



1964

## Assimilation Among Japanese-Americans in Chicago, by Religious Affiliation and by Generation

Midori Yamaha  
*Loyola University Chicago*

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ASSIMILATION AMONG JAPANESE-AMERICANS IN  
CHICAGO, BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION  
AND BY GENERATION

by

Midori Yamaha

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School  
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
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## CHAPTER I

### GENERAL THEORY

#### Conceptualization.

To sociologists and anthropologists, the term "assimilation" is quite familiar. The precise meaning of assimilation, however, is often argued by various scholars and there is some confusion about its usage. The difficulty of reaching consensus is due in part to the complexity of the subject matter being defined and in part to the ambiguity of the term "assimilation."

The term "assimilation" which is now being used in sociology and anthropology, originally derived from biological and physiological usages. In biological processes, when food-stuffs are absorbed and converted into the substance of the body, they are assimilated. Any food or any part of the food which cannot be converted is not assimilated. This physiological concept is used in sociological context as an analogy, with many different interpretations. Some sociologists interpret this term more or less literally. Kimball Young, for example, explained assimilation in 1939 as:

The common sharing and fusing of folkways and mores of laws and all the other features of two or more distinctive cultures by people who have come into direct relations with each other.

The same author writing in 1959 explains:

Assimilation is a fusion or blending of two previously distinct groups into one. Assimilation requires more fundamental changes than 'antagonistic co-operation' which we call accommodation. When the process of assimilation takes place, the people in two

---

<sup>1</sup>Kimball Young, Introductory Sociology (New York, 1939), p. 493.

distinct groups do not just compromise or otherwise agree to get along with each other; they become so much alike each other that they are no longer distinguishable as separate groups.<sup>2</sup>

In both instances cited, Young's concept of assimilation emphasizes "fusion" into one. According to his definition, intermarriage is necessary for actual assimilation:

If persons or groups strike a truce but do not intermarry or fuse their cultures, we call this accommodation. If they intermarry and fuse their cultures we speak of it as biological amalgamation or cultural assimilation.<sup>3</sup>

He also said:

A factor which helps complete the process of assimilation is amalgamation, the intermarrying of members of the different groups.<sup>4</sup>

Another definition of assimilation emphasizes acceptance of the dominant culture by minority groups. As the term "assimilation" itself signifies, it would seem that certain similarities or likenesses are required in this process. But according to this definition, assimilation is a one-way process of changing an entire culture pattern. Henry Pratt Fairchild took this position when he wrote The Melting-Pot Mistake in 1926. Assimilation is the process of transformation, he explained, the changing of the heterogeneous into the homogeneous, the unlike to the like.<sup>5</sup>

After discussing the necessity of reeducation of immigrants, especially in regard to the English language and to American history, he concluded:

If immigration is to continue, and if our nation is to be preserved, we must all, natives and foreigners, resign ourselves to the inevi-

<sup>2</sup> Kimball Young and Raymond W. Mack, Sociology and Social Life (New York, 1959), p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Young, Introductory Sociology, p. 452.

<sup>4</sup> Young and Mack, p. 114.

<sup>5</sup> Henry Pratt Fairchild, The Melting-Pot Mistake (Boston, 1926), p. 136.

table truth that unity can be maintained only through the complete sacrifice of extraneous national traits on the part of our foreign elements. There is no "give-and-take" in assimilation.<sup>6</sup>

According to Robert E. Park, the term "assimilation" historically has had two distinct connotations. In its earlier usage, it means "to compare" and "to make alike," and according to its later usage it signifies "to take up and incorporate."<sup>7</sup> There is a process in society by which individuals spontaneously acquire one another's language, characteristic attitudes, habits, and modes of behavior. There is also a process by which individuals and groups are taken over and incorporated into larger groups. Both processes have taken place in the formation of modern nationalities. Park's interpretation of assimilation implies cultural solidarity rather than fusion. In a contribution to the Encyclopedia of Social Science, he explains social assimilation as:

The process or processes by which people of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages, occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national experience.<sup>8</sup>

H. G. Duncan's interpretation seems to be somewhat flexible. He defines assimilation as:

A process, for the most part conscious, by which individuals and groups come to have sentiments and attitudes similar to those held by other persons or groups in regard to a particular value at a given time.<sup>9</sup>

He maintains a rather relativistic position in emphasizing the similarity of attitudes rather than identity, and that only in regard to any one particular value at any given time.

---

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>7</sup>Robert E. Park, Race and Culture (Glencoe, 1950), p. 205.

<sup>8</sup>"Assimilation, Social," Encyclopedia of Social Science, II (New York, 1930), p. 281.

<sup>9</sup>H.G. Duncan, "A Study in the Process of Assimilation," Publication of the American Sociological Society, XVIII (January-March, 1936), p. 184.

Without multiplying examples of definitions, it is evident that it is extremely difficult to find agreement about the definitions of such a term or to make an abstract formulation of the conceptual notion, because of its complexity and the dynamics of its character. All the various interpretations, however, contain major elements in common: 1) It is a process of dynamic cultural change; 2) It occurs between two or more groups of individuals having different cultures (either persons to culture or culture to culture); 3) Some significant change toward similarity occurs; 4) It involves not merely one aspect but rather a combination of various factors among those groups; 5) It is initiated by and continues with the contact of people; 6) Its mechanism is, usually if not always, reciprocal rather than one-way.

Assimilation--Acculturation. Although assimilation and acculturation are at times used synonymously or interchangeably, it is generally recognized that there is a clearly distinguishable difference between the two terms. According to Ralph Beals, the first systematic definition of acculturation was presented by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits in 1936 for the Outline on Acculturation published by the Subcommittee of the Social Science Research Council.

Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.<sup>10</sup>

This definition is modified by a note:

Under this definition, acculturation is to be distinguished from culture-change, of which it is but one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>Ralph Beals, "Acculturation," Anthropology Today (Chicago, 1953), p. 626.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

Alexander Lesser explained the difference between these two terms this way:

Acculturation may be taken to refer to the ways in which some cultural aspect is taken into a culture and adjusted and fitted to it. This implies some relative cultural equality between the giving and receiving cultures. Assimilation, however, is the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed culture into a status of relative adjustment to the form of the ruling culture.

In acculturation the cultural groups involved are in an essentially reciprocal relationship. Both give and take. In assimilation the tendency is for the ruling cultural group to enforce the adaptation of certain externals, in terms of which superficial adjustment seems to be attained. The adapting culture is not in a position to choose.<sup>12</sup>

According to him, if adaptation is reciprocal it is acculturation, and if it is imposed by dominant powers, it is assimilation.

Young explains the two terms thus:

Assimilation, in its full meaning, refers to the stage at which "intermarriage or interbreeding occur" and there exists "no more distinguishable traits" between groups. And acculturation refers to "the stage of exchange."<sup>13</sup>

Donald R. Taft and Richard Robins' comparison of the two terms involves degree of change.<sup>14</sup> When there is a temporary suspension of conflict and an agreement to go along together with little close association, the writers call this "acculturation"; while "assimilation" is a form of acculturation which implies that the values brought by migrants may be wholly lost in the receiving culture.

As in the case of any other social study, the problem in distinguishing between these concepts lies in the difficulty of rigidly defining terms which

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<sup>12</sup> Alexander Lesser, "The Paween Ghost Dance: A Study of Culture Change," cited in Melvill Herskovits, Acculturation (Gloucester, 1958), p. 7.

<sup>13</sup> Young and Mack, p. 114.

<sup>14</sup> Donald Taft and Richard Robins, International Migration (New York, 1955), p. 139.

are so similar to one another.

The important and clear fact is that those terms merely denote aspects of a single process whereby cultural customs are passed on from one human group to another, and whereby people adapt themselves to newly introduced ways of life while discarding their old traditions to a greater or lesser degree.

The best and moderate way, therefore, would be, as Herskovits says, "to draw definitions that are more rather than less flexible, and not attempt to delimit the significance of each term too rigidly."<sup>15</sup>

Americanization and Cultural Pluralism. Assimilation is a process of developing one cultural system out of two or more culture systems. This process shows a few variations. Emory Bogardus divides them into three major types.<sup>16</sup> According to his theory, the first type develops unconsciously. When different cultures come into contact, the members of those cultural groups exchange materials and services with each other and only incidentally adopt one another's culture. Those cultures which do not integrate, but are simply mixed like mosaic, only come together and exist side by side. No intellectual interchange or deep meaning is evident. In this type of association, some original culture traits remain simply by chance or circumstances.

The second type is imposed. When different cultures meet together, the culture of the larger group imposes its cultural pattern on the minority group. People in the majority culture believe that their culture is the best and that the other's is inferior; hence any minority has to take their culture pattern

<sup>15</sup> Melvill J. Herskovits, Acculturation: Study of Culture Contact (Gloucester, Mass. 1958), p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Emory S. Bogardus, "Cultural Pluralism and Acculturation," Sociology and Social Researches, XXXIV (November, 1949), 125-129.



without reservation. This type of assimilation happened to most immigrant groups in the early history of this country--under the so-called "melting pot" theory of Americanization. In this process, assimilation is conceived of as a situation of complete conformity. The immigrant's own culture is disregarded simply because it is alien. This assumption completely ignores the essential psychological fact that an individual's culture is an essential part of his inner personality.

The third type of assimilation is a more flexible one. In this type, each culture is appropriately evaluated with respect to its significance. Assimilation takes place without obliterating the uniqueness of any culture value, and no compulsion is exercised on anyone to accept a new cultural pattern. Thus the concept of cultural pluralism--compatibility of different cultural traits--arose in connection with this notion of democratic assimilation. As Americanization followed World War I, so this movement of cultural pluralism followed World War II in the United States.<sup>17</sup> While the immigrants accepted basic American customs, cultural traits, and institutions, they could at the same time retain important elements of their own traditional culture. By this more permissive pattern of assimilation, members of minority groups could contribute more fully and more effectively to the total culture development. Because in this manner, they could keep the merits of their original culture and share them with members of the larger community.

This gradual transition to the new concept of conformity within a framework of cultural pluralism from the older definition of assimilation--enforced "Americanization"--affected the actual process of assimilation among immigrants

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<sup>17</sup>W. D. Borrie, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants (UNESCO, 1959), p. 94.

in this country. The notion of "unassimilable" is not interpreted so narrowly and strictly as it was some decades ago.

The tendency toward cultural pluralism brought considerable change to the Japanese immigrants who had been thought "unassimilable" because of their strong tie to their native culture which made them slow to "Americanize." In the light of this new concept, the Japanese are no longer "unassimilable" people in the same sense. Along with the influx of Oriental culture in recent years, the Japanese immigrants' attitudes, social status, and relationship with the larger community have altered greatly.

Summarizing our discussion on assimilation briefly, we observed various opinions on its concept and definition. First we saw assimilation as amalgamation, fusion or blending of culture which requires fundamental cultural change. Then assimilation appeared as transformation of culture, absorbing persons into the dominant culture. Assimilation was also introduced as cultural solidarity and incorporation into larger groups. Finally it is interpreted as similarity of attitude and sentiment rather than equality, between people and groups.

In the second place, a comparison was made between assimilation and acculturation. Although these two terms are often used synonymously, we noted some distinction between these two. Finally the discussion was directed to the gradual transition of the concept of assimilation from the old notion of Americanization to the new idea of cultural pluralism.

Assimilation as employed in this study is taken to mean neither fusion nor complete acceptance. The history of the Japanese-American in the United States, as it is discussed in Appendix I, is still relatively new and incomplete. Although it is generally considered that the present time is that of

the second generation, the period of the first generation has not yet finished. As we will see in the following chapters, Japanese-Americans are still far from reaching the point of complete assimilation--amalgamation. In this study, the term assimilation is understood as acceptance of and participation in the American culture by the person or the group of Japanese-Americans. Specifically, the degree of assimilation is the degree of acceptance of American customs and culture by Japanese-Americans, and it also involves a degree of participation in them. Lack of assimilation is the degree to which Japanese customs and culture are maintained.

In this thesis, the term Japanese-American refers to a person of Japanese ancestry who has taken up permanent residence in the United States, including all immigrants and their children.

The term Issei refers to the first generation, that is, the Japanese who were born in Japan and who came to this country as immigrants. Nisei means the second generation, the children of Issei, who were born in the United States. In some studies of Japanese-Americans, a third classification, Kibei, is used. The literal meaning of this word is "return to America" and it would refer to the Nisei who were born in this country but who were sent to Japan for their education, either in whole or in part. This group is often distinguished from Nisei who had their education in the United States. However, in this study Kibei are included under the classification of Nisei. Sansei refers to the third generation, the children of the Nisei.

The term Buddhist is used for the Japanese-Americans who belong to Buddhist churches or Buddhist groups. Christian refers to those who belong to any of the Christian churches, whether baptized or not. Since there are no Catholics in our sample, all are Protestant Christians.

## Related Literature.

Before reviewing the previous studies of assimilation of Japanese-Americans, it is desirable to take a brief look at the literature concerning assimilation in general.

Some studies deal with assimilation or acculturation as a theory. Melvill Herskovits' Acculturation,<sup>18</sup> with some literature illustration, Lieberman Stanley's Assimilation,<sup>19</sup> concentrating on ethnic patterns in American cities, Wilfred Borrie's The Cultural Integration of Immigrants,<sup>20</sup> and Irving Hallowell's "Sociopsychological Aspects of Acculturation,"<sup>21</sup> could be classified as this kind of study.

Numerous studies have been done on various immigrants and ethnic groups in the United States, such as the Polish, Italians, Irish, Germans, and Chinese,<sup>22</sup> emphasizing their historical background and their adjustment to the American culture.

In his article, "Assimilation as Concept and as Process,"<sup>23</sup> Walter

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<sup>18</sup> Melvill Herskovits, Acculturation: Study of Cultural Contact (Gloucester, 1958).

<sup>19</sup> Lieberman Stanley, Assimilation (New York, 1963).

<sup>20</sup> Wilfred D. Borrie, The Cultural Integration of Immigrants (UNESCO, 1959).

<sup>21</sup> Irving Hallowell, "Sociopsychological Aspects of Acculturation," in Ralph Linton, ed., The Science of Man in the World Crisis (New York, 1945).

<sup>22</sup> W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York, 1927); Irving L. Child, Italian or American (New Haven, 1943); Oscar Handlin, Irish in Boston (Cambridge, Mass. 1959); Theodore Huebener, The German in America (Philadelphia, 1962); Ch'eng-K'un Cheng, "Study of Chinese Assimilation in Hawaii," Social Forces, XXXII (December, 1953), 163-167.

<sup>23</sup> Walter Hirsch, "Assimilation as Concept and as Process," Social Forces, XXI (October, 1957), pp. 65-72.

Hirsch compares several definitions of assimilation used by different American sociologists, and the relationship between the actual process of assimilation and these definitions. O'Flannery made a distinction between cultural and social assimilation.<sup>24</sup> M. E. Spiro, in reviewing literature of American ethnic groups, described various factors which relate to acculturation.<sup>25</sup>

In regard to generational differences in the assimilation process, many surveys have been made. One of the most important contributions of this kind was made by Warner and Srole,<sup>26</sup> in their study of Yankee City. It details the social life of a number of ethnic groups, including Irish, French, Canadian, Armenian, and Pole, and discusses the adjustment of these groups to the new cultures.

H. G. Duncan in his Immigration and Assimilation<sup>27</sup> focused upon: 1) the background of the immigrants--their political, economic, religious, educational and social conditions; and 2) a general survey of immigrant changes in the United States through the first to the third generation. He pointed out the main difficulties and the changes that immigrants and their children meet in American life and discussed some of the peculiar problems which existed in different racial and cultural groups who underwent the process.

In his article, "Third Generation in America," Marcus Hansen probed the question of group identification as it affected the second and third genera-

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<sup>24</sup>Ethra O'Flannery, "Social and Cultural Assimilation," American Catholic Sociological Review, XXII (Fall, 1961), pp. 195-206.

<sup>25</sup>Melford E. Spiro, "The Acculturation of American Ethnic Groups," American Anthropologist, LVII (December, 1955), 1240-1250.

<sup>26</sup>Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven, 1945).

<sup>27</sup>Hannibal G. Duncan, Immigration and Assimilation (Boston, 1933).

tions of immigrants.<sup>28</sup>

There are, however, very few studies concerning the relationship between religion and assimilation. P. G. Trutza made a research on a comparison of Rumanian-born Baptists and Orthodox members in Chicago in their progress toward fuller assimilation, together with a comparison of the Rumanian Baptist churches and Rumanian Orthodox churches in the process of acculturation.<sup>29</sup>

Japanese immigrants, because of their very different cultural pattern, have become an interesting and frequent object of sociological and psychological studies. How did the Japanese who came across the Pacific Ocean adjust themselves to an entirely new culture? To what extent did they keep their native ways, and how did they transmit those ways to their offspring? These questions have awakened the curiosity and enthusiasm of many scholars, and thus various studies have been done on almost every aspect of their process of adjustment.

A large number of books have been written about the history of Japanese immigrants, their developments and problems with adjustment, especially on the West coast where the majority of the Japanese lived until World War II began.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Marcus Lee Hansen, "Third Generation in America: A Classic Essay in Immigrant History," Commentary, XIV (November, 1952), 492-500.

<sup>29</sup> Peter G. Trutza, "The Religious Factor in Acculturation: A Study of the Assimilation and Acculturation of the Rumanian Group in Chicago," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1956.

<sup>30</sup> Ansel Adams, Japanese in California (New York, 1944); Leonard Broom, Japanese in California (New York, 1957); Carey McWilliams, Brothers Under the Skin (Boston, 1943), Prejudice (Boston, 1944); Yamato Ichihashi, Japanese in the United States (California, 1932); Toyokichi Iyenaga, Japanese and the California Problems (New York, 1921); Forrest LeViolett, American of Japanese Ancestry (Toronto, 1945); A. H. Leighton, The Governing of Man: Japanese in the United States (New Jersey, 1945); H. A. Millis, The Japanese Problem in the United States (New York, 1932); Bradford Smith, American from Japan (New York, 1948).

There are also quite a few studies concerning the life of the Japanese in relocation centers during the War.<sup>31</sup> Other research studies have been made about the process of adjustment and assimilation of the first and the second generations, and the communities in which they live.

Yukio Kimura's study is a comparative analysis of the collective relationship between the Japanese people and the larger community, both in Hawaii and on the west coast.<sup>32</sup> His conclusion is that the collective adjustability relies mainly upon the attitudes of people in the larger community toward the Issei.

William Caudill made a comparison of 70 Japanese-Americans, including both Issei and Nisei, and 60 Caucasian middle class people. He analyzed the instances with the Japanese-Americans adjusting themselves to life in Chicago in terms of the similarity of American middle class values and Japanese cultural values. He found an equivalence among the Nisei and the American middle class.<sup>33</sup>

Following Caudill's theory of adaptability, Denie L. Briggs developed a further study of Japanese-American youth.<sup>34</sup> This study showed that adaptability serves a useful function in the social and personal relation with

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<sup>31</sup> Leonard Broom and John I. Kitsuse, The Managed Casualty: The Japanese-American Family (California, 1956); Leonard Bloom, "Family Adjustment of Japanese-Americans to Relocation," American Sociological Review, VIII (October, 1943), 551-560.

<sup>32</sup> Yukio Kimura, "A Comparative Study of Collective Adjustment of the Issei in Hawaii and in Mainland U. S. since Pearl Harbor," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1952.

<sup>33</sup> William Caudill, "Japanese American Personality Acculturation," Genetic Psychology Monographs, XLV (February, 1952), 293-300.

<sup>34</sup> Denie L. Briggs, "Social Adaptation among Japanese-American Youth," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVIII (September, 1952), 293-300.

Caucasians. Assimilation of Japanese-American boys had progressed to the point where they are so much like Caucasian youths in their attitudes that there is more social and cultural distance between the Japanese-American boys and their parents than there is between them and their Caucasian contemporaries.

Concerning this cultural distance between Issei and Nisei, Leonard Bloom presented the same finding in his study of Japanese families in a relocation center. He pointed out and analyzed the factors which made the two generations separate.<sup>35</sup>

There are two studies concerning the evaluation of Nisei workers by Caucasian employers in Chicago. One is D. Okada's study,<sup>36</sup> and the other is the research by Alan Jacobson and Lee Rainwater.<sup>37</sup> The studies are similar in their subject matter, the Nisei's adjustment in their work; but the former is a description of the ways in which Nisei adjusted to their job during wartime, while the latter emphasizes the process and the reasons for the acceptance of Nisei workers by Caucasian employers. Here again the emphasis is on the Nisei identification with middle class Caucasian values.

In any group of immigrants, whatever their nationality, the gap between the first and the second generation is always a problem. In the case of the Japanese-American, because of cultural differences this divergence is especially great. A great many studies and researches have focused upon this point.

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<sup>35</sup> Leonard Bloom, "Familial Adjustment of Japanese-Americans to Relocation," American Sociological Review, VIII (October, 1943), 44-49.

<sup>36</sup> D. Okada, "Male Nisei Workers in Two Individual Plants Under Wartime Conditions," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1947.

<sup>37</sup> Alan Jacobson and Lee Rainwater, "Study of Management Representative Evaluations of Nisei Workers," Social Forces, XXXII (October, 1953), 35-41.



Melvin Brooks and Ken Kunihiro studied this problem in the area of education<sup>38</sup> --language usage, acquired knowledge, habit formation, and attitudes.

M. L. Hansen discussed the third generation problem,<sup>39</sup> and J. H. Burma studied Nisei leadership.<sup>40</sup> The subject matters of these studies do not involve comparisons of generations, but some comparative aspects are included in connection with their parents and their cultural traits.

