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AN EXAMINATION OF THE ASSIMILATION PROCESS OF JAPANESE AMERICANS LIVING IN MICHIGAN

by

Junko Onuma

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
Department of Sociology

Western Michigan University
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Junko Onuma
Japanese Americans are regarded as one of model minority groups recently in American society. Through the war experience, the Japanese Americans are likely to become upper middle class people and to assimilate into the Caucasian groups.

The purpose of this research is to investigate Japanese method to assimilate into American society. The research focuses on the Michigan area as a particular area of Japanese American assimilation process. The interview research was conducted with 14 people who live in Michigan. These people are classified into the three groups to distinguish differences, historical, and social factors on assimilation. Consequently, Japanese Americans living in Michigan assimilate into the mainstream very well because they are a very small group. Japanese Americans are accepted by the host society except for the problem of their physical differences.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Immigrant Issue

American society has been composed of many immigrants from different countries since the beginning of its history. American society has faced many social problems, like ethnic conflicts and racial discrimination due to the diverse cultures of the society. Social status, economic power, political power, are all topics related to the race and ethnic issues of American society. Social conflicts sometimes occur between the majority and minorities where color is a factor. Historically, it has been difficult for some ethnic minorities to enter into the mainstream of American society because of skin color. There are many serious socioeconomic and cultural problems related to minority status in the U.S. Thus, some minority people react by strongly wanting to maintain their distinctive ethnic styles even though they have been in the United States for a long period of time. Some people do not really try to adapt to the dominant society. Several reasons for this are presented in American history. For instance, the failure of assimilation of the Native Americans and the history of the slavery of African Americans lead many to justify present social conflicts and the minority distrust of the dominant society. Social problems of minorities like high crime rates, lower educational attainment are
related to these historical factors. The issue of the new immigrant has lasted as long as American society continues to accept people from the foreign countries.

Among the minorities in the United States, Japanese Americans as an Asian immigrant group have obtained socioeconomic success and are likely to become middle class citizens similar to the Caucasian group. They have been able to be very successful in many different areas in spite of their discriminatory experiences. They had to face losing all of their properties because of the relocation policy by the U.S. government during the second World War. Currently, Japanese Americans have achieved the highest educational attainment of any minority group in the United States. Also, they have achieved relatively high social status compared to the other minority groups. Japanese Americans are not as likely to experience the same problems of the other minority groups such as poverty, poor health, inadequate education, low income, and high crime rates; some of the causes of slum life in the United States (Kitano, 1969). This would indicate a high level of assimilation among the Japanese in U.S. society. Japanese Americans are often described as a model minority because of their higher educational attainments and middle/upper-middle class social status. It would be very useful to examine the dimensions of Japanese American achievement in American society in terms of the minority issues involving the assimilation process.

In investigating the assimilation process of Japanese people,
the research explores the causes and consequences of assimilation into the mainstream, even though racial discrimination and prejudice toward people of color remain prominent features of U.S. society. This research data were collected from Japanese Americans living in the State of Michigan. The variation of the residential areas will be linked to other assimilative items such as generational change and historical effects. Generation is especially relevant when discussing the Japanese. In addition, the Japanese have a special terminology for each generation; Issei refers to the first generation immigrant born in Japan; Nisei refers to the second generation, born in the United States to Issei parents; and Sansei to the third generation, born in the United States to Nisei parents (Kitano, 1969). Yonsei, Gosei are the following generations. This terminology will be used to establish the differences between each Japanese generation in this paper.

The Early Years of the Japanese Immigrants Since the Nineteenth Century

It was in 1868 that the first Japanese immigrants arrived in Hawaii and California. It was 14 years after Commodore Perry had come to Japan in 1854 for the treaty which allowed American whaling vessels to replenish their supplies in Japan. In 1868 the Tokugawa military dictatorship was overthrown, and the Imperial family of Japan was restored with a parliamentary government (Japanese American Citizens League [JACL], 1981). It was a year of drastic change for Japanese society to begin the transition from feudal to indus-
trial society. Japan traded only with China and Holland for about three hundred years owing to the policy of the Tokugawa shogunate era. Some Japanese personality traits were established during the Tokugawa Shogunate era. Because Japan closed its door to the other countries, it was relatively easy to keep her own culture and to establish common behavior and customs in a homogeneous society.

During this social change, the entire social system was converted to approximate the west. The Japanese government urged the people to change traditional ways because the government feared being colonized by the western countries. At that time, China had already been invaded by the western countries because of its obsolete military technology and traditional feudal society. China could not change easily to industrialization. The new Imperial Japanese government, under the rule of Emperor Meiji, wanted to re-establish diplomatic relations with Western nations (JACL, 1981). In other words, Japanese people could go abroad to study or work in the Western society. Many students were allowed to go abroad to study Western methods that could be applied to improve Japan's industrial and military capacity. In addition to these students, many people from the agricultural sector migrated to the United States. They were the great majority of the Japanese immigrants. Because of the tremendous change in socioeconomic system, many farmers lost their land. They could not prosper under Japan's new burdensome taxation system. Most of the immigrants were not first sons who could expect to inherit property in the traditional way. Furthermore, the cur-
currency rate was very different between the U.S. and Japan. Even a plantation laborer in Hawaii could earn six times more than in Japan. Many people who had trouble in their life in Japan were seized by the emigration fever. When they came to the U.S., most of them intended to go back to Japan later with their earnings. The West Coast and Hawaii were the first places for Asian immigrants to look for work in the U.S. because of proximity to Asian countries. Generally, agricultural work on a sugar cane plantation was the most obvious job for most Asian immigrants in Hawaii. Most Issei people could not speak proper English and had great difficulty accommodating their Japanese life styles to American culture. In California also, most people were working in agriculture and railroad maintenance at low wages. Some people, who came from large cities in Japan, knew how to manage a small business. With luck, some of those people could succeed and could go back to Japan with their property. However, most people never went back to Japan. It was all they could do to feed their families in the U.S. They were forced to settle in the U.S. as the new immigrant group from Asia. The first generation of Japanese immigrants had to work hard in this social context to enhance their social status.

Yellow Peril: The Anti-Japanese Movement

In many ways, the history of the Japanese Americans is similar to that of the Chinese, except that Japanese came later than Chinese. At that time, most immigrants were men but women arrived
shortly after that. In those days, the arranged marriages were common in Japanese society. The parents and relatives arranged marriages in Japan. Some people used photographs to arrange the marriages and to introduce their faces to each other. The women, who came to the U.S. by using a photograph for arranged marriages, were called, picture brides. Japanese men could marry Japanese women through this arranged marriage system although they were living in the U.S. In this way, the number of Japanese families was increasing faster than that of the Chinese. In the case of the Chinese, Chinese women did not emigrate because of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the traditional view that woman should be in the home. The ratio of the native born children of the Japanese immigrants was higher than that of Chinese. The increasing number of native born Japanese children made it easier for the Japanese immigrants to adapt into the American life, compared to the Chinese.

Before the coming of the Japanese, the negative images attributed to the Chinese were deeply ingrained in the minds of people living on the West Coast. Japanese people on the West Coast were also affected by the anti-Chinese sentiments which preceded the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 (JACL, 1981). The Issei, first generation people, had to experience the growing anti-Asian trend in white society. It was very arduous for the Issei to live in the unknown social system, mastering a different language and adapting to the customs in the midst of an anti-Asian trend. Ogawa (1971) explains the feelings of the majority against the Asian
immigrant. "The color of his skin, his slanted eyes, his small stature, his diet, his language, and his religion were so different from the Anglo that he aroused nationalistic feelings" (p. 9). These different physical traits of the Asians made it easy for them to become racial targets in California and other States on the West Coast.

In the cities, Japanese Americans began to manage the small businesses such as the tailor shops and grocery stores. The development of the businesses by Japanese people evoked the jealousy of the whites. As the Issei continued to seek avenues in which to vent their enterprising spirits; their drive to achieve wealth and independence received ambivalent reactions from white Americans. In one sense, the ambition and industriousness of the Issei was praised. But in another way, it fostered fear and animosity that drew support from groups such as the Anti-Japanese Peninsula League (JACL, 1981).

The anti-Japanese sentiment increased in American society. Such sentiment was promoted in the media such as the major newspapers. The Caucasians were convinced that Japanese could not assimilate into this society. Their motto was: "Once Japs, Always Japs." Kitano (1969) cited the article of V. McLaughy, publisher of the Sacramento Bee, written about the Japanese in 1921:

The Japanese cannot, may not, and will not provide desirable material for our citizenship. 1. The Japanese cannot assimilate and make a good citizens because of their racial characteristics, heredity and religion. 2. The Japanese may not assimilate and make good citizens. In the mass, when opportunity was offered, and even when born here, they have shown no disposition to do so. There can be no effective assimilation of the Japanese without intermarriage. It is perhaps not
desirable for the good of either race that there should be intermarriage between whites and Japanese. They cannot be transmuted into good American citizens. (p. 135)

The Japanese immigrants had to endure the handicap of race and nationality for a long time. Prior to 1900, only a few Japanese immigrants became naturalized U.S. citizens. After 1900, Japanese aliens were declared as ineligible for citizenship because at the time, only free white persons were eligible for citizenship under the modified naturalization statues (JACL, 1981). Issei, the first generation, could not obtain the U.S. citizenship until 1952. They could not buy land due to the passage of the Heney-Webb Alien Land Law. Consequently, many Japanese placed the title of their property in the names of their American born children, Nisei, or trusted white American friends who usually were appointed as trustees for minor children (JACL, 1981). The second World War intensified anti-Japanese sentiments. The relocation project was obviously the most heinous anti-Japanese event. On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9066. It designated for restricted military areas and authorized the building of relocation camps. The ten camps were scattered over California, Arizona, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Arkansas (Kitano, 1987). More than 110,000 West Coast Japanese were evacuated by November despite two thirds being American citizens, born in the U.S.A. Once the notice was posted, evacuees were instructed to bring only a few bags that they could carry. Personal items and household goods could not be shipped to assembly centers (Daniels, 1988). The relocation project did not
insure the property of Japanese Americans. This camp life continued until the end of the second World War.

The Experience of World War II--1941-1945

The attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese military occurred on December 7, 1941. Because of this Japanese attack on the United States, Japanese Americans became a major target of anti-Japanese sentiment along with Japan itself. The anti-Japanese movement became much stronger than the other anti-Asian movement. The wartime aggression of Japan made Japanese Americans isolated even from other Asian groups. Moreover, although both Germany and Italy were American enemies in the second World War, only the Japanese immigrants were treated as enemies in the U.S. The evacuation project was as great a shock to Japanese Americans as Pearl Harbor was to the United States.

According to Executive Order 9066, all evacuation procedures were controlled by the Army. The Japanese people followed all orders when the notice was posted. The evacuation was rapid, smooth, and efficient. The evacuation proceeded in two stages--first they were sent to temporary assembly centers under the control of the Army and the Wartime Civilian Control Agency (WRA) that managed the camps during the war. Then, people were moved to the permanent camps. Into these centers were also moved a small group of Japanese from Alaska; approximately 1073 Japanese from Hawaii; 1300 Japanese were paroled from the internment camps; and a small number of Japan-
ese who, although living outside the Western Defense Command, voluntarily moved into the centers for protection (McWilliams, 1971). The experience of the internment camp fostered different feelings according to their age. For the elders, it was a time of humiliation; for young children, it was an adventure; and for young adults, it was a time of confusion, distress and discouragement (JACL, 1981).

In camp life, some Quaker groups and the American Civil Liberties Union provided visible support to the Japanese people (JACL, 1981).

The Name of the Ten Camps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Ten Camps</th>
<th>Maximum Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gila River, Arizona</td>
<td>13,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Granada, Colorado</td>
<td>7,318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart Mountain, Wyoming</td>
<td>10,767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jerome, Arkansas</td>
<td>8,497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manzanar, California</td>
<td>10,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minidodka, Idaho</td>
<td>9,397</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poston, Arizona</td>
<td>17,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohwer, Arkansas</td>
<td>8,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topaz, Utah</td>
<td>8,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tule Lake, California</td>
<td>18,789</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand, the situation in Hawaii was different from the mainland during the War. The Japanese group was a racial minority on the West Coast. In Hawaii, the Japanese were needed as laborers, and they had been incorporated by the planters into a paternalistic racial hierarchy. A large white manual laboring class did not exist in the islands. In fact, most of the people on the islands were Asian, and by 1920, the Japanese alone represented about 40% of the population (Takaki, 1993). Filipinos, Japanese, Spanish, Portuguese, Chinese were the first major ethnic working class groups in
Hawaii. They tried to mix their languages to communicate with each other in Plantation life. This is the origin of Hawaiian pidgin English. Not only the language but also the culture is shared and mixed in Hawaii. Compared to the mainland and the West Coast, race relations were much better in Hawaii. During the war, there was no evacuation or internment of the Japanese in Hawaii. If Japanese were evacuated, it would have created tremendous damage to the internal economy of the islands. Also, it was impossible to find shipping space to move 160,000 people across 2,000 miles of ocean to the mainland. However, some people had to evacuate to the camps on the mainland because they were regarded as dangerous according to the War Department. War hysteria was not as strong in Hawaii because Japanese Americans were not a small group there; though such things as Japanese language schools and publications were banned in Hawaii, too.

Obviously, there were very different experiences between the Japanese people living in Hawaii and the Japanese people living on the West Coast during the war time.

The Generation Gap

During the second World War, many Japanese Americans had the distinction of being born in America, raised in America, and captured in America (Ogawa, 1971). Nisei, second generation people, have had the burden of assisting their parents since they were born. They can speak proper English instead of the broken English of their
parents. They are U.S. citizens. They can also speak Japanese because most Nisei attended Japanese language schools in addition to American schools. They spoke to each other in English and to their parents in Japanese. Their parents, Issei, worked hard and saved their money in order to send their children to college so that they would not be inferior to Americans (Takaki, 1989). Issei parents believed that education could overcome every inferior situation. However, Nisei could not find any employment positions except within the ethnic labor market even though they graduated from colleges and universities. This social fact disappointed Nisei very much. Once the Nisei started to attend colleges and universities, their consciousness and awareness as American citizens increased. The Japanese American Citizens League was formed by Nisei in 1930 for their civil rights. There was a big generation gap between Issei and Nisei. Issei parents taught their children the Japanese language and Japanese cultural values, although Japan was not close to Nisei in reality. Japan was an unknown country for Nisei. Many Issei retained their ties to Japan, but Nisei did not have any sentiment for Japan. The evacuation forced Japanese Americans to consider carefully their nationality and their ethnic identity (Kitano, 1968). It was very important for Nisei to prove themselves as loyal Americans during the war. First, more than six thousand Nisei served as interpreters and translators for the military intelligence service. All Nisei were allowed to volunteer for military service in 1943. About 3,000 people volunteered for the military. They
were divided into two army units: the 100th Infantry and the 442nd Regimental Combat Team (Gonzales, 1993). Both teams performed outstandingly in the European Battle field. The magnificent fighting record of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team did so much to rehabilitate and improve the image of the Nisei. Their aim was to become good Americans (Daniels, 1988). The Nisei reflected and created the cultural paradox between the generations; Issei and Sansei who experienced the War did not attempt to transmit the Japanese cultural values and practices to their children. Rather, they emphasized the importance of being a good American.

