization composed mainly of Caucasians because they will not let him.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>51.9</td>
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<td>10.9</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>52.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>I don't have a strong feeling of attachment to Japan.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>57.1</td>
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<td>24.</td>
<td>I am not too spontaneous and casual with people.</td>
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<td>3.9</td>
<td>46.8</td>
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<td>36.4</td>
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<td>23.9</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>54.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>It is not necessary for Japanese American parents to make it a duty to promote the preservation of Japanese cultural heritage in their children.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
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<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>Socially, I feel less at ease with Caucasians than with Japanese Americans.</td>
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<td>2.6</td>
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<td>14.3</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
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<td>26.1</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>52.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>I always think of myself as an American first and as a Japanese second.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
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<td>8.7</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>23.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Although children may not appreciate Japanese schools at the time, they will later when they grow up.</td>
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<td>51.9</td>
<td>16.9</td>
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<td>34.8</td>
<td>34.8</td>
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<td>34.</td>
<td>Parents who are very companionable with their children can still maintain respect and obedience.</td>
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<td>Undecided</td>
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<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>36. Good relations between Japanese and Caucasians can be maintained without the aid of traditional Japanese organizations.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
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<td>37. It is nice if a Japanese American learns more about Japanese culture, but it is really not necessary.</td>
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<td>54.3</td>
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<td>28.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>38. It would be better if there were no all-Japanese communities in the United States.</td>
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<td>14.3</td>
<td>57.1</td>
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<td>15.2</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. I believe that, &quot;He who does not repay a debt of gratitude cannot claim to be noble.&quot;</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>5.2</td>
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<td>22.1</td>
<td>29.9</td>
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<td>54.3</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>2.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>53. I believe in firm but non-violent tactics in making demands for justice and equality, such as were employed by Martin Luther King, Jr.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>10.4</td>
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<td>58.7</td>
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<td>8.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60. The use of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki was definitely not justified.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>48.1</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
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<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
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<tr>
<td>61. Some Niseis worked to make Japanese American evacuation as orderly and comfortable as possible, while others protested the injustice of it and tried to have it declared unconstitutional. Now I agree more with those who protested the injustice of it than with those who worked to make it orderly and comfortable.</td>
<td>Nisei</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>2.6</td>
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<td>30.4</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
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</table>

APPENDIX X
GLOSSARY

Concentration Camp - Concentration camp is a general term for places where the Japanese Americans were confined after their evacuation (see Evacuation). The Assembly Center was used as temporary quarters, such as the Santa Anita race tracks in California or the Pyallup county fair ground in the state of Washington. Later the evacuees were moved to more permanent centers, named by the government as the Relocation Camps. Both the Assembly Center and the Relocation Camp were simply "camps," to the evacuees themselves. In recent times, it has become more common to refer to these centers as concentration camps. Those who were suspected by the FBI as possible subversives were put in special camps away from their families. Many of them were Issei community leaders. They were called "Internment Camps." The act of being detained in any of these camps is variously referred to in this writing as internment, confinement, imprisonment, incarceration and detention.

Culture - The term culture is used variously in this writing to refer to minority subcultures, including the Japanese American and other Asian American subcultures in the United States. Milton Gordon uses the term subnational, probably to stress the national origin or many of the subcultures in the U.S.\(^1\) The term culture also is used in this work as it is in other writings, consistent with the dictionary definition (Random House Dictionary, 1967): "The sum total of ways of living built up by a group of human beings and transmitted from one generation to another."

\(^1\)See below, p. 12.
"Enryo" - A state of deference and obsequiousness to one's superiors or to others. When one "enryo," one refrains from expressing one's own desire either by word or action, and others' needs take precedence over one's own. Kitano attributes various characteristics of Japanese Americans to the "enryo syndrome," everything from not speaking out in public at meetings to trying to "look good" in the eyes of Caucasians (see Kitano, Japanese Americans, pp. 103-105).

Evacuation - An event of forced removal of Japanese Americans from the West Coast during the Second World War and subsequent confinement in concentration camps. Those so moved were referred to as "evacuees."

"Giri" - One of the commonly used Japanese words expressing a sense of obligation. To repay "giri" is to repay "on" (see "On") to one's fellows. It is "the loyalty a man of honor owes to his superior and to his fellows of his own class." Having various meanings and nuances, it also refers to the sense of obligation to keep one's reputation unspotted.


Kibei - Persons born to Issei parents in the United States, but raised and educated in Japan, and later, usually in their youth, returned to the United States. Kibei literally in Japanese means "returned American."

Nisei - Literally meaning "second generation" in Japanese, Nisei are Americans born to Issei parents. By virtue of the Nisei's birth in the United States, in accordance with jus soli principle, they automatically became American citizens, even though the Issei parents as Orientals were ineligible by law (until 1952) for U.S. citizenship.

"On" - A Japanese term for indebtedness. It is of such nature that it cannot be fully repaid adequately, such as indebtedness to one's parents. It refers to the relationship to one's superiors. "On" is a heavy burden that needs to be repaid, even though partially, and it takes precedence over one's own personal desires or preferences.

Sansei - Children born to Nisei parents and literally meaning "third generation" in Japanese.

War Relocation Authority (WRA) - A special agency set up within the U.S. Department of Interior to administer the operation of the Relocation Camps. The Assembly Centers were directly under the joint jurisdiction of the Army and the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA). The Internment Camps were under the control of the Department of Justice.

World War II - A crucial period for Japanese Americans, most references to the Second World War in this writing are designated by such terms as the wartime, the War and World War II.
APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Seiichi Michael Yasutake has been read and approved by the following committee:

Dr. John A. Wellington, Director
Professor, Guidance and Counseling, Loyola

Dr. John Paul Eddy
Professor, Guidance and Counseling, Loyola

Dr. Gerald L. Gutek
Professor, Foundations and History, Loyola

Dr. Paul S. Mundy
Professor, Sociology
Director, Criminal Justice, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with references to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date

Director's Signature