One of the most intensive studies of Nisei assimilation is Eugene Uyeki's dissertation on "Process and Pattern of Nisei Adjustment to Chicago."<sup>41</sup> Based upon the results of interviews with 62 Nisei between the ages of 28 and 44, an analysis was made of the assimilation process in the light of a sociological and psychological interpretation. His questionnaires, which were used in part as a model for the present writer, thoroughly covered Nisei activities and attitudes. In addition to giving a statistical interpretation, his investigation included a discussion of the psychology underlying Nisei behavior and attitudes. This study is to some extent similar to the present writer's study of assimilation. However, Uyeki's study is restricted to the Nisei and does not involve a comparison with the Issei.

Among the numerous studies about Japanese-Americans, research is lacking on the religious effect upon the assimilation pattern. There are, of course,

<sup>38</sup> M. S. Brook, "Education in Assimilation of Japanese: A Study in the Houston Area of Texas," Sociology and Social Research XXXII (September, 1952), 16-22.

<sup>39</sup> M. L. Hansen, "Third Generation in America: A Classic Essay in Immigrant History," Commentary, XIV (November, 1952), 492-500.

<sup>40</sup> J. H. Burma, "Current Leadership Problems among Japanese-Americans," Sociology and Social Research, XXXVII (January, 1953), 157-163.

<sup>41</sup> Eugene S. Uyeki, "Process and Pattern of Nisei Adjustment to Chicago," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1953.

some studies about the effect of religion on the Japanese in the United States, such as those of R. F. Spencer,<sup>42</sup> and Mamoru Iga.<sup>43</sup> The former study concerns the structure and role of the Buddhist church in America as a social center of the Japanese community. The latter emphasized the similarities rather than the differences between the Buddhist and Christian Issei.

#### Hypothesis.

In summarizing the literature relevant to this study, it can be noted that there are many studies on the Japanese-Americans in terms of their history and development in this country, their problems, and their processes of adjustment.<sup>44</sup> Numerous studies have been done on the social and economic advancement of the Nisei. Comparative studies between generations are also available. Researches upon religious factors relative to assimilation, however, seem to be minimal. It is, therefore, the purpose of this paper to concentrate on the relationship between religion and the assimilation of the Japanese-Americans. The aim of this thesis is to examine any significant differences which may exist between the members of the Buddhist and the Christian churches, and between the first and the second generations, in their behavior patterns and attitudes, which may reflect their participation or lack of participation in the American culture.

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<sup>42</sup>Robert F. Spencer, "Social Structure of a Contemporary Japanese-American Buddhist Church," Social Forces, XXVI (1947-1948), 281-287.

<sup>43</sup>Mamoru Iga, "Japanese Social Structure and Source of Mental Strains of Japanese Immigrants to the United States," Social Forces, XXXV (March, 1957), 271-287.

<sup>44</sup>For the historical background of frustration, discrimination, and challenge within which the Japanese were expected to assimilate in the United States, see Appendix I.

As Buddhism is a direct inheritance of the Japanese culture, the membership in Buddhist churches may be assumed to be a hindrance, to some degree, to assimilation to American culture. On the other hand, since Christianity is the most pervasive religion in the United States, membership in Christian churches is presumed, again to a certain degree, to be an encouragement to assimilation of the Japanese to American values. It is also presupposed, because of differential contact with both cultures, that the second generation of Japanese-Americans, either Buddhist or Christian, are more assimilated to American culture than the first generation of Japanese-Americans. It is generally taken for granted that, in the process of assimilation, the influence of generational difference is usually greater than religious difference or any other social factor.

In concluding, the hypotheses to be investigated here are the following:

1. Japanese-Americans who are members of the Buddhist churches are less assimilated than those who are members of the Christian churches.
2. The first generation of Japanese-Americans are less assimilated than the second generation of Japanese-Americans.
3. In the process of assimilation, the difference between the first and the second generation is greater than the religious difference among the Japanese-Americans.

In testing these hypotheses, the degrees of assimilation will be measured by:

1. The degree to which Japanese-Americans keep Japanese ways and customs.
2. The degree to which they take in and adopt American ways and

customs.

3. The degree to which they associate with Japanese people and non-Japanese people.
4. The degree to which they identify with Japan and Japanese culture.
5. The degree of self-identification with American culture.

Since there are always many different grades in the process of assimilation, the core of this study is to discover, in connection with religious influences and differing generations, these different grades among the Japanese-Americans.

Much existing literature is intimately connected with this study both directly, and indirectly, and has illuminated the direction of this paper. In the light of studies already made, and based upon the writer's own observation and investigations, the aspect of the relationship between religious affiliation and degree of adjustment will be viewed.

## CHAPTER II

### METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

This thesis attempts to discover the differences in the degree of assimilation among Japanese-Americans, as related to religious affiliation and generational pattern. Comparison, therefore, had to be made between Buddhist and Christian Japanese-Americans, and between first generation and second generation Japanese-Americans.

One hundred male Japanese-Americans, twenty-five in each group--Buddhist Issei and Nisei, Christian Issei and Nisei--were selected as respondents, so that religious and generational comparisons could be made.

The names of potential interviewees were given by ministers of both Buddhist and Christian churches for Japanese-Americans. There are seven Buddhist churches of different sects in Chicago. Some are relatively large, having 300 to 500 members, including Issei, Nisei and Sansei. Some churches are rather small Issei groups having 20 to 30 members. Usually in these churches, there is one minister who is taking care of the Issei, Nisei and Sansei groups. In some larger churches there are a few assistant ministers.

There are eleven Christian (Protestant) churches in Chicago with congregations composed mainly of persons of Japanese descent. Most of these churches have separate Sunday services for the Issei, Nisei and Sansei groups. Many churches have two ministers, one who takes care of the Japanese-speaking Issei group and the other who is responsible for services for the English-speaking Nisei and Sansei groups. Some churches including a relatively small

group of Issei have one minister and one service on Sunday. In this thesis, the term Christian does not refer strictly to those who were baptized in Christian churches or to those who attend church regularly. It refers rather broadly to people who consider themselves as belonging to a church group. The names and locations of churches contacted and used are in Appendix II.

According to the reports from these ministers of these churches, the total number of Buddhist church members was 1781, including 683 Issei, 665 Nisei and 433 Sansei. The total number of Christian church members was 1179, including 519 Issei, 577 Nisei and 83 Sansei.

The original plan was to obtain the data from mailed questionnaires sent to fifty individuals in each of the four classifications. The questionnaire approach was considered from a desire to contact more people in less time with greater anonymity. However, on further analysis, the probability of getting adequate responses for a lengthy questionnaire from people who might have language difficulty and not understand the research was considered too low. The ministers to whom the writer showed the questionnaire verified this doubt. Mailed questionnaires were discarded, therefore, in favor of personal interviews. Despite the fact that the personal interview is time consuming and a reduction in the sample would be necessary, it was felt that the advantages--certainty of obtaining necessary answers and clearness of the contents of questions--outweighed the disadvantages.

The actual number of the potential interviewees given by the ministers was 328 in the Buddhist group (113 Issei and 215 Nisei) and 426 in the Christian group (136 Issei and 290 Nisei).

The name of each candidate was written on a small card, and the cards were put in four different boxes according to their religious and generational classification and mixed up. From each group, twenty-five cards were picked

randomly as the sample.

A letter of explanation and introduction to the study was sent to each person chosen for the sample, and an appointment for the interview was made by phone. Five people refused to be interviewed when the writer called for an appointment--three because they had no time for an interview, and the other two because they considered themselves of little value for this study, claiming to be too old and uninformed. Another five names were picked to replace those who refused the interview.

Fifty-eight questions were carefully selected for the interview. They were designed to measure the degrees of assimilation in eleven subject categories:

General information: questions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10,

11, 12, 13, 14.

Experience of discrimination: questions 15, 16, 17.

Usage of name: questions 18a, 18b, 19.

Language: questions 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 31.

Religion: questions 26, 27, 28, 29, 30.

Holidays and festivals: questions 32, 33, 34, 35.

Food habits: questions 38, 39, 40, 41.

Social contact and activities: questions 36, 37, 42, 43, 44, 45.

Marriage: questions 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51.

Loyalty toward Japan: questions 7, 54, 55.

Attitude toward Japanese culture and American culture: questions  
52, 53, 56, 57, 58.

The interview schedule is attached to Appendix VI. A description of each category as it relates to assimilation will be given in the next chapter.

It was recognized that each question by itself was not enough to determine the degree of assimilation. However, it was assumed that by investigation and examination of the total responses, the degree to which the person is or is not assimilated to the American way of life would be, to an acceptable degree, indicated.

#### General Description of the Sample.

In order better to judge the responses to the questions concerning the assimilation pattern, it was deemed advisable to ascertain some general characteristics of the sample so that we may have some idea of the type of people being interviewed.

Consequently, the first section of the questionnaire asked the interviewees about general information such as age, birthplace, length of years in the United States, length of years in Chicago, possession of citizenship, education, occupational experiences of discrimination, religious affiliation.

Age. Among the 25 Buddhist Issei interviewed, 44 per cent of the total, or 11, are between the ages of 65 and 69. Three (12 per cent) are between 70 and 74; another 3 are between 80 and 84. Only one person is under 60. The youngest person in this group is age 59, and the oldest is 83. The mean age is 68.

In the Christian Issei, 7 (28 per cent) are between the ages of 75 and 79, and 6 (24 per cent) are 70 to 74. Five (20 per cent) are between 65 and 69, and 3 (12 per cent) are between 60 and 64. There are two people (8 per cent) under 59, and two over 80 years old. The youngest person is 57, and the oldest is 84. The mean age in this group is 71.

Among the Buddhist Nisei group, 9 (36 per cent) are between 40 and 44,

7 (28 per cent) are between 45 and 49, 4 (16 per cent) are between 50 and 54,



3 (12 per cent) are between 30 and 34. One person is 28, and one is 64 years old. The mean age is 44.3.

In the Christian Nisei group, 9 (36 per cent) are between the ages of 35 and 39, 5 (20 per cent) are between 40 and 44, another 5 are between 45 and 49. There are 4 persons (16 per cent) who are between 30 and 34, and 2 (8 per cent) who are between 50 and 54. The youngest age in this group is 32, and the eldest is 53. The mean age is 40.7.

From the mean ages and age distribution, we can say that the Buddhist Issei group is slightly younger than the Christian Issei group, and the Buddhist Nisei group is slightly older than the Christian Nisei group. The slight differences in ages closely indicate that age may not be an important variable for the degree of assimilation in these groups relative to religious membership, but is important to the generational relationship.

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF YOUNGEST, OLDEST  
AND MEAN AGE OF RESPONDENTS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Age	BI*	CI	BII	CII
The Youngest Age	59	57	28	32
The Oldest Age	83	84	64	53
The Mean Age	68	71.7	44.3	40.7

\*BI = Buddhist Issei

BII = Buddhist Nisei

CI = Christian Issei

CII = Christian Nisei

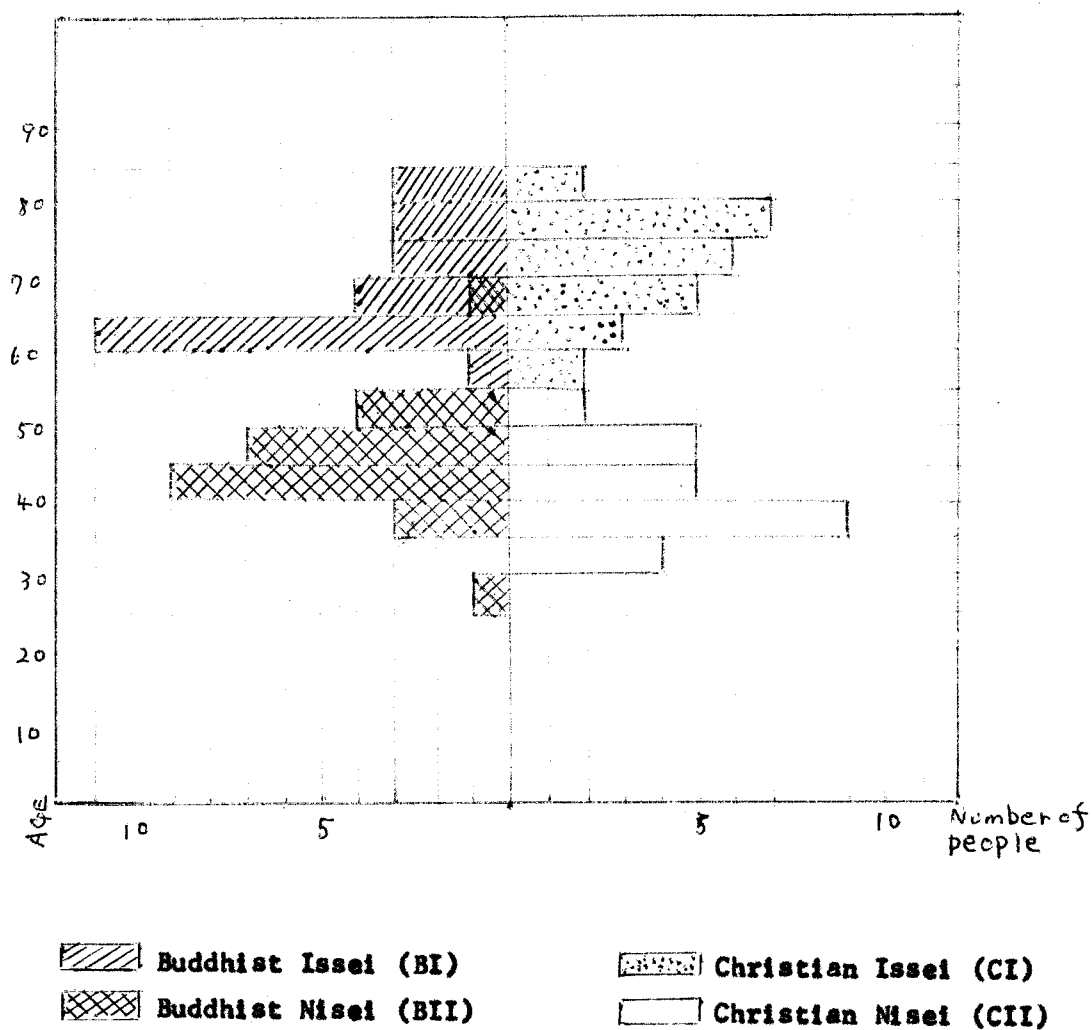


FIGURE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF AGE GROUP BY RELIGION  
AND GENERATION

Birthplace. Sixty-eight per cent of the total Buddhist Issei, or 17 persons, are from the midwestern part of Japan. Twenty-eight per cent (?) are from the southern part of Japan, and four per cent (one person) is from the northern part of Japan.

In the Christian Issei group, 60 per cent of the total, or 15, are from the midwestern part of Japan, and 36 per cent (9) are from the northeastern part of Japan. One person came from the southern part of Japan.

Among the Buddhist Nisei group, 80 per cent of the total, or 20 persons, were born in the states on the West Coast. Sixteen per cent (4) were born in Hawaii, and one person was born in Idaho. In the Christian Nisei group, 76 per cent of the total, or 19, were born in the West Coast states, 20 per cent (5) were born in Hawaii, and one person was born in Utah.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO  
BIRTHPLACE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Place of Birth	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
West Coast					20	80	19	78
Hawaii					4	16	5	20
Other states					1	4	1	4
Northeastern Japan	1	4	9	36				
Midwestern Japan	17	68	15	60				
Southern Japan	7	28	1	4				
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100

There are more people who came from the south part of Japan in the Buddhist Issei group than in the Christian Issei group, and fewer people who came from the northeastern part of Japan. Both Buddhist and Christian Nisei groups have a similar pattern for place of birth. The birthplace does not seem to

be important as an influence upon the assimilation rate.

Marital status. Eighty-four per cent (21) of the total of the Buddhist Issei are presently married, and the remaining sixteen per cent (4) are widowed. In the Christian Issei group, 76 per cent (19) are married, 20 per cent (5) are widowed. One respondent is single. All 25 persons in the Buddhist Nisei group are married. Eighty-eight per cent of the Christian Nisei group (22) are married, and 12 per cent (3) are single.

There are no separated or divorced persons in the whole sample.

TABLE III

MARITAL STATUS OF RESPONDENTS BY RELIGION  
AND BY GENERATION

Marital status	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
Single	-	-	1	4	-	-	3	12
Married	21	84	19	76	25	100	22	88
Widowed	4	16	5	20	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100

Number of Years of Residence in the United States. In the Buddhist Issei group, 32 per cent of the total (8) had been living in the United States from 50 to 59 years, 60 per cent (15) had been here from 40 to 49 years, and 8 per cent, from 30 to 39 years. The average years in this country were 48.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The calculation is based upon original data, and not upon group average.

Among the Christian Issei group, 68 per cent of the total, or 17, have been in this country from 50 to 59 years, 20 per cent, or 5, from 40 to 49 years, and one person has been living in the United States more than 60 years. The average length of residence is 49.5 years. There is no great difference between these two groups which would affect the assimilation process.

TABLE IV

DISTRIBUTION OF ISSEI BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE  
IN THE UNITED STATES, AND RELIGION

Years in the United States	BI		CI	
	number	per cent	number	per cent
10-19	-	-	1	4
20-29	-	-	1	4
30-39	2	8	-	-
40-49	15	60	5	20
50-59	8	32	17	68
60-69	-	-	1	4
Total	25	100	25	100

Number of Years of Residence in Chicago. All Japanese-Americans in this study, except one Christian Issei, came to Chicago either during or after World War II. That one person has been in Chicago for 50 years. The average lengths of living in Chicago are: Buddhist Issei 18.3 years, Christian Issei 17.2 years, Buddhist Nisei 15.7 years, and Christian Nisei 16.2 years.

Although Issei groups have been in Chicago slightly longer than the Nisei groups, the difference does not seem to indicate any possible significance for assimilation differences that might occur between the two groups.

TABLE V

LENGTH OF YEARS RESPONDENTS HAVE BEEN IN CHICAGO  
BY RELIGION AND BY GENERATION

Years in Chicago	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
1-4	-	-	-	-	3	12	1	4
5-9	-	-	4	16	3	12	3	12
10-14	1	4	3	12	2	8	3	12
15-19	20	80	13	52	9	36	17	68
20-24	4	16	5	20	8	32	1	4
25-29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
30 or more	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100

Place where Respondents Lived before Coming to Chicago. The majority of the people in each group (96 per cent of the Buddhist Issei, 84 per cent of the Christian Issei, 76 per cent of both Buddhist and Christian Nisei) were living in states on the West Coast before they came to Chicago.<sup>2</sup> A small portion of Nisei came from Hawaii. There appear to be no important differences in this respect between the Buddhist Issei and the Christian Issei groups. In the Nisei group, however--especially the Christian Nisei group--there are 5 (20 per cent) who were born in Hawaii and were living in Hawaii before they came to Chicago. This fact might affect the degree of assimilation in this group and will be given consideration later; for as Yukio Kimura reported in his study, the Japanese-Americans in Hawaii participated in the life of the larger community more intimately than was the case in the West Coast states on the main land.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Relocation centers are not included.

<sup>3</sup>Kimura.

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY PREVIOUS  
RESIDENCE, RELIGION AND GENERATION

Previous residence	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
West coast	24	96	21	84	19	76	19	76
Hawaii	-	-	-	-	2	8	5	20
Other states	1	4	3	12	3	12	1	4
Japan	-	-	-	-	1	4	-	-
Other countries	-	-	1	4	-	-	-	-
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100

Citizenship. Among the Buddhist Issei group, 8 (32 per cent) do not have American citizenship. Only one person (4 per cent) got citizenship before 1952, the year in which naturalization was officially permitted to Issei people, because he had joined the American Army during World War I. Sixteen (64 per cent) received their American citizenship after 1952. In the Christian Issei group 6 (24 per cent) do not have citizenship. All the rest, 19 (76 per cent) received it after 1952.

TABLE VII

CITIZENSHIP STATUS OF RESPONDENTS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Citizenship	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
Aliens	8	32	6	24	-	-	-	-
American since birth	-	-	-	-	25	100	25	100
American before 1952	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
American since 1952	16	64	19	76	-	-	-	-
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100

The fact that some Issei do not possess citizenship although they could have, is itself some indication of an absence of assimilation.

Formal Education. Eighty per cent (20) of the Buddhist Issei and 72 per cent (18) of the Christian Issei were graduated from grade school. Of the Christian group, 8 per cent (2) finished high school, and another 8 per cent finished college. Among the Buddhist Nisei group, 52 per cent of the total, 13 people, finished high school. Sixteen percent, or 4, had college education, and one has a medical doctor degree. Thirty-two per cent (8) in the Christian Nisei group finished college, and 36 per cent (9) had a few years of college education. Sixteen per cent (4) in this group have a master's or a dental degree. It is interesting to note that the Christian group, both Issei and Nisei, has more higher education than the Buddhist group, and Nisei groups, both Buddhist and Christian, have a higher education rate than Issei groups. The educational background may be one of the factors which affect the degree of assimilation and will be considered later.