Ethnic Characteristics

Buddhism was the most powerful religion during the Tokugawa regime. The Meiji government believed in Shintoism and felt that it should be the officially sanctioned religion. Confucianism was the third major religion of traditional Japanese society. Confucianism originated from China. East Asian Cultures are influenced by Confucianism due to the cultural power exerted by China. The classic Confucianism contributed to a strong sense of morality, duty and obligation in Japanese society (Gonzales, 1993). Confucianism emphasized the five relationships, which were those between ruler and ruled, husband and wife, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, friend and friend (Reischauer, 1957). These ideal human relationships served as a model for Japanese values in regard to the treatment of one's parents, friends and strangers. Likewise,
one of the most important means used by the Japanese people to achieve their conformity is rooted in Confucianism. Japanese use this conformist behavior to establish unity within the group. Prominent patterns of Japanese behavior are derived from this Confucianism tradition of establishing group solidarity, and maintaining or restoring harmony (Connor, 1977). The Japanese think that conformity is an essential element for creating harmony in a group. Nakane (1972) indicated that the social structure of group life in Japanese society is mainly horizontal. This also can be connected to Confucianism philosophy. This horizontal structure is manifest in many places; it extends from the family as a basic structure of human relationships to public settings such as schools and corporations in Japanese society. This Japanese social structure contained numerous cultural values devoted to managing the human relationships smoothly, based on Confucianism and conformity.

The Japanese American society contained many traditional ways because of the first generation people. The Japanese philosophy of life also influenced the Japanese American family. According to Gonzales (1993), some of the more common concepts that guide the individual's daily life are:

1. Gaman: this means that the individual will work hard to achieve a particular goal, despite any obstacles or suffering that he/she might encounter or have to bear.

2. Enryo: applies to personal relationships and requires that the person practice reserve, deference, and respect for others.

3. Oyakoko: refers to filial piety and requires a sense of reciprocal obligation between parents and their children.
4. Giri: requires that the individual maintain a moral and honest relationship with everyone, as their behavior with others will reflect on their family and the community. (p. 139)

With such values, Japanese Americans could rebuild their lives after losing everything.

The Change of the Immigration Laws

As Japanese immigration continued, several immigration laws were issued to restrict the increase of Japanese immigrants. The anti-Japanese movement was strongly influenced by anti-Chinese movement. Like the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, the Gentleman's Agreement in 1907 was issued between the United States and Japan to limit the flow of emigration from Japan. The Gentleman's agreement affected the rate of increase for the immigration of wives and children of Japanese settlers. The first significant flow of picture brides began in 1912 and continued until 1920 (Ichioka, 1980). There was fear of foreigners in the White society reflected in the discrimination against Asians. Asian cultures were seen as inferior to Caucasian cultures. The number of Asian immigrants also heightened the economic fears. The Alien Land Law in California was passed in 1913 (JACL, 1981). This was directed against foreigners to prohibit leasing and selling of the lands. In 1917, the Immigration Act was enacted in order to stop Japanese immigration as well as immigration from other Asian countries (Aguirre & Tuner, 1995). This anti-Asian movement led to the National Origins Act in 1924. It was issued in order to stop the flow of Japanese, the same as other Asians. This
was also affected by the Great Depression. In 1924, the immigration total decreased. Birth rate and population of native born increased. By 1940, two thirds (62.7%) of the Japanese people were native born. The second World War ended in 1945. After U.S. and Japan restored their relations, discrimination criteria pertaining to Japanese were removed little by little. The McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 was passed to end the exclusion of Asian immigrants and to grant Asian American naturalization rights. It was the first general immigration act since the Asian immigrants were prohibited from entering in 1924. The Immigration Act was issued in 1965. Due to this act, the number of Asian immigrants increased dramatically. Min (1995) points out that most recent Asian immigrants live in urban areas and have a middle-class background. Middle-class Asians have the resources for legal immigration to the U.S. and their life aspirations motivate them to immigrate to the U.S. because of the great gap between their local realities and their aspirations. The most important thing is that the Immigration Act allowed alien professionals to be admitted as legal immigrants to meet labor shortages in some professional occupations. The U.S.'s immigration policies usually reflect the mood of the American public and the needs of the American economy (Gonzales, 1993).

The New Immigrant and the Social Movement After 1946

By 1946 the Japanese were again becoming part of the mainstream of American society. Some had relocated in the Midwest, not-
ably Chicago and on the Eastern seaboard, but most headed for California once more (Kitano, 1968). Shortly after the war, the anti-Japanese movement was still strong. Many people tried to move to other places; the Midwest and the eastern area. Kitano (1991) discussed the Chicago area in the postwar era. It was a much more open and friendly society. One Nisei in the Midwest related that there wasn't any prejudice at all in public recreation places and "I never heard of a single case of discrimination" (p. 156) Also, Japanese could change jobs to seek higher paying jobs. The atmosphere toward Japanese Americans was visibly better than before. Many discrimination practices were declining in the society after the war.

By the 1960's the socioeconomic gains of the bulk of the Nisei and the Sansei were beginning to push many of them into the middle and upper-middle classes (Daniels, 1983). Nisei were among the highest proportion of college graduates of any group in American society by then. In 1950, only 4% were categorized as professional-technical workers. According to Gonzales (1993), the number rose to 15% by 1960 and by the early 1970's, seven out of ten Nisei worked as professional workers. The Sansei, the post-war generation, did not experience the camps or the racism of the post war period. The Sansei group has surpassed the national standard in their educational and occupational achievements. They have joined in the American middle class life style. They have moved into the mainstream of the professional and business world and also integrated into the dominant society.
At present, the Japanese Americans are the third largest Asian American group following Filipinos and Chinese. However, the immigrant situation is different from those of the other groups. The rate of Japanese immigrants is really lower than the other Asians. The reasons for that is Japan's economic power is not weak like many Asian economies and the living conditions in Japan are comparable to those in American society. In fact, the Japanese new immigrants are scholars, artists and people of ability. They are not suffering from discrimination in American society due to their social status which is upper/middle class. They are not like refugees from the other Asian countries. Because Japanese do not have the strong immigration factor like economic motivation of most recent Asian immigrants, a very small number of Japanese have immigrated to the United States over the last 20 years. Two thirds of Japanese Americans now are native born, compared to only 40% or less of other Asian ethnic groups (Nishi, 1995).

Summary

In the assimilation process, the white immigrant groups followed the same pattern to adjust to American society. The first generation could not speak proper English and they brought their traditional culture and customs from their birthplaces. They had to struggle to settle in this country. Most of them were in the lower working class. Children of the first generation easily acquired the English language since they were born here. American
customs were their customs. The second and third generations assimilated into the mainstream completely and also achieved higher socioeconomic status.

Japanese Americans are likely to assimilate into the dominant society though they have experienced anti-Japanese trends in the United States. The path of the assimilation process seems to follow steps similar to the white groups except for racial discrimination. The Asian immigrants have to endure racial discrimination due to their non-white skin color. Eventually the practices of racial discrimination were decreased in public after the second World War. Issei and Nisei experienced intense racial discrimination because of their race and Japan's involvement in the second World War. The efforts of Issei and Nisei under these conditions were directed to acquiring the American life style for Sansei. College educated Nisei still encountered occupational discrimination but educated Sansei can succeed in the professions. Sansei people do not experience the discrimination like their parents and grand parents did. However, it is known that they still experience racial discrimination against Asians. Activities promoting human rights for Japanese Americans influenced the government more after the war. Human rights organizations like Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) could make the government admit the mistreatment to Japanese Americans during the War. Another characteristics of the Japanese assimilation process was that the ethnic community mostly disappeared after the War, although Chinese and Koreans still keep their ethnic community ties.
visible.

United States-Japanese relations have affected and continue to affect the treatment and status of Japanese Americans (Kitano & Daniels, 1995). After the post-war economy of Japan recovered, new comers from Japan are increasing. These are typically students, professional workers and businessmen. Not all people desire to immigrate into the U.S. Most people are temporary residents for a while. The ratio of Japanese immigrants is not increasing in reality. Compared to the first Japanese immigrants before the war, it can be said that the characteristics of Japanese immigrants has totally changed because new-comers are of above average status and income, and most are professional workers.

The Brief Chronology

In 1854 Commodore Mathew Perry came to Japan and the history between Japan and the United States began. In 1860 the first Japanese ambassador visited the United States to ratify the Treaty of Amity and Commerce. In 1868 the Tokugawa shogunate era ended. The Imperial family of Japan was replaced by a parliamentary government and the first Japanese immigrants came to the United States. In 1907 was what was called a gentlemen's agreement. In 1913 the Alien Land Law was passed to forbid ownership of land by aliens and the second Alien Land Law was passed in 1920 to forbid leasing of land to aliens. In 1924 the Omnibus Act to prohibit the entrance of all Asian emigrants was passed. In 1939 JACL was founded. On December
7, 1941 Japan attack Pearl Harbor. On February 19, 1942 President Roosevelt signed Executive Order #9066 and 110,000 Japanese evacuated to the internment camps. In 1943 the 442nd Regimental Combat Team was formed of Nisei volunteers and then in 1945 World War II ended. In 1946 the Tule Lake relocation center closed and finally (March 20) all camps were closed. President Truman issued the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act in 1948 which provided some compensation for financial losses. In 1952 the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act was passed and Issei could obtain U.S. citizenship. In 1965 the Immigration Reform Act was established.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The assimilation process is very important not only for immigrants but also for the host society, in this case, American society. The immigrants bring the social values and customs of their cultural backgrounds from their birth countries. The ideal society for everyone depends upon how new immigrants are assimilated into the mainstream of the host society. This research is guided by previous assimilation theories and data.

In *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology* by Theodorson (1969), assimilation is defined as the complete merging of groups or individuals with separate cultures and identity.

In most sociological usage, assimilation may refer to both one-way absorption of an individual or group into another group and the mutual absorption or blending of divergent cultures. Assimilation is similar to acculturation, in which a culture is modified through contact with one or more other cultures, but assimilation involves the complete elimination of culture differences and differentiation group identification. (p. 17)

Theoretical Perspectives

The historical assimilation pattern in the United States has been analyzed by many sociologists. Most assimilation theories are described as Anglo-centric orientations toward society. These are
based on Anglo-conformity. In a review of various theories, Milton Gordon (1964) provides an excellent discussion of organized assimilation patterns in American society in spite of the complexity of the process in his book, *Assimilation in American Life*. According to Gordon, there is a seven-phase process of assimilation that minority groups have to go through in order to achieve full assimilation.

Gordon classified the seven-phase process as Cultural or behavioral assimilation, Structural assimilation, Identificational assimilation, Marital assimilation, Attitude receptional assimilation, Behavior receptional assimilation, and civic assimilation.

The first phase is cultural or behavioral assimilation. This refers to the minority groups acquiring the corresponding American values, goals, and behavioral patterns. Structural assimilation is the second phase in that the minority groups have entered the process of political, social, and cultural integration into the dominant society. The third phase is characterized by a high rate of intermarriage between members of the minority groups and the host group. It is referred to as marital assimilation or amalgamation. Identificational assimilation indicates that the minority group accepts a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society as the fourth phase. Attitude receptional assimilation, the fifth phase, occurs when the minority groups encounter no prejudiced attitudes. The next phase is behavior receptional assimilation. This is when the minority group is able to join host society institutions.
without discriminatory behavior. The last phase or civic assimilation occurs when there is an absence of value conflict between the majority and minority group members.

These multidimensional phase are related to each other. Gordon points out that cultural assimilation is likely to be the first phase of assimilation. Acculturation refers to the cultural assimilation of minorities, whereby they adapted the language, customs, and the beliefs of the majority group as their own (Gonzales, 1993). Most immigrant people are culturally assimilated into the dominant society due to the length of their stay in American society. As an American, it occurs at least from the next generation born in the USA, but most ethnic people still have a problem of non-acceptance in the institutions of the dominant society. Gordon contends that it is possible for the other assimilation phases to take place after cultural assimilation. Structural assimilation is the most important objective in the assimilation process if one is comparing each ethnic group's success in assimilating into the dominant group. Naturally the success rate of any minority group, within any type of assimilation, will depend upon the degree of acceptance by the host society. Inversely, the greater the level of resistance, then the slower the rate of assimilation (Gonzales, 1993). This research focuses on the assimilation of Japanese Americans in Michigan. Following the Gordon model of assimilation process, it will seek to determine the extent to which Japanese Americans how adjusted to Caucasian culture and society.
In addition to Gordon's assimilation process, Gonzales (1993) presents other factors affecting the rate of assimilation. He presents six categories which include all the social and economic factors that affect the rate of assimilation. The six categories are: (1) Racial Factors, (2) Cultural Factors, (3) Human Capital Factors, (4) Sociological-Demographic Factors, (5) Political-Economic Factors, and (6) Geographic Factors.

Racial Factors refer to the physical characteristics that draw attention to the individual and the group. The physical differences of the members from those of the host society could become a great source of resistance. As long as the ideal phenotype in American society is a light-skinned Caucasian, other minorities of color have had major difficulties entering the mainstream. Cultural factors and traits are related to the rate of cultural assimilation. Cultural variables such as customs, traditions, and manner of dress of ethnic minorities are very important in their acceptance or rejection. Human Capital Factors are the personal characteristics. The level of education and the economic resources that the immigrants have either promote or retard the assimilation process. As a rule, the higher the level of education, the easier the transition to American values and ideas (Zhou & Logan, 1989). Sociological Demographic Factors refers to the size of the immigrant population, their sex-ratio, age distribution, length of residence, and the existence of family and kinship ties (Gonzalez, 1993). Political-Economic Factors are the characteristics of the immigrants workers such as whe-
other or not they are viewed as a threat to American laborers. This is really affected by public opinion and American immigration policies. Finally, Geographic Factors refer to the geographic considerations of the immigrants. The ease of travel and the distance from the homeland may or may not promote a rapid rate of assimilation. These six factors are strongly linked to the process of assimilation. The case of Japanese American should be mostly positive considering these factors related to the rates of assimilation into American society.

From these theoretical perspectives, Japanese Americans should assimilate rapidly culturally because they are following the fourth and fifth generations. After the second World War, Nisei and Sansei achieved their social goals in American society. Conditions improved dramatically for the Issei group. Structural assimilation should occur in this generational groups. Losing their ethnic identity and accepting their American identity, their new generations will experience direct Identificational assimilation. In marital assimilation, the ratio is seemingly higher than among other ethnic groups. It will be difficult to determine pure blooded Yonsei, Gosei and succeeding generations in the future because of the high intermarriage rate. Japanese Americans are struggling to achieve the remaining levels in the assimilation processes, attitude receptional, behavior receptional and civic assimilation. It appears that discrimination against Japanese Americans is disappearing in public. Most Nisei have vivid memories of the evacuation and incarceration
as well as being discriminated against in their youth when they attempted to use public facilities such as swimming pools and theaters. The Sansei, on the other hand, have grown up in the more benign postwar era and have not had nearly as many personal experiences with the more visible forms of discrimination (O'Brien & Fugita, 1985). However, Japanese Americans are still reminded of their minority status when asked: "how well you speak English?" It is certainly a fact that white society is not prepared to fully accept Japanese Americans yet.

Japanese Americans reflect a very unique assimilation process in American society among Asian immigrants. In comparison to other Asian groups, they have experienced good social mobility. Besides, if I find good adaptive mechanisms and values that are essentially Japanese in nature, this will be a key factor explaining the success for Japanese Americans as a minority group in the United States.

