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TRANSMISSION OF CULTURAL VALUES ACROSS GENERATIONS

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This ethnographic study of Japanese Americans in the Chicago area is an ongoing community initiated research project documenting how Chicago's Japanese Americans construct their ethnic identity. The Chicago experience is unique because prior to World War II, nearly all Japanese Americans lived on the west coast. Many relocated to Chicago from camps during and after the war so that from 390 Japanese Americans in Chicago before 1941, nearly 20,000 resettled here. They do not represent a large portion of the area's population or have as much political influence as do Asian Americans in high density states such as California and Hawaii.

This paper will analyze the in-depth, open-ended oral histories completed on 10 Nisei, second generation and 7 Sansei, third generation Japanese Americans. These initial interviews are part of an ongoing effort to collect 100 oral histories from Chicago area Issei, Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei. The interview schedules were developed by Nisei and Sansei teams and reflect what these community members deem to be important aspects of the Chicago Japanese American experience. Each interview lasted an average of three hours, was tape recorded, and transcribed verbatim. In this paper we are interested in what our respondents say about the parent/child relationship and how values are transmitted across generations. We are especially interested in responses to the question "What kind of values did your parents teach you?" and will use this as a springboard to begin the analysis.

Of the 10 Nisei interviewed, half are men. The respondents range from 51 to 74 years old with an average age of 65.9. The average age for the men is 68.4 and for the women 63.4. All are married and live with their spouse. Nine were born and raised on the West Coast and one was born in Hawaii. However, all were relocated in camps during World War II. Eight of our respondents came to Chicago in the mid-late 1940s after the War and two are relative newcomers who arrived in the last 25 years. Nine of the Nisei respondents are parents though only two have grandchildren.

Of the 7 Sansei, 5 respondents are men. They range in age from 28 to 56 with an overall mean age of 41.4. The average age for the men is 40; for the women the average age is 45. Three are married and live with their spouse, two are divorced, and two are single. One divorced respondent and all the married ones have children. Six of the Sansei respondents have at least one parent in the Chicago area and these same six were raised here. The one "outsider" Sansei was born and raised in Minnesota. All of our Sansei respondents knew their grandparents and either lived in the same household or building or the same neighborhood with at least one grandparent at some point in their life.

EXPLICIT CULTURAL VALUES: WHAT THE NISEI SAID THEY LEARNED FROM THEIR PARENTS

For this study values are defined as internalized beliefs that are acted out in daily life. These values can be influenced by child rearing, education, environment, and life experiences. When we asked the Nisei to tell us the values their parents taught them, four respondents told us that their parents stressed education. Another informant said that his parents didn't stress education as much as other families but, "they wouldn't let us out of school to help on the farm...I just remember one time we took a day off because they couldn't get the crops out." (TM208)

Three informants mentioned not bringing shame to the family as an important value. One respondent fully illustrates the power of this value when he said, "my father ...(said), 'I don't care what you do when you're out playing, but if you do something bad, remember one thing before you do it, the fact that nobody's going to say, "There's AY the bad boy." They're going to turn around and say "There's the mother of AY" and they're going to really blackball your mother more than you. You can go to jail, but your mother has to live with it." (AY205)

Other family expectations included how they behaved. For one respondent, values acquisition included, "the lesson of gaman... giri and on. It's always having to repay kindnesses, putting on good face, even if your feelings are different. There is a lot of "what would other people think" type of mentality that governed our actions. Not making waves. Not sticking out as a sore thumb."(JT202)

Although correct behavior was learned, a less than positive view was reported by an informant about the way he valued honesty, "...from our mother. I think we knew what was right and what was wrong. I was just 100 percent honest with everything and ah.. there's a term in Japanese, ah... it's kind of put down for being overly honest. ...call it baka something, baka shojiki.... You're dumb for being so honest." (TM208)

Finally, helping each other is a value one learned and wanted to see passed to the next generation.(KT204) And lastly, another stated, "My mother was interested in my growing up to be an upstanding moral Christian citizen."(HK311)