TABLE VIII

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND OF RESPONDENTS  
BY RELIGION AND BY GENERATION

Educational level	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
Grade school completed	20	80	18	72	1	4	-	-
Some high school	2	8	3	12	2	8	1	4
High school completed	-	-	2	8	13	52	3	12
Some college	3	12	-	-	4	16	9	36
College completed	-	--	2	8	4	16	8	32
Advanced degree	-	-	-	-	1	4	4	16
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100



Occupation. Occupations of respondents in the sample were distributed according to eight categories: professional, engineer and technician, business, clerical and sales, skilled labor, semi-skilled and unskilled labor, farmer, and retired. The first occupational category includes ministers, physicians and dentists, lawyers and architects. The second category includes civil and mechanical engineers, technicians and other specialists. The third category, business, includes self-employed people, store owners and apartment owners.

There are no professional people in the Issei groups. There is one (4 per cent) technician in each of the Buddhist and Christian Issei groups. There are seven business men (28 per cent) in the Buddhist group and 4 (16 per cent) in the Christian group; most of them are apartment owners. In the Buddhist Issei group, there are 19 workers (either skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled), and 7 (28 per cent) of the Christian group are workers. Six persons (24 per cent) are retired in the Buddhist group, and 9 (36 per cent) in the Christian group. In short, these two groups' occupational rate is more or less similar. As for the Nisei groups, there are 4 (16 per cent) professional persons in the Christian group and one (4 per cent) in the Buddhist group. Twelve persons in the Christian group (48 per cent) are engineers or technicians, while 5 (20 per cent) in the Buddhist group fall into this category. There are 10 (40 per cent) workers in the Buddhist group, while only one (4 per cent) in the Christian group.

Apparently, the Christian Nisei group has a higher level of occupational status than the Buddhist Nisei group, and the second generation groups have a much higher level than the first generation groups. Admittedly, the occupation of the respondents is related to the educational background, and the change of the occupational structure in the Nisei group is one of the most

important indices of assimilation. Francis A. Ianni explains this factor in his research:

In the process of acculturation, the ethnic group undergoes measurable changes in its occupational and residential structure which are indicative of both their changing status and their acculturation. The appearance of ethnics in the higher status occupations, for example, not only indicates their acceptance by the host group as potential candidates for these positions, but is also evidence that they have acquired the skills and training--both technical and social--required for such positions.<sup>4</sup>

TABLE IX  
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS  
BY RELIGION AND BY GENERATION

Occupation	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
Professional	-	-	-	-	1	4	4	16
Engineer and technician	1	4	1	4	5	20	12	48
Business	7	28	4	16	4	16	2	8
Clerical and sales	-	-	4	16	5	20	6	24
Skilled labor	2	8	-	-	5	20	-	-
Semi- and unskilled labor	9	36	7	28	5	20	1	4
Farmer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Retired	6	24	9	36	-	-	-	-
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100

Father's Occupation. Parental occupation of those interviewed in the sample were distributed into the same eight categories. It is interesting to

<sup>4</sup>Francis A. J. Ianni, "Residential and Occupational Mobility as Indices of Acculturation," Social Forces, XXXVI (October, 1957), p. 66.

note that although there is no farmer in the sample, a majority of the respondent's came from a farmer's family. (80 per cent of the Buddhist Issei and 60 per cent of the Christian Issei, 56 per cent of the Buddhist Nisei and 28 per cent of the Christian Nisei) This indicated that agriculture was the main occupation of the Japanese immigrants. Here also, we can see the religious difference and the generational mobility of occupation, as a sign of assimilation.

TABLE X

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF FATHERS OF RESPONDENTS  
BY RELIGION AND BY GENERATION

Occupation	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
Professional	-	-	1	4	1	4	1	4
Engineer and technician	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Business	5	20	5	20	5	20	6	24
Clerical and sales	-	-	1	4	1	4	3	12
Skilled labor	-	-	1	4	-	-	1	4
Semi- and unskilled labor	-	-	2	8	4	16	7	28
Farmer	20	80	15	60	14	56	7	28
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100

Experiences of Discrimination. In the entire sample, with the exception of one Buddhist Issei, no one reported any experience of discrimination in the present occupation because of being Japanese.

But more than half of each group have experienced some kind of personal discrimination at one time or another because of being Japanese. The rates are 64 per cent (16 persons) in the Buddhist Issei, 52 per cent (13) in the

Christian Issei, 56 per cent (14) in the Buddhist Nisei and 52 per cent (13) in the Christian Nisei.

Most of the people in the sample did not have any experiences of undue difficulties in obtaining a job because of being Japanese. As indicated in Table XII, some had such experiences before the second World War, and a very few had difficulties after the War.

TABLE XI

RESPONDENTS' EXPERIENCE OF PERSONAL DISCRIMINATION  
BY RELIGION AND BY GENERATION

Personal discrimination	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
No experience	9	36	12	48	11	44	12	48
Land purchase and lease	2	8	4	16	-	-	-	-
Housing problem	4	16	1	4	5	20	8	32
Being refused public service	8	32	7	28	6	24	3	12
Other	2	8	1	4	3	12	2	8
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100

TABLE XII

RESPONDENTS' EXPERIENCE OF UNDU E DIFFICULTY IN  
OBTAINING JOB BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Difficulty in obtaining job	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
No experience	16	64	18	72	18	72	17	68
Before the War	7	28	7	28	2	8	4	16
After the War	1	4	-	-	5	20	3	12
Both before and after the War	1	4	-	-	-	-	1	4
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100

It is felt that the experience of discrimination did not seem to affect the degree of assimilation between the groups, since their experiences were similar.

Religious Background. One of the main purposes of this thesis is to ascertain the relationship between religion and degree of assimilation. Therefore religious background and affiliation are very important elements of this study. For this purpose, the sample was selected equally from both Buddhist and Christian groups--50 Buddhists and 50 Christians. The interesting fact is that 88 per cent of the total sample came from a Buddhist background. Only 28 per cent of the Christian Nisei's (7 persons) and 4 per cent (one person) of the Christian Issei's parents were Christian. This signifies that even the Christian Nisei, who are Christian and who were born in the United States, have a strong Buddhist background. Only 6 (24 per cent) of the Christian Nisei are keeping the same faith as their parents. Six became Christian at the time of their marriage, and 7 (28 per cent) were converted by the influence of others. As far as the Christian Issei are concerned, only 2 persons (8 per cent) inherited their religion from their parents. Out of 23 who were converted from Buddhism to Christianity, 18 (72 per cent) became Christians after coming to the United States. This may have a close relationship to the assimilation process, as we shall see in later chapters.

TABLE XIII

RELIGION OF PARENTS OF RESPONDENTS  
BY RELIGION AND BY GENERATION

Parents' religion	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
Buddhist	25	100	23	92	23	92	17	68
Christian	-	-	2	8	1	4	7	28
One Buddhist, one Christian	-	-	-	-	1	4	1	4
Other religion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
No religion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100

TABLE XIV

OCCASION FOR CHOICE OF RELIGION OF RESPONDENTS  
BY RELIGION AND BY GENERATION

Religious history	BI		CI		BII		CII	
	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent	number	per cent
A. Following parents' religion	25	100	2	8	23	92	6	24
At marriage					1	4		
Other occasion					1	4		
B. Converted to Christianity in Japan								
At marriage								
Influence of others			4	16				
Other occasion			1	4				
C. Converted to Christianity in U.S.								
At marriage			9	36			6	24
Influence of others			9	36			7	28
Other occasion							6	24
Total	25	100	25	100	25	100	25	100

In conclusion, the general background of our sample is more or less similar in each group, except for education and occupation.

As we saw already, as a group whole, the Christians have a high education, and hence a higher occupational level, than the Buddhists. And the Nisei group has a higher educational and occupational level than the Issei. These facts would be important elements in the differential assimilation patterns between religious groups and generational groups.

## CHAPTER III

### COMPARISON BETWEEN BUDDHIST AND CHRISTIAN RESPONDENTS

This chapter is concerned with a comparison between the Buddhist and the Christian groups of Japanese-Americans in our sample relative to their degree of assimilation. The purpose is to discover to what extent these two groups differ from each other in accepting American values or in keeping Japanese values.

Assimilation was measured in two ways: first, by examining the extent to which Japanese-Americans have changed their customs and habits to conform to American ways; second, by measuring the extent to which they still keep Japanese ways that clearly differ from American ways.

The comparison of the degree of assimilation was measured by answers to thirty questions, which are divided into five groups: 1) use of name and language, 2) food habits, 3) holidays and festivals, 4) social contact and selection of marriage partner, 5) loyalty toward Japan and attitude toward Japanese and American cultures.

Different weights were given to the answers of each question according to the degree of assimilation--so that the more the assimilation, the higher the value.<sup>1</sup>

Points were given to each question in terms of the number of responses possible for each question. Four points were given to questions 18a, 19, 22

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<sup>1</sup> An example is given on page 41.



24, 32, 42, 43, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53, and 54, since four varying responses were possible. Three points were given to questions 7, 25, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, and 55, since three varying responses were possible. Two points were given to questions 33, 34, 35, 48, and 56, since two varying responses were possible. One hundred points were given as the highest degree of assimilation, since the most assimilative responses of all the questions equally one hundred points. Since each question is not given equal value, the comparisons are made with weighted scores relative to the total weighted value for all questions and no comparisons in terms of the weighted values for each response are made between individual questions.

The total weights in each group (the Buddhist group and the Christian group) were used for the comparison. In this study, degree of assimilation of each individual person was not calculated. The degree of assimilation is measured for the group as a whole.

Use of name and language. The use of the name as a measure of assimilation is important, since "names are symbols used by society in the assignment of status and roles to individuals and groups,"<sup>2</sup> and since, in the case of the Japanese-Americans, the name directly reveals nationality.

In studying Japanese-Americans, the middle name as well as the first name (Question 18a) becomes importance, since in Japan the people have no middle names, but only a first name and a surname. Consequently, no Issei had middle names when they came to the United States. Eleven Buddhist Issei (44 per cent of the total Buddhist Issei ) and 12 Christian Issei (48 per cent of the total Christian

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<sup>2</sup> Leonard Bloom, Helen Beem and Virginia Harris, "Characteristics of 1,107 Petitioners for Name Change," American Sociological Review, XX (February, 1955), p. 33.

Issei) still have only a Japanese name. Some Issei later adopted an American first or middle name, not only because of assimilation but also for convenience, since the Japanese name is often long and hard to pronounce in English. However, as Bloom, Beem and Harris said, generally speaking, it is recognized that the use of an American name is some indication of identity with American ways, hence, a sign of assimilation.

Among ethnic groups the interpretation of the functions of name changing may be most usefully interpreted in an acculturation-assimilation framework.<sup>3</sup>

What may be an important difference among the Issei is that the Christian group use an American name more often as a first name, while the Buddhist group use it as a middle name more frequently. If it is true that the first name is more important than the middle name, and that name adaptations are symbols of identification, it could be said that the Christian group is probably more assimilated to the American way in this respect than the Buddhist group.

Among the second generation respondents, the ratio is similar for the Buddhist and the Christian groups.

TABLE XV

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS HAVING JAPANESE NAME OR  
AMERICAN NAME OR BOTH, BY RELIGION  
AND GENERATION

Possession of name	W	1st Gen.			2nd Gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American only	4	0	0	0	2	2	4	2	2	4
American first, Japanese middle	3	6	12	18	13	13	26	19	25	44
Japanese first, American middle	2	8	1	9	6	4	10	14	5	19
Japanese only	1	11	12	23	4	6	10	15	18	33
Total	25	25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		45	50	95	63	61	124	108	111	

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

TABLE XVI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS HAVING JAPANESE  
NAME OR AMERICAN NAME OR BOTH BY  
RELIGION AND BY GENERATION

Name	1st Gen.			2nd Gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American only	0	0	0	50	50	100	50	50	100
American first, Japanese middle	33	67	100	50	50	100	43	57	100
Japanese first, American middle	89	11	100	60	40	100	74	26	100
Japanese only	48	52	100	40	60	100	45	55	100

Since those who have only American names seem to be most assimilated (American like) group, the weight of 4 was given to this group. To those who have an American first name and a Japanese middle name, 3 was given; 2 was given to those who have a Japanese first name and an American middle name, and 1 was assigned to those who have only a Japanese name. The total of the weights of each group is listed at the bottom of the table, so that the comparison could be made clearly.

The weight value of the Buddhist Issei is 45, and that of the Christian Issei is 50, therefore the Christian Issei are considered more assimilated than the Buddhist Issei to the American way of life. The difference between the Buddhist Nisei and the Christian Nisei is very little. Religion seems to be related to the possession of the names within the Issei groups but not within Nisei groups.

Not only possession of the American name, but also frequency of its usage could be an index of assimilation (Question 19). Among 14 Buddhist Issei who have an American name either as a first name or a middle name, 10 (71 per cent) use their American name officially and 4 (29 per cent) use their Japanese name

officially. Thirteen Christian Issei have American names, and 9 of them (69 per cent) use their American names officially.

Among the Nisei groups, 18 of 19 persons who have both American and Japanese names use the American name officially (95 per cent) in the Buddhist group. In the Christian group, 15 of 17 who have both names use their American name officially (88 per cent).

TABLE XVII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS USING AMERICAN OR JAPANESE  
NAME, BY RELIGION AND BY GENERATION

Use of names	W	1st Gen.			2nd Gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American used officially	4	10	9	19	18	15	33	28	24	52
Japanese used officially	2	4	4	8	1	2	3	5	6	11
Not applicable (having only one name)	0	11	12	23	6	8	14	17	20	37
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		48	44	92	74	64	138	121	108	

TABLE XVIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS USING AMERICAN OR JAPANESE  
NAME, BY RELIGION AND BY GENERATION

Use of names	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American used officially		53	47	100	54	46	100	53	47	100
Japanese used officially		50	50	100	33	67	100	45	55	100
Not applicable (having only one name)		48	52	100	43	57	100	46	54	100

Among the Issei groups, there is not much difference between the Buddhist group and the Christian group. The Buddhist Nisei use an American name more frequently than the Christian Nisei group. It seems that religious factors do not have any connection with assimilation in this aspect.

Language. In the process of assimilation or in any other culture-contact situation, language usage is of utmost importance, because language is a means of communication of ideas and the "main vehicle for transmission of culture."<sup>4</sup>

Samora and Deane emphasize the importance of language in acculturation in their research.

By the study of language usage it can be determined if a minority group member prefers to use language of the dominant group rather than his native tongue; this in itself would be a measure of acculturation.<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, for the Japanese-Americans, ability to speak English, use of language at home, evaluation of Japanese language, and the wish or hope for their children to learn and understand Japanese are possible indices of assimilation.

Ability to speak English (Question 21), especially among the Issei, is certainly an index of assimilation. Without understanding English, they cannot communicate with the American people and the American community. In spite of a considerably longer stay in the United States, the ability to speak English among the Issei is generally low. One main reason for this may have been that the Issei people had not planned to stay in this country when they first came to America. Most of them had planned to return to Japan after they made enough

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<sup>4</sup> Julian Samora and William N. Deane, "Language Usage as a Possible Index of Acculturation," Sociology and Social Research, XL (May, 1956), p. 307.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 309.

money. Many of the Issei whom the present writer interviewed admitted this fact. Among Issei groups, there are more people in the Christian group whose English ability is very good or fairly good (16, or 64 per cent of the total) while the majority of the Buddhists (18, or 72 per cent) do not read or write English, though they understand and speak it somewhat. There is not too much difference between the Buddhist Nisei and the Christian Nisei.

TABLE XIX

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF THEIR  
ENGLISH ABILITY, BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

English ability	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
All* very good	4	0	5	5	23	25	48	23	30	53
All fairly good	3	6	11	17	2	0	2	8	11	19
All not so good	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
Cannot read or write, but speak and understand somewhat	1	18	18	26	0	0	0	18	8	26
None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		38	63	101	98	100	198	136	163	

\*All means ability to read, write, speak, and understand.

TABLE XX

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF THEIR  
ENGLISH ABILITY BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

English ability	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
All very good	0	100	100	48	52	100	43	57	100
All fairly good	35	65	100	100	0	100	42	57	100
All not so good	50	50	100	0	0	0	50	50	100
Cannot read or write, but speak and understand somewhat	69	31	100	0	0	0	69	31	100

There is no important difference by religious affiliation among Nisei groups in regard to ability to speak English. Among the Issei groups, however, the Christian has a greater ability to speak English than the Buddhist group. It is felt that there may be some relationship between religion and the ability to speak English among Issei.

The use of language at home (Question 22) as a measure of assimilation is more complicated, because other factors, such as English and Japanese ability and family circumstances must be taken into consideration; for example, if an Issei lives only with his Issei wife, the chance of using Japanese is high, whereas if he lives with Nisei children, he must use English to some degree at least. In the case of Nisei, the use of Japanese is similarly influenced. In most cases, however, language usage at home could be considered a measurement of assimilation.

The most significant difference between Buddhist Issei and Christian Issei is that there are 17 people in the Buddhist group (68 per cent) who use only Japanese at home, while in the Christian group there are only 8 (32 per cent). More Christian Issei use English mostly or English and Japanese equally at home than do Buddhist Issei. Among the Nisei groups, the Christians use more English at home than the Buddhists.

TABLE XXI

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF LANGUAGE  
USAGE AT HOME, BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Language used at home	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		SI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
English only	4	0	0	0	9	12	21	9	12	21
Mostly English	3	0	2	22	9	12	21	9	14	23
Both equally	2	2	4	6	4	1	5	6	5	11
Mostly Japanese	1	16	11	17	3	0	3	9	11	20
Japanese only	0	17	8	25	0	0	0	17	8	25
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		10	25	25	74	86	160	84	111	195

TABLE XXII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF LANGUAGE  
USAGE AT HOME, BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Language used at home	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
English only	0	0	0	43	57	100	43	57	100
Mostly English	0	100	100	43	57	100	39	61	100
Both equally	33	67	100	80	20	100	56	44	100
Mostly Japanese	35	65	100	100	0	100	45	55	100
Japanese only	68	32	100	0	0	0	68	32	100

In conclusion, both Issei and Nisei groups, of Christians use English at home more frequently than the Buddhists, and the Buddhists use Japanese more often. It is probable, therefore, that a definite interrelationship between religious affiliations and language usage at home exists.

Evaluation of the importance of one's native language to him (Question 24) and the wish for his children to learn it (Question 25) reflect an evaluation of the native culture, and the attachment to it. Hence they are, to a certain degree, measurements of assimilation to American culture and American values.



Among the Issei, there are more Buddhists than Christians who consider the Japanese language very necessary. In the Nisei groups, there are 13 people in the Christian group (52 per cent) who think that the Japanese language has only cultural value, while there are 3 (12 per cent) in the Buddhist group who think this. Eight of the Buddhist Nisei consider that the Japanese language is very necessary, while there is only one in the Christian group.

In both Issei and Nisei groups, the Buddhists evaluate the importance of the Japanese language higher than the Christians. Here, religions seem to have some connection to the assimilation pattern.

TABLE XXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN EVALUATING  
JAPANESE LANGUAGE BY RELIGION  
AND GENERATION

Evaluation	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BIY	CIY	T	B	C	T
Of no value	4	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	4
Of cultural value only	3	2	6	8	3	13	16	5	19	24
Not necessary but useful	2	12	12	24	13	10	23	25	22	47
Very necessary	1	10	6	16	8	1	9	18	7	25
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		44	52	96	47	64	111	91	116	

TABLE XXIV  
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN EVALUATING  
JAPANESE LANGUAGE BY RELIGION  
AND GENERATION

Evaluation	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Of no value	50	50	100	50	50	100	50	50	100
Of cultural value only	25	75	100	19	81	100	21	79	100
Not necessary but useful	50	50	100	57	43	100	53	47	100
Very necessary	63	37	100	89	11	100	72	28	100

Among the Issei, 23 in the Buddhist group (92 per cent of the total Buddhist Issei) and 19 in the Christian group (76 per cent) would like their children to learn the Japanese language. In the Nisei groups there are 18 Buddhists (72 per cent) and 14 Christians (56 per cent) who wish them to do so.

TABLE XXV  
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WISHING THEIR CHILDREN  
TO LEARN JAPANESE, BY RELIGION  
AND GENERATION

Expectation	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
None	3	1	2	3	2	1	3	3	3	6
Up to children	2	0	2	2	4	5	9	4	7	11
Children expected to learn	1	23	19	42	18	14	32	41	33	74
Not applicable	0	1	2	3	1	5	6	2	7	9
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		26	29	55	32	27	59	58	56	

On the whole, a high proportion of the people (74 per cent of the total) wish their children to learn Japanese, but in both the Issei and Nisei groups, more Buddhists wish their children to learn Japanese than Christians. Here also, we can see some relationship with religion.

TABLE XXVI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WISHING THEIR  
CHILDREN TO LEARN JAPANESE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Expectation	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
None	33	67	100	67	33	100	50	50	100
Up to children	0	100	100	44	56	100	36	64	100
Children expected to learn	55	45	100	56	44	100	55	44	100

In regard to usage of name and language, it is felt that there is a definite relationship between religion and assimilation pattern. All questions regarding this factor except one, "use of the name," show that the Christians have tendencies to a higher degree of assimilation in American ways than the Buddhists.

Food habits. In the process of assimilation or acculturation, some habits or customs are easy to assimilate while others take a considerably longer time to change. Melford E. Spiro explains this fact in his paper thus:

If early experiences are of crucial importance, one could predict that in acculturation, the characteristics acquired in late life could be least resistant, while those acquired in early life would be more resistant, to acculturative forces. Food patterns, for example, seem to be among them most resistant to acculturate.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Melford E. Spiro, "The Acculturation of American Ethnic Groups," American Anthropologist, LVII (December, 1955), 1250.

Therefore the examination of food pattern and eating habits of the Japanese-Americans suggests the examination of their resistance to assimilation.