Review of Existing Data

Despite the large number of studies relating to the Japanese immigrants in the United States, analysis of their assimilation process is underdeveloped. Most of the previous studies deal with the general background of their lives and the generational differences. The previous data were collected in mainly California and Hawaii. Except for the geographical differences, the existing data is expected to be similar to this research data on assimilation patterns in Michigan. Compared to the data on the West Coast and Hawaii, the
characteristics of Japanese living in Michigan should be obviously clarified.

Kitano (1969) presented the evolution of living conditions of Japanese immigrants from the past to the present. He focused on Japanese American society as a subculture in the United States in terms of history, family and community, the culture, social deviance. He points out that each Japanese generation is viewed as moving along a continuum from the Japanese to the American. Among his nationwide data, he focused on assimilation by area of residence. All Nisei and Sansei groups, no matter what the area of residence, "have already achieved cultural assimilation or acculturation" (p. 137). Moreover, he tells us that the intermarriage rate is changing. The rate of intermarriage is increasing in areas like the East Coast and other States except California because of the limitation of opportunities to encounter other people within the Japanese group. In the Political arena of the assimilation process, Nisei Japanese American elected a member as the U.S. Senator from Hawaii. Japanese American candidates in California government are from heavily ethnic concentrated areas.

Kiefer (1974) presented the cultural patterns of the Japanese people in California from his interview data. He outlined several categories of cultural change that have had a cumulative effect on the community, such as the loss of Japanese cultural skills, upward mobility, broadening intellectual perspective. He also focused on the effects of these changes on relationships between the genera-
tions. He found that the family remains cohesive surprisingly well in spite of change. He pointed out that the change in family dynamics is rapid compared to the other minorities, while Japanese Americans keep some Japanese values.

Connor (1977) conducted a survey of the three generations in the Sacramento area in California. He investigated to determine the degree to which the various generations have retained certain characteristics which are distinctively Japanese or have replaced them with those which are distinctively American. He found that the distinctively Japanese characteristics were grouped under the major headings of hierarchy, collective, duty and obligation, deference and dependence; the distinctively American characteristics were grouped under the major headings of equality, individualism, rights and privileges, self-assertion, and self-reliance. Connor considered two subsidiary questions for this study. The first question was that if the Japanese Americans have indeed arrived at middle-class status, is the next step to be complete assimilation into American society, with the concomitant loss of ethnic identity?, or will there be the retention of the Japanese identity? The second one was that if the success of the Japanese Americans is due to the utilization of adaptive mechanisms and values that are essentially Japanese in nature, will there be a tendency to retain those characteristics and inculcate them in the oncoming generation? or will they ultimately be replaced with values that are more characteristic of the larger American society (Connor, 1977)? For these questions,
he constructed two categories of instruments. The first category was a biographical form which recorded data on the overt forms of acculturation such as change in food habits, language use, celebration of holidays. The second category contained those instruments designed to measure the more covert forms of acculturation such as changes in values, belief systems and personality characteristics.

From his data, the first generation, Issei are behaviorally and psychologically much more Japanese than American. While their basic internalized values are Japanese, their external attitudes have became more American. The second generation people are truly in between the two cultures compared to the other generation groups in many ways like cultural values, ways of thinking, attitudes, and so forth. Connor pointed out that the Nisei has continued to emphasize Japanese characteristics of duty and obligation, collectivity, hierarchy, deference, and dependence by the Issei parents. Due to those characteristics, the Nisei’s competitive drive and motivation to achieve in the society has been strong. Through the second World War, they proved their Americanism by utilizing behavior patterns that were essentially Japanese in nature. The third generation reveals both American values and the retention of Japanese identity. Connor presented data revealing that the Sansei people had scores on acculturation which were clearly closer to the Caucasian. Because they lost the Japanese language skill and the disappearance of the Japanese communities, the Sansei people entered into the host society. Still they showed a retention of Japanese characteristics.
Levine and Rhodes conducted a survey to measure the ties of the Japanese American community over three generations. The conception of community usually includes the values of shared identity, group awareness and self-consciousness. Levine and Rhodes also examined cultural continuity between generations in terms of the retention of Japanese norms and values. They attempted to make contact either by personal telephone interviews, or mail-back questionnaires. They found that the Japanese community has conformed to American society. Like the former findings, the degree of assimilation for the second and the third generations is higher than that of the first generation. Among their data, it was found that religion is highly correlated with integration. The Sansei generation is likely to become Christians. Japanese food was preferred over the three generation.

Religion

In terms of religion, there has been a trend toward conversion to the Christianity from the traditional faiths which was mostly Buddhism practiced by the first generation. Feagin and Fujitaki (1972) discussed the study of religion by Fran Miyamoto in 1963 and the different views presented by Kitano. Miyamoto noted that Japanese Americans keeping the traditional Buddhist religion were more likely to retain Japanese cultural values than Japanese Christians. Kitano argued that the Buddhist church itself adapts to changing religious conditions. Peterson (1966) supported Kitano's observa-
tions noting that Buddhist churches have adapted to the American scene by introducing Sunday schools, Boy Scouts, a promotional effort around the theme "Our Family Attends Church Regularly," and similar practices quite alien to the old-country tradition (Kurokawa, 1970). Feagin and Fujitaki investigated the differences between Buddhists and Christians concerning cultural, structural, identificational, and marital assimilation. The subjects were Nisei and Sansei people. From their data, assimilation occurred for each generation, but there were no large differences between Christians and Buddhists. However, the study found that Sansei Christians experienced racial discrimination more than Sansei Buddhists. In other words, Sansei Christians who assimilated into the Caucasian society could feel the discrimination against them more than Sansei Buddhists in the ethnic society in terms of religion. In fact, Christianity is the dominant religion. The more one adapts to the dominant cultural practices as in joining the Caucasian Christian church, the more Japanese Americans could lose their ethnicity. However, the turn to Christianity is definitely an important step in the assimilation process for many Japanese Americans. The conversion to Christianity is a major step in successful assimilation.

Inter-ethnic Marriage

Interracial marriage has been the best indicator of Japanese Americans in structured assimilation. Almost all of the Issei married within the ethnic group but the next generations, Nisei and
Sansei, were marrying outside of the ethnic group. Montero presented data on the rate of outmarriage. Issei had married less than 1%. Approximately 10% of Nisei participated in interracial marriages. Sansei people married outsiders. He asked approximately 40% of Sansei respondents about their interests in marrying outsiders. Only 10% of the respondents believed that outmarriage was "bad" and 74% were indifferent about outmarriage (Montero, 1980).

Levine and Rhodes (1981) indicated that age is an important variable in analyzing the ratio within the same generation. From their data, there is a difference even in the Nisei group about outmarriage. One out of 20 older Nisei have outmarried; but one out of five younger Nisei have outmarried. The high rate of Sansei exogamy follows the same trends of the Sansei in the host society. Kikumura and Kitano (1973) also indicated that over 50% of all new Japanese American marriages involved a non-Japanese spouse, mainly Caucasian currently.

**Hansen’s Law**

The traditional identity is declining in the new generation. Marcus Hansen has graphically formulated what he calls the principle of third-generation interest in these terms: what the son wishes to forget, the grandson wishes to remember (Herberg, 1955). This Hansen’s Law suggests that the first generation and second generations follow the common immigrant pattern to overcome foreignness and to become proper Americans. The second generation denied their tradi-
tional identity but the third generation who are American born attempt to remember the traditional identity. His theory is derived from the study of White American immigrant groups. Herberg (1955) found that the third generation of Italian and Polish Americans lost their ethnic identities but retained their ethnic affiliations with traditional Catholic religion. The third generation of Jewish Americans followed Hansen's Law. The dual meaning of Jewish as covering both an ethnic group and religious tradition made the return movement of the third generation into a source of renewed strength and vigor for the American Jewish community (Herberg, 1955). Ethnic identity among Japanese Americans has been investigated several times. The former findings revealed that the Nisei had a higher ethnic identity score than the Sansei. This rejects Hansen's model. In Hawaii, research critiquing Hansen's Law (1988) was conducted. Consequently, Sansei people were found to have lower ethnic identity than Nisei people again. The researchers recognized important historical, social, and political dimensions of ethnicity. They did not find that Sansei had less interest in their ethnicity.

They also found that there is a new awareness of ethnicity among the Sansei. Since the 1960's civil rights movement, ethnic consciousness for the most disadvantaged ethnic minorities has been related to ongoing conflict and struggle for increased social power. In the process of this struggle, new ideologies of ethnicity and new self-definitions of identity emerge among groups struggling over access to wealth and power (Newton, Buck, Kunimura, Colfer, & Schols-
berg, 1988). Sansei are more Americanized than Nisei. The researchers indicated a decline in ethnic scores and social conformity. It is possible that low ethnic identity scores may reflect high social conformity to American norms (Newton et al., 1988).

The Effect of World War II and Generation Gap

Kitano (1969) described the first generation Issei as mentally Japanese although their attitude or postures became Americanized. The second generation, Nisei, had bicultural values reflecting the acceptance of both American and Japanese cultures. In spite of this ideal situation, the Nisei have had intergenerational friction with their parents, and this is the "Nisei Dilemma". The Issei's desire to maintain their own heritage, coupled with their resistance to adopting American ways, created barriers to their cultural assimilation. The Nisei were restrained and very "Japanese" in the home; they apparently moved rapidly toward the American pattern of behavior in school and other public settings (Mclemore, 1980). The mental distance between Issei and Nisei became larger in the evacuation era. In other words, Relocation policy influenced the speed of assimilation of Japanese Americans. They attempted to speak only English, change their food customs and stop the traditional ways in the camps. Besides, many Nisei served in the military voluntarily to prove their loyalty to the United States.

In brief, Japanese Americans have assimilated into American society generation by generation like other ethnic groups. The
speed of assimilation of Japanese Americans has been much faster than the other Asians or other people of color because of the high ratio of outmarriage. Reviewing the former data on assimilation of the Japanese immigrants in the United States, this research data will attempt to expand our understanding and interpretations of the assimilation process as it operates in the modern world.
CHAPTER III

METHODS TO STUDY

Introduction

The research is designed to examine the extent to which contemporary Japanese Americans are assimilating into American society, especially in the Kalamazoo area. The social issues related to their adaptation to the dominant society is very significant. Among the numerous immigrant minorities, Japanese Americans have shown a higher assimilation level compared to the other Asians in terms of their social achievement and especially their higher educational attainment. Also, the researcher will ascertain the extent to which Japanese cultural values are retained in the new generation and how the Japanese values affect the definition of being a model minority.

Most previous data tell us that the assimilation level of Japanese Americans progressed by generations. The data were collected mostly in California and Hawaii because these were the first places where the Japanese immigrants entered. This research project was done in the Kalamazoo area mostly. The previous data analyzed only three generations who are descendants of the old immigrant group. The researcher is interested in the differences between the old immigrants coming to the U.S. before the second World War and the new immigrants coming after the War. The characteristics of the
New immigrants from Japan should have totally changed because socio-economic conditions in Japan have become equal to those in the U.S. after the War. Comparing the two groups represents a new approach in the study of Japanese American issues within the context of assimilationist literature.

Collecting the Data

There are not many Japanese Americans in the Kalamazoo area, nor the State of Michigan. It was difficult to collect the data because of the limited number of Japanese Americans in Michigan.

At first, the researcher approached individuals by selecting the names in the phone book for the Kalamazoo area. The researcher found about 30 Japanese surnames that had American first names. The researcher also approached the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) office in Michigan for assistance in locating potential respondents. Although they introduced me to five members of JACL living around the Detroit area, only one of them could be contacted for an interview because of schedule differences. Finally, thirteen interviews were conducted by the researcher. Four people were introduced by friends of the researcher. The other, eight people were found by the researcher's telephone approach. Snow ball sample style was expected at first. It is a method of expanding a sample by the introduction of a chain of participants and friends: commonly referred to as networking. Some participants introduced their friends or acquaintances, but not many. Some of them refused to
participate in this research. Some of them were not appropriate subjects for this research because they are temporary residents in Michigan and they are not U.S. citizens. Because this research subject required a person who is above 18 years old and had U.S. citizenship, the researcher did not ask those people.

At the beginning of this research, using the qualitative data model, twenty people were desired by the researcher but it was laborious to find this number in such a difficult situation. The number of the subjects was reduced to under 15 owing to this difficulty. Therefore, the researcher conducted 13 interviews. The first interview was conducted on March 31, 1995. Locating the subjects and conducting the interviews continued until May 20, 1995. The researcher talked to 30 people to ask their cooperation with this study by phone. Among the 30 people, 13 people consented to be interviewed. There are two mixed blood people among the 13 respondents. They are included in this examination of assimilation as examples of Americans who have Japanese ancestry. Also, the actual subject number is fourteen because these respondents included a Sansei couple. Also, a mother and her son are included as participants. The researcher also interviewed three new immigrant people. In the old immigrant group, most of the first generation people died because of their age. Finally, the researcher contacted three types of groups; Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei in the old group; Issei in the New group, and mixed blood person's group.
Preinterview

Before conducting these interviews, the researcher pre-tested the interview schedule with three Sansei people informally. They were from Hawaii, California, and Chicago. Three of the respondents gave the researcher good critical feedback in terms of the area differences, age, social atmosphere of living conditions. Some of the information they shared was consistent with what the researcher expected based on the previous data. Other information assisted in organizing the questionnaire for this research.

Interview Contents

Semi-structured interviewing style in qualitative research was chosen for this research. Semi-structured interviewing is based on the use of an interview guide. This is a written list of questions or topics that need to be covered in a particular order (Bernard, 1988). The interview topics are prepared for the participants based upon the questions of former surveys. These topics are organized in terms of the different assimilation levels. In the interview, the participants were encouraged to talk about any topic he or she wanted to discuss concerning a question. Although this kind of research is useful for collecting data on the different generations in a family generally, the participants were asked to describe the experiences of their parents or children because of the limited research number of subjects. The interview was expected to take approximately 60 minutes for each interview. Some participants took
over 90 minutes. The interviews were recorded by using a cassette tape and personal notes taken by the researcher. The interview place was selected according to the interviewee's convenience. Six people chose their homes; four interviews were conducted in their offices; three interviews were conducted in the interviewer's home. Before analyzing the data, code numbers were assigned to each person for analytical purposes. Moreover, interviews were conducted mostly in English, but Japanese was also spoken with some people who had Japanese language skill. For new immigrants, Japanese was spoken in the interviews, some people talked very frankly after turning off the tape recorder. The information that they presented after the formal interview was used as data.

The Problem and the Difficulty

According to 1990 Census of Population And Housing, there are 10,313 Japanese Americans living in Michigan. Three hundred sixty five of these people live in Kalamazoo County, in Michigan. The difficulty for this research was the accuracy of the data for generalization purposes regarding the experiences of Japanese Americans in Michigan. Second, the interviews could not include Issei woman in the new immigrant group. One reason is that it was impossible to find Japanese women who have American last names in the phone book. Fortunately, the researcher had a chance to talk to Issei women on the phone. They could not participate in this project because they are all Japanese nationals. As a whole, there is not much differ-
ence between the two genders. However, in case of intermarriage, there is a possibility that the Issei woman will reflect another assimilative dimension. Not like male’s cases, many women do not have high educational attainment. Some people came to the U.S. as war brides. Some people can not speak proper English. Some of them live in American society by the support of their American husbands. Their social status usually depends on their American husband’s. Not all woman work outside the home. In terms of the educational attainment, the occupation, naturalization, and child education, new Issei women should have different values on assimilation level compared to the new Issei men who married an American wife.