COMMUNICATION

Communication between the Issei parent and Nisei was completed in the Japanese language according to three of our respondents. Verbal communication was difficult in other Japanese American households. Three of the respondents talked about their quiet parents. An illustration follows: "Well, he (Dad) was kind of a quiet person and mother did almost all of the talking ...maybe one or two words or whatever. We really didn't have conversations as such." (TM208)

The Issei parent spoke Japanese and very little English, their offspring vice versa. Three respondents reported that language barriers hindered communication between them. "Even with my own mother I was not able to talk because of the language barrier. It was really too bad because we could have learned so much from each other. (KY210)

Quiet was valued and the listener had to understand the implicit message without direct verbalization by understanding the context of shared experiences. An example of such a

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message is when ES203 volunteered for the 442 from camp, "They all looked at us and without saying anything they gave us that look, 'Anna baka na hito-Damme da'" He knew that the community members thought he was stupid for volunteering.

VALUES TRANSMISSION

Even though parents and children were both quiet, the Nisei learned proper behavior. Of interest is how values were transmitted without verbalizations. TM208 stated that his family's expectations "was largely unspoken." Because Japanese Americans resided in their own communities, reinforcement of family values were echoed by neighbors, churches, Japanese schools, and many people in their lives.

A child was exposed to a shared common set of values within the community as illustrated by the following statement, "You know, I don't remember being taught about Japanese culture, per se. That was kind of just handed down through family, through just customs passed down... It was more the Japanese language school, and then going to the Buddhist Temple on Sunday. Everything else was just kind of learned through osmosis, I think, and just living in Japantown the whole time. Immersion" (JT202)

Indirect ways that values can be transmitted without verbal instructions include observing behavior of parents and others, punishment for misbehavior, attending Japanese school, and reading written materials.

IMPLICIT CULTURAL VALUES: WHAT THE NISEI LEARNED BY EXAMPLE AND THROUGH EXPERIENCE

ISSEI PARENTS

Eight Nisei respondents talked about the hard work their parents did routinely every day. Six mothers worked side by side with fathers and the labor of children was required so that work was a family affair. One respondent stated, "Both my parents worked constantly....where you do it seven days a week."(JT202)

Three respondents felt especially bad for their hard working mothers. One stated, "I really feel sorry for her (mother) thinking back. You know, that was really hard on her. ...they used to open at noon and they'd close at two in the morning. That 's a fourteen hour day, ...in the restaurant....And she was there that whole time. So she gets to bed at 2 or 3 in the morning. And then at seven o'clock she's waking us up to go to school, you know. So she really had it tough....I kind of think that was her downfall, really, that restaurant really killed her." (RA201)

Sometimes work was a family affair. Two respondents related how the entire family shared in the farm work. One reported, "It was hard work. He (Dad) did all the irrigation work and the kids did all the backbreaking work of weeding and harvesting. Everything was done by hand in those days. Yeah, I don't care for the farm. I... my memories of the farm (laughter) as far as work goes is not very good." (TM208)

Watching Issei parents struggle throughout their lives, two Nisei felt a great deal of respect for parents. One said: "Deep down in a way we automatically respected ... the parents. See my father only had a third grade education, but that didn't mean he was ignorant or anything.

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Maybe he didn't know how to write or stuff like that but his father taught him common knowledge that was handed down generation after generation." (JT204)

OBEDIENCE

Two respondents stressed the importance of obedience to parents, in the following statements, "I was probably fighting it the whole time, but I did it. Because you do what you're told to do. (JT202) and "Never mind how come, I did it, you gotta do it too. They had to learn what's good for them. (JT204) Unquestioned obedience was expected.

ROLE MODELING

Role modeling was another way of learning acceptable behavior. One respondent explained how a teacher was his "savior," with "One of the first teachers I had,..was my hero.... it wasn't that I was getting into that much delinquency problems but ...he was always pointed out as being an upright person, someone to emulate so I..tried to emulate him all the time and ...I liked it because of the way I (learned to) handle aggressive feelings."(TM208)

Watching how misbehavior were handled by authority figures also taught a person what was acceptable behaviors. RA201 described how his mother handled his black sheep brother, who hung around the pool hall and had trouble getting up in the morning for school with "mom's out there beating him with a broom."