Eating rice (Question 38) is part of the typical Oriental diet. In Japan, many people eat rice three times a day, just as Americans eat bread at almost every meal. This habit is still kept among most Japanese-Americans, to a great degree.

The majority of people in the sample (87 per cent of the total) eat rice at least once a day; 23 in the Buddhist Issei group (92 per cent of the total), 22 in the Christian Issei (88 per cent), and 21 in both Buddhist and Christian Nisei (84 per cent).

TABLE XXVII

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS  
OF FREQUENCY OF EATING RICE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Frequency of eating rice	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Almost never	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Sometimes	2	1	1	2	2	4	6	3	5	8
Once or twice a day	1	23	22	45	21	21	42	44	43	87
Three times a day	0	1	1	2	2	0	2	3	1	4
Total		25	23	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		25	24	49	23	25	48	48	48	

TABLE XXVIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS  
OF FREQUENCY OF EATING RICE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Frequency of eating rice	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Almost never	0	100	100	0	0	0	0	100	100
Sometimes	50	50	100	33	67	100	38	62	100
Once or twice a day	51	49	100	100	0	100	51	49	100
Three times a day	50	50	100	100	0	100	75	25	100

There is almost no difference relative to eating rice between the Buddhist and the Christian groups, both in the Issei and the Nisei groups. Religious identification does not seem to be related to the assimilation pattern in this respect.

The practice of offering Japanese food to Japanese guests (Question 39) and the family preference for Japanese food (Question 40) could also be used as a measurement of the resistance or hindrance to assimilation. In both the Issei and the Nisei groups, there are more people who offer to their Japanese guests American foods in the Christian group than in the Buddhist group, and there are more people who offer Japanese food in the Buddhist group than in the Christian. As a whole, the Christian groups show a higher rate of assimilation pattern than the Buddhist groups in this practice.

TABLE XXIX

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF  
FOOD OFFERING TO JAPANESE GUESTS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Food offered	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American food	3	2	4	6	2	7	9	4	11	15
Mixed	2	6	7	13	13	12	25	19	19	38
Japanese food	1	17	14	31	10	6	16	27	20	47
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		35	40	75	42	51	93	77	91	

TABLE XXX

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF  
FOOD OFFERING TO JAPANESE GUESTS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Food offered	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American food	33	67	100	22	78	100	27	73	100
Mixed	45	55	100	52	48	100	50	50	100
Japanese food	55	45	100	62	38	100	57	43	100

With regard to family preference for food, in both Issei and Nisei groups the Buddhists show slightly higher rates of preference of Japanese food than the Christians. Religion may also have relationship to this aspect of the assimilation pattern.

TABLE XXXI

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS  
OF FAMILY PREFERENCE FOR FOOD  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Food preferred by family	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BBI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American food	3	11	12	23	5	4	9	16	16	32
No difference	2	7	7	14	16	20	36	23	27	50
Japanese food	1	7	5	12	4	1	5	11	6	17
Not applicable	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		54	55	109	51	53	104	105	108	

TABLE XXXII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS  
OF FAMILY PREFERENCE FOR FOOD  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Food preferred by family	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American food	48	52	100	55	45	100	50	50	100
No difference	50	50	100	45	55	100	46	54	100
Japanese food	58	42	100	80	20	100	65	35	100

The use of "hashi" (chop sticks) for eating (Question 41) is a prevalent Japanese practice. Therefore, the frequency of using "hashi" would be an indication of keeping Japanese customs and of an absence of assimilation to the American culture.

Among the Issei groups, 24 in the Buddhist group (96 per cent) and 21 in the Christian group (84 per cent) use "hashi" always. In Nisei groups, there are 13 (52 per cent) in the Buddhist group who use "hashi" always, while there

are 8 (32 per cent) in the Christian group. It is felt that there exists some relationship between religion and people's way in keeping Japanese customs.

TABLE XXXIII

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF FREQUENCY  
OF USING "HASHI" BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Frequency of using "hashi"	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BI	CI	T	B	C	T
Never	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Sometimes	2	1	31	4	4	12	16	5	15	20
Usually	1	0	1	1	7	5	12	7	6	13
Always	0	24	21	45	13	8	21	37	29	66
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		2	7	9	18	29	47	20	36	

TABLE XXXIV

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF FREQUENCY  
OF USING "HASHI" BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Frequency of using "hashi"	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BI	CI	T	B	C	T
Never	0	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100
Sometimes	25	75	100	25	75	100	25	75	100
Usually	0	100	100	58	42	100	54	46	100
Always	53	47	100	52	38	100	56	44	100

So far as food patterns and eating habits are concerned, although there is not a great distinction between the Buddhists and the Christians, except for "the frequency of eating rice," the Buddhists have a tendency to keep Japanese ways more frequently than the Christians. It could be said that there is a definite relationship between religion and assimilation patterns in food habits.



Holidays and Festivals. The customs attached to the celebrations of holidays and memorials in a culture can signify the attachment of the people to that culture. Therefore, the degree to which Japanese-Americans still celebrate Japanese holidays and memorials could be an indication of their degree of attachment to Japanese culture-habits.

New Year's Day is one of the largest celebrations in Japan (Question 33). It is a celebration of the beginning of the year, and people in Japan join in this festive occasion regardless of religious differences. In Japan the first three days of the year are official holidays. Special food and drinks are prepared and people relax and enjoy themselves during these days.

Bon and Higan (Question 32) are strictly Buddhist festivals in memory of the ancestors, although many non-Buddhists also celebrate these days in Japan. In Buddhist temples, ceremonies are performed in commemoration of the ancestors, many people visit their ancestors' graves, and special foods are prepared.

Among the Christians, there are 3 Issei and 3 Nisei who do not celebrate any Japanese holidays and festivals. There is only one in the Buddhist Nisei group, and none in the Buddhist Issei group who do not celebrate Japanese festivals. The majority of the Christians celebrate only New Year's Day, which is not a religious holiday. Most of the Buddhists, both Issei and Nisei, celebrate Bon and Higan besides New Year's Day.

In this aspect, religion and the custom of keeping Japanese holidays have a close relationship, as might be expressed in the core of religious holidays.

TABLE XXXV

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
JAPANESE HOLIDAYS AND MEMORIALS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Japanese holidays	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
None	4	0	3	3	1	3	4	1	6	7
Only New Year's	3	2	21	23	2	21	23	4	42	46
New Year's, Bon, and Higan	2	17	0	17	19	0	19	36	0	36
New Year's, Bon, Higan, and others	1	6	1	7	3	1	4	9	2	11
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		46	76	122	51	76	125	97	152	

TABLE XXXVI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
JAPANESE HOLIDAYS AND MEMORIALS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Japanese holidays	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
None	0	100	100	25	75	100	13	87	100
Only New Year's	9	91	100	9	91	100	9	91	100
New Year's, Bon, and Higan	100	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100
New Year's, Bon, Higan and others	86	14	100	75	25	100	82	18	100

The majority of the people, 88 per cent of the total sample, celebrate New Year's Day in a Japanese way--for example, preparing some special foods, family gathering, visiting friends, etc. In the Issei groups, more Buddhists celebrate New Year's Day in a Japanese way than Christians. In the Nisei groups, more Christians celebrate it in a Japanese way. It seems there is no relation between religion and the celebration of New Year's Day in a Japanese way.

TABLE XXXVII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
NEW YEAR'S DAY IN JAPANESE WAYS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Celebration of New Year's Day	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Do not celebrate in a Japanese way	2	0	4	4	5	3	8	5	7	12
Do celebrate in a Japanese way	1	25	21	46	20	22	42	45	53	88
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		0	8	8	10	6	16	10	14	

TABLE XXXVIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
NEW YEAR'S DAY IN A JAPANESE WAY  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Celebration of New Year's Day	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Do not celebrate in a Japanese way	0	100	100	63	37	100	38	62	100
Do celebrate in a Japanese way	56	44	100	48	52	100	52	48	100

If celebration of the Japanese holidays and memorials is a negative element in assimilation to the American culture, the celebration of the Christian and American holidays (Question 34) should be a positive aspect in the assimilation to American culture and customs. Some holidays are celebrated by the Japanese-American without emphasizing their religious meaning (Christmas, for example), but simply as a custom.

Holidays listed in the question were Christmas, Thanksgiving Day, Easter,

Independence Day, and Memorial Day. In both the Issei and the Nisei groups, all Christians celebrate all listed Christian and American holidays, while 62 per cent of the total Buddhists celebrate them. All the rest of the Buddhists except one Nisei celebrate some of the holidays.

TABLE XXXIX

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
CHRISTIAN AND AMERICAN HOLIDAYS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Christian and American holidays	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
All listed holidays or more	2	15	25	40	16	25	41	31	50	81
Some listed holidays	1	10	0	10	8	0	8	18	0	18
None	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		40	50	90	40	50	90	80	100	

TABLE XL

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
CHRISTIAN AND AMERICAN HOLIDAYS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Christian and American holidays	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
All listed holidays or more	35	65	100	31	69	100	33	67	100
Some listed holidays	100	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100
None	0	0	0	100	0	100	100	0	100

It is easily recognized that religion and assimilation in terms of celebration of the Christian and American holidays are closely interrelated.

In conclusion, it is quite clear from all the data on festival celebrations

that there is an evident relationship between religion and the celebration of holidays, especially since some of these holidays and festivals (such as Christmas and Easter, Bon and Higan) are directly connected with religion.

Social Contact and Activities. Social contacts and social activities are most important elements in the process of assimilation. Because these are the aspects of direct contact and communication for the Japanese-Americans with the general society.

The choice of family doctor (Question 36) and dentist (Question 37) could have implications for the dimension of the social contact with the general culture. In both the Issei and the Nisei groups, the number of people who go to American doctors are equal. There are, however, more Buddhists who go to Japanese doctors than Christians. In this respect it could be said that there is some relation between religion and choice of a doctor.

TABLE XLI

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF  
CHOICE OF FAMILY DOCTOR BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Doctor	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BI	CI	T	B	C	T
American	3	12	12	24	11	11	22	23	23	46
Both Japanese and American	2	2	7	9	2	6	8	4	13	17
Japanese	1	9	4	13	11	6	17	20	10	30
Other nationality	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	2
None, because none necessary	0	2	2	4	0	1	1	2	3	5
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		49	54	103	48	51	99	97	105	

TABLE XLII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS  
OF CHOICE OF FAMILY DOCTOR BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Doctor	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American	50	50	100	50	50	100	50	50	100
Both American and Japanese	22	78	100	25	75	100	29	71	100
Japanese	69	31	100	65	35	100	67	33	100

Where dentists are concerned, there are no important differences between the Buddhist group and the Christian group in both Issei and Nisei.

TABLE XLIII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF CHOICE  
OF DENTIST BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Dentist	WW	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American	3	5	3	8	3	4	7	8	7	15
Both American and Japanese	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Japanese	1	20	20	40	21	20	41	41	40	81
Other nationality	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0
None, because none necessary	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		35	29	64	32	32	64	67	61	

TABLE XLIV

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF CHOICE  
OF DENTIST BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Dentist	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American	63	37	100	43	57	100	53	47	100
Both American and Japanese	0	0	0	100	0	100	100	0	100
Japanese	50	50	100	51	49	100	51	49	100

In comparing doctors and dentists to whom Japanese-Americans in this study go, 46 per cent of the total sample go to American doctors while 30 per cent go to Japanese doctors. As for dentists, 81 per cent of the total sample go to Japanese dentists while 15 per cent go to American dentists. The main reason for this difference is, according to the opinions of the respondents, there are not too many doctors of Japanese descent in Chicago, while there are quite a few Japanese dentists, especially Nisei, in Chicago.

Participation in organizations or clubs of any kind (including religious, social, business, and recreational) for the Japanese people indicates their in-group relationship among Japanese-Americans. Participation in organizations or clubs for integrated groups (with Americans in general, but also with people of other nationalities) involves relationships with the out-group. Both are important elements in the process of assimilation, because these activities are indices of their interests and also their acceptance by the community.

As for participation in Japanese groups (Question 42), for both Issei and Nisei, the Buddhists and the Christians show almost the same patterns. Religion does not seem to have any connection with this aspect.

TABLE XLV

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF PARTICIPATION  
IN ORGANIZATIONS OR CLUBS FOR JAPANESE  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Participation	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BI <sup>W</sup>	CI <sup>W</sup>	T	B	C	T
None	4	1	0	1	5	6	11	6	6	12
Support only	3	3	3	6	3	3	6	6	6	12
Attend 1 to 4 organizations	2	20	22	42	16	16	32	36	38	74
Attend 5 or more organizations	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	2
Total		25	25 <sup>W</sup>	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		44	53	97	62	65	127	106	118	

TABLE XLVI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF PARTICIPATION  
IN ORGANIZATIONS OR CLUBS FOR JAPANESE  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Participation	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BI <sup>W</sup>	CI <sup>W</sup>	T	B	C	T
None	100	0	100	46	54	100	50	50	100
Support only	50	50	100	50	50	100	50	50	100
Attend 1 to 4 organizations	48	52	100	50	50	100	49	51	100
Attend 5 or more organizations	100	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100

So far as participation in organizations and clubs for integrated groups is concerned (Question 43), both in the Issei and the Nisei groups, assimilation patterns of the Buddhist and the Christian people are more or less similar. Again there does not seem to be any relation between religion and assimilation pattern relative to organizational membership.



TABLE XLVII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF PARTICIPATION  
IN ORGANIZATIONS OR CLUBS FOR INTEGRATED  
GROUPS BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Participation	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Attend 5 or more organizations	4	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Attend 2 or more organizations	3	0	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	5
Attend one organization	2	3	3	6	7	10	17	10	13	23
No participation	0	22	20	42	15	14	29	37	34	71
Total		25	23	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		26	24	30	12	23	35	18	47	

TABLE XLVIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF PARTICIPATION  
IN ORGANIZATIONS OR CLUBS FOR INTEGRATED  
GROUPS BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Participation	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Attend 5 or more organizations	0	0	0	100	0	100	100	0	100
Attend 2 or more organizations	0	100	100	67	33	100	40	60	100
Attend one organization	50	50	100	41	59	100	43	57	100
No participation	52	48	100	52	48	100	51	49	100

As a whole, the participation of Japanese-Americans in integrated groups is largely non-existent. Seventy-one per cent of the total sample do not participate in any organization of such kind, while only 12 per cent of the total do not participate in groups or organizations for the Japanese people.

Personal contact outside the job (Question 44) and personal closest friend of the sample (Question 45) show the dimension and limitation of the social contact of the sample, and therefore, they can be used as a possible index of the degree of assimilation.

In regard to personal contact, the Buddhist Iseii and the Christian Iseii again show exactly the same pattern. The difference between the Buddhist Nisei and the Christian Nisei does not appear to be important either.

TABLE XLIX

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF  
PERSONAL CONTACT OUTSIDE JOB BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Personal contact	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Mostly American	3	1	1	2	2	3	5	3	4	7
American and										
Japanese equally	2	1	1	2	4	4	8	5	5	10
Mostly Japanese	1	23	23	46	19	18	37	42	41	83
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		28	28	56	33	35	68	61	63	

TABLE L

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF  
PERSONAL CONTACT OUTSIDE JOB BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Personal contact	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Mostly American	50	50	100	40	60	100	43	57	100
American and									
Japanese equally	50	50	100	50	50	100	50	50	100
Mostly Japanese	50	50	100	51	49	100	51	49	100

Religion and assimilation pattern do not seem to have any differential relationship in this aspect of social contact.

In selection of closest personal friend, the assimilation patterns of Buddhists and Christians are also very much alike in both the Issei and the Nisei. It seems that religion does not relate to the choice of the closest personal friend.

TABLE LI

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF CLOSEST PERSONAL  
FRIEND BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Closest friend	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American	4	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	2	2
Both American and Japanese	3	0	0	0	2	1	3	2	1	3
Japanese	1	24	25	49	22	21	43	46	46	92
None	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	1	1	2
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		28	25	53	26	31	57	54	56	

TABLE LII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF CLOSEST  
PERSONAL FRIEND BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Closest friend	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American	100	0	100	0	100	100	33	67	100
Both American and Japanese	0	0	0	67	33	100	67	33	100
Japanese	49	51	100	51	49	100	50	50	100

As a whole, 83 per cent of the total population have more identification with Japanese friends than with the Americans outside their jobs. Ninety-two

per cent of the total sample chose a Japanese as closest personal friend. It can be said that Japanese-Americans still have strong in-group attitudes in many respects and are not differentiated in their minimal contact with other Americans by either religion or generation.

Marriage Type and Attitude Toward Inter-marriage. In the process of assimilation, amalgamation--crossing of racial and ethnic traits through inter-marriage--is generally recognized as the final stage. This is true because through intermarriage children can receive both biological and cultural traits from parents.

Among the Japanese immigrants, the rate of intermarriage with Americans has been very low.<sup>7</sup> One main reason, of course, is the difference between the Japanese and the American cultures. Simon Marcson claims:

Intermarriage occurs only when the attachment and loyalties to native customs, language, and culture were of insufficient strength to restrict fusion with out-groups.

Bradford Smith also pointed out that the Nisei on the coast had strong prejudice against mixed marriage.<sup>9</sup>

Of all 100 respondents, only one person, a Male Christian Nisei, married an American woman. (Question 47). All the rest (except the four single men) are married either to a Japanese-American or a Japanese woman who came from Japan. Although this sample is somewhat selective, it gives evidence that

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<sup>7</sup> Constantine Panunzio, "Intermarriage in Los Angeles; 1924-1933," American Journal of Sociology, XLVII (March, 1942), 674; Forrest LaViolett, American of Japanese Ancestry (Toronto, 1945), p. 122; E. S. Uyeki, "Process and Patterns of Nisei Adjustment to Chicago," Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1953), p. 133.

<sup>8</sup> Simon Marcson, "Theory of Intermarriage and Assimilation," Social Forces, XXIX (October, 1950), p. 75.

<sup>9</sup> Bradford Smith, American from Japan (New York, 1948), p. 256.

intermarriage is still rare among Japanese-Americans. No generational or religious differences can be seen in this aspect. If intermarriage is necessary for a complete form of assimilation, the Japanese-Americans are still far away from this form. But as Marcson says, intermarriage is not a necessary index of assimilation. A group may become assimilated "without showing a high rate of intermarriage."<sup>10</sup>

TABLE LIII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF RACE  
AND NATIONALITY OF THEIR WIVES  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Nationality of wife	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
Japanese-American of Japanese	0	25	24	49	25	21	46	50	45	95
Other nationality	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Not applicable	0	0	1	1	0	3	3	0	4	4
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		0	0	0	0	4	4	0	4	

TABLE LIV

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF RACE  
AND NATIONALITY OF THEIR WIVES  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Nationality of wife	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American	0	0	0	0	100	100	0	100	100
Japanese-American or Japanese	51	49	100	55	45	100	53	47	100

<sup>10</sup> Marcson, p. 78.

The manner in which people get married (Question 48) is quite different in Japan and in America. Despite some changes in marriage pattern in Japan today, marriages traditionally were arranged by parents through a match-maker. Seventy-six per cent of the Buddhist Issei and 81 per cent of the Christian Issei were married in this way. There are 8 persons in the Buddhist Nisei group (32 per cent) and 2 persons in the Christian Nisei group (8 per cent) whose marriages were arranged by match-makers.

TABLE LV

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY MARRIAGE PARTNER  
SELECTION BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Type of marriage	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Not arranged by matchmaker	2	6	3	9	17	20	37	23	23	46
Arranged by matchmaker	0	19	21	40	8	2	10	27	23	50
Not applicable	0	0	1	1	0	3	3	0	4	4
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		12	6	18	34	40	74	46	46	

TABLE LVI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS BY MARRIAGE PARTNER  
SELECTION BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Type of marriage	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Not arranged by matchmaker	67	33	100	46	54	100	50	50	100
Arranged by matchmaker	47	53	100	80	20	100	54	46	100

Religion was not related to this type of marriage partner selection among the Issei, but it has some relationship among the Nisei groups.

Not only the actual marriage, but also the attitude and acceptance of intermarriage can be a measurement of assimilation, because those attitudes are likely to be a reflection of attachment to and evaluation of a cultural value. With regard to parents' reaction to intermarriage (Question 50), there are 2 persons in the Christian Issei group who said that if they had married American women, their parents would agree willingly, while there is none in the Buddhist group. Four persons in the Buddhist Issei group claimed that their parents would never allow intermarriage, while only one of the Christians answered in this vein. Thus, there is some evidence that slightly more parents of the Christian Issei would accept intermarriage than those of the Buddhist group. Interestingly, among the Nisei groups, there are more parents in the Christian group than in the Buddhist who would disapprove of intermarriage, though not oppose it. The difference between the Buddhists and the Christians is much smaller among Nisei than among Issei.

TABLE LVII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF PARENTS  
REACTION TO INTERMARRIAGE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Parents' reaction	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Agree willingly	4	0	2	2	1	2	3	1	4	5
Agree, but not willingly	3	5	6	11	7	3	10	12	9	21
Disapprove, but not oppose	2	5	4	9	7	12	19	12	16	28
Oppose strongly	1	11	12	23	9	8	17	20	20	40
Never allow	0	4	1	5	1	0	1	5	1	6
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		36	46	82	48	49	97	84	95	

TABLE LVIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF  
PARENTS REACTION TO INTERMARRIAGE  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Parents' reaction	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BI	CI	T	B	C	T
Agree willingly	0	100	100	33	67	100	20	80	100
Agree, but not willingly	55	45	100	70	30	100	57	43	100
Disapprove, but not oppose	55	45	100	37	63	100	43	57	100
Oppose strongly	48	52	100	53	47	100	50	50	100
Never allow	80	20	100	100	0	100	83	17	100

Among the Issei groups, there are more Christians than Buddhists who would agree to their children's intermarriage willingly (Question 51). There are 3 in the Buddhist group who strongly oppose such marriage, while there is only one in the Christian group. Thus, the Christian group may be a little more accepting of their children's intermarriage than the Buddhist group. For the Nisei groups, the Buddhists show a little higher degree of acceptance of children's intermarriage than the Christian group, and at the same time a higher degree of opposition to it.