Also, it is difficult to measure the accuracy of the participants descriptions of the differences between each generation.

Interview Topics

Interview contents were divided into three parts. The first part was demographics; second part was organized around what the interviewer would like to know about their structural assimilation, ethnicity of close friends and so forth. The third part was for questions about cultural and social values; food habits, language use, religion and others. It attempted to identify another aspect of the assimilation process. The questionnaire was composed of 30 items. The researcher asked the participants to tell her about their family. The information received was very useful for analyzing their assimilation levels.
Summary

It is significant to investigate the assimilation of Japanese Americans in the State of Michigan. The research also examined the differences between two groups: the old group and the new group. The respondents were divided into three categories; the second, third, fourth generations; the new immigrants; the mixed blood persons. The data on each category are compared to analyze the differences or the similarities in assimilation processes. From the data, an effort was made to examine cultural assimilation levels as questions about food habits, religion, Japanese language skill, traditional events, family relationships and so forth. For the structural assimilation level, the questions focused on their participation in recreational organizations or the nationality of their work associates and neighbors. Also, level of assimilation depends upon the neighborhoods, close friends. The attitudes towards being Japanese and their preferred identities reflect their identificational assimilation. The other assimilation levels are deduced from the responses to other questions. For the future study on assimilation of Japanese immigrants in the United States, the limitation such as a specified area should be reconsidered. If a larger and more diverse sample had been investigated, more detailed analysis could be done for each stage of assimilation in Michigan. The major limitation of this research is that the number of respondents is too small to generalize the results to the Japanese population in the State of Michigan.
CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

Introduction

The data analysis is presented in this chapter. The data will be arranged into five categories; Nisei, Sansei, Yonsei in the old immigrant group; Issei in the new immigrant group; Mixed blood persons who have Japanese ancestry. The participants are numbered according to the order of the interview schedule. The 13 interviews were divided into three groups. Eight of the 13 interviews are in the old immigrant group category including Nisei, Sansei, Yonsei generations. They have a long family history as Japanese immigrants. The interview included questions about their family history and also the difference between each generation within the old immigrant group. Three of the 13 interviews were Issei in the new immigrant group. All of them came to the United States in the 1960’s. They have already acquired U.S. citizenship. The comparison of the old and the new group will be presented as a new dimension on assimilation of Japanese Americans. The last two people are mixed blood people. One is 65 years old. He was born and reared in Kalamazoo. His father was Nisei from Hawaii and came to Kalamazoo in the 1920’s after finishing his studies in Chicago. His mother is a Danish American. The other man is 24 years old. He grew up in Battle Creek. His mother is an Issei of the new immigrant group and she also came
to the United States in 1960 because of her first marriage to an American; his father is a Caucasian American from Michigan. Both mixed blood people reflect the assimilation level with respect to interracial marriage.

Thirteen interviews were sorted into numerical order and each interview was divided into three categories. The data were analyzed in each group. The old immigrant group reminded how they assimilated into the host society and how much they retain the traditional characteristics. New immigrant group reflected a different situation compared to the Issei data in old group. The group of American who had Japanese ancestry indicated how much they had assimilated and identified with their cultural heritage and ethnic identity. Their data show how interracial marriage to Caucasians influences the minority who is absorbed into the host society.

Comparison of the Groups

Group 1. Old immigrant group (Nisei--#4--one person); (Sansei--#2, #3, #5, #6, #8, #11*--seven people); (Yonsei--#1--one person. Group 2. New immigrant group (Issei--#7, #9, #13--three people). Group 3. Mixed blood people (#10, #12--two people). Number 11* is a Sansei married couple.

The Characteristics of the Old Immigrant Group

The generational categories are classified into three subgroups of the old immigrant group; Nisei, Sansei, Yonsei. This
research could not find Issei in this group because of their age. Even a Nisei woman (#4) whom the researcher attempted to interview is 82 years old. It is very difficult to find representatives of this age group in Michigan. There are nine people in these categories. In the Nisei group is only one. Seven of nine are Sansei. Only single participant is contacted in Yonsei group. Among the nine people, 5 people are female and 4 people are male. Then, the researcher interviewed a Sansei couple, so the data obtained are treated as two. The Yonsei person is now a university student from Hawaii. Although she is not a permanent resident in Michigan, her data are very useful to clarify the comparisons between each generation and the area differences of Michigan and Hawaii. Also, the data includes Nisei mother and her son. They moved to Michigan shortly before the end of the second World War. Her son (#6) grew up mostly in Michigan, so the researcher regarded him as a Michigan resident (See Tables 1 and 2).

Table 1

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Table 2
Age Cohorts and Generations

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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
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<td>70</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Educational Attainment

Educational attainment (Table 3) demonstrates the differences between each generation. Like the previous data indicated, the educational attainment of the new generation is higher than the older generation. The Sansei generation achieved the highest educational attainment.

Six of the seven Sansei obtained postgraduate degrees. As another example, the relatives of participants are described as high academic achievers, too. Parents of the Yonsei woman, Sansei, also achieved high educational attainment. Her father has a medical doctor's degree and her mother has a Master's degree in Education. Her siblings also are obtaining professional degrees. Her older sister attends an Ph.D. program and her brother is enrolled in college now.
Yonsei (#1) also desired to study a professional course in graduate school.

Table 3
Educational Attainment and Generations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Nisei</th>
<th>Sansei</th>
<th>Yonsei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than High school</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school graduate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College degree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postgraduate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*She is a senior student in WMU.

The Nisei woman discussed her family. Her son (#6) has a Master's degree. Also, her nephews and nieces mostly graduated from university. A Sansei woman (#3) from California discussed the high educational accomplishments of people in her family. Her father, Nisei, was a dentist in those days, so he was highly educated. Also, her cousins all went to college. Sansei couple (#11) explains that most of their cousins are college graduates. Among them, only a Sansei woman (#2) did not go to college. She revealed that she decided not to go to college because she has many siblings. Certainly, the educational attainment depends on the family's economic condition regardless of the generation. However, it should be said that the trend of higher educational attainment among Japanese Americans continues and is not apparently declining even in the fourth gener-
The answers to the next question demonstrates the high consciousness regarding the importance of higher education. How much education did your parents encourage you to complete? Five of nine people answered that their parents encouraged them to finish at least college level. One of Sansei (#8) said, "They wanted me to be a doctor or a lawyer. They wanted me to complete a Ph.D." The high educational attainment reflects the fact that the parents expectation were also very high.

**Occupation**

Sansei people are highly represented in professional occupations. One of six Sansei participants attained the Ph.D. Four of six had Master's degrees. Their occupations included research biologist, potter, social worker, school teacher, which result from their high educational degrees. Their Sansei relatives also achieved high occupational status. A Sansei woman (#3) discussed the achievements of her cousins, "Only one is a professor. There are an accountant, teacher, woman engineer, all are professional."

Sansei couple (#11) had similar responses. The wife said, "air traffic control in Chicago. My brother in Battle Creek, he is the director of Public Works." The husband's response, "my brother is a doctor in California. My sister and her husband work for an engineering consulting company."

In Sansei generation, most are professional and white collar
workers. Extending the generational comparisons, the Issei occupations were limited. Most people worked as farmers and blue collar workers. Nisei were likely to acquire higher occupational positions when compared to their Issei parents. They are the owners of restaurants, blue collar workers in factories, barbers, dentists, positions with the government and so forth. Especially, after the war, the occupational status became more professionals due to the high educational attainment.

**Spouse Data and Marriage Preference**

The rate of interracial marriage is very high in the Sansei generation. The Yonsei woman has not married yet. The Nisei woman (#4) reported that her marriage was arranged. At her age, every Nisei woman around her married to a Japanese. A Sansei woman from Hawaii (#2) indicated that her father also was an Issei. Arranged marriages were common in those days. Sansei people changed totally from their parents generation after the war. Arranged marriages were not found in the Sansei generation. The ratio of interracial marriages is higher in Sansei. After the war, many Japanese Americans moved to the Midwest and the East Coast from California. Kitano notes that interracial marriages also depend on the residential area. In Hawaii, there is still a high rate of intra-ethnic marriage. One of Sansei (#8) from Hawaii reported that his sister was married to a Japanese American. Respondent (#6) said that his cousins mostly married Japanese because they lived in Japanese communi-
ties on the East Coast and California. In Michigan, the siblings of Sansei (#11) couple are all married to Caucasians. A Sansei (#6) who grew up in Michigan is also married a Caucasian. It suggests that this Sansei couple is a special case because they are from Detroit where there are few Japanese American (Table 4).

Table 4  
Spouse Ethnicity and Generations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Nisei</th>
<th>Sansei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese American</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nisei woman's husband passed away. The Yonsei woman is not married yet. A sansei (#3) woman divorced from a Caucasian husband. A Sansei man (#6) married twice. His first wife passed away. His first and second wives are Caucasians.

One question focused on marriage preferences. Would your parents encourage you to marry a Japanese or non-Japanese?

Hawaiian Yonsei responded: "My mom prefers that I marry to a Japanese American. My dad, I don't think he has a preference."

Sansei man (#11) from Detroit says:

Mine did not push either way. Again, mainly because where we lived there was no Japanese. Even now today I don't know what they do. I think maybe their hidden preference's to marry to an Oriental. They never said it, your choice. But I believe, they prefer inside the Oriental.
A Sansei (#8) from Hawaii reported the same thing. "I think they never told me but I think that, their preference is to marry Japanese. But they never told me."

Other respondents answered: "my parents didn't say any words." Although all parents of the participants never said anything about their children's marital choices, their still reported intra-ethnic marriage preferences. Respondent #1 stated,

My friend's mom, my friend, had a Filipino-Japanese boyfriend. Very handsome. Very handsome. But her mom didn't like him because he is not Japanese. She preferred her daughter to go out with just Japanese American or Japanese, not mixed or from another culture group."

In Michigan, there is no Japanese community. There are few Japanese Americans in total population. It must be difficult to maintain the intra-ethnic marital practices in Michigan. For instance, respondent (#11) discussed their children.

They are from the ethnic purity period. It's because growing up at that time. The area where we lived likely probably won't (have any Japanese residents). Just like the other parents, we wish them will be happy. The best for them.

In terms of their marriage preferences to their children, everybody responded similarly, "It doesn't matter if they marry a non-Japanese." Actually, most of their children are mixed race people because of Sansei's interracial marriage. There are six pure blood children and eight mixed blood children in the Sansei group except for couple of (#5). Six of the eight children of the Sansei's interracial marriages are independent from their parents. The others are not mature. They were growing up in Michigan and they all chose Caucasians for spouses. The Japanese ethnicity tends to
be absorbed into the White group through interracial marriages in Michigan.

Children's Education

This question was asked of all participants except Yonsei. How much education did you expect your children to have? Five of six Sansei stated, "at least college." Only a Sansei (#8) said that "Ph.D., doctors, advanced degree." Yonsei said that "her parents encouraged her) to go all the way that we can. They help us with college." A Sansei man (#11) says, "extended school, we will give them somehow. I grew up the same way." Another Sansei woman (#2) tells:

We encouraged them to go to college because the college is almost like high school many years ago. Without a college degree, it's so hard to get a job, so to find a place in the society would be hard, I think. At least to get a college education."

Their expectations for their children are high like their parents. Sansei parents recognize the importance of educational attainment. They believe it helps their children's preparation for a future life. Like the Sansei man (#11) who said, "extended school we will give them somehow." Sansei parents recognize their life is supported by their educational attainment because most Sansei participants have graduate degree.

Language Skills and Family Communication

Out of nine people in the old immigrant group, a Nisei woman
(#4) still retained her Japanese language skills. Among the 6 Sansei, 3 people had Japanese conversation skills. Another woman (#3) can only understand Japanese. Other Sansei and Yonsei lost their Japanese skill. The language skill was lost in the Sansei generation. The Japanese respondents' language skill can be related to in the following manner: Respondents #2, #4, #5 and #8 were at the conversational level. Respondent #3 was at the understanding level. Respondents #1, #6, and #11 had only English language skills. Also, it is interesting to note that of the respondents only #1, #4, #6 and #8 had had experience in a Japanese language school. The rest had not.

From these categorizations, it appears that the experience of language school is of little value in retaining language skills. Respondents, (#2) and (#5) learned Japanese in Japan. Respondent (#8) also lived in Japan for a few month. Only the Nisei woman (#4) maintained her language skill though she never visited Japan. In her case (#4), it suggests that her parents and siblings spoke Japanese in her family and also Japanese was spoken in her community. After the war, the Japanese community disappeared. It is difficult for new generations to learn the Japanese language without a place where they can use the language. In other words, learning Japanese is not necessary for the new generation to live in American society.

In family communication, most of the Issei participants spoke English, even though it was broken English. The Issei family apparently used both languages; Japanese and English.
A Sansei woman (#3) says, "from the stories I heard, my grandmother, my father's mother, talked to his brother and sisters in Japanese and they answered in English. They didn't want to talk in Japanese, but they did speak Japanese."

Another Sansei of them (#5) said "my mother always wanted to use English at home to kindergarten. She couldn't understand anything from those speaking English. She wanted me to understand what the teacher was saying."

Another Sansei (#6) says, "usually at breakfast time when I was growing up, the kid, my mom and dad mostly spoke Japanese when they at the table. At dinner time, they could speak English."

A Sansei from Detroit (#11) says "my grandparents couldn't speak English. My grandma just told me, good boy. She would still try to communicate, still try to talk to me."

Most families did not have a big problem in communicating with each other. Only a few families had a communication problem between generations. For example, the Issei could not speak English and the Sansei could not understand Japanese. The Nisei parents usually interpreted between two generations. Except in three Sansei cases, the language skill was lost in the new generation. None of them subscribed to any Japanese reading materials because they cannot read Japanese. Only their parents or husbands who have Japanese reading skills subscribe to ethnic magazines and newspapers. Eventually, there was a communication gap between Issei and Sansei in some families.
There is only one Buddhist among all the participants (Table 5). Although she (#1) is in the fourth generation, she keeps her tradition Buddhist religion. It must be because she is from Hawaii. She stated, "my grandma was a strict Buddhist. She attends the church regularly. But my parents never made us attend church. I don't know really anything about the Buddhist religion." She thinks her religion is Buddhism but like her parents, she doesn't care for it. She also said that she is now interested in Catholicism because her best friend is Catholic.

Table 5
Religion and Generations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Nisei</th>
<th>Sansei</th>
<th>Yonsei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nisei woman (#4) explains her family religion.

My husband (Issei) was not a member of church. He brought his religion, Buddhism. When he died, I gave his funeral with Buddhist rites for him. My parents were also Christian. My father was a Christian and my mother was baptized in California. My parents believed both Christianity and Buddhism.

A Sansei (#3) said, "when Issei came, they all were Buddhist, but half of the community converted to Christianity. And half of them
stayed in the Buddhist church. They all did it at same time."

It suggests that there were many cases where Isseis retained their traditional religion. Still, some Issei immigrants apparently tended to convert to Christianity. Respondent (#4) also stated:

My family was Christian. My neighbors also. But people living in the next town were Buddhist, only Buddhist. There was a church in my town but there wasn't a Buddhist church. There wasn't a church in the next town but there was a Buddhist church.