TREATMENT OF MISBEHAVIOR

Nisei were often not reprimanded for misbehavior. "When I didn't get a good report card, (my parents) wouldn't say anything." (JT202) Another respondent shared how he ended up in jail for shooting pool under the legal age and was required to be in Court on Monday morning. He watched his each of two friends reprimanded by their respective mothers when taken home by the police. "Boy, am I lucky." he thought when nobody answered at his house and went to bed. " Now here comes Saturday, here comes Sunday, and I got to be in court Monday with my mother. (laughs) How do I tell my mother she has to go to court? All Friday, Saturday, Sunday, I couldn't find a way to tell my mother she has to go to court. So finally Sunday night, I told mom, I says,'Mom, are you doing anything tomorrow morning? How about going downtown with me? Boom ... My mother never really got angry." (AY205) It was typical not to have further punishment at home, because mother thought he had learned his lesson.

Three of the respondents saw themselves as a little naughty, almost delinquent. These however were relatively minor acts of delinquency because as TM states, "There wasn't much trouble you get into in the farming community."

JAPANESE SCHOOL

One way of looking at importance of values is to see what behaviors were followed. Issei parents must have thought Japanese school was important because all ten of the Nisei respondents attended. Many report that they went grudgingly. Surprisingly one respondent wanted to attend to be with her Nisei friend and said she "begged my parents to let me go. I guess I wanted to do what other Japanese kids were doing who were in school with me."(JM206)

Even though one respondent attended Japanese school until she was sixteen years old, she stated, "I can't speak Japanese, much less read it. Probably first or second grade."(JT204)

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Competence level was roughly equivalent to the fourth grade(KY210) or fifth grade. (AY205) The carry over to current time is described by AY205 as, "Today, I can't read Japanese of course. I can speak some, but it's broken and old fashion." Typically most Nisei say they do not know Japanese.

But more was happening in Japanese school than learning to read and write Japanese. JT202 thinks, " Learning language was secondary." and wonders whether it was "supposed to be a glorified babysitter, support the Temple by dues or to learn a sense of belonging and valuing the group by quelching the individual." (JT202)

Sone (1953) supports this notion with the statement, "There was much more to Nihon Gakko than learning the Japanese language. There was a driving spirit of strict discipline behind it all which reached out and weighed heavily upon each pupil's consciousness." Proper behavior was stressed as evidenced by TM208's experience, "the Japanese school teacher had these parents' meeting in front of all the parents, teacher talked about what happened that I was calling (my brother) by his first name instead of calling him nisan." This child's action was viewed by school officials as disrespectful enough to be publicly corrected.

FAIRY TALES, SONGS, AND SAMURAI STORIES

Indirect transmission of values was conveyed by fairy tales and samurai stories that the children read in school and at home. Stories such as Momotaro mentioned by JT 202 and SK301 teaches that kindness, generosity, sacrifice, repayment and friendship are rewarded while greed and bad acts are punished. Many of the stories had songs that went with them and singing was also used to convey values. (JM206, HK102)

TM208 stated that, "I remember some stories of famous people, Samurai, Samurai stories, fiction..." These stories had within them the samurai code of Bushido as a model for ethical behavior. Actions of famous 442 often repeat samurai conduct from the past. Finally one respondent remembered that she read funny cartoons in Japanese women's magazines with her mother, which were like Peanuts. (JM206) Often these comics also conveyed ways of thinking and behaving.

RACISM

Negative life experiences also helped the Nisei internalize values. When asked about experiences with racial discrimination, the Nisei had difficulty remembering abuses that had occurred to them. Five respondents replied they had been the victim of verbal abuse and especially did not like to be called Chinese. Three were discriminated with regard to employment and three with respect to housing. Prior to entering camps EO214 reported a house search for a nonexistent shotgun. KY210 related how her nine year old brother was questioned after digging a hole with neighbors in play because of suspected espionage.

Reverse racism was also reported after a respondent took a caucasian wife, who was not permitted into his brother-in-law's home. (AY205) Opinions about marriage partners were voiced in other households. (TM208, HK210, EO214) After the birth of a son one respondent reported having a great deal of difficulty marking Japanese for race on his birth certificate. He did not adopt a son from his wife's first marriage because giving him a Japanese name would

bring him looks and discrimination.