Again, religion might have some relation to respondents' reaction to children's intermarriage among the Issei, but not among the Nisei.



TABLE LIX

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF REACTION  
TO CHILDREN'S INTERMARRIAGE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Reaction to children's intermarriage	N	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Agree willingly	4	5	8	13	5	5	10	10	13	23
Agree but not willingly	3	10	9	19	15	12	27	25	21	46
Disapprove but not oppose	2	6	5	11	1	1	2	7	6	13
Oppose strongly	1	3	1	4	2	1	3	5	2	7
Never allow	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	2
Not applicable	0	0	2	2	1	6	7	1	8	9
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		65	70	135	69	59	128	134	129	

TABLE LX

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF REACTION  
TO CHILDREN'S INTERMARRIAGE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Reaction to children's intermarriage	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Agree willingly	38	62	100	50	50	100	43	57	100
Agree but not willingly	53	47	100	56	44	100	54	46	100
Disapprove but not oppose	55	45	100	50	50	100	54	46	100
Oppose strongly	75	25	100	67	33	100	71	29	100
Never allow	100	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100

In general, the differences between the Buddhists and the Christians do not seem to be significant in their social contact and social activities with non-Japanese. Slight differences between the two religious groups can be seen only in the choice of family doctor. For all other aspects of social behavior studied, choice of dentist, participation in both Japanese and integrated

groups, personal contact and closest friend, the data showed similar assimilation patterns in both Buddhist and Christian groups. With regard to attitudes toward intermarriage, some differences are recognized between the Buddhist group and the Christian group among the Issei, but not among the Nisei. Perhaps both religious groups in the second generation are equally aware of the social stigma and problems associated with racial intermarriage.

Loyalty to Japan. The term loyalty to country usually refers to the faithfulness and attachment to one's own country, state, or government. This term, however, is used in this study not in a nationalistic sense, but rather to indicate a cultural attachment, a close relationship to the customs and values of one's native land or the native land of one's parents.

It is not necessary to discuss American citizenship among the Nisei, but for the Issei possession of American citizenship has some connection with assimilation (Question 7). Naturalization was generally not permitted the Issei in the United States until 1952. It follows, therefore, that most of the Issei got their American citizenship after 1952. Eight in the Buddhist group (32 per cent) and 6 in the Christian group (24 per cent) still do not have American citizenship. The fact that they did not get citizenship when they could have, seems to indicate some resistance to the forces which tend to encourage assimilation to the American community. Only a slight relationship between religion and citizenship, however, is noted.

TABLE LXI

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS HAVING AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Citizenship	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American since birth	4	0	0	0	25	25	50	25	25	50
American before 1952	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
American since 1952	1	16	19	35	0	0	0	16	19	35
Aliens	0	8	6	14	0	0	0	8	6	14
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		18	19	37	100	100	200	118	119	

TABLE LXII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS HAVING AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Citizenship	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American since birth	0	0	0	50	50	100	50	50	100
American before 1952	100	0	100	0	0	0	100	0	100
American since 1952	46	54	100	0	0	0	46	54	100
Alien	57	43	100	0	0	0	57	43	100

The degree to which Japanese-Americans feel loyalty to Japan as his or his parents' native country (question 54) could be a possible index of assimilation. It seem logical that the more one would feel loyalty to Japan, the less one would assimilate to the American culture, either consciously or unconsciously. There is very little difference between the Buddhist and the Christian groups among the Issei in loyalty toward Japan. Among the Nisei group, however, the Buddhists seem to have much closer ties with Japanese culture than the Christians.

TABLE LXIII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF  
DEGREE OF LOYALTY TOWARD JAPAN  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Loyalty to Japan	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
No loyalty	4	1	2	3	11	17	28	12	19	31
Some loyalty	2	10	7	17	11	7	18	21	14	35
Strong loyalty	0	14	16	30	3	1	4	17	17	34
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		24	22	46	66	82	148	90	104	

TABLE LXIV

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF  
DEGREE OF LOYALTY TOWARD JAPAN  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Loyalty to Japan	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
No loyalty	33	67	100	39	61	100	39	61	100
Some loyalty	59	41	100	61	39	100	60	40	100
Strong loyalty	47	51	100	75	25	100	50	50	100

As a whole, the Buddhist group has higher loyalty toward Japan than the Christian group. Religion and degree of loyalty at least among the Nisei seems to have some relationship.

The degree to which Japanese-Americans expect their children to understand and evaluate Japanese culture (Question 55) could be a good criterion for measuring assimilation. Among the Issei groups, the Christians have a slightly higher degree of expectation for their children in understanding Japanese culture, while the reverse is true among the Nisei. It seems that religion and

the expectation of having children understand Japanese culture have no clear-cut relationship.

TABLE LXV

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF DEGREE  
OF EXPECTATION THAT CHILDREN WILL  
UNDERSTAND JAPANESE CULTURE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Expectation	W	1st. gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
None	3	8	3	11	0	1	1	8	4	12
Some	2	7	12	19	16	14	30	23	26	49
Maximum	1	8	9	17	8	4	12	16	13	29
Not applicable	0	2	1	3	1	6	7	3	7	10
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		46	42	88	40	35	75	86	77	

TABLE LXVI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF DEGREE  
OF EXPECTATION THAT CHILDREN WILL  
UNDERSTAND JAPANESE CULTURE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Expectation	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
None	73	27	100	0	100	100	67	33	100
Some	37	63	100	53	47	100	47	53	100
Maximum	47	53	100	67	33	100	55	45	100
Not applicable	67	33	100	14	86	100	30	70	100

Attitude toward Japanese and American Culture. Attitude toward Japanese culture and American culture is, as in the case of loyalty, a reflection of the respondents' evaluation and attachment to these cultures. Consequently, it is an important index of the measurement of assimilation.

Among the Issei, 5 persons in the Christian group (20 per cent) feel that American culture is closer to them (Question 52), while only 2 in the Buddhist group (8 per cent) feel so. In the Nisei groups, 16 Christian Nisei (64 per cent) think that American culture is closer to them, but only 4 in the Buddhist group (16 per cent). On the contrary 13 in the Buddhist Nisei (52 per cent) feel that Japanese culture is closer to them while only 4 (16 per cent) in the Christian group claim the same.

TABLE LXVII  
NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF PREFERENCE  
OF CULTURE TO WHICH THEY FEEL CLOSER  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Closer culture	W	1st. gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American	4	2	5	7	4	16	20	6	21	27
American and	2	3	1	4	8	5	13	11	6	17
Japanese equally	1	20	19	29	13	4	17	33	23	56
Japanese										
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		34	41	75	45	78	123	79	119	

TABLE LXVIII  
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF PREFERENCE  
OF CULTURE TO WHICH THEY FEEL CLOSER  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Closer culture	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
American	29	71	100	20	80	100	22	78	100
American and	75	25	100	62	38	100	65	35	100
Japanese equally	58	42	100	76	24	100	59	41	100
Japanese									

Both in the Issei and the Nisei groups, the Christians have a higher

degree of attachment to the American culture than the Buddhists. It is very clear in this response that religion is closely related to the assimilation pattern.

The cultural attachment is often reflected in the furnishings and decorations of peoples' homes. The Buddhist Issei and the Christian Issei are very similar in decorating their homes in Japanese motif (Question 35). Among the Nisei however, more people in the Buddhist group decorate their homes in the Japanese way than is true for the Christian group. Religion shows some slight relation with this factor at least in the Nisei groups.

TABLE LXIX

NUMBER OF THE RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF FURNISHING AND  
DECORATION OF THEIR HOME WHICH REFLECT JAPANESE  
CULTURE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Japanese furnishings	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
None	2	4	5	9	3	5	8	7	10	17
Some	1	17	17	34	17	20	37	34	37	71
Very much	0	4	3	7	5	0	5	9	3	12
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		25	27	52	23	30	53	48	57	

TABLE LXX

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF FURNISHING AND  
DECORATION OF THEIR HOME WHICH REFLECT JAPANESE  
CULTURE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Japanese furnishings	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
None	44	56	100	37	63	100	41	59	100
Some	50	50	100	46	54	100	48	52	100
Very much	57	43	100	100	0	100	75	52	100

The American and the Japanese cultures (ways of life) differ in so many ways that differential assimilation might be evident in the degree of uneasiness or inconsistency between the two cultures felt by a Japanese-American. The closer one is attached to the American culture, the smaller the degree of uneasiness or inconsistency that should be experienced (Question 53). In both Issei and Nisei groups, more Buddhists experienced this kind of uneasiness than Christians, and there are more people in the Christian groups than in the Buddhist who have never had such experience. Religion and the experience of uneasiness between two cultures seem to relate to each other.

TABLE LXXI

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF EXPERIENCE  
OF UNEASINESS BETWEEN TWO CULTURES  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Experience of uneasiness	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Never	4	10	13	23	12	16	28	22	29	51
Seldom	3	2	1	3	4	5	9	6	6	12
Sometimes	2	9	7	16	8	4	12	17	11	28
Often	1	4	3	7	1	0	1	5	3	8
Always	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		68	72	140	77	87	164	145	159	



TABLE LXXII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF EXPERIENCE  
OF UNEASINESS BETWEEN TWO CULTURES  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Experience of uneasiness	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
Never	43	57	100	43	57	100	43	57	100
Seldom	33	67	100	44	56	100	50	50	100
Sometimes	56	44	100	67	33	100	61	39	100
Often	57	43	100	100	0	100	63	37	100
Always	0	100	100	0	0	0	0	100	100

Another criterion of assimilation is the intent of the immigrant to return to his native country to live (Question 56). No important differences between the Buddhist group and the Christian group in either Issei or Nisei are evident. Religion and the plan to return to Japan do not seem to be inter-related.

TABLE LXXIII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO PLAN TO RETURN  
TO JAPAN BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Intention to return to Japan	W	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
		BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
No intention	2	21	19	40	23	24	47	44	43	87
Undecided	1	3	4	7	2	1	3	5	5	10
Intention to return	0	1	2	3	0	0	0	1	2	3
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		45	42	87	48	49	97	93	91	

TABLE LXXIV

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO PLAN TO RETURN  
TO JAPAN BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Intention to return to Japan	1st gen.			2nd gen.			Total		
	BI	CI	T	BII	CII	T	B	C	T
No intention	52	48	100	49	51	100	51	49	100
Undecided	52	48	100	67	33	100	50	50	100
Intention to return	33	67	100	0	0	0	33	67	100

In summarizing responses relative to loyalty toward Japan, it is felt that there is a slight relationship between religion and possession of citizenship, loyalty toward Japan and expectation that children should understand Japanese culture, with the Christian groups more assimilated than the Buddhist groups.

In the attitude toward Japanese and American culture, the Christians also seem to be more positively related to American culture in all aspects except the plan to return to Japan. This attitude can be seen clearly in the response to the cultural-identification of the Japanese-Americans, especially among the Nisei groups. It is also reflected in the experience of less uneasiness, and less furnishing and decoration in a Japanese motif in the Christian homes.

In conclusion, the data of this chapter showed that there are definite relationships between religion and degree of assimilation among the Japanese-Americans. In most aspects--usage of name and language, food habits, holidays and festivals, loyalty toward Japan, and attitude toward the Japanese and the American cultures--the Christians showed a higher degree of assimilation to American customs and culture than the Buddhists.

Unexpectedly, the data revealed that there are no important differences between the Buddhists and the Christians in their assimilation pattern in re-

gard to their social contacts and social activities, and in the selection of a wife. All of these showed a low degree of assimilation generally. Conceivably, some other factor besides religious difference, such as strong social constraints on social interaction, might affect these aspects of the assimilation pattern.

## CHAPTER IV

### COMPARISON BETWEEN THE FIRST GENERATION AND THE SECOND GENERATION

In the previous chapter a comparison was made between the Buddhists and the Christians of Japanese-American descent in Chicago in regard to the degree of assimilation to the American culture. It was shown that, in many respects, these two groups display different assimilation patterns relative to accepting American ways and customs or in keeping Japanese ways and customs. Yet in some aspects they are very similar. It can be said that the Christian religion is in general but not always related positively to assimilation to the American culture. Actually, the differences between these two religious groups, though they exist, were not as great as one might have expected.

In this chapter a comparison will be made between the first generation, Issei, and the second generation, Nisei, regardless of religious differences. As already mentioned in the hypothesis, it is to be expected that the second generation Japanese-Americans, born in this country, would evince assimilation to the American culture to a greater degree than the first generation of Japanese-Americans, who were born and raised in Japan. The purpose of this chapter is to discover to what extent these generational differences can be observed and shown to affect the assimilation process. The comparisons will be made on the basis of the same factors considered in the previous chapter and in the same order.

Use of Name and Language. In regard to the possession of American and Japanese names (Question 18a), no Issei has only an American name, while there are 4 in the Nisei group. There are 23 people in the Issei group (46 per cent of all the Issei) who have only a Japanese name, compared with 10 (20 per cent) in the Nisei group. Generational difference is important here, and this difference is greater in the Buddhist group than in the Christian group.

TABLE LXXV

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS HAVING JAPANESE NAME OR  
AMERICAN NAME OR BOTH, BY RELIGION  
AND GENERATION

Possession of name	W	Buddhist			Christian			Total		
		I*	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American only	4	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	4	4
American first, Japanese middle	3	6	13	19	12	13	25	18	26	44
Japanese first, American middle	2	8	6	14	1	4	5	9	10	19
Japanese only	1	11	4	15	12	6	18	23	10	33
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		45	68	108	50	61	111	95	124	

\*I = 1st generation, II = 2nd generation.

TABLE LXXVI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS HAVING JAPANESE  
NAME OR AMERICAN NAME OR BOTH BY  
RELIGION AND BY GENERATION

Possession of name	Buddhist			Christian			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American only	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100	100
American first, Japanese middle	32	68	100	48	52	100	41	59	100
Japanese first American middle	57	43	100	20	80	100	47	53	100
Japanese only	73	27	100	67	33	100	70	30	100

In using American and Japanese names (Question 19), a great difference between generations is that more Nisei than Issei use the American name most often, whereas more Issei than Nisei use the Japanese name most often, in both the Buddhist and the Christian groups.

TABLE LXXVII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS USING AMERICAN OR JAPANESE  
NAME BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Use of names	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American used mostly	4	10	18	28	9	15	24	19	33	52
Japanese used mostly	2	4	1	5	4	2	6	8	3	11
Not applicable (having only one name)	0	11	6	17	12	8	20	23	14	37
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		48	74	122	44	64	108	93	138	

TABLE LXXVIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS USING AMERICAN OR JAPANESE  
NAME BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Use of names	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American used mostly	36	64	100	37	63	100	37	63	100
Japanese used mostly	80	20	100	67	33	100	73	27	100
Not applicable	65	35	100	60	40	100	62	38	100

The ability to use English (Question 21) is clearly differentiated between the Issei and the Nisei. Twenty-six Issei, 52 per cent, cannot read and write English well, though most of them can speak and understand it to some extent. All Nisei except two in the Buddhist group use English very well.

TABLE LXXIX

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF ENGLISH  
ABILITY BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

English ability	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
All* very good	4	0	23	23	5	25	30	23	30	53
All fairly good	3	6	2	8	11	0	11	8	11	19
All not so good	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	2
Cannot read or write, but speak and understand somewhat	1	18	0	18	8	0	8	18	8	26
None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		38	98	136	63	100	163	136	163	

\*All means ability to read, write, speak and understand.

TABLE LXXX

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF ENGLISH  
ABILITY BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

English ability	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
All very good	0	100	100	17	83	100	9	91	100
All fairly good	75	25	100	100	0	100	89	11	100
All not so good	100	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100
Cannot read or write but speak and understand somewhat	100	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100

Language usage at home (Question 22) shows a great difference between the Issei and the Nisei groups. In both the Buddhist and the Christian groups, the majority of Nisei (18, or 72 per cent, of the Buddhist Nisei and 24, or 96 per cent, of the Christian Nisei) use only English at home, while the majority of Issei (23, or 92 per cent of the Buddhist Issei, and 19, or 76 per cent, of the

Christian Issei) use only Japanese or mostly Japanese at home. The difference between the Issei and the Nisei is greater among the Buddhists than among the Christians.

TABLE LXXXI

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE  
USAGE AT HOME BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Language used at home	W	Buddhist			Christian			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
English only	4	0	9	9	0	12	12	0	21	21
Mostly English	3	0	9	9	2	12	14	2	21	23
Both equally	2	2	4	6	4	1	5	6	5	11
Mostly Japanese	1	6	3	9	11	0	11	17	3	20
Japanese only	0	17	0	17	8	0	8	25	0	25
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		10	74	84	25	86	111	35	160	

TABLE LXXXII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO LANGUAGE  
USAGE AT HOME BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Language used at home	Buddhist			Christian			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
English only	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100	100
Mostly English	0	100	100	18	82	100	9	91	100
Both equally	33	67	100	20	80	100	56	44	100
Mostly Japanese	67	33	100	100	0	100	85	15	100
Japanese only	100	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100

There is no great difference between the Buddhist Issei and the Buddhist Nisei relative to the evaluation of Japanese language in the United States (Question 24). Among the Christian groups, 6 persons in the Issei group (24 per cent) believe that the Japanese language is very necessary, while only one



(4 per cent) in the Nisei group thinks so. There are more people in the Nisei group who consider Japanese as having cultural value only than in the Issei group. The generational difference is greater among the Christian groups than among the Buddhists.

TABLE LXXXIII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO EVALUATION  
OF JAPANESE IN THE UNITED STATES  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Evaluation	W	Buddhist			Christian			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Of no value	4	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	4
Of cultural value only	3	2	3	5	6	13	19	8	16	24
Not necessary but useful	2	12	13	25	12	10	22	24	23	47
Very necessary	1	10	8	18	6	1	7	16	9	25
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		44	47	91	62	64	126	96	111	

TABLE LXXXIV

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO EVALUATION  
OF JAPANESE IN THE UNITED STATES BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Evaluation	Buddhist			Christian			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Of no value	50	50	100	50	50	100	50	50	100
Of cultural value only	40	60	100	32	68	100	33	67	100
Not necessary but useful	48	52	100	55	45	100	53	47	100
Very necessary	56	44	100	86	14	100	64	36	100

As for expressing the wish for children to learn the Japanese language, (Question 25), in both the Buddhist and the Christian groups there are more

people in the Issei groups who wish their children to learn Japanese than in Nisei groups. The evaluation of Japanese is higher among Issei than among Nisei.

TABLE LXXXV

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WISHING THEIR CHILDREN  
TO LEARN JAPANESE, BY RELIGION  
AND GENERATION

Expectation	W	Buddhist			Christian			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
None	3	1	2	3	2	1	3	3	3	6
Up to children	2	0	4	4	2	5	7	2	9	11
Children expected to learn	1	23	18	41	19	14	33	42	32	74
Not applicable	0	1	1	2	2	5	7	3	6	9
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		26	30	56	29	27	56	55	57	

TABLE LXXXVI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WISHING THEIR  
CHILDREN TO LEARN JAPANESE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Expectation	Buddhist			Christian			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
None	33	67	100	67	33	100	50	50	100
Up to children	0	100	100	29	71	100	19	82	100
Children expected to learn	56	44	100	58	42	100	57	43	100

In name and language usage, the generational differences are clearly related to assimilation differences. Interestingly, the generational differences are greater among the Buddhist groups than among the Christian groups, except in the evaluation of the use of Japanese in the United States.

**Food Habits.** Regarding the practice of eating rice (Question 38), the majority of the sample (90 per cent of the Issei and 84 per cent of the Nisei) eat rice at least once a day. No important generational difference can be seen in this regard.

TABLE LXXXVII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF  
EATING RICE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Frequency of eating rice	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Almost never	3	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Sometimes	2	1	2	3	1	4	5	2	6	8
Once or twice a day	1	23	21	44	22	21	43	45	42	87
Three times a day	0	1	2	3	1	0	1	2	2	4
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		25	23	48	24	25	49	48	49	

TABLE LXXXVIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF  
EATING RICE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Frequency of eating rice	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Almost never	0	0	0	100	0	100	100	0	100
Sometimes	33	67	100	20	80	100	25	75	100
Once or twice a day	53	47	100	51	49	100	52	48	100
Three times a day	33	67	100	100	0	100	50	50	100

On the other hand, in regard to food offered to Japanese guests, 31 Issei (62 per cent of the total Issei) offer Japanese food to their Japanese guests, whereas 16 Nisei (32 per cent) do so. Twenty-five, or 50 per cent, of the total Nisei offer their Japanese guests mixed (American and Japanese) food. Generational difference seems quite clear in this aspect.

TABLE LXXXIX

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF FOOD OFFERED TO  
JAPANESE GUESTS BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Food offered	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American food	3	2	2	4	4	7	11	6	9	5
Mixed	2	6	13	19	7	12	19	13	25	38
Japanese food	1	17	10	27	14	6	20	31	16	47
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		35	42	77	40	51	91	75	82	

TABLE XC

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF FOOD OFFERED TO  
JAPANESE GUESTS BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Food offered	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American food	30	50	100	36	64	100	40	60	100
Mixed	32	68	100	37	63	100	34	66	100
Japanese food	63	37	100	70	30	100	64	26	100

As for the preference of food (Question 40), in both the Buddhist and the Christian groups, there are more Issei than Nisei whose families prefer American to Japanese food. In this case, however, family includes their Nisei children. It is felt, therefore, that generational difference does not have

any real meaning.