It is difficult to find a Buddhist church in Michigan area. The Sansei couple (#11) explained their cases. Although their parents never changed from Buddhist to Christian, they became Christian. The husband of the Sansei couple answered, "my parents made me go with my sister to the church. It was forced obligation." His wife said, "I grew up next door to the church. I went to the Baptist church." He added another statement, "the Baptist religion, probably was most dominant in that area."

Their stories are similar with that of the Nisei woman. She acknowledged that residents in her community accepted the dominant religion where they lived. In Michigan, the Buddhist church is not dominant. Like the (#11) couple, Japanese people will tend to change their religion to Christianity to assimilate into the white society.

**Food Preference**

Nisei woman (#4) prefers Japanese food and rice for each meal though she cannot eat this food with her white relatives in Michi-
gan. A Sansei (#11) couple preferred a combination of styles and eat rice once a day. Another Sansei (#2) whose husband is a Japanese cooks mixes of Hawaiian and Japanese, and eats rice in dinner time. The Yonsei also related that her family have Japanese food twice or three times a week and have rice each meal. In the intra-ethnic cases, all revealed their Japanese food habits.

Other interracial couples discussed their food habits. Mainly their food styles are western but some people really prefer rice. Respondents (#6) and (#8) have rice at least once a day like an intra-ethnic couple. Respondent (#5) only has rice once a week in spite of interracial marriage. Only the Sansei woman (#3) indicated that she almost never has rice except when she goes to California. There was a common response from the interracial couples, "My wife also likes rice." The food habits depend on the preferences of a Caucasian spouse, too.

Ethnicity of Close Friends

In Michigan, there are few Japanese Americans. Most of them usually are friends with Caucasians. Three Sansei who grew up in Michigan stated, "all close friends are Caucasians." Two Sansei from California also indicated that their friends are all white. However, a Sansei (#3) from California has two very close friends who are Japanese Americans in other States. They have known each other since they were young. Another Sansei (#5) responded, "My closest friend, he is a Chinese American." They had Asian close
friends when they were in California. The Nisei woman also said her close friends are all Nisei living in California. The Yonsei (#1) has three close friends who were Japanese, Filipino, and Caucasian. A Sansei (#8) also has a close friend who is a Japanese American. Compared to growing up in California and Hawaii, there is a different situation in Michigan. Respondent (#11) stated, "I think, in my case, I grew up with the Whites, Caucasians. That probably feel more comfortable with Caucasian than I do with Oriental because I haven't had contact with Oriental."

Therefore, for Japanese American, it is easy to enter into the Caucasian group in Michigan even in the same Sansei group.

**Ethnicity of Co-workers**

In the Sansei group, five of the seven worked. The Sansei couples, who are school teachers, have Black and White co-workers but not many Asians. The others explained that their co-workers are mostly Caucasians. One could say that they belong to the Caucasian society in the working fields.

**Ethnicity of Neighbors**

All participants except Yonsei indicated that their neighbors are all or mostly white. It suggests that Japanese Americans in Michigan assimilate into white neighborhoods.
Social Status

Nisei woman noted that her family and parents' family are in the middle class. In the Sansei group, five of the seven people responded, middle class. Only two of the seven answered, upper-middle. Both of them are professional workers and they also obtained Ph.D. degree and double Master's compared to the others. Concerning their parent's position, two people thought that there was no differences in the economic rank. Two of them indicated that their parents were lower than themselves. One stated, lower-middle and the other said, upper-middle. The Yonsei indicated that her family is in the upper-middle class. Her parents are professional workers. The Yonsei also should maintain her parent's social status. Considering the Issei's job, the social status is better than before. The Sansei from Detroit (#11) discussed about their parents problem.

I would say my parents were economically, probably be in the lower. Probably upper-lower, you know. Maybe during those times in 50's, but it was lower middle income. My parents have a college education. My mother has 2 years, but because of the War, that scratched that.

It is a fact that most Nisei people suffered to get a white collar job when they graduated from college because of racial discrimination. Now, educational attainment is linked to the job field and social status.

Cultural Events and Practices

The participants were asked about the traditional events.
Nisei woman responded that she still celebrated the traditional events alone. Sansei people do not celebrate the traditional events here in Michigan. Respondent (#6), Nisei woman's son, recalled that the traditional events were a special time because of the food. He does not celebrate any more now, he only makes miso-soup. Sansei people said that they celebrate only the American holidays, like Thanksgiving and Christmas. The Sansei from Detroit (#11) says, "my parents always said, Boy's day, New Year's Day, something like that. That's still for me a strong feeling in Japan." Now they do not celebrate here but they celebrated in the parent's home in California and Hawaii. They celebrated Japanese events, at least on New Year's Day. (It is the biggest event among Japanese traditions.) The Yonsei said that her family in Hawaii celebrate Japanese events. She knows the traditional events even though she is in the fourth generation. Similarly, a Sansei (#8) from Hawaii answered that his family in Hawaii celebrates the traditional events but he does not in Michigan. He tries to relate the events to his children. This indicates the difficulty of keeping the traditional events alive for succeeding generations. The only possibility is for parents tell their children about it.

For cultural practices and historical events, the data show that people from Hawaii have many alternatives for maintaining ethnic cultural practices. The Yonsei (#1) noted that all her family members practiced Aikido. She is very interested in learning Ikebana because her mother learned it. The Sansei (#8) from Hawaii
also reported that he has practiced Karate, Judo, Kendo, Aikido and so on. Another Sansei (#3) from California is interested in Japanese cultural practices. She studied Ikebana and Pottery making. Two Sansei men, (#5) and (#6), who were married to Caucasian wives are not interested in practicing the traditional rituals and arts. The Nisei woman never studied the cultural practices and she does not want to do them. People who experienced a traditional art are interested in learning other traditional rituals. It suggests that there are not many opportunities to practice the Japanese cultural rituals in Michigan. It is hard to participate in these arts except for Asian popular sports. A Sansei from Detroit (#11) reported that he has practiced Karate and his youngest son, Yonsei, is also practicing Karate. Because Karate and Judo are popular sports in the U.S.A., even in Michigan, people can practice it. In terms of other cultural activities, it is not easy to find except for Hawaii.

War Experience

During the second World War, Japanese people were forced to move to the internment camps. People in Hawaii were treated well compared to the people on West Coast because they did not go to the camps. A Sansei (#2) from Hawaii stated that there were so many Japanese and there was simply no place to establish a camp (in Hawaii). It was a traumatic event for Japanese Americans. Numerous stories were shared about the internment camp.

A Nisei woman (#4) said,
we were divided into 10 different camps. When I went there at first, there were only barracks made of wood. Really nothing. We picked up the remaining wood and made a chair or something by ourselves. Each barrack has 10 barracks. Everybody ate in a barrack for meals. We had meals in shifts. We had to eat fast there. We didn't have much food in Assembly center. In the camp it became better late because we grew some in a farm. We came to use them. Later on, pretty good. We had mochi and Oshogatsu.

A Sansei man (#6) said,

we had people playing cards in the camp, a lot of gambling, like anything play stuff. Kids were not bad. We had school. We had to play. Older people, my parents, people who lived in 30's, 40's and 50's were tough because there wasn't much to do.

The Yonsei (#1) said,

my dad and his two sisters were born in camp. They had to eat a lot of spam. So, he doesn't like it. Well, we'll eat it, we will all eat it, except him. But he said he had to eat it all the time. Rice ball, he used to eat rice ball and spam. And there were guards and huge fences. He remembered that.

A Sansei (#3) said

that was a kind of story. It was the War time hysteria and Japanese were singled out. First, they didn't do as Nazis did to Jews with the gas, but it wasn't normal. Issei all their life was like slave. This was their chance because they were settle down; they didn't have to worry about where the meals coming from; the government took care of us in these camps for years. Then my parents generation, they wanted economic income. At least five years taken abroad. See the Japanese Americans don't like to make big wave, just go along with things. That's Shikatagani (it cannot be helped) attitude.

A Sansei man (#11) said that "there is no doubt. Their citizens' rights were really taken away. The whole life style they lost. That's pretty racial because of the physical difference between the Caucasian population."

Most Sansei and Yonsei have knowledge about camp life. Except people in Hawaii, every family of the participants experienced the
internment camps. A Sansei (#2) discussed events in Hawaii and her
Issei father when the war occurred.

In Hawaii, there were too many Japanese people. What happen
we stayed at home, but the window had to be painted black.
There would be no light showing at night. That is not easy
spot by Japanese. The books, anything belonging to religion
and Japanese books, were destroyed. All Japanese books de­
stroyed. Pearl Harbor was bombed. It was announced over the
radio right away. My father couldn't believe it. He said,
Japanese is not so stupid. To attack America was out of the
question.

She confessed that the war experience gave her a negative image of
Japan and the Japanese. Before meeting her Japanese husband, she
was not interested in Japan because of the war experience. During
the war, Nisei combat teams were formed. A Nisei woman recalled it
and indicated her feelings about Issei parents having to stay in the
camp: why did Nisei children have to go to the war? There was a
dilemma in many ways about being either Japanese or American. Some
participants indicated that people in California were more American­
ized. The war effort should have this noted difference. A Sansei
woman also reported that Nisei parents ignored the traditional ways
to become Americans; Sansei children could not learn them from their
parents. This produced a cultural gap between the generations. The
war effect compelled the Japanese people to assimilate into the host
society.

Postwar Era and Afterwards

After the war, many Japanese Americans moved to Michigan and
other parts of the Midwest from the camps. Several of the partici-
pants related stories about Michigan. A Nisei woman (#4) said,

at first there were other Japanese, 30 or 40 people working
in the greenhouse. Little by little, they left there to go to
Chicago or to go back to California, finally only our family
stayed there. My husband was the only Japanese there.

Sansei man (#6) said that

before the end of the War, we came to Michigan. He worked in
the greenhouse for 35 years growing roses and flowers. We
moved to Michigan in 1945. I’ve been in this country for a
while. A lot of Japanese settled in the Detroit area after
World War II. We had a large community in Detroit. In fact,
these were JACL parties. They were really active, perhaps in
the middle of 1950’s. After that, a lot of Japanese moved
back to California. There had their own family there. That
is why they wanted to go. My uncle moved back there because
the weather is nice. They moved back in 1949-1957. Three or
five years after the War, everybody went back to California.
A lot of them moved to New Jersey.

Another Sansei man (#11) said that

growing up was very tough, because you remember, I grew up in
the post World War II period, a lot of my friends’ fathers
came back from the War. So, there was some hidden animosity.
I think for males, it was harder though because a lot of re­
marks and gestures.

Living in Michigan isolated Japanese people from their ethnic
communities in other area in the U.S. Unlike California and Haw­
aii, Japanese families lived a hard life in Michigan after the war.
It was difficult enough to give children a negative feelings about
Japanese culture. Respondent (#11) also related how he did not like
the Japanese, but he became interested in Japanese culture recently.
People need time to recover from the mental trauma. A Sansei woman
(#3) stated,

They didn’t really want to be Japanese. Anyway after 40 years
later, they started handling and hearing because of the find­
ings of the government. Really my aunts and my uncles, they
didn’t talk about anything else. For the first time, it was
out in the open, people could talk about it and even get mad about it because people allowed themselves to be mad. Because of that they could heal after 40 years.

It was much harder for Japanese Americans to re-establish their lives after the war. They did not complain about the camps for many years. The shikataganai attitudes in Issei and Nisei generation helped in rebuilding their American lives. Because they did not look back, they could get well. Among the participants, (#5) made the following observation about Japanese and Japanese Americans: "They don't really object much. Always they are looking forward."

**Discriminatory Experience**

The question asked was: "Have you ever been discriminated against?" Some people mentioned that they never felt it. However, there were negative answers about discrimination even in the Sansei group.

**Nisei (#4) says:**

One time my daughter and I went to downtown in Mt. Clemens. Just when we passed through a school, a child says, yellow, go back to your country. We ignored it and passed through. I experienced it when I was waiting in a restaurant, I wasn't served at first, the next person was served before me."

**Sansei (#11):**

I felt it growing up. I felt different. And I struggled growing up. To be somebody to accept. A lot of discrimination when I was growing up. Even now you still get some, just because of physical features. "World War II is inconceivable to them (children). It's in the history books, but that's it. I don't see much racial remarks as much, not that they are not there. But I believe they're still there.
Sansei from Hawaii (#8):

I feel that I have. Yes. A former employer accused me of not being able to be involved in teamwork because of my culture, my Japanese culture. And I resigned under protest. I probably could have filed a discrimination lawsuit. But Japanese people don't normally do stuff like that.

Sansei (#6) said, "probably. Not in here I don't think about it. I don't think about it any more."

It is reported that the new generations, Sansei and Yonsei, do not experience racial discrimination as much as their parents. As some participants pointed out, there is still some racial discrimination in this country. Also, the existence of Asian Americans is not recognized in Michigan because there are not many Asian Americans here. Physical differences are generally the cause of the racial discrimination. The next question was about physical differences as Oriental. Have your physical differences ever been a source of discomfort in your life?

A Sansei couple (#11) stated, "sometimes. It depends on the situation, and for me, a husband, definitely." Sansei from Hawaii (#8) stated,

yes, I have. Especially since we have an interracial marriage, sometimes people look at us. But this is in more rural places. Because a university town, larger city, that kind of stuff, is more, I guess, accepted than say a rural area where they are more conservative.

Sansei woman from California (#3) said,

yes, sometimes in the small towns in the Midwest where you get tired of people staring at you. When I went to Hawaii, I relaxed a little more because everybody looked like me. I guess there is some little attention. Even though it doesn't bother me, but there is some attention.
Some people denied both discrimination and their own physical discomfort. Others said that they experienced discrimination and they feel their physical differences among the Caucasians.

The Effect of the War and Ethnic Identity

The experience of the internment camp during the war was a very influential thing for Japanese Americans, especially Nisei people. The war exacerbated the generational conflicts between Issei and Nisei. It suggests that most Nisei denied their traditional identities to assimilate into the society.

Respondent #3 stated,

I think definitely they (her parents) wanted me to take an active role with Japanese and Caucasian. In fact, they moved out of Japanese community to this community where I was only Japanese American in whole school. So, they must have had something in mind. They never said anything. I was wondering why 60% of Japanese Americans do not marry to Japanese Americans of my generation. I really speak partly because the War happened to us and they were treated after this. They didn't really want to be a Japanese. So, one way you were not Japanese if you were not married to a Japanese.

As #3 explains, Japanese community also lost the ethnic ties. Many Japanese people attempted to enter the mainstream through the war experience. Respondent (#5) indicated the feelings of Japanese Americans to the society.

I think people only generally want to become a part of the society. They don't try to separate themselves from the society to become the part of it. So, I think they don't have too much problems. I think, is my opinion, most Japanese feel their heritage is important to them. Still they don't want to keep themselves separate from the society.

The feeling that (#5) Sansei shows are not only for Japanese
American living on the mainland, but also for people in Hawaii. People growing up in Michigan have parents who experience the camp life during the war. Respondents (#6) and (#11) were influenced by the war effect. Respondent (#6) truly denies his ethnic identity in the interview. Respondent (#11), Sansei couple, confessed that they also were forced to enter into the Caucasian group. They indicated that they are proud of being Japanese now, but they were not in the past because of the negative images of Japanese. Although all of them indicate that they are proud of being Japanese, some people denied their ethnic heritages due to the discriminatory experience of the war.

**Generational Differences**

The participants described each generation. The Issei stated "Not affectionate. They are Japanese from Japan. They keep very traditional way. They don't speak English or speak broken English."