CAMPS

Four Nisei respondents indicated being angry about being placed into relocation camps. One explained it as, "It really burns me up...If we committed a crime, fine, for being incarcerated, ...You start having negative feelings, ...all of a sudden, without any trial or anything, because of your features and your ancestors and background. (JT204) One respondent did not permit himself to be angry until redress, " Most of feelings were repressed. I really didn't feel angry until all this redress thing came out....even in private, it was difficult to express or allow the anger to be experienced." (TM 208) KY210's sister decided they were going to volunteer to go to camp for a secure job.

Another described the treatment received as quite degrading, "We were taken from the Assembly Center to Minidoka and the shades were drawn so we couldn't see outside. We definitely were treated like criminals." (JM206) Two more respondents reported feeling great shame about being placed into camps. One was unable to let go of that feeling even after arriving in Chicago, "I still carried that even after I came out of camp. I felt ashamed of being Japanese." (KY210)

Two respondents felt great bitterness. One had her father taken the day after Pearl Harbor to the County Jail and died before she could see him again. "So I never saw him from the day that the war started." (JM206)

Some the respondents talk about the activities of camp in a matter of fact manner. They have repressed and denied their feelings about the experience because it is so painful. They refuse to talk about it, because once they start they are unable to control their feelings. Embarrassed to cry, they do not talk at all.

EXPLICIT CULTURAL VALUES: WHAT THE SANSEI LEARNED FROM THEIR PARENTS

SANSEI

When Sansei were asked what values their parents thought were important for them, one respondent's answer sums it up well when he stated, "Just do well in everything." (TT306) All the respondents were expected to attend college and did. Nine have completed their degrees and one has a year left in his undergraduate studies. But expectations were more than just education, four respondents had great pressure from their parents to be successful. One stated, "We weren't allowed simply to attend something to have fun. There was a lot of drive and a lot of pushing to excel." (JO302)

The Nisei parent were not silent, they expressed their opinions. The kind of expectations, DS303's parents had for him were, "only the highest.... typical Japanese...ideas of...your children going to be ..successful....He says, ' I don't want you to do what I'm doing. I work with my hands. I want you to use your head.'" (DS303)

Another explained, "Pressure to be successful, because I was seen as an extension of them. I should succeed because my parents couldn't. I wanted my own life, not to be a famous artist like my father wanted me to be." (GM307) It was not unusual for parents to indicate even what

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occupations to study. LK305's father wanted him to be a pharmacist. SK301 stated that his parents, "wanted me to pursue something they felt represented, you know, successful American. Doctor...lawyer, all the old, respected professions." (SK301)

Although education was important to the Issei and Nisei, the Sansei were pressured even more because of their parent's experiences with racism and relocation camps. The parents may felt that security might protect their offspring in case of an unforeseen calamity. Three respondents indicated security are important to their parents.(SK301, LK305) One stated that "heard message from my father, 'Remember, you're Japanese.' To me that means, there is racism out there. Somehow you have to do better.... And with the pharmacy thing, it was like, you get that, you're in that, you get licensed and no one can take that from you. It's legal and it's yours regardless of race or anything. So that to him.. I'm sure he meant the best for me as far as financial security. (LK305)

Other values encouraged by Nisei parents in our sample include discipline, code of ethics, etiquette, treatment of people, respect for life, honesty, acceptance of diverse people and church attendance.

IMPLICIT CULTURAL VALUES: WHAT THE SANSEI LEARNED BY EXAMPLE AND THROUGH EXPERIENCE **NISEI PARENTS**

It was no longer necessary for parents to work long hours with the assistance of their children in order to fulfill instrumental needs. Parents devoted themselves to child centered homes where the family's activities were arranged around their children's interests. (JO 302 p.4) Family members participated in daily routines where values were taught by "doing." Little attention was placed on emotions. For example, at five years old I related to my father that I couldn't understand why we pledged the flag and sang everyday because I had difficulty remembering all those words. He said it was to become patriotic and asked if I was. My response was, "I don't know, what is patriotic?" He replied, "It is when you are willing to do anything for your country, even die." When I didn't respond, he said, "It's alright, just keep pledging and you will become patriotic." It didn't matter if I was or wasn't, but by habitually repeating tasks the feelings would eventually develop.