TABLE XCI

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF FAMILY FOOD  
PREFERENCE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Food preferred by family	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American food	3	11	5	16	12	4	16	23	9	32
No difference	2	7	16	23	7	20	27	14	36	50
Japanese food	1	7	4	11	5	1	6	12	5	17
Not applicable	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		54	51	105	55	53	108	109	104	

TABLE XCII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF FAMILY FOOD  
PREFERENCE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Food preferred by family	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American food	69	31	100	75	25	100	71	29	100
No difference	30	70	100	26	74	100	28	72	100
Japanese food	64	36	100	83	17	100	71	29	100

In the habit of using "hashi" (chopsticks) (Question 44), the generational difference is evident. Forty-five people in the Issei groups (90 per cent of all Issei) use "hashi" always, while there are only 21 (42 per cent) Nisei who use them always. There is only one person among all the respondents who never uses "hashi."

TABLE XCIII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF  
USING "HASHI" BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Usage of "hashi"	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Never	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Sometimes	2	1	4	5	3	12	15	4	16	20
Usually	1	0	7	7	1	5	6	1	12	13
Always	0	24	13	37	21	8	29	45	21	66
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		2	18	20	7	29	36	9	47	

TABLE XCIV

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO FREQUENCY OF  
USING "HASHI" BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Usage of "hashi"	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Never	0	100	100	0	0	0	0	100	100
Sometimes	20	80	100	20	80	100	20	80	100
Usually	0	100	100	17	83	100	8	92	100
Always	65	35	100	72	18	100	68	32	100

Thus, so far as food habits and eating habits are concerned, generational differences are not very great. As was discussed in the previous chapter, food habit is one of the most resistant habits to assimilate.

Frequency of eating rice and family preference of food do not show generational differences. The most clear difference between the two generations is shown in "frequency of using 'hashi'" and then in "food offered to Japanese guests." In both cases, the Buddhist groups show greater generational differences than the Christians.

Holidays and Festivals. In celebrating Japanese holidays and festivals, the generational difference can be seen only among the Buddhist groups, not among the Christian groups. Six, or 24 per cent, Issei celebrate New Year's Day, Bon, Higan, and other holidays, while only 3, 12 per cent, Nisei of the Buddhists do so.

TABLE XCV

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
JAPANESE HOLIDAYS AND MEMORIALS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Japanese holidays	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
None	4	0	1	1	3	3	6	3	4	7
Only New Year's	3	2	2	4	21	21	42	23	23	46
New Year's Day, Bon and Higan	2	17	19	36	0	0	0	17	19	36
New Year's, Bon, Higan and others	1	6	3	9	1	1	2	7	4	11
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		46	51	96	76	76	152	122	127	

TABLE XCVI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
JAPANESE HOLIDAYS AND MEMORIALS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Japanese holidays	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
None	0	100	100	50	50	100	43	57	100
New Year's only	50	50	100	50	50	100	50	50	100
New Year's, Bon, and Higan	47	53	100	0	0	0	47	53	100
New Year's, Bon, Higan and others	67	33	100	50	50	100	64	36	100

In celebrating New Year's Day in a Japanese way (Question 33), generational differences connected with assimilation can be seen among the Buddhist groups, but not among the Christian groups. In other words, there are more people among the Buddhist Issei who celebrate New Year's Day in a Japanese way than among the Buddhist Nisei, but more Christian Nisei celebrate it in a Japanese way than Christian Issei.

TABLE XCVII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
NEW YEAR'S DAY IN A JAPANESE WAY  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Celebration of New Year's Day	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Do not celebrate in a Japanese way	2	0	5	5	5	3	8	5	8	11
Do celebrate in a Japanese way	0	25	20	45	20	22	42	45	42	100
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		0	10	10	10	6	16	10	16	

TABLE XCVIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
NEW YEAR'S DAY IN A JAPANESE WAY  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Celebration of New Year's Day	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Do not celebrate in a Japanese way	0	100	100	63	37	100	38	62	100
Do celebrate in a Japanese way	56	44	100	48	52	100	52	48	100



As for the celebration of Christian and American holidays (Question 34), Issei and Nisei show almost the same pattern. The generational difference does not seem to relate to the custom of keeping Christian and American holidays.

TABLE XCIX

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
CHRISTIAN AND AMERICAN HOLIDAYS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Christian and American holidays	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
All listed* and more	2	15	16	31	25	25	50	40	41	81
Some listed	1	10	8	18	0	0	0	10	8	18
None	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		40	40	80	50	50	100	90	90	

\*Listed holidays: Christmas, Easter, Thanksgiving Day, Independence Day, Memorial Day.

TABLE C

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO CELEBRATE  
CHRISTIAN AND AMERICAN HOLIDAYS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Christian and American holidays	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
All listed and more	46	54	100	50	50	100	49	51	100
Some listed	56	44	100	0	0	0	56	44	100
None	0	100	100	0	0	0	0	100	100

In regard to celebration of holidays and festivals, it seems that generation and assimilation are related somewhat among the Buddhist groups, but not so much among the Christian groups. It was observed that the Christian Issei

and the Christian Nisei showed exactly the same patterns in celebrating both Japanese holidays and the Christian and American holidays. As for celebration of New Year's Day in a Japanese way, the Christian Nisei show even less assimilation than the Christian Issei.

Social Contact and Social Activities. Concerning choice of a family doctor, the interesting fact is that in both Buddhist and Christian groups, more Issei go to American doctors than Nisei, and more Nisei go to Japanese doctors than Issei. We may say that generational difference and pattern of choice of family doctor do not seem to relate to each other.

TABLE CI

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF CHOICE OF  
FAMILY DOCTOR BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Doctor	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American	3	12	11	23	12	11	23	24	22	46
Both American and Japanese	2	2	2	4	7	6	13	9	8	17
Japanese	1	9	11	20	4	6	10	13	17	30
Other nationality	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	2
None	0	2	0	2	2	1	3	4	1	5
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight values		49	48	97	54	51	105	103	99	

TABLE CII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF CHOICE OF  
FAMILY DOCTOR BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Doctor	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American	52	48	100	52	48	100	52	48	100
Both American and Japanese	50	50	100	54	46	100	53	47	100
Japanese	50	50	100	40	60	100	43	57	100
Other nationality	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100	100

Similarly, no connection can be seen between the generations and the choice of dentists (Question 37). Eighty per cent of the total respondents go to Japanese dentists.

TABLE CIII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF CHOICE OF  
DENTIST BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Dentist	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American	3	5	3	8	3	4	7	8	7	15
Both American and Japanese	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Japanese	1	20	21	41	20	20	40	40	41	81
Other nationality	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
None	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		35	32	67	29	32	61	64	64	

TABLE CIV

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF CHOICE OF  
DENTIST BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Dentist	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American	63	37	100	43	57	100	51	49	100
Both American and Japanese	0	100	100	0	0	0	0	100	100
Japanese	49	51	100	50	50	100	49	51	100

Regarding participation of Japanese-Americans in Japanese organizations or clubs (Question 42), among the Issei, 43 persons (86 per cent of the total Issei) belong to organizations or clubs for the Japanese. There is only one Issei who does not participate in or support such groups. As for the Nisei, there are 33 (66 per cent) who participate in organizations for the Japanese, and 11 (22 per cent) do not participate at all. It would seem, then, that generation and assimilation are generally related in this aspect of behavior, and that generational differences seem to be greater among the Buddhist group than among the Christians group.

TABLE CV

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO PARTICIPATION  
IN ORGANIZATIONS OR CLUBS FOR JAPANESE  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Participation	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
None	4	1	5	6	0	6	6	1	11	12
Support only	3	3	3	6	3	3	6	6	6	12
Attend 1 to 4 organizations	2	20	16	36	22	16	38	42	32	74
Attend 5 or more	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		44	62	104	53	65	118	97	127	

TABLE CVI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO PARTICIPATION  
IN ORGANIZATIONS OR CLUBS FOR JAPANESE  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Participation	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
None	17	83	100	0	100	100	10	90	100
Support only	50	50	100	50	50	100	50	50	100
Attend 1 to 4	56	44	100	58	42	100	57	43	100
Attend 5 or more	50	50	100	0	0	0	50	50	100

As for participation in integrated groups (Question 43)--with the Americans or any other national group--although participation is not very active as a whole, Nisei show higher degrees of participation than Issei. Twenty-one Nisei (42 per cent of the total Nisei) participate at least in one organization for integrated groups, whereas only 8 Issei (16 per cent) participate in such an organization. The other 42 Issei (84 per cent) do not belong to any organization of such kind. As in the case of the previous question, generation and assimilation pattern seem to be related here.

TABLE CVII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO PARTICIPATION IN  
INTEGRATED GROUPS BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Participation	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Attend 5 or more organizations	4	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Attend 2 or more	3	0	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	5
Attend one	2	3	7	10	3	10	13	6	17	23
None	0	22	15	37	20	14	34	42	29	71
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		6	24	30	12	23	35	18	47	

TABLE CVIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO PARTICIPATION IN  
INTEGRATED GROUPS BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Participation	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Attend 5 or more organizations	0	100	100	0	0	0	0	100	100
Attend 2 or more	0	100	100	67	33	100	40	60	100
Attend one	30	70	100	23	77	100	26	74	100
None	59	41	100	59	41	100	59	41	100

Concerning personal contact with non-Japanese outside the work situation (Question 44), Nisei have contact with non-Japanese more often than Issei in both Buddhist and Christian groups, though the difference is not high. This is a recognized pattern of assimilation in which generational differences are to be taken into consideration.

TABLE CIX

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO PERSONAL CONTACT  
OUTSIDE JOB BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Personal contact	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Mostly JAmerican	3	1	2	3	1	3	4	2	5	7
Both American and Japanese	2	1	4	5	1	4	5	2	8	10
Mostly Japanese	1	23	19	42	23	18	41	46	37	83
None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		28	33	61	28	35	63	56	68	

TABLE CX

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO PERSONAL  
CONTACT OUTSIDE JOB BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Personal contact	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Mostly American	33	67	100	25	75	100	28	72	100
Both American and Japanese	20	80	100	20	80	100	20	80	100
Mostly Japanese	55	45	100	56	44	100	55	45	100

In choosing personal friends (Question 45) there is a slightly greater tendency for the Nisei to indicate a non-Japanese as their closest friend than is true for the Issei. The generational difference, however, does not seem too important a factor related to assimilation in this respect.

TABLE CXI

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO CLOSEST  
FRIEND BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Closest friend	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American	4	1	0	1	0	2	2	1	2	3
Both American and Japanese	2	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	3	3
Japanese	1	24	22	46	25	21	46	49	43	92
None	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	2
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		28	26	54	25	31	56	53	57	

TABLE CXII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO  
CLOSEST FRIEND BY RELIGION  
AND GENERATION

Closest friend	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American	100	0	100	0	100	100	33	67	100
Both American and Japanese	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100	100
Japanese	52	48	100	54	46	100	53	47	100

In conclusion, regarding social contact and social activities, there is no generational difference in choice of family doctor and dentist. But in participation in organizations and groups, generation and degree of assimilation relate positively to each other to a great degree. The Issei participate in Japanese groups more frequently than the Nisei, and the Nisei attend integrated groups more often than the Issei. Personal contact outside work, and personal closest friend also showed the same tendencies. It can be concluded that the Nisei have more frequent contacts with American people and with the American community than the Issei. It was observed from the data, however, that Japanese-Americans on the whole still have strong in-group relations rather than out-group relations.

Selection of Wife and Attitudes toward Inter-marriage. So far as the selection of a wife is concerned, there is only one person among the 100 sampled in this study who is married to a non-Japanese woman. Religious or generational differences do not seem to affect inter-marriage of Japanese-Americans.



TABLE CXIII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO SELECTION  
OF WIFE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Selection of wife	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American	4	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	1
Japanese-American	0	25	25	50	24	21	45	49	46	95
or Japanese	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	1	3	4
Not applicable										
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		0	0	0	0	4	4	0	4	

TABLE CXIV

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO SELECTION  
OF WIFE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Selection of wife	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American	0	0	0	0	100	100	0	100	100
Japanese-American	50	50	100	53	47	100	52	48	100
or Japanese									

As was explained in the previous chapter, marriage is generally arranged by a match-maker in Japan. Forty persons, or 80 per cent of the total Issei, married through match-makers, (Question 48), while 10 Nisei (20 per cent of all Nisei) married in this same way. There are 37 Nisei (74 per cent) whose marriage was not arranged by match-makers, compared with only 9 (18 per cent) in the Issei groups. A generational difference can be seen clearly here.

TABLE CXV

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF  
MARRIAGE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Type of marriage	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Not arranged	2	6	17	23	3	20	23	9	37	46
Arranged	0	19	8	27	21	2	23	40	10	50
Not applicable	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	1	3	4
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		12	34	46	6	40	46	18	74	

TABLE CXVI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF  
MARRIAGE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Type of marriage	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Not arranged	26	74	100	13	87	100	20	80	100
Arranged	70	30	100	91	9	100	80	20	100

Regarding parents' reaction to intermarriage (Question 50), a stronger resistance to intermarriage can be seen among the parents of the Issei than among those of the Nisei. There are more parents of Issei who would oppose intermarriage strongly or who would never allow it than parents of Nisei. And there are more parents of Nisei who would not oppose it, if not pleased, than parents of Issei. It seems that generation is related to this matter to a certain degree.

TABLE CXVII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF PARENTS' REACTION  
TO INTERMARRIAGE BY RELIGION AND  
GENERATION

Parents' reaction	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Agree willingly	4	0	1	1	2	2	4	2	3	5
Agree, not pleased	3	5	7	12	6	3	9	11	10	21
Disapprove, but not oppose	2	5	7	12	4	12	16	9	19	28
Oppose strongly	1	11	9	20	12	8	20	23	17	40
Never allow	0	4	1	5	1	0	1	5	1	6
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		36	48	84	46	49	95	82	97	

TABLE CXVIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF PARENTS' REACTION  
TO INTERMARRIAGE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Parents' reaction	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Agree willingly	0	100	100	50	50	100	40	60	100
Agree, not pleased	42	58	100	67	33	100	52	48	100
Disapprove, but not oppose	42	58	100	60	40	100	32	68	100
Oppose strongly	55	45	100	60	40	100	57	43	100

As for the reaction to children's intermarriage (Question 51), the generational difference can be observed among the Buddhist groups, but not among the Christian groups. Compared with the answers of the previous question (50), there is an indication that the assimilation pattern is progressing toward a greater degree.

TABLE CXIX

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF REACTION  
TO CHILDREN'S INTERMARRIAGE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Reaction to children's marriage	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Agree willingly	4	5	5	10	8	5	13	13	10	23
Agree, not pleased	3	10	15	25	9	12	21	19	27	46
Disapprove, but not oppose	2	6	1	7	5	1	6	11	2	13
Oppose strongly	1	3	2	5	1	1	2	4	3	7
Never allow	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	2
Not applicable	0	0	1	1	2	6	8	2	7	9
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		65	73	138	70	59	129	135	132	

TABLE CXX

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF REACTION  
TO CHILDREN'S INTERMARRIAGE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Reaction to children's marriage	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Agree willingly	50	50	100	62	38	100	57	43	100
Agree, not willingly	40	60	100	43	57	100	61	59	100
Disapprove, but not oppose	86	14	100	83	17	100	85	15	100
Oppose strongly	60	40	100	50	50	100	57	43	100
Never allow	50	50	100	0	0	0	50	50	100

As for marriage patterns and attitudes toward intermarriage, generation and degree of assimilation seem to have a clear interrelationship with each other, except in selection of a wife. The second generation is much more assimilated than the first. Above all, type of marriage showed an important difference between the Issei and the Nisei. Parents' reaction to intermarriage

also showed the generational difference. When these two factors are compared, it can be seen that the Japanese-American's attitude toward intermarriage is gradually changing toward a pattern of greater acceptance.

Mere possession of American citizenship (Question 7) is not a verifiable tool for comparison of assimilation between the Issei and the Nisei, since the Nisei, being born in the United States, automatically have citizenship without regard to degree of assimilation.

TABLE CXXI

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO POSSESSION OF  
AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Citizenship	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American since birth	4	0	25	25	0	25	25	0	50	50
American before 1952	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
American since 1952	1	16	0	16	19	0	19	35	0	35
Alien	0	8	0	8	6	0	6	14	0	14

So far as loyalty toward Japan is concerned (Question 54), among the Buddhist groups, 14 Issei (56 per cent) feel strong loyalty to Japan, while only 3 Nisei (12 per cent) do so; 11 Nisei (44 per cent) feel no loyalty to Japan, while there is only one Issei (4 per cent) who does not recognize such loyalty. In the Christian groups, there are 16 Issei (64 per cent) who have strong loyalty to Japan, but only one Nisei. Seventeen Nisei (68 per cent) do not have any loyalty to Japan, but only one Issei feels so. The difference between the Issei and the Nisei is clear here, and this difference is greater among the Christians than among the Buddhists.

TABLE CXXII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF LOYALTY  
TO JAPAN BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Loyalty to Japan	W	Buddhist			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
No loyalty	4	1	11	12	2	17	19	3	28	31
Somewhat	2	10	11	21	7	7	14	17	18	35
Strong loyalty	0	14	3	17	16	1	17	30	4	34
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		24	66	90	22	82	104	46	90	

TABLE CXXIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO DEGREE OF  
LOYALTY TO JAPAN BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Loyalty to Japan	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
No loyalty	8	92	100	10	90	100	9	91	100
Somewhat	46	54	100	50	50	100	49	51	100
Strong loyalty	82	18	100	95	5	100	88	12	100

There are more Issei than Nisei who do not expect their children to understand Japanese culture (Question 55), and there are more Nisei than Issei who expect their children to understand Japanese culture at least some. Generational difference does not seem to have meaning this time.

TABLE CXXIV

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO DEGREE  
OF EXPECTATION THAT CHILDREN WILL  
UNDERSTAND JAPANESE CULTURE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Expectation	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
No expectation	3	8	0	8	3	1	4	11	1	12
Some expectation	2	7	16	23	12	14	26	19	30	49
Maximum expectation	1	8	8	16	9	4	13	17	12	29
Not applicable	0	2	1	3	1	6	7	3	7	10
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		46	40	86	42	35	77	88	75	

TABLE CXXV

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO DEGREE  
OF EXPECTATION THAT CHILDREN WILL  
UNDERSTAND JAPANESE CULTURE BY  
RELIGION AND GENERATION

Expectation	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
No expectation	100	0	100	75	25	100	92	8	100
Some expectation	30	70	100	46	54	100	41	59	100
Maximum expectation	50	50	100	69	31	100	59	41	100

As for the furnishings and decoration of the Japanese-American home in a manner which reflects Japanese culture (Question 35), a slight tendency for the Issei to furnish their homes in a Japanese style, though not the Nisei, can be seen among the Christians, but not among the Buddhists. It is felt that generation and assimilation pattern do not relate too much here.

TABLE CXXVI

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF HOME FURNISHINGS  
AND DECORATIONS WHICH REFLECT JAPANESE  
CULTURE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Japanese furnishing	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
None	2	4	3	7	5	5	10	9	8	17
Somewhat	1	17	17	34	17	20	37	34	37	71
Very much	0	4	5	9	3	0	3	7	5	12
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		25	23	48	27	30	57	52	53	

TABLE CXXVII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN TERMS OF HOME FURNISHINGS  
AND DECORATIONS WHICH REFLECT JAPANESE  
CULTURE BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Japanese furnishing	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
None	57	43	100	50	50	100	53	47	100
Somewhat	50	50	100	46	54	100	48	52	100
Very much	45	55	100	100	0	100	51	49	100

Thirty-nine of the total Issei (78 per cent) feel that the Japanese culture is closer to them than the American culture (Question 52), while 17 Nisei think so. Twenty Nisei (40 per cent) think that the American culture is closer to them, while only 7 Issei think so. Admittedly, generational difference relates clearly to assimilation pattern in this respect, and this difference is greater between the Christian Issei and Nisei than between the Buddhist Issei and Nisei.



TABLE CXXVIII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO CULTURE TO WHICH  
THEY FEEL CLOSER BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Closer culture	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American	4	2	4	6	5	16	21	7	20	27
Both equally	2	3	8	11	1	5	6	4	13	17
Japanese	1	20	13	33	19	4	23	39	17	56
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		34	45	79	41	78	119	75	123	

TABLE CXXIX

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO CULTURE TO WHICH  
THEY FEEL CLOSER BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Closer culture	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
American	33	67	100	24	76	100	26	74	100
Both equally	27	73	100	17	83	100	33	67	100
Japanese	61	39	100	83	17	100	68	32	100

As for the respondents' experience of uneasiness between the two cultures (Question 53), the Issei had some experience of uneasiness more frequently than had the Nisei. There are more Nisei who never felt such uneasiness than Issei. It would seem from this that generational difference relates somewhat to assimilation pattern.