The Nisei stated,

our generation is in a mixed culture, Japanese and American. They don't praise children. They are not affectionate. They can speak English. They are very Japanese. I think very regiment a lot of things they did. They carried on a lot of the Japanese type stuff. Nisei really had a hard time because they are caught between. They are able to fully understand their own parents from the native country. They had to do abide doing whatever they were taught. They are less traditional and more Americanized.

The Sansei stated that

they praise children. They are more educated. They don't have a lot of Japanese things. Sansei has mostly lost whatever the second generation had mainstreamed assimilation. Our generation lost more than our parents.
The Yonsei responded,

our boys really like to know and are very interested in Japanese culture. I am a little more open and just being here I have become more open and affectionate. But it is still kind of uncomfortable when people hug you and stuff because for me I'm not used to that.

Japanese cultural identity is lost more and more each generation.

As Sansei couple noted, "their children will be ethnic period."

There are many interracial couples. At this point, it is assumed that it is much harder to maintain the ethnic identity in an interracial marriage.

The Characteristics of the New Immigrant Group

Interviews were conducted with three Issei people in the new immigrant group. All three of them are males. Two of them came to the United States in the 1960's. Two of them live in Kalamazoo. The other man lives in Detroit Area. The number corresponds to the interview number; #7, #9, #13.

Educational Attainment

All three are professionals. Their educational attainments are very high. Respondent (#7) came to the United States as a scholar by the invitation of the U.S. government. Respondent (#9) graduated from a high school in Japan and came to the U.S. to study for his graduate degrees. He received his B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. in the U.S. Respondent (#13) also came to the U.S. to study graphic design that he could not learn in Japan in those days. He had al-
ready worked for 10 years in Japan as a professional graphic designer, but he wanted to study new illustration techniques here (Table 6).

Table 6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#7 Ph.D. (in Japan)</td>
<td>Faculty</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#9 Ph.D. (in U.S.)</td>
<td>A biologist</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#13 An artist</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the 1960's, there were still significant differences in the finds of study available in the two countries. Respondent (#7) stated about the differences.

At that time, 360 Japanese yen was 1 dollar. One person could bring only 50 dollars from Japan because of Japan had a big deficit and U.S. had a big surplus in the international balance of payment. Very different. Particularly for a researcher like me. The facilities of the universities were so bad in Japan. The circumstances and facilities of the University of Chicago were very good.

As (#7) describes it, there was a large difference in economic conditions. Most Japanese who came in 1960's were attracted by the wealth of this country. Compared to the old immigrant group, the new Issei has advanced educational preparation and they could speak proper English. As a worker, only (#13) has already retired now.
Spouse Data and Marriage Preference

Two of three Issei as married to Caucasians. One is married to a Japanese woman. The Caucasian wives are still working as professionals (See Table 7).

Table 7

Spouse Ethnicity and Education Attainment and Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#7 Japanese</td>
<td>A.A.</td>
<td>Nurse/housewife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#9 Caucasian</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
<td>A biologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#13 Caucasian</td>
<td></td>
<td>Writer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The wife of (#7) has been a housewife. She received her Associate degree for nursing. She worked as a nurse before retiring. Respondent (#9) has a wife who is a professional as a microbiologist. She is working in the same company where he works in Kalama-zoo. This couple is also highly educated couple. Respondent (#13) married twice. His first wife was a Japanese and she passed away several years ago. His second wife is an English American born in England. His first wife was a housewife but his second wife is a professional editor. From their spouse ethnicities, Issei generation in the new group has already accepted the interracial marriage.
**Child Education and Marriage Preference**

The number of children and their educational attainment is described in Table 8 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#7</td>
<td>Three Sons</td>
<td>All attained M.A.'s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#9</td>
<td>Single Son</td>
<td>*Ph.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#13</td>
<td>Single Daughter</td>
<td>M.A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Respondent (#9) expects his son to complete Ph.D. though his son is only six years old. Other people expected their children to have advanced degree beyond a Bachelor's. Their children are also working in a professional field like their parents. Respondent (#7) said, "I think they wouldn't live if they were not professional." This word indicates that being a professional is necessary to live comfortable in American society. Issei parents recognized the importance of the relationship between educational attainment and professional work. In terms of their children's marriages, all of them confessed that they do not have any preferences. All of them have liberal ideas because of their advanced education.
Mode of Communication and Children’s Language Skills

Except for one son of (#9), all of their children can speak and read Japanese, because their mother taught Japanese diligently.

Respondent (#7) said:

My two older sons are completely bilingual. They told me that they didn’t mind which language was used when they spoke. My wife taught very strongly. She didn’t make them use English at all in our house because there wasn’t a Japanese school around here at that time. Two older sons have studied in Japan for a while but the youngest son never did when he was young. So, his mother language is English. He doesn’t speak fluently though he studied in a university in Japan as an exchange student.

Respondent (#13) noted that his daughter is also bilingual and she does not have any trouble speaking Japanese. In her case also, her mother taught her Japanese. She studied in Japan once because her mother took her there. "My wife thought my daughter would not be able to speak Japanese properly if she wasn’t educated in Japan."

Both cases are Japanese couple’s. It indicates that language skill depends upon how much parents take care to teach their children. It shows that it must be difficult to keep the language skill even in a Japanese family. People have to speak the ethnic language only at home because there is no Japanese community. These two cases show that it requires a strong effort to make their children keep the ethnic language in American society.

All Issei can speak English properly because they are highly educated. This was not true for the old group. Children are also different from Nisei in Old group. They have reading and writing skills in Nisei generation. In an interracial marriage case, such
as (#9), usually American wife cannot speak Japanese. So, English
is spoken at home. This situation leads to more loss of the lan-
guage skill in the next generation.

Ethnicity of Close Friends and Co-workers and Neighbors

There are some differences among the three participants. Re-
spondent (#7) has a close friend who is a Jewish scientist. He
noted that the friend has the same occupation and is a minority like
him. As he is a faculty member in a university, most of his co-
workers are Caucasian. Many professors and teachers are living in
his present residential area. It is a mixed ethnic atmosphere.
Respondent (#9) said that he had no Asian friends here. He does not
contact any Japanese. All his close friends are Caucasian. He has
many Chinese co-workers in addition to White co-workers because of
the science field. His neighbors are mostly Caucasian. There are a
few Asians. Respondent (#13) lives in a mixed ethnic area in De-
troit. The neighborhood is for upper middle class people. He has a
close friend who is a Black artist though he has been the only Asian
among Caucasian co-workers.

Basically all of them get along with Caucasians. They seem to
have no problem interracially with Caucasian people anywhere. They
do not have a language problem. They apparently have adjusted to
the American way.
Their opinions about religion are different. Respondent (#7) has no religion. He says, "because I'm a scientist, I don't believe in it." Originally his family in Japan practiced Shintoism. His wife may be Buddhist. He is attracted to Zen philosophy. He recognizes that his cultural background is rooted in an Asian culture.

Respondent (#9) changed his religion to Methodist because his wife is Methodist. He says, "I had no religion in Japan. But I used to go to Sunday school. I am familiar with Christianity. I didn't have any hesitation to change the religion." He attends church every Sunday and Sunday school because it helps his child's education.

Respondent (#13) brought his religion, Buddhism, from Japan because his mother's family includes a Buddhist priest. He never changed his religion though his wife is a Quaker. However, he attends Meetings and gets along with other quakers because he is very interested in the religion.

One would think that respondent (#9) has been very influenced by the Caucasian culture; on his wife's side. Respondent (#13) are affected somehow about religion. If he did not bring the traditional religion strongly, he would convert his religion to the Quakerism. These two cases suggest that interracial marriages can have cultural influences.
Japanese Media

All of them are interested in Japanese news here. Respondent (#7) receive recent social information by subscribing to many magazines and newspapers. His wife also subscribes to some magazines. Respondent (#9) subscribe only to a Japanese newspaper. Respondent (#13) stated that he stopped subscribing to a Japanese newspaper because it is costly and it is not interesting to him. Instead, he reads the New York Times. Still, he reads many Japanese books. In the Midwest, the mass media for international news is limited as three of them indicated. However, it is possible to receive Japanese newspapers and magazines.

Food Preference and Interracial Marriage

Respondent (#7) prefers to eat Japanese food. His wife is also a Japanese, so they have Japanese style meals everyday. Respondent (#9) said that there is a limitation on buying proper Japanese food. 80% of the time, he eats American style and 20% Asian style. He has rice once a week. Respondent (#13) does not care which food he consumes. When his first wife was alive, every meal was Japanese. Now most meals are simple. Thus, interracial marriage leads to less Japanese food preparation.

Cultural Events and Interracial Marriage

Couple (#7) honor the traditional events in the United States. They celebrate both Japanese and American holidays. Respondent (#9)
does not celebrate Japanese events because he lives in the United States. He celebrates only American. He usually talks to his son about Japanese cultural things. Respondent (#13) also does not celebrate Japanese events. He stated that he eats only mochi on the New Year's day. It is not different from when his Japanese wife was alive. This indicates that the cultural events are honored and practiced depending upon the individuals. All Japanese families in the United States do not celebrate the traditional festivals, rituals, etc. It is difficult to keep celebrating the traditional holidays even in the new Issei group.

Naturalization

All of these Issei obtained U.S. citizenship. It was noted that many Japanese people want to keep their Japanese nationality. They discussed about their reasons. What is the attraction of the U.S.? Respondent #7 replied that "the biggest factor is nature. Another reason is that everybody doesn't mind what the other does." Respondent #9 said "nothing. I got degrees here. I didn't have any opportunities to get a job in Japan then." Respondent #13 said "freedom."

The next responses focus on Japanese society. The three participants indicated that they do not like Japanese practices. They discussed the differences between American society and Japanese society.

Respondent #7 said that
Japanese society, it's very hard for me. When I go to Japan, other people expect me to behave as a Japanese because I look Japanese. We can speak anything we want to speak in American society but they don't have it in Japanese society. I have to behave as a Japanese. The maximum to stay in Japan is two weeks.

Respondent #9 stated that

When I speak Japanese, I usually think about how to speak in Japanese. If I talked like this, I would think how you think about my talking before I talk to you. In English, I don't think about it. We can speak things we want to speak in English. The most difficult thing in Japanese is how to use the polite words. I haven't used it for a long time. When I talk to somebody, I don't use the polite words. Instead of that, I use English words that I am familiar with. I become vague how to use the polite words. Thinking about how to communicate in Japanese and how to use the polite words, I become too lazy to speak in Japanese. So, I use English.

Respondent #13 said

I think that American society is more individualism than that of Japanese society. In Japan, behavior and the way of thinking are decided by a unit of the organization. It was unad­justable for me. When I came back to Japan once, I couldn't assimilate into the Japanese organization. I couldn't assimilate into Japanese society with their point of view.

Becoming Americanized indicates that Japanese cultural restrictions are becoming weak. Obviously this is a cultural difference. In Japan, people are ruled by cultural restrictions. There is an emphasis on common sense in Japanese society. People have to behave according to the rules. On the contrary, people have to earn respect in American society. People have to follow many invisible rules in Japan, but people have to say what they want in American society.

The three participants acquired the citizenship, but all responded that they think of themselves as Japanese, though they
changed their nationality.

Respondent #9 said

I took it because of the job. It's not because this American society is very good. Even though I don't take the citizenship, I would be able to live only with permanent visa. I thought so before taking the citizenship. If I don't go back to Japan, I should participate in the vote in a proper way of the citizen or to do something like that by taking the citizenship.

Respondent #13 said

I didn't decide for a long time. I thought that I had better take the citizenship because I decided to live here forever and I could obtain the rights to speak as others. Also, it doesn't make me change at all by taking the citizenship.

Respondent (#7) also decided to live in the U.S. and he wanted to have grant as a scientist. There are many grants only for a U.S. citizen. "I think the nationality is necessary but it is all right depending on the situation of need."

They decided to live here forever and they are given rights by becoming a U.S. citizen. Many Japanese people who live in the U.S. do not attempt to take citizenship. Compared to them, these three participants are more assimilated into American society.

**Discriminatory Experience**

The three respondents replied, "never." Respondent (#7) has heard from his oldest son that there is racial discrimination in business field because his son is a young executive. Also, he sometimes hear these kind of things, but he does not believe it. He thinks that the Japanese are very sensitive. Respondent (#13) knows about several incidents concerning Asian problems because he belongs
to JACL. Respondent (#13) said, he is very conscious that Asians are a discriminated group even though he did not think that he was discriminated against as an individual.

The Characteristics of Americans Who Have Japanese Ancestry

The interview was conducted with two mixed blood people. One (#10) is 65 years old living in Kalamazoo. The other (#12) is 24 years old living in Battle Creek.

Case One: A Japanese-Danish American

The father of respondent (#10) was a Nisei from Hawaii. His father came to Chicago to study in an school for electricians in the 1920's. His father came to Chicago because Japanese Americans did not have many job opportunities in Hawaii at that time. His father met a friend from Kalamazoo who convinced him to come to Kalamazoo. His mother was a Danish American. He stated that his father never spoke Japanese or practiced Japanese culture. Also, his father's friends were all Caucasian.

The only thing I can really do is to write my surname in Japanese Kanji. My father never taught us anything. About 25, 30 years ago, I started to collect Japanese stamps. That's what I really like to do. Actually, in his life style and home life culture he was a Caucasian. In fact, his sister said, He is ashamed to be a Japanese. His sister was more Japanese than she was a Hawaiian.

Although his father was a Japanese American, he was not taught any aspects of Japanese culture from his father. He is unfamiliar with Japanese food. He doesn't know any traditional events. Currently,
his close friends are mostly Caucasian and a few Blacks. His neighbor­hood is also all Caucasian. He is more comfortable sharing with Caucasian because he has not had any Asians around him except his father. His father was the only Japanese in Kalamazoo in those days. He then made the following observation about his physical differences. "One of the interesting things is it seems like Caucasian think I'm a Japanese, Japanese think I'm a Caucasian." However, he stated that he has never been discriminated against. And, he does not really think that his physical differences as a source of discomfort.

He discussed about his mother's heritage, Danish people as a White immigrant group compared to his father's heritage.

My grandparents moved to the north of Grand Rapids. There was a big Danish area. My grandfather came to the United States to grow a family. They spoke just Danish because the community had Danish. Big percentage of those people spoke Danish. My grandfather never spoke Danish at home. My mother and her sister never learned and speak Danish because his attitude, grandfather's thought. He thought where they were in the United States and they were Americans now, so. Not my father's attitude.

When he went to Hawaii to visit his aunt, he stated that his aunt and her family are very Japanese. During the war, he was 11 years old to 15. His father never went to the camp. He described that his family never experienced the discrimination during the war though his father was a Japanese American. His father is likely to assimilate into Caucasian society because of vanishing his ethnicity. That is why he (#10) could not have any Japanese cultural heritage. His wife is also a Caucasian. His sons also married
to Caucasians. His religion is protestant from his mother’s side.

He attained Bachelor’s degree from Kalamazoo College, but his sons achieved only Associate degrees. He owns an appliance shop that his father began in the 1940’s as a family business. The commitment to higher educational attainment does not appear in his family. The Japanese cultural heritage seems to have been absorbed into the Caucasian culture.