TABLE CXXX

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO EXPERIENCE  
OF UNEASINESS BETWEEN THE TWO CULTURES  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Experience of uneasiness	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Never	4	10	12	22	13	16	29	23	28	51
Seldom	3	2	4	6	1	5	6	3	9	12
Sometimes	2	9	8	17	7	4	11	16	12	28
Often	1	4	1	5	3	0	3	7	1	8
Always	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	1
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		68	77	145	72	87	159	140	164	

TABLE CXXXI

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO EXPERIENCE  
OF UNEASINESS BETWEEN THE TWO CULTURES  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Experience of uneasiness	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
Never	45	55	100	44	56	100	45	55	100
Seldom	33	67	100	17	83	100	25	75	100
Sometimes	53	47	100	64	36	100	57	43	100
Often	80	20	100	100	0	100	88	12	100
Always	0	0	0	100	0	100	100	0	100

Slight differences exist between the Issei and the Nisei in terms of their plans to return to Japan. (Question 56) There are 3 persons in the Issei groups (6 per cent of the total Issei) who have a definite plan to return to Japan, while none in the Nisei groups so plan; there are 47 in the Nisei groups (93 per cent) who have no plan to return to Japan, while there are 40 Issei (80 per cent) who have some plan. The generational difference might be

important in this factor.

TABLE CXXXII

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO PLAN TO RETURN  
TO JAPAN BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Intention to return to Japan	W	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
		I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
No intention	2	21	23	44	19	24	43	40	47	87
Undecided	1	3	2	5	4	1	5	7	3	10
Intend to return	0	1	0	1	2	0	2	3	0	3
Total		25	25	50	25	25	50	50	50	100
Weight value		45	48	93	42	49	91	87	97	

TABLE CXXXIII

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO PLAN TO RETURN  
TO JAPAN BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Intention to return to Japan	Buddhists			Christians			Total		
	I	II	T	I	II	T	I	II	T
No intention	48	52	100	44	56	100	44	56	100
Undecided	60	40	100	80	20	100	70	30	100
Intend to return	100	0	100	100	0	100	100	0	100

In conclusion, regarding loyalty and attitude toward the Japanese and the American cultures, generational differences appear to be related to the patterns of assimilation. The respondents' feeling of loyalty to Japan and their cultural attachment to Japan refer to generation. The second generation is much less attached to Japan than the first generation. The experience of feeling uneasiness between the two cultures, and plans to return to Japan also showed generational differences, but not as much. Furnishing and decoration

of homes of Japanese-Americans do not seem to be a measure of assimilational difference.

At the end of this chapter, we may conclude that, in this study, generation is a very important factor in distinguishing patterns of assimilation among the Japanese-Americans in Chicago. Except in very few cases, such as the selection of a wife, the frequency of eating rice, the choice of family doctor and dentist, the second generation shows a much higher degree of assimilation to the American culture than the first generation. These generational differences are, in most cases, larger among the Buddhist groups than among the Christian groups.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As discussed in the first chapter, assimilation is a process of dynamic cultural change and a process of adjustment to this change. The degree of assimilation of the Japanese-Americans, therefore, is a measure of their adjustment to the American culture. This adjustment involves acceptance of American culture and participation in it. By adopting American ways and customs, Japanese-Americans gradually identify themselves with American values.

Many factors enter into this process of assimilation, as aids or hindrances to its development. Religion, as one of these factors, is related to assimilation in that it may promote or hinder assimilation. At the same time, assimilation could affect, in some sense, the choice of religious affiliation. For example, it is possible that the Christian of Japanese-American descent may assimilate to American culture to a greater extent than the Buddhist, because Christianity is oriented to Western culture, whereas Buddhism is oriented to Oriental culture. Or it could be true that the Japanese-Americans who were more oriented to Western (American) culture accepted Christianity more easily than the people who were closely attached to Eastern (Japanese) culture.

The previous two chapters were concerned with the ways in which this relationship between religion and degree of assimilation appears most likely, and in what ways it shows less connection. Although the data did not show a conclusive result, there are many indications of a positive relationship

between the degree of assimilation to the American culture and the religious affiliation. As for the generational comparison, the evidence indicates decisive differences between the first and the second generations.

The average total weight value of the Buddhist Issei is 39.9 points; the Christian Issei's average is 48.6 points; the Buddhist Nisei averages 56.5 points, and the Christian Nisei, 62.2 points. As was stated before, the weight value of a perfect assimilation response in this study is 100 points. From this viewpoint, the level of assimilation of our sample is not very high, since the highest index, the Christian Nisei group, is only 62.2 points.

TABLE CXXXIV

AVERAGE TOTAL WEIGHT VALUE OF RESPONDENTS  
BY RELIGION AND GENERATION

Generation	Buddhist	Christian
1st gen.	39.9	56.5
2nd gen.	48.6	62.2

The difference between the Buddhist Issei and the Christian Issei is greater than the difference between the Buddhist Nisei and the Christian Nisei. Likewise the difference between the Buddhist Issei and the Buddhist Nisei is greater than the difference between the two Christian groups. This means that the religious factor in connection with assimilation is more important among the first generation than among the second generation. It also implies that generational differences are greater among the Buddhists than the Christians.

For both Issei and Nisei, the Christians show a higher degree of assimilation than do the Buddhists. And for both the Buddhist and the Christian, the second generation shows a much higher degree of assimilation than the first generation. The differences are much greater between the two generations than are the differences between the Buddhists and the Christians.

On the whole, these conclusions support all three original hypotheses of this study:

1. The Christians are more assimilated to the American culture than the Buddhists.
2. The second generation is more assimilated to the American culture than the first generation of Japanese-Americans.
3. The generational differences are greater than the religious differences.

The following is a summary of the analysis of the data:

1. Religious difference and the degree of assimilation are likely to have a close relationship in the following aspects:
  - a. English ability (Issei only)
  - b. Use of language at home
  - c. Celebration of Japanese holidays and festivals
  - d. Celebration of Christian and American holidays
  - e. Culture to which respondents feel closer
2. In the following aspects, religion and assimilation pattern are deemed to have at least a nominal relationship:
  - a. Possession of American name (Issei only)
  - b. Evaluation of Japanese language
  - c. Wish for children to learn Japanese
  - d. Food offered to Japanese guests
  - e. Frequency of using "hashi" (chopsticks)
  - f. Celebration of New Year's Day in a Japanese way (Issei only)
  - g. Family doctor
  - h. Parents' reaction to intermarriage
  - i. Reaction to children's intermarriage
  - j. Experience of uneasiness.

3. Religion and the degree of assimilation seem to have no relationship in the following aspects:

- a. Use of the American and the Japanese names
- b. Frequency of eating rice
- c. Family preference for food
- d. Dentist
- e. Participation in Japanese organizations
- f. Participation in integrated organizations
- g. Personal contact outside of job
- h. Personal friend
- i. Type of marriage (Nisei only)
- j. Selection of wife
- k. Possession of citizenship
- l. Loyalty to Japan
- m. Expectation that children will understand Japanese culture
- n. Furnishing and decoration of home
- o. Plan to return to Japan

4. Generational differences relative to assimilation can be clearly seen in the following aspects:

- a. English ability
- b. Use of language at home
- c. Frequency of using "hashi"
- d. Participation in Japanese organizations
- e. Participation in integrated organizations
- f. Personal contact outside job
- g. Type of marriage
- h. Possession of citizenship
- i. Loyalty to Japan
- j. Culture to which respondents feel closer

5. In the following aspects, generational differences are shown somewhat:

- a. Possession of American name
- b. Evaluation of Japanese language
- c. Wish for children to learn Japanese
- d. Food offered to Japanese guests
- e. Celebration of New Year's Day in a Japanese way
- f. Family doctor
- g. Personal friend
- h. Parents' reaction to intermarriage
- i. Experience of uneasiness
- j. Plan to return to Japan

6. The generational differences seem to have no relationship with assimilation pattern in the following aspects:



- a. Use of the name
- b. Frequency of eating rice
- c. Family preference for food
- d. Japanese holidays and memorials
- e. American and Christian holidays
- f. Dentist
- g. Selection of wife
- h. Reaction to children's intermarriage
- i. Expectation that children will understand Japanese culture
- j. Furnishing and decoration of home

Although, in general, the Christians show a higher degree of assimilation than the Buddhists to American culture, it may be said that the interrelation between religious affiliation and assimilation pattern is not as great as was assumed. This is probably due to the fact, as already stated, that the Christians in the sample had a strong Buddhist background, and actually, religious difference per se is not as distinctive as it could be.

On the other hand, we can conclude that, as hypothesized, the second generation Japanese-Americans have assimilated to the American culture and the American values to a greater degree than have the first generation of Japanese-Americans. After all, Nisei were born and raised in the United States in the American culture. Consequently, the Japanese culture, known only through their parents, has an indirect influence upon them, and they do not have the strong attachment to Japanese culture as the Issei have. Moreover, they have more education and a better occupational status than their Issei parents. The result is that they have more contacts with the American people and the American community, and they are more accepted by the society. It is natural, when we consider all these factors, that assimilation for the Nisei should be easier.

It must be remembered that there are other elements than religious and generational factors which influence the assimilation of the Japanese-Americans. One of the most important and ever-present factors were the social constraints

which confronted the Japanese-Americans. As seen in the data gathered concerning social life, such as participation in an integrated group, social contacts outside the job, closest friends, selection of a wife, the degree of assimilation of the Japanese-Americans is very low compared with other aspects of assimilation. In these respects, religious and generational differences are rather small, and not very important; one may assume this to be the result of strong social pressure and social constraints put upon Japanese-Americans.

In conclusion, the process of assimilation is not simple, because it involves so many overt and covert elements. It is recognized that further study is necessary to develop a more complete understanding of the dynamic assimilation process. Residential areas of Japanese-Americans, their occupational and economic mobilities, for example, are possible areas of further research. It is the writer's hope that this research will give some meaningful help to the study of assimilation processes among Japanese-Americans in the United States. It would be interesting to continue this kind of study in the future and to include the Sansei, the third generation, to compare the data governing them with the data obtained from this study.

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## APPENDIX I

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

According to the recent report of the Japanese American Service Committee, there are approximately 12,000 Japanese descendants residing in the Chicago area, including some 2,500 first generation, 5 to 6,000 second generation, and about 3,000 third generation.<sup>1</sup> As it is introduced in detail in previous chapters, this study is concerned with the Japanese-Americans in Chicago, and their degree of assimilation to American culture with a comparison of religious and generational differences.

In order to comprehend adequately the present situation of the Japanese-Americans both in relation to the larger community and in relation to their own groups, it is helpful to review briefly the historical background of Japanese immigrants in the United States. A review will also give us some ideas about their general characteristics, their process of adjustment in this country, including their experiences which might have affected their present status and their attitudes toward American and Japanese culture.

The history of the Japanese immigrants in the United States will be described in the following stages:

1. The beginning of the Japanese immigration.
2. The early stages of the Japanese immigration.
3. Some characteristics of the Japanese immigrants

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<sup>1</sup>Final Report of the Special Study Committee, Unpublished Report of the Japanese American Service Committee, (Chicago, 1961), p. 23.

4. Japanese exclusion movement.
5. Evacuation.
6. From the end of the War to the present.

The Beginning of the Japanese Immigration. The early history of the Japanese immigration to the United States is not very clear. From 1683 to 1845, emigration from Japan was apparently inhibited in order to eradicate Christianity from Japan.<sup>2</sup>

With the development of the ocean transportation and rapid expansion of economic activity in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the seclusion of Japan became a disturbing factor among Western nations. Those nations made efforts to reopen Japan's door to the Western world but did not succeed until 1853, when the American government sent Commodore Perry to Japan. He succeeded in negotiating with the Japanese government, and a treaty of peace and amity was signed between the United States and Japan on March 31, 1853.<sup>3</sup> This treaty brought to an end the Japanese seclusion policy. Following this, the first commercial treaty was signed by Japan and America.<sup>4</sup> By these treaties, foreigners secured the right to come and reside in Japan, and Japan obtained for her people the right to go and reside in the treaty nations. But until 1866, the Japanese government did not permit its nationals to leave Japan.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Yamato Ichihashi, Japanese in the United States (California, 1922), p. 1; Charles F. Marden, Minority in American Society, (New York, 1952), p. 172; Carey McWilliams, Brothers under the Skin, (Boston, 1943), p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> Ichihashi, p. 2; Shinichi Kato, ed., 100 Years of the History of Japanese in the United States (Los Angeles, 1961), p. 2; Edward K. Strong, Second Generation Japanese Problems (California, 1943), p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Kato, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.; Ichihashi, p. 47.

Gradually the Japanese people began to cross the Pacific Ocean, and the history of this immigration extended for about a hundred years until the present time. The early immigrants consisted mainly of students and those who came to this country in search of new knowledge but who did not intend to remain. Then there was a period of laborer immigrants who came to the land of opportunities looking for their fortunes. Through hard work and constant effort, they formed their own society to serve as a system within which they could develop and function in the American culture.

Early Stages of the Japanese Immigration. Strictly speaking, the history of Japanese immigration started with those Japanese who came to the United States as pioneers around 1884-1885, and who were the foundation of the present Japanese society. It was at this time that they started to come as permanent settlers, although between 1826 to 1833, there are several instances of a few Japanese who drifted across the Pacific Ocean to Hawaii and to the West Coast of the United States.<sup>6</sup> Their exact number is unknown and their lives and activities in this country are not clear.

In 1884, a contract convention was signed between Japan and Hawaiian sugar-plantation owners whereby Japanese laborers were permitted to enter into Hawaii. Soon afterward a law was enacted to permit general emigration of the working classes.<sup>7</sup> The Japanese who came to Hawaii in 1884, however, did not come to the United States, since it was another thirty years before the islands became a part of the United States. Nevertheless, this Hawaiian

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<sup>6</sup>Kato, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 9; Ichihashi, p. 7; McWilliams, p. 141.

contract convention and emigration law, for the first time "officially" opened the doors for the emigration of Japanese laborers to the outside world.

The Japanese immigration to the United States before the year 1891 was very small, never exceeding 1,000 in any one year.<sup>8</sup> In the first place, the Japanese government encouraged people to go abroad for education but not for labor. In the second place, the Japanese were skeptical about going to strange lands, being contented at home in their own country, and not necessarily ambitious for economic gain. Influenced by stories of the success of those who had gone to Hawaii, they became more interested in migrating to other areas, and the number of Japanese immigrants to the United States increased rapidly.

In 1890, there were 2,039 Japanese in the United States. By 1900, the number had increased to 24,326.<sup>9</sup> The sudden increase in that decade was due apparently to increasing demands for labor in the United States, brought about by the enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Laws in 1882 and 1892, which decreased the number of Chinese laborers on the Pacific Coast. Moreover, profit-making steamship companies and emigration societies were eager to increase their business, and, therefore, encouraged Japanese farmers to emigrate.

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<sup>8</sup> Ichihashi, p. 143.

<sup>9</sup> McWilliams, p. 143.

TABLE CXXXV

JAPANESE POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES IN EACH  
DECADE SINCE 1860 TO 1960 (NOT INCLUDING HAWAII)<sup>10</sup>

Year	Number
1860	0
1870	55
1880	148
1890	2,039
1900	24,326
1910	72,157
1920	111,010
1930	138,834
1940	126,947
1950	141,768
1960	259,071

TABLE CXXVI

NUMBER OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATIONS TO THE UNITED  
STATES IN EACH DECADE FROM 1861 TO 1961  
(NOT INCLUDING HAWAII)<sup>11</sup>

Year	Number
1861-1870	186
1871-1880	149
1881-1890	2,270
1891-1900	25,942
1901-1910	129,797
1911-1920	83,837
1921-1930	33,426
1931-1940	1,943
1941-1950	41,555
1951-1960	46,250
1961	4,490
Total	329,886

<sup>10</sup>Kato, p. 30. According to U. S. Annual Census, 1961.

<sup>11</sup>Annual Report of the Immigration Service, pp. 39-41.

Some Characteristics of Japanese Immigrants. Most of the Japanese who came to the United States in the early years of the Japanese immigration were young men of middle class orientation. They came to seek opportunities to study or to find better livelihood than what they could find at home. They were largely from the most intelligent and ambitious of the middle classes in Japan. Along with those young men came a smaller number of old men who had failed in business or who had found farming or wage labor in Japan unattractive. The third group came from Hawaii, where a large percentage of the total population had been drawn from the poorest and least educated classes.<sup>12</sup>

The primary and main motivation, however, for the immigration of the majority of Japanese, as in the case of most other races, was economic. The love of his native land is especially strong in a Japanese. He would not leave his homeland without a serious reason. The Japanese had not left their homeland to avoid religious or other political persecution. Economic opportunity resources and capital were limited in Japan. Competition for the few available opportunities was very great and many people, therefore, had to settle for a very difficult life. Consequently, immigration appeared to many of the more ambitious as the solution to their problem of limited opportunity.

The first major occupations of the Japanese in California were in railroad maintenance and construction, sugar-beet work on large scale farms, and in the hop fields.<sup>13</sup> From these three basic employments they gradually found their ways into other types of seasonal work, principally in agriculture. In most cases, they began at lower wage rates than other groups, as was true of most

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<sup>12</sup> Harry Alvin Mills, The Japanese Problem in the United States (New York, 1932), p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> McWilliams, p. 52.

recent immigrants. As more and more Japanese concentrated in particular occupations, however, they were quick to organize and to demand higher wages.

One remarkable aspect of Japanese immigration which decidedly influenced the development of prejudice against them was their tendency toward geographical concentration. In 1910, 57 per cent of all Japanese in this country resided in California; in 1920, 64.8 per cent; in 1930, 70.2 per cent; and in 1940, 73.8 per cent.<sup>14</sup> They tended to concentrate not merely in California but in a limited number of areas within the state. One of the reasons for this concentration was that Japanese councils deliberately discouraged the idea of dispersal, giving as their reason a desire to minimize areas of competition and of friction. This concentration of immigrants created an impression of some central source of control among the Japanese, and this impression did not make for favorable relationships with Americans. This prejudice, in turn, increased the degree of concentration and the process encouraged the development of racial tension in California.

Japanese Exclusion Movement. Like their Chinese predecessors, the first Japanese immigrants were encouraged to come to America to meet the demand for unskilled labor. Capitals on the West Coast welcomed Japanese laborers. They were honest and hard workers and would accept low wages. But it was not long before racial consciousness began to evidence itself in economic and cultural relationships with the Japanese. Chinese immigration had been suspended since 1882 by the Chinese Exclusion Acts, and this earlier anti-Chinese feeling was still very much alive. California had been conditioned to respond quickly

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<sup>14</sup>Carey McWilliams, Prejudice: Japanese-American: Symbol of Racial Intolerance (Boston, 1945), p. 83.

and strongly whenever an "Oriental problem" arose.<sup>15</sup>

Japanese exclusion in the United States appeared early in 1887. By 1900, there was already a certain demand that Japanese be excluded, and the demand grew more and more. As an explanation of such movement, Dr. Edward A. Ross, Professor of Sociology at Stanford University, gave four reasons:<sup>16</sup>

1. Japanese people were unassimilated.
2. They worked for low wages and thereby undermined the existing labor standards of American workmen.
3. Their standard of living was much lower than that of the American workmen.
4. They lacked a proper political feeling for American democratic institutions.

The California-Japanese "War" began in February 1905, when the San Francisco Chronicle published the first sensational series of articles on the Japanese in California.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, until 1907, the American government made an effort to control the anti-Japanese sentiment in California, and the number of the Japanese in the United States still increased.

In 1906, the San Francisco Board of Education passed a resolution segregating all Oriental children in a separate school.<sup>18</sup> Although this segregation order law was rescinded by President Theodore Roosevelt, continued agitation finally led to the "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907.<sup>19</sup> In this agreement the

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<sup>15</sup>Kato, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup>McWilliams, Prejudice, p. 42.

<sup>17</sup>McWilliams, Brothers, p. 141.

<sup>18</sup>Kato, p. 15; Ichihashi, p. 58; McWilliams, Brothers, p. 146.

<sup>19</sup>Ichihashi, p. 62; Kato, p. 15; G. E. Simpson, Racial and Cultural Minorities (New York, 1958), p. 128; Strong, p. 42; Bradford Smith, American From Japan (New York, 1948), p. 139.



Japanese government agreed to issue no more passports to skilled or unskilled workers, except those who had previously resided in the United States or their wives and children. Since this agreement did not completely close the door to further Japanese immigration, the number of Japanese immigrants still continued to grow, greatly due to an increasing number of women, a great many of whom were "picture brides." Women constituted only 4 per cent of the resident Japanese population in 1900, but by 1910, they made up 34 per cent of the total population. By 1930, the sex ratio among Japanese in this country had declined to 143.3 males for every 100 females.<sup>20</sup>

In 1913, the California legislature adopted an Alien Land Act, the so-called Webb-Henry Bill.<sup>21</sup> It prohibited aliens ineligible for citizenship from owning land in that State. The Bill was important, for it was the first official act of discrimination aimed at the Japanese. This Alien Land Act was followed by a stronger measure in 1920 in which even leasing land to aliens ineligible for citizenship was prohibited.<sup>22</sup>

When the first World War started, the situation seemed to get better because of the common war effort. As soon as the War was ended, the Japanese exclusion movement arose again. In 1924, a new immigration law was passed and the way to the United States was closed to the Japanese. This law restricted the number of immigrants of any nationality through a quota system, but it could not be applied to the Japanese immigrants because of their ineligibility for citizenship.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Marden, p. 174.

<sup>21</sup>Simpson, p. 131; McWilliams, Prejudice, p. 45.

<sup>22</sup>Simpson, p. 131.

<sup>23</sup>Kato, p. 20; Marden, p. 105.