**Case Two: An American Who Has a Japanese Mother**

We turn next to respondent (#12) who is 24 years old. His mother is a New Issei immigrant. She came to the United States in 1960 because of her first marriage to an American. His case is somewhat similar to respondent (#10). His mother never pushed him to learn Japanese cultural beliefs and practices. So, he cannot speak Japanese and he does not know any cultural events. However, he has an opportunity to learn Japanese culture because he is now working in a Japanese company in Battle Creek. To improve his chances of promotion in the company, he wants to learn Japanese:

> I think speaking Japanese would lead to moving up in the company and I could help other Americans and other co-workers break to barrier between Japanese and Americans because there is a kind of barrier.

Like respondent (#10) revealed, he stated that he has never been discriminated against and never felt physical discomfort. He identified as an American. He has all Caucasian friends. His neighbors are all white. His wife is also Caucasian. He attained an Associate degree in College. This example also indicates there was
no higher education ambitions. He also must not feel the disadvantages of color because he assimilated into the white society.

His mother is from Osaka in Japan. She did not attend college. Her friends here are mostly Japanese women. Some of them also have American husbands. She has already received her U.S. citizenship. From his view, she is likely to be more Americanized these days. She stopped using her maiden name in her middle name. She is still trying to improve her English. He talked about her communication level:

Because to my mom, I have never really had a problem understanding her. My friends and my wife kind of have a hard time understanding her. She talks kind of soft, quiet. But I have never really had a problem with her English. She is trying to improve.

At this point, he can understand both sides; mother’s side and father’s side. He knows other mixed blood children of his mother’s. In these interracial marriage situations, the cultural values and practices to children taught depends on the parents. He discussed about some of his parents attitudes: "Some of the other children were pushed to be more Japanese than I was. I was hardly ever pushed. They were learning language and talking back and forth. They are more close to Japanese culture." He did not grow up like these children. He can get some Japanese cultural knowledge because he works in a Japanese company now.

I don’t like Japanese traditional treatment for women. They should make more time for families instead of working so much. Japan, culture is as far as business wise rapidly much more American. They adapt their technology or fashions changed their industry much faster than we do. Also, I really respect some of their honor and tradition. Their values are also very
high. It's very good. Also, reading works, fiction books and non-fictions book about Japan, they help figure out human character. That's pretty neat. Americans don't have none of the culture, not disappointed by Japanese culture. I really like some of them.

Compared to respondent (#10), he has been taught some Japanese culture. He likes rice and he is familiar with Asian foods because of his mother. He also practiced Judo. He is really interested in going to Japan. He identifies himself as an American. He also accepts his Japanese part. "It doesn't bother me that I'm Japanese. Actually, I'm part. Diverse, not just White, Caucasian, it's given me a more open view of Japanese culture and the people. There's much about the mystery."

The differences between respondents (#10) and (#12) are related to the historical factors. In the past, there were no Asians in Kalamazoo. Most people were not familiar with Asian culture which was considered an inferior culture. Now there are many Japanese companies in Battle Creek because Japanese economic competition has increased. Many Japanese students are studying here. The image of Asians has also changed. Respondent (#10) talked about the changes in Kalamazoo.

It seems different since there are more and more Oriental, Asians, that moved in. And it seems to be because most people are employed the colleges, the universities or at Upjohn company. They are usually highly educated. Professionals. Oriental here have good images, hard working, intelligent. I love the performance.

As a result of interracial marriages to Caucasians, the ethnic cultural heritage decreases in the next generation unless a child marries a Japanese. The children of interracial couples in Sansei
also chose only Caucasians for their spouses. The rate of marriage to Caucasian is high in Michigan. Marital assimilation has absorbed the ethnic identity of the Japanese partner and transformed into near Caucasian.

The Other Indications on Assimilation

Social Position of Japanese Americans

Every participant admits that Japanese Americans are highly educated and have good jobs. Politically, three of them responded that Japanese Americans are still a minority and are not in power positions in this country.

Respondent #1 stated,

I think, we're in pretty good shape. I mean we work hard and we still hold to many Japanese traditions, and way of thinking. And so, I think it gives us an advantage because we are willing to work hard and we are determined to try.

Respondent #3 stated that most of them are middle class. But very few positions have any power. Like in the companies, I ever hear about JACL, that's Japanese Americans, there are two or three senators and congress men. I would say Japanese Americans do not fully to participate in the American society at influential levels, levels of the power and the influence. Maybe not. But economically they are better off than many groups.

Respondent #8 said it

depends on where you live. If you live along the West Coast, probably more prominent because you have a greater community. If the community is small, social positions probably small, or nonexistent.

The observations and opinions of the Issei immigrants towards the status of Japanese Americans follows:
Respondent #7 said

I think it's high. They are getting to be higher. Especially, Nisei and Sansei people are working very hard. We are helped by them because we came here later. We never met hardship since the beginning. If they were in the lowest social class, we would have to start from the lowest level together. Because their social positions are getting to be higher, people who came later were helped by that every much.

As this new Issei recognizes, the efforts of Japanese Americans after the War changed the negative images, Jap to Japanese. Respondent (#7) perceives correctly that the good image of Japanese Americans affects the new immigrants from Japan. Also, Japan's recovery from the economic conditions to reach the same level as the United States played a significant role in these changed perceptions. Most new immigrants are upper middle class. There are no refugees and no lower class people in the new immigrant group from Japan. They settled in the United States as persons with high social positions. It would suggest that both Japanese Americans and Japanese national have changed their social images of each other.

The Effect of Living in Michigan

Most participants describe the people in Michigan as friendly and open. Some people also indicated that they are very conservative. Most people are unfamiliar with Asian culture and Asian Americans. Respondent #1 said "they are more open and very affectionate. They aren't willing to try new things."

Respondent #12 stated,

I see Michigan as a conservative State, but that's so radical in their beliefs politically. They believe generally Michigan
is pretty quiet peaceful State. California has many diverse
culture and groups. But Michigan is so far way from that
immigration. They just don't see it very much.

Respondent #8 stated that

people in the mainland, in Michigan, are outwardly private,
but inwardly open. But, it all depends on how well they know
the relationship.

Respondent #9 said

you would know it if you go to the southern part. The people
in the south help each other more than the people in Michigan.
In Michigan, it's hard to see the mutual help. It seems like
doing everything by yourself.

To the question "Do you feel that living in Michigan forced you
to lose your Japanese identity more than the other places where many
Japanese Americans or Asians live?", seven of the 13 interviews re­sponded, "Yes," and four said, "No." Only one person said he did not
know. Here are some of the answers for this questions.

Yes. It's right. We cannot do Japanese things easily here.
I am happy because I have (Japanese identity). Yes, we are
definitely. No, I think it helped strengthen my Japanese
identity. In Hawaii, I took it for granted because it is
there every day. In Michigan, I am conscious of not wanting
to lose it, so I try harder to keep on to it. I don't think
so. Wherever we live, it doesn't change. I think that peo­ple
living in Tokyo lose the identity rather than here.

We will consider further the "No" response. Respondent (#7) said
that he doesn't change his identity no matter where he lives. He
can say this because he is an Issei. Like respondent (#9), "I am
happy because I have." The Issei brings their ethnic identities
from Japan. The Issei do not need to be afraid of losing their eth­
nic identities because it's firm. Respondent (#8) observed that
living in Michigan helped strengthen his Japanese identity. How­
ever, psychologically speaking, he may be afraid of losing his ethnic identity if he were not conscious of it. Thus, living in Michigan must forces some Japanese Americans to lose their identity and compels others to cling to it more rigidly.

The Differences Between Areas

From these data, there are many differences between the areas; Michigan, Hawaii and California. Especially in Hawaii, Japanese cultural values are mixed and maintained very well because of the number of Japanese Americans. The Yonsei woman described her place of residence is as a mixed ethnic community. Many different racial heritages live together.

Respondent #2 stated.

I grew up in a school where there were different types of ethnic groups. Hawaiian, Chinese, Portuguese, English, Japanese of course, Filipinos...I think that would be the major groups. My close friend was a Hawaiian Chinese Japanese in Hawaii, who married a Hawaiian Portuguese English. So, that's the mixture of her children.

Contrary, to the mainland, in Hawaii, the people of color are the majority.

Respondent #8 stated,

I know in Hawaii, at least with the Hawaiian Japanese, and even with non-Japanese to some extent, On, Giri, the exchange is very important, you know, in the relationship.

In California, most people also are familiar with Asians and Asian Americans.

Respondent #5 said

I guess the only difference might be that there are a lot of
Japanese Americans, who might understand my Japanese custom or something. Maybe, they might know that.

There are many Japanese cultural elements like TV, magazines, newspapers, food, and so forth in Hawaii and California. Japanese Americans living there do not need to worry about them. It is very easy to get them.

**Ethnic Tension and the Area Differences**

Participants compared California and Hawaii to Michigan. The common opinion was that California has more prejudiced than Michigan. It's a bad situation and they have strong ethnic tensions. In spite of this situation, respondent (#11) intends that it is hard to be able to talk anything about ethnic cultures in Michigan because of their minority status. In California, there are high ethnic tensions and there is a space where people can talk about anything ethnic. In Hawaii, respondent (#3) pointed out that everything is relaxed. Some people assert that Hawaiian culture is a mixed culture. Everything is mixed like their pidgin English. Among many ethnic people, Japanese Americans have more power than the others because of their economic success. Also, there are many Japanese tourists from Japan because the location is the most convenient in the U.S. from Japan.

Michigan is a very difficult place for Japanese Americans because there are big automobile companies in the Detroit area. Now that the U.S. and Japan are economic competitors in the automobile trade, new tensions may emerge. As Kitano and Daniels point out,
the effects on both countries creates problems for Japanese American society. It suggests that these tensions are experienced by Japanese living in Michigan.

As Asian Americans, How Are They Seen in This Country?

Approximately over 100 years spent since Asian immigrants came to the U.S. Especially, two thirds of Japanese Americans are native born. It is a fact that except for some big cities, Asian Americans are not seen as a American. There are two respondents' experiences about it.

Takaki (1993) describes his episode in his book,

I had flown from San Francisco to Norfolk and was riding in a taxi to my hotel to attend a conference on multiculturalism. Hundreds of educators from across the country were meeting to discuss the need for greater cultural diversity in the curriculum. My driver and I chatted about the weather and the tourists. The sky was a mirror which reflected a white man in his forties. "How long have you been in this country? he asked. All my life, I replied, wincing. I was born in the United States. With a strong southern drawl, he remarked: I was wondering because your English is excellent! Then, as I had many times before, I explained that my grandfather came here from Japan in the 1880's. My family has been here, in America, for over a hundred years. He glanced at me in the mirror. Somehow I did not look American to him; my eyes and complexion looked foreign. (p. 99)

Respondent (#1) describes her experience since coming to Michigan:

I guess a couple times people have asked me before they even speak to me if I have a language speaking problems or do I understand English. And I guess in Washington there are a lot of Japanese, Japanese Americans and a lot of people from Hawaii. So, people there just knew that we were Japanese Americans. But people here, they assume I maybe from Malaysia or Japan. They have asked me if I am Chinese, or Korean. And so they asked me before they even speak me. So, I guess sometimes for me, I get angry. Because I'm not used to it. But I guess I would like to be from Japan. But, otherwise, no.
As the Yonsei woman indicated, people in Michigan are not familiar with Asian Americans. Asian Americans are not recognized as Americans in some places in the U.S. This fact makes Asian and Japanese Americans struggle to live in American society.

Hansen's Law and Ethnic Awareness

From these data, Japanese Americans are losing their ethnic identity. One reason is that they experienced the second World War. The Nisei generation did not teach their children, Sansei, the ethnic heritage. The war effect presented problems for Sansei people, also. Some Sansei also ignored their ethnic heritage because of the discriminatory experience. However, Sansei and Yonsei indicated an interest in Japanese material. In Michigan, because of minority status and the fear of losing their ethnic identity, Japanese Americans have increased their awareness of their ethnic identity and the need to retain it. Thus, living in Michigan has led to an increase in ethnic conscious for the people because they are small group in the white society.

Summary

In the old group, assimilation proceed by generations. As former research indicated, the new generation assimilated into the mainstream rather than the old generation. After the second World War, the Japanese group achieved a higher social status. Along with the process of social mobility, the Japanese are becoming absorbed
by the Caucasian group. Also, interracial marriage to majority group members is increasing in the Sansei generation. It shows that the intraethnic marriage is difficult in Michigan. Asians are a very small group in the State.

In the new group, it is easy for them to adjust to American society. Since they came here, most of them did not face the hardships of the Issei in the old group. Their social status has been upper middle class from the beginning. Japan had already industrialized when they came to the U.S. There are no major technological differences between the two countries. Young Japanese are familiar with American fast food since they were born. The new group of people found it easier to establish relations with the majority group, though they retained their cultural practices and values in this country.

The mixed blood group is an example of their assimilation situation. Two participants indicated that they are almost assimilated into the white society. They do not think of themselves as Japanese. They do not know any Japanese cultural beliefs and practices. Due to changing historical factors, Japanese culture, especially language, is becoming more important because of Japanese economic power. Like the mixed blood situation, they could understand both of their parents' cultures. Now, sometimes, it is an advantage to be a mixed blood person.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Japanese American Assimilation Process

According to Gordon's assimilation theory, Japanese Americans proceed to assimilate by generations. Among factors which effect the process, physical differences are the greatest obstacle for Japanese Americans to hinder total assimilation into the dominant society. As to the cultural factors, Japanese Americans tend to accept the U.S. cultural traditions. Especially after the second World War, they began to assimilate into the white society. They began to obtain higher educational attainment and social status. This provides Human capital necessary to assimilate. I suggests that high educational attainment and economic status makes assimilation easier. The Japanese American population is a relatively small minority group in the United States. It is difficult for Japanese Americans to acquire power in the society. Most new people are above average in income. They are not feared as political or economic competitors. Except for the racial factor, the other four factors indicate that the Japanese group is assimilating into the dominant society. The increase in the interracial marriages is a threat for the ethnic group in that mixed race Japanese lose their ethnic identity. However, this is a key to assimilation into American society. In Michigan, the increase in interracial marriages contribute to the
assimilation process. However, discrimination and prejudice continues to be experienced. Third, other assimilation levels: Attitude receptional assimilation, Behavior receptional assimilation, and Civic assimilation do not appear as often. Even though the present social conditions for Japanese Americans are better than for the other ethnics, one should not lose sight of their struggles to overcome the social obstacles created by their inferior physical differences as Asians. The consciousness of physical difference is stronger in places where no Asians live than a place like California or Hawaii. Japanese Americans have been elected as senators in Hawaii and California. Their political power of Japanese Americans is limited in this country. Before achieving complete assimilation in the future, the Japanese Americans might be absorbed into the host society by the marital assimilation. In "the old group", marital assimilation advances in each generation. In "the new group", marital assimilation appears more frequently in the Issei group. The ratio of interracial marriage is higher for not only old group but new group.

In terms of discrimination experiences, the new generations, Sansei and Yonsei, have not experienced strong discrimination. The new immigrant groups also have not experienced as much discrimination since they came here. However, people mostly feel their physical differences as Asians in the host country. Like the Vincent Chin's incident in Detroit, or other discriminatory incidents, racial discrimination still remains in this society. Usually it is not
overt towards Japanese Americans, but there is a high possibility for it to occur as a result of influential news to the majority: for example, massive automobile workers lay offs in Detroit. Even if Japanese Americans ignore the Issei's country, the majority still look at them as Japanese. It was the same during the second World War. It suggests that Racial discrimination is not over but still remains. Especially in the Detroit Area, there are some ethnic tensions compared to the other places in Michigan.