The new Immigration Act forced the Japanese immigrants into a new direction. Except for a very few, the new immigrants were forbidden. For those already here, there was no way to go back to Japan even for a visit or for the purpose of getting married. Many Japanese returned to Japan, unable to remain in a country which denied them the rights of naturalization or property ownership. Only those who were unable to return to Japan for some reason, or who could not see a future in their native land, were determined to live in America in spite of the hardship involved. For Japanese who decided to stay in this country, the influence of the depression of the 1930's was a severe blow. Many people who had hoped to use their savings to go back to Japan had to give up this plan.<sup>24</sup>

Evacuation. At the time of Pearl Harbor, there were about 112,000 Japanese on the West Coast, including 40,000 "enemy aliens" (those who were born in Japan and, therefore, were ineligible for citizenship).<sup>25</sup> All were ordered to leave the West Coast by the end of February 1942. A new federal agency, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) was established to plan for the supervision of the Japanese under detention. Between then and November, all West Coast Japanese were transferred to ten hastily built centers located in the Rocky Mountain states and in Arkansas. The total population relocated was approximately 112,000. Among them, one third was Issei and the rest Nisei and Sansei; 55 per cent of the total was male and 45 per cent was female.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Kato, p. 21.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 24; Simpson, p. 132.

<sup>26</sup>Kato, p. 25.

The policy of the WRA was to organize the Center community life with the maximum possible self-control by the Japanese. Approximately 90 per cent of employable residents of the centers were employed by WRA, receiving cash allowances. There were nearly 30,000 Japanese-American youngsters of school age in the centers. In each of ten centers, complete school systems were established for the education of these children. Generally speaking, the policy was that "evacuees preserve all their rights and obligations as citizens of the state where they reside, as well as of the United States."<sup>27</sup>

For a while the Japanese were not allowed to work outside the centers. But the manpower shortage in agriculture became so acute that WRA released evacuees for farm work, particularly in sugar-beet areas. By the end of 1942, some 9,000 evacuees were working in agricultural areas throughout the West Coast.<sup>28</sup> California, although faced with the farm shortage, refused to accept evacuee labor. The temporary seasonal leave program was so successful that within the space of six months, the emphasis shifted from resettlement in centers to relocation outside the centers. Some 19,000 were released in 1943.<sup>29</sup>

In January 1945, the evacuees were permitted to return to the West Coast, and WRA made great efforts to help these people with their resettlement and search for employment. All ten relocation centers were closed shortly after the War, in December 1945.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> McWilliams, Prejudice, p. 164.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 231.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 165.

<sup>30</sup> Kato, p. 27.

From the End of the War to the Present. Besides the shocking psychological effect upon the Japanese and the bitterness which evacuation engendered, they faced economic loss. The property losses of the Japanese were enormous; they were estimated at from 350 to 500 million dollars.<sup>31</sup> Bloom and Riemer made a sampling survey of 209 Japanese-American families and found that the median loss per family was \$9879, including household and personal loss, total property loss, fees and expenses, and loss of income figured at the 1941 value of the dollar.<sup>32</sup>

After the War their properties were slowly recovered legislatively and judicially. With the help of the Japanese American Citizen League and other groups, 24,000 claims, totalling 130 million dollars, had been filed.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to economic losses, evacuation undermined the occupational position which the Japanese held prior to evacuation and forced readjustment at lower socio-economic levels. Upon return the great shortage of housing available for the Japanese increased the number of boarding and rooming houses. The pattern of employment after the War changed from working for other Japanese to working for non-Japanese employers. Bloom and Riemer estimated that prior to the War, not more than 20 per cent of the Japanese labor force in Los Angeles County worked for non-Japanese, but the rate became 70 per cent in 1948.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Simpson, p. 133; McWilliams, Brothers, p. 165.

<sup>32</sup>Leonard Bloom and Ruth Riemer, Removal and Return (California, 1949), p. 144.

<sup>33</sup>Simpson, p. 133.

<sup>34</sup>Bloom and Riemer, p. 203; Warden, p. 190.

While the welfare of the Japanese as a whole was lowered by the losses incurred through evacuation, several circumstances in the post-War situation have been accelerating the process of assimilation. The Japanese in the United States in 1952 were more dispersed throughout the nation than they had been before evacuation. By the end of 1946--one year after the War--the Department of the Interior estimated that only 55 per cent of the total Japanese population were living on the West Coast, as against 86 per cent residing in the same region in 1940.<sup>35</sup> Life in the relocation centers and various experiences throughout the War offered pertinent opportunities to all Japanese people to break out of the rigidity of old traditions, customs, and systems of thinking in many ways. The most significant thing was the weakening of the economic solidarity and strong familial control. Many Nisei youths had opportunities to authenticate their loyalties to the United States as their own country in various cases.

The attitude of the white population in the United States has changed in the direction of greater tolerance toward Japan. Under those more favorable circumstances of the post-War period, the Japanese began moving more actively toward assimilation.

After the War, some of the laws concerning Japanese immigrants were changed. A number of court decisions invalidating laws and practices which discriminated against both Japanese and Chinese in the United States were handed down. In 1948 the Supreme Court of California decided that the state

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 193.

law barring interracial marriage was unconstitutional.<sup>36</sup> The Alien Land Law which had given 32 years of suffering to the Japanese people finally was declared unconstitutional in 1947 in Utah, in 1949 in Oregon, and in 1952 in California.<sup>37</sup>

In September 1952, the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law passed the Eighty-Second Congress. It liberalized to a small degree the immigration law of the United States.<sup>38</sup> For the first time, some racial barriers to Japanese immigration were removed. The main privileges of this law to the Japanese immigrants were:<sup>39</sup>

1. An annual quote of 185 immigrants was granted;
2. The right of naturalization was granted to Japanese who had been in the United States more than 20 years and who were over 50 years old by passing a simple test.
3. Permission to enter the United States was granted to spouses and children of citizens as non-quota immigrants.

According to the report of the Immigration and Naturalization Office, the number of Japanese who obtained citizenship by the end of 1956 reached 25,000.<sup>40</sup>

In Chicago prior to the War, the Japanese population was not large, not more than 400.<sup>41</sup> Since 1943, however, many Japanese arrived in Chicago from

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<sup>36</sup>Kato, p. 29.

<sup>37</sup>Marden, p. 28; Kato, p. 267.

<sup>38</sup>Kato, p. 28; Simpson, p. 134; Poyntz Tyler, Immigration and the United States (New York, 1956), p. 95.

<sup>39</sup>Kato, p. 28.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 1285; William Caudill, "Japanese American Personality Acculturation," Genetic Psychology Monographs, XXXV (1952), p. 8.

relocation centers where all persons of Japanese ancestry were evacuated from the Pacific Coast. Between 1945 and 1948, the number of the Japanese in Chicago increased, and at one time reached approximately 25,000. Chicago became one of the largest centers of the Japanese population in this country. The reasons for this were: 1) The release program of WRA encouraged Japanese people to come to the Middle West and the East to encourage dispersion; 2) There was no tradition of organized hostility to the Japanese in Chicago, which has a large number of foreigners in its population; 3) The employment of the Japanese in Chicago has been almost entirely with non-Japanese employers. It was, in short, a more favorable environment for the Japanese than the coast situation before the War. Roughly speaking, one third of the people who came to Chicago were Issei, and the other two-thirds were Nisei and Sansei.<sup>42</sup> The number decreased later, for some people returned to the West Coast, and at present 11 to 12 thousand Japanese-Americans are living in Chicago.<sup>43</sup>

In 1944, there were only 75 business enterprises owned by the Japanese. Most of them were apartment, rooming houses, restaurants and groceries, managed by Issei. In 1948, the number of owned businesses increased to 300, including insurance businesses, photo studios, radio repair shops, garages and night clubs managed by Nisei or a partnership of Issei and Nisei.<sup>44</sup>

There are 49 various organizations, business and professional groups, social and recreational clubs primarily for Japanese. There is one Japanese

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<sup>42</sup>Caudill, p. 7.

<sup>43</sup>Report of Japanese American Service Committee (Chicago, 1961), p. 23.

<sup>44</sup>Kato, p. 1287.

newspaper, published in Japanese twice a week since 1945, and one regular radio program, broadcasting in Japanese, once a week since 1962. Japanese-Americans in Chicago, especially Nisei, are striving with considerable success in many fields, contributing both to the Japanese community and to the American community.

This is the historical background of the Japanese immigration to the United States. Within this background of discrimination, frustration, and challenges, the present discussion of assimilation becomes more meaningful.



## **APPENDIX II**

### **THE NAMES AND THE LOCATIONS OF THE BUDDHIST CHURCHES AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES FOR THE JAPANESE IN CHICAGO**

**The names and locations of the Buddhist churches in Chicago:**

<b>Chicago Buddhist Church</b>	<b>1151 West Leland, Chicago 40</b>
<b>Jodo Buddhist Church</b>	<b>1713 West Rascher, Chicago 40</b>
<b>Midwest Buddhist Church</b>	<b>1863 North Park, Chicago 14</b>
<b>Nichiren Buddhist Church</b>	<b>1620 North LaSalle, Chicago 14</b>
<b>Shingon Buddhist Church</b>	<b>4911 Lake Park, Chicago 15</b>
<b>Zen Buddhist Church</b>	<b>2230 North Halsted, Chicago 14</b>
<b>Zentsuji Buddhist Church</b>	<b>4407 North Beacon, Chicago 40</b>

**The names and locations of the Christians churches for the Japanese people  
in Chicago:**

<b>Chicago Congregational Church</b>	<b>30 West Chicago, Chicago 10:</b>
<b>Chicago Hokusei Christian Church</b>	<b>5247 North Ashland, Chicago 40</b>
<b>Christ Congregational Church</b>	<b>701 Buckingham, Chicago 13</b>
<b>Church of Christ, Presbyterian</b>	<b>3519 North Sheffield, Chicago 13</b>
<b>Fellowship Methodist Church</b>	<b>912 West Sheridan, Chicago 13</b>
<b>Japanese Church of Jesus Christ</b>	<b>1400 West Chicago, Chicago 22</b>
<b>Japanese Holiness Church</b>	<b>4608 South Greenwood, Chicago 53</b>
<b>Japanese Methodist Church</b>	<b>4321 North Hermitage, Chicago 13</b>

Lakeside Japanese Christian Church	954 West Wellington, Chicago 14
North Shore Japanese Baptist Church	5244 North Lakewood, Chicago 40
St. Peter's Japanese Congregational Church	621 Belmont, Chicago 14

### APPENDIX III

Dear Rev. \_\_\_\_\_:

I am a Japanese student at Loyola University in the Graduate School, majoring in Sociology. Presently, I am working on my thesis for my Master degree, on Japanese-Americans in the Chicago area. I am trying to analyze distinctions and characteristics of different religious groups among people of Japanese ancestry.

Mr. Nakane in the Japanese-American Service Committee, gave me the list of names of churches for Japanese-Americans in Chicago, and I found the name of your church among them.

May I ask your help and cooperation for my studies? Later on, I would like to send a questionnaire to some of the people in your church, but at present, I would like to know the estimate number of the actual members in your church, including Issei, Nisei and Sansei. If you have such information, will you please answer the questions on separate sheet and send it back to me at your earliest convenience? I really appreciate your great help.

When I send the questionnaire, to a small cross section, I will need your help again, in determining that, and I will ask the names and addresses of those to whom I am going to send questionnaires. If possible, I will come to see you and will ask your opinion on such matter.

I express again my appreciation and ask your help and cooperation. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Midori Yamaha

1. Do you have a membership list of your Church?  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_  
No \_\_\_\_\_
2. If yes, what per cent of your members, do you think, are on the list?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. What is the number of following:
  - a. Number of the Issei members \_\_\_\_\_
  - b. Number of the Nisei members \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Number of the Sansei members \_\_\_\_\_
  - d. Total number of the members in your Church \_\_\_\_\_
4. These numbers above are: (Please check one)  
Pretty accurate \_\_\_\_\_  
Estimated \_\_\_\_\_

ATTENTION      The numbers which I am asking here do not mean only  
the members who attend all or most of the church  
services, but rather people who belong to your Church.

Name of your Church \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Mr. \_\_\_\_\_:

Kindly allow me to introduce myself to you. I am a Japanese student at Loyola University, majoring in Sociology. Presently I am writing a thesis for my Master's degree, on influences of Japanese culture and customs upon Japanese-American's degree of assimilation. For this purpose, I would like to meet some Issei and Nisei people here in Chicago, to hear their experiences and opinions.

Rev. \_\_\_\_\_ of \_\_\_\_\_ Church suggested your name and address to me. I realize that you may be quite busy, but may I visit you when you are free, for about fifteen minutes? I shall call you within a few days to arrange a time that will be convenient to you. I would appreciate your help and cooperation. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Midori Yamaha

## APPENDIX IV

### QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Date of your birth \_\_\_\_\_
2. Birth place \_\_\_\_\_ (Name of the state if in the United States; Name of the Ken if in Japan)
3. Marital status: a. Single b. Married c. Widowed  
d. Separate e. Divorced
4. How many years have you been in the United States?  
\_\_\_\_\_ years
5. How many years have you been in Chicago? \_\_\_\_\_ years
6. Where have you been before you came to Chicago?
7. Are you an American citizen? If so, since when?
8. What was the highest grade you completed in school?
9. Where did you go to school?  
a. In the United States b. In Japan c. Both in the United States and in Japan d. Other place
10. Informal education
  - a. Did you ever attend Japanese language school or class?  
If so, how long?
  - b. Did you ever attend a technical school or class, such as commercial, art, etc.? Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_  
If yes, what kind and how long? \_\_\_\_\_
  - c. Did you ever attend school or private lessons of any other kind than above? (such as music, judo, kendo, or any other)  
Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ If yes, what kind and how long? \_\_\_\_\_

11. What is your occupation?
- |                       |                               |                 |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|
| a. Professional       | b. Business (self-employment) |                 |
| c. Clerical and sales | d. Skilled worker             | e. Semi-skilled |
| f. Unskilled worker   | g. Farmer                     | h. Retired      |
12. What is (or was ) your father's occupation?
- |                       |                   |                 |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| a. Professional       | b. Business       |                 |
| c. Clerical and sales | d. Skilled worker | e. Semi-skilled |
| f. Unskilled          | g. Farmer         |                 |
13. Is your employer Japanese or Japanese-American?
- |        |       |                   |
|--------|-------|-------------------|
| a. Yes | b. No | c. Not applicable |
|--------|-------|-------------------|
14. Does your occupation require the use of the Japanese language?
- |              |             |                           |
|--------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| a. Yes _____ | b. No _____ | c. Not require but useful |
|--------------|-------------|---------------------------|
15. Have you ever had any experience of discrimination because of being Japanese, in your present employment? (treatment, salary, or any other)
- |              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| a. Yes _____ | b. No _____ |
|--------------|-------------|
16. Do you feel that you have had undue difficulty in obtaining employment because of being Japanese? If yes, how long ago?
- |                                  |                  |
|----------------------------------|------------------|
| a. Before the War                | b. After the War |
| c. Both before and after the War |                  |
- 18a. Do you have both Japanese and American names?
- |   |                       |
|---|-----------------------|
| a. Only American name                           | b. Only Japanese name |
| b. American first name and Japanese middle name |                       |
| c. Japanese first name and American middle name |                       |
- 18b. Do you have these names since your birth? Or since when?
- |        |                        |                        |
|--------|------------------------|------------------------|
| a. Yes | b. Japanese name later | c. American name later |
|--------|------------------------|------------------------|
19. If you have both names, which name do you use more often?
- |                  |                  |                 |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| a. American name | b. Japanese name | c. Both equally |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
20. How good is your Japanese language ability?
- |   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| a. All (read, write, speak, and understand) very good.          |                    |
| b. All fairly well  | c. All not so well |
| d. All not at all   |                    |
| e. Read and write not well but speak and understand fairly well |                    |
| f. Do not read and write but speak and understand a little      |                    |

21. How good is your English ability?
- a. All very well                      b. All fairly well                      c. All not so well
  - d. All not at all                      e. Read and write not well but speak and understand fairly well                      f. Do not read and write but speak and understand a little
22. Which language do you use at home?
- a. Only English                      b. Only Japanese                      c. Mostly English
  - d. Mostly Japanese                      e. Both equally
23. How did you learn Japanese language?
- a. Learned it as a child
  - b. Learned it after childhood because parents insisted
  - c. Learned it after childhood because I wanted to do so
  - d. Do not speak Japanese
24. How important is it to know the Japanese language?
- a. Very necessary                      b. Not necessary but useful
  - c. Of cultural value only                      d. Of no value
25. Do you wish your children to learn the Japanese language? Why?
- a. Yes, as a mother tongue
  - b. Yes, for communication with parents and Japanese people
  - c. Yes, in order to understand Japanese culture
  - d. Yes, for other reasons
  - e. No, too difficult to learn
  - f. No, there is not much change to use
  - g. It is up to children
26. To what religion to you belong?
- a. Buddhism                      b. Christianity                      c. Other religion                      d. No religion
27. To what religion do your parents belong?
- a. Buddhist                      b. Christianity                      c. Other religion
  - d. One of the parents is Buddhist and the other is Christian
  - e. No religion
28. Is there any special reason for your belonging to your religion?
29. How often do you usually attend church service?
- a. Once a week                      b. One to three times a month
  - c. Less than once a month                      d. Not attend
30. Do you usually attend church service where the minister speaks in  
in Japanese or in English?



- a. English                      b. Japanese                      c. No difference

31. Do you expect your children to keep the same faith as yours?

- a. I insist on it.  
b. I hope they do.  
c. I completely leave it to them.

32. Do you have any kind of celebration or memorials on Japanese holidays such as New Year's Day, Bon, Higan, and any other?

- a. Only New Year's Day              b. New Year's Day and Bon, Higan  
c. New Year's Day, Bon, Higan and others              d. None

33. Do you celebrate New Year's Day in a Japanese way?

- a. Yes                      b. No                      c. Not personally, but join to parents

34. Which of the following holidays do you celebrate in some way?

- a. Christmas              b. Easter              c. Thanksgiving Day  
d. Independence Day              e. Memorial Day

35. Do the furnishings and decorations in your home reflect Japanese culture?

- a. Very much              b. Somewhat              c. Just a little  
d. Not at all

36. Is the doctor whom you and your family call or visit Japanese-American or non-Japanese?

- a. Japanese              b. American              c. Both  
d. Other nationality              e. None, because not necessary

37. Is the dentist whom you visit Japanese-American or non-Japanese?

- a. Japanese              b. American              c. Both  
d. Other nationality              e. None, because not necessary

38. How often do you eat rice?

- a. Three times a day                      b. Twice a day  
c. Once a day                      d. Few times a week  
e. Sometimes                      f. Almost never

39. When you have a Japanese guest at home for dinner, do you usually serve

then Japanese food, or American food, or mixed?

- a. Japanese food                      b. American food                      c. Mixed
- d. Depends on person and circumstances

40. Does your family prefer Japanese food or American food?

- a. Japanese food                      b. American food                      c. No difference

41. How often do you use "Hashi" (chopsticks)?

- a. Always                                  b. Usually                                  c. Sometimes
- d. Seldom                                  e. Never

42. Do you belong to any club or organization for Japanese or Japanese-American? (including religious, business, social, recreational, and sport) If yes, give name, kind of club, and how often do you meet?

43. Do you belong to any club or organization which is not exclusively for Japanese? If yes, give name, kind of club, and how often do you meet?

44. Which do you have more personal contact with, Japanese or American, outside your job?

- a. Mostly Japanese                      b. Mostly American                      c. Both equally

45. Is your personal closest friend Japanese or American?

- a. Japanese-American                      b. American                                  c. Both
- d. Other nationality                      e. None

46. Where did you marry?

- a. In the United States (including Hawaii)                      b. In Japan
- c. Other place                                  d. Not applicable

47. Is your wife:

- a. Issei    b. Nisei    c. Sansei
- d. Japanese from Japan                      e. American
- f. Other Caucasian                                  g. Other Oriental
- h. Not married

Was your marriage arranged by a match-maker?

- a. Yes \_\_\_\_\_ b. No \_\_\_\_\_ c. Not married

. How many children do you have? \_\_\_\_\_

. If you had chosen an American as your wife, what do you think would be the reaction of your parents?

- a. They would agree willingly
- b. They would agree but not pleased
- c. They would disapprove, but not oppose it
- d. They would oppose it very strongly
- e. They never would allow it

51. If one of your children chose a non-Japanese marriage partner, what do you think would be your reaction?

- a. I agree willingly
- b. I agree though I personally prefer Japanese partner
- c. I disapprove, but not oppose it
- d. I oppose it strongly
- e. I never allow it

52. Which do you feel yourself closer to, Japanese culture or American culture?

- a. Japanese culture
- b. American culture
- c. Both equally

53. Have you ever felt some kind of uneasiness or inconsistency living in American with Japanese customs and American customs?

- a. Always      b. Often      c. Sometimes      d. Seldom      e. Never

54. Do you feel any loyalty toward Japan?

- a. Very much      b. Somewhat      c. None

55. To what degree do you expect your children to learn and understand Japanese culture?

- a. As much as possible
- b. Quite well
- c. At least a little
- d. Not expect

56. Are you making a plan to return to Japan?  
a. Yes            b. No            c. Undecided
57. Have you ever visited Japan? (For the Issei, it means after they came to the United States) If yes, what was your impression?  
a. No            b. Yes, \_\_\_\_\_
58. Do you hope to visit Japan some day?  
a. Yes, very much      b. I hope so      c. No

### Approval Sheet

The thesis submitted by Midori Yamaha has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

May 29, 1964  
Date

Francis A. Crizon  
Signature of Adviser