Japanese Americans still pursue high educational attainment. Furthermore, not only high educational attainment, but also their social status as a minority group is higher. This indicates that educational attainment as a human resource is connected to their economic position. Through this research, it is predicted that mixed blood people, Americans who have Japanese ancestry do not have high ambitions for educational attainment. This is due to their assimilation into the majority society. It is generally thought that people in the majority group do not need to study harder than the minority people because they are the majority. They do not struggle to overcome the obstacles associated with being a person of color. Attaining high educational degrees, especially for Asian immigrants, serves as a bridge to the mainstream. It transforms their social status from lower level to higher, making them equal to the white people. Assimilating into the majority causes people to lose their ambition or motivation for high educational attainment, but it depends on the family's human resources.
The Differences of Residential Areas

Hawaii and California are obviously different from the Midwestern area. Except for Chicago, there are not many Japanese Americans in the Midwest. After the second World War, most people moved to the Midwest and East Coast to avoid the strong anti-Japanese movement on the West Coast. However, the Japanese communities disappeared after 10 or 15 years in these areas. People in Michigan moved to the East Coast or moved back to the West Coast to seek good weather and a new life. Few people remained in the Detroit area. In those days, the discrimination toward Asians and Japanese Americans made it hard to stay because the Asian group was a very small group in white society. The Japanese were disadvantaged by discrimination even though it was after the War because many veterans who served in the second World War returned to Michigan, too.

The assimilation forces are stronger here than the other areas. It is very hard to sustain one's ethnicity in areas like Michigan. Also, the image of Japan is very different among the people in the different areas. People in Hawaii behave very natural and are comfortable with their culture. It is easier to maintain their ethnicity in the Hawaiian mixed cultures. The mainland, California and Michigan, are very Americanized and the Japanese are a real minority people.

Historical Effects

Japanese image has changed from war enemy to economic competi-
tor and possible enemy. After the second World War, the effect of Japan is actions on Japanese American society was very intense even though most people do not recognize it. Especially for the people who grew up in the Detroit area, they were exposed to intense anti-Japanese tensions because of the auto industry. They feel the effects on Japanese Americans through the incident involving Vincent Chin.

The problem is here. Even though the preceding generations, were the obstacle of anti-Japanese hatred in American society. When we are discussing assimilation levels, this racial discrimination factor is a barrier, into the host society, to full assimilation. The host society also has many problems in accepting the minority people. The lack of the knowledge of new immigrant groups, the belief that the Caucasian culture is the best, prevents the dominant group from seeing other cultural values positively. The ethnic problem is formidable. American society needs to create mutual trust between the majority groups and the minority groups to become a better society. Without such trust, the social stratification that is connected to its ethnic and economic distinctions will never be changed.

A hundred years ago, the first Japanese immigrants came to the United States. They were wearing the traditional Kimono dress and they never saw the news on the TV or read magazines about America. They came with little knowledge of social customs, social system or food. Lack of proper English added to their difficulties. Compared
to them, the new immigrants people, arriving after the second World War, are very familiar with American culture. Japan has already industrialized much the same as the U.S. Most new immigrants do not create a residential community like the old Issei group because they do not have any language problems and they are mostly professional workers. The new Issei people keep the community ties just invisible. Japanese Americans, new group and old group, are assimilated into the white society at the upper stratificational levels.

The attitudes toward children have also changed. Children of the new Issei are not discriminated against racially. Most permanent residents of Japanese heritage tend not to become citizens. Because Japanese government does not allow the Japanese people to have dual citizenship, Japanese people have to abandon Japanese nationality when they obtain the U.S. citizenship. Compared to the old group, marital assimilation occurs more frequently in the Issei in the new group. Intermarriage may be higher among Issei than marriage of Japanese couples. The attitudes, morality, and living conditions of Japan and the U.S. are similar ensign to make intermarriage common.

In the case of children, if both parents are Japanese, the offspring are very similar to Nisei in the old group. Japanese is spoken in the family. They live surrounded by traditional Japanese cultural fashion even though they are living in the United States.
Conclusion

Americans are Americans. Japanese Americans are Americans and are not Japanese any more; just as African Americans are not Africans from Africa any more. They were born in this country and grew up here. Now two thirds of Japanese Americans are native born. From this research, the differences between the Japanese cultural characteristics seems based on the different geographical location. Japanese Americans in Hawaii are especially different from the Japanese Americans in other places in the United States. During the War, people living in Hawaii fortunately did not experience the hardships of people on the West Coast. Because of this difference, even the fourth generation in Hawaii sustained their pure ethnicity and cultural heritage more than the third generation from California living in Michigan. It is becoming difficult to find the pure blood in the fourth and fifth generation on the mainland. I interviewed a couple from the third generation people from Detroit. I did locate a pure fourth generation in Michigan. It was very interesting to observe that they are quite similar in life and attitude as that of other Japanese people. Of course, they are growing up in American society and they consider themselves American. However, they recognized themselves as having a Japanese heritage. Speaking about the ethnic period, the couple also told me that their children should be the last pure generation as Japanese Americans. It is expected that the ratio of interracial marriage will increase in Michigan. That is for not only the pre-war immigrant group but also for the new
Japanese immigrants. The number of mixed blood children will be increasing. Most of them are Japanese and Caucasian. In Michigan, the Japanese cultural heritage will be lost in the new mixed blood generation. Moreover, the Japanese part of them will be absorbed into Caucasian society in the future because of the likelihood of marriage of the next generation to Caucasians. Michigan's effect is totally different from the other places such as California and Hawaii. In the Midwest, there are many Japanese people in Chicago. I was able to talk to a third generation man there as a consequence of an introduction by my friend living in Chicago. He is also married to a third generation of Italian American. He wants to teach his daughter Japanese cultural traditions; however, it could be said that the next generation is not going to retain their ethnicity. If they choose a Caucasian as their spouse, the Japanese ethnic heritage will vanish.

The problem in American society is that discrimination toward minorities still exists. This research report finds that higher educational attainment and adjusting to the dominant society leads the way to high social status and high degree of assimilation for the minority. Also, most participants did not mention their discriminatory experiences. It suggests that assimilating into the dominant society would eliminate some discriminatory feelings against the people of color. This research revealed that there are many opinions among individuals. Three new immigrants, Issei people, were different from the others who were born as Americans. They do
not wish to lose their traditional identity. Their feelings towards American society are different from the native born people. If they experience discriminations, they will think it is because they are foreigners. Native born people were never able to think that way. It would suggest that assimilating into the dominant society for the minority does not guarantee that they will be treated the same as the majority people. This is a problem in American society. Reviewing assimilation theories, pluralism and others are ideal. Although Japanese American mostly choose to adjust to the way of the Caucasians, they still have to face the discrimination due to their minority group, physical characteristics and numbers. The only thing is that interracial marriage will destroy the cultural identity. The assimilation process will provide for upward social mobility as a benefit. Both the majority and the minority groups have to pay attention to the basic problem in this society. An ideal is only an ideal. Saying that pluralism and mixed cultural society are beautiful, does not make it a reality. The majority want to retain the social power over the minority people. Sometimes it appears to be jealous if the success of the minority or fear of their loss of social power. Since the beginning of the country, people had a mutual distrust of each other. It seems that assimilating into the dominant and mixing the different cultures are not bad. Social mobility should be available to all in this society. To adjust to the majority culture is a very important point for the minority. How the majority people accept the minority culture and how minority
people produce and absorb their culture into the dominant society in the future is very significant.

As a Japanese outsider to American society, I could see many bad points and good points between the two countries. After interviewing people who of Japanese descent, I felt very close to them even though most of them cannot speak Japanese and are not familiar with Japanese customs. The history of Asian immigrants is not like the Black Americans, nor like the Hispanic Americans. A common thing among them is that they are the minority and have subcultures in the American society. It is a very significant point how much the majority and the minority accept the culture of each other. Even though the minority attempts to retain their ethnic styles, their culture is treated as a subculture by the dominant culture. The minority people also are treated the same way. Assimilation is one of the means to achieve equally in the society. If people of color try to assimilate into the host society, it is a fact that they still face physical discrimination. Increasing the number of the interracial marriages might be a key. Still, as long as the majority biases exist, the ethnic problem in the U.S. will never be resolved.
Appendix A

Protocol Clearance From the Human Subjects
Institutional Review Board
Date: March 17, 1995

To: Junko Onuma

From: Richard Wright, Interim Chair

Re: HSIRB Project Number 95-02-25

This letter will serve as confirmation that your research project entitled "Assimilation of Japanese Americans in the Kalamazoo area" has been approved under the expedited category of review by the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board. The conditions and duration of this approval are specified in the Policies of Western Michigan University. You may now begin to implement the research as described in the application.

Please note that you must seek specific approval for any changes in this design. You must also seek reapproval if the project extends beyond the termination date. In addition if there are any unanticipated adverse or unanticipated events associated with the conduct of this research, you should immediately suspend the project and contact the Chair of the HSIRB for consultation.

The Board wishes you success in the pursuit of your research goals.

Approval Termination: March 17, 1996

xc: Davidson, SOC
Appendix B

The Questions for Semi-Structured Interview
THE QUESTIONS FOR SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Demographics:

1. Educational attainment: What are you studying now?
   (a) How many years of education do you have?
   (b) How many years have you been educated in the U.S.?
   (c) Did you attend Japanese school?

2. Occupation / Student except (a)
   (a) What is your occupation?
   (b) What was the occupation of your father?
       (What was the occupation of your grandfather?)
   (c) What occupation would you like to have in the future?

3. Relatives
   (a) Do your parents live with you?
   (b) Do your relatives live near you?
   (c) How often do you see your parents and relatives?

4. Length of stay in Michigan
   (a) How long have you lived in Michigan? (years)
   (b) Why do you choose to live here?
   (c) Where did you live in the U.S. before coming here?

5. Generation: Issei, Nisei, Sansei, Yonsei

6. Gender: Male, Female

7. Age (what is your age?)

8. Birth place

9. Marital Status:
   Married          Separated
   Single           Widowed
   Divorced

   (a) How many children do you have and how old are they?
   (b) Were you married in U.S. or in Japan? (Issei)

10. Spouse data
    (a) Where were your spouse born?
    (b) What is your spouse's background?
        (ethnicity, age, educational attainment, occupation)

Cultural & Structural values: (student excepts #12)
11. Ethnicity of neighbors
   (a) Would you say that your neighborhood is made up mostly of Japanese Americans? (ask in detail)
   (b) How do you get along with your neighbors?
   (c) Have you ever lived in a Japanese community in the U.S.?

12. Ethnicity of your co-workers (*for a worker)
   (a) What ethnicity are your co-workers?
   (b) Do you frequently go out with them after working?

13. Ethnicity of close friends
   (a) What ethnicity are your close friends?
   (b) Were there many Japanese Americans or other Asians around you while you were growing up?
   (c) How do you get along with your close friends?

14. Religion (Protestant, Catholic, Buddhist, other)
   (a) Do you often attend the activities of the church?
   (b) Are there any Asian members (Japanese Americans) in the church you usually attend?
   (c) What was your parents religion?
   (d) What was your grandparents religion?
   (e) Did they change the religion from Buddhist?
   (f) When?

15. Language skills (Explain your family communication way)
   (a) How much do you speak or listen to Japanese?
   (b) How much do you read or write Japanese?
   (c) Have you attended a Japanese school?

   For the person who has the language skills of Japanese:
   (d) What kind of reading materials do you subscribe?
   (e) Which language are you the most comfortable with?

   For Issei and New immigrant:
   (f) Do you use English in your family?
   (g) Do you have any trouble in using English?
   (e) Which language do you use to communicate to children and grandchildren?

16. Food preference
   (a) How often do you have Japanese food in a week?
   (b) Do you usually have rice for your meals?
   (c) Are there any Japanese foods that you dislike?

17. Other Japanese cultural practices
   (a) Does your family watch Japanese movies?
   (b) Does your family prefer to listen to Japanese music?
   (c) Does your family read Japanese magazines or newspapers?
18. Participating in the social group
   (a) What organization do you belong to?
   (b) Is that a formal association or a private group?
   (c) How often do you get together with other Japanese Americans?
   (d) Are you comfortable in sharing activities with them?
   (e) What is the ethnicity of the friends you socialize with most often?

19. Social status (lower, middle, upper)
   (a) How would you describe your socio-economic position?
   (b) How would you describe your parent's status?
   (c) How large was your parent's family size and yours?

20. Your parents (including other generation, relatives)
   (a) Where do they live?
   (b) How many times do you visit them in a year?
   (c) How many siblings do you have?
   (d) Would your parents encourage you and your siblings to marry a Japanese or non-Japanese?
   (e) What are their occupations?
   (f) Did you have any family rules you had to keep?
   (g) Would you say that your parents wanted you to take an active role in social activities with Caucasians or Japanese?
   (h) What do you admire most about your father's? What about grandfather's generations?
   (i) How much education did your parents encourage you to complete?

21. Children (only for the person who have children)
   (a) Generally, how much education do you expect your children to have?
   (b) Would you mind if your children married a non-Japanese American? (ex. whites, blacks, hispanics, other Asians)
   (c) Do you give your children extra time to study Japanese after school?
   (d) Would you want your children to socialize with Caucasians?

Identificational values:

22. Knowledge about family's history
   (a) Where did the Issei come from in Japan?
   (b) Do you know why the Issei left for the U.S.?
   (c) When did the Issei come to the U.S.?
   (d) Did you experience or remember about the internment camp?
   (e) Have you ever heard about the camp from your family?
(f) What were your family experiences during the war?
(g) Do you have any relatives in Japan? Do you still contact to them or not?

23. Experience of visiting Japan
   (a) When did you visit Japan?
   (b) If you have met your relatives, how did you feel about yourself and Japanese society?
   (c) What was your impressions of Japanese society?

24. For the recent immigrants
   (a) Why did you come to the U.S.?
   (b) What is the attraction which lead you to come to America?
   (c) How do you view the Japanese society?
   (d) How many times have you gone back to Japan?

25. Discrimination & social status
   (a) Have you ever been discriminated against?
   (b) Have your physical differences been a source of discomfort in your life?
   (c) Do you think that Japanese Americans are prejudiced against other groups?
   (d) How would you describe the social position of Japanese Americans in the U.S.?

26. Japanese cultural practices
   (a) Do you celebrate the Japanese traditional events or only Americans?
   (b) Have you ever learned Japanese cultural practices such as Judo, Karate, tea ceremony, ikebana?
   (c) How do you feel about speaking Japanese?

27. The effect of living in Michigan
   (a) Are there many Japanese Americans around you?
   (b) How would you describe the people living in Michigan?
   (c) Have you ever talked to other Japanese living in other areas or another state?
   (d) If you have any relatives either on the West coast or in Hawaii, would you describe the differences?
   (e) Do you feel that living in Michigan forced you to lose your Japanese identity more than the other places where many Japanese Americans or Asians live?

28. The differences of each generation
   (a) How would you describe the Issei attitudes?
   (b) How would you describe the Nisei attitudes?
   (c) How would you describe the Sansei?
   (d) Do you think of yourself as a Japanese or an American?
   (e) Are you proud of being a Japanese?
29. What is the biggest problem facing Japanese Americans today?

30. What do you think of modern Japan?
   (a) Do you feel that the current economic competition between Japan and U.S.A. effects Japanese Americans?
BIBLIOGRAPHY