Although Nisei parents and their Sansei children have no language barriers, they do have difficulty communicating. There is a reticence also on the part of the Sansei to talk to their parents of things parents do not bring up. One summed it up in this way, "I haven't asked. ... I just figure it's one of those things where if they want to tell me, they'll tell me and if not, then not." (TT306)

Another respondent explained how he attempted to pick up what going on, not from verbalizations but from "attitudes and posture and other things that I saw going on,...I, we knew we were loved in my family, me and my brothers. ...it was an understood thing. There was no demonstrative..there was no hugging, kissing. Uh, They did things for us and therefore we knew." (DS303) Acceptance and belonging were conveyed by parents through actions not words.

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Communication can be avoided unless there is intervention such as described by this respondent, "we all ended up in family counseling, because we realized (brothers problems) was kind of a symptom of family problems. And so we all, you know, had to look at our communication patterns and things like that. ...in typically Japanese families, uh you don't want to deal with, face your problems, ... it's difficult to talk about them. ...because of our cultural background we, we didn't deal with a lot of things until we had a crisis." (JK308)

Lack of verbalization permits Nisei and Sansei to have different opinions on things without any discord being expressed. One respondent did not share with his father that he filed for conscientious objector status during the Vietnam War but father knew even though they never discussed the matter.

Silence permits freedom in interpreting messages so that a wide range of actions are viewed as permissible. Few acts are considered to be disobedient. The Sansei could have privacy with their feelings and any decisions followed would not be opposed by the Nisei even though they might never have followed such a course of action. Parents do not interfere with decisions made by their offspring.

Lacking guidance, the Sansei often floundered when making decisions because they often lacked information and/or experience to know what to do. JO302 had to figure things out alone. Question asking is not permissible (TT306, DS303) but when one overcomes the barrier to ask for help the parents listen but do not offer assistance.(JT202)

NEED FOR SECURITY

"I knew my father grew up poor and even when he enjoyed some financial success, he, I think maintained the values of a poor person. There was a constant, I think, need for the security of having money in the bank versus any kind of ostentatious spending of money. ...he likes the idea of being able to go out and get a very expensive car and pay cash if he wants to do that. He won't do that. ... He dresses like a poor person ... Sort of a fear of not having. (JO302) Five of the Sansei respondents reported that their parents were financial secure so their offspring do not have to worry about them.

The Nisei values for security has carried over to one Sansei, who reported that his daughter has a very good job and attends college. He is afraid for her "false sense of security." There's lots of things he can do so that even in a recession, he is confident of finding work. "I want her (daughter) to be that secure. (DS303)

Another respondent has to push himself to overcome cautiousness and acceptance to fate his future, rather than to take control and be assertive. "I have to be real conscious about like Okay, you don't have to just prolong this time. You can push here, you can, you know, make connections, you can do things differently.... Some of my Dad's tendencies and, I think, the play it safe. ...Usually I did play it safe and didn't go outside of their disapproval too much. (SK301)

REBELLIOUSNESS

Nisei parents and Sansei children had difficulty understanding each other. Relationship with parents was described as difficult by six of the Sansei respondents and good by only one

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respondent. The strictness of parents was reported by one in this way, " My parents had rules about everything. ... they had outrageous rules (pause) being in before dark. I was a teenager, sixteen years old. I had to be in before dark. That is totally ridiculous. I'd stay out. I'd defy them. I would get punished when I got home." (DS303)

Another described the strained relationship in this way, "Things were so alienated from my father ...there came a point when I was about fourteen, that he gave up from being the driving force behind everything and we were quite alienated, didn't speak very much for several years. ...He became so frustrated by my behavior that he would actually put me out of the house. I wouldn't call myself a runaway but I slept in garages, on the train." (JO302)

"The real rebellious stage, the real acceptance, but not being drawn in close to people. I've developed sort of an attitude of an outcast or rebel and hung out with people who weren't in the mainstream. Through which, some of which was really good because they were all so, some of the more politically active people, some of the more free thinkers, some people that were willing to take risks. But at the time, you know, it was also the kind of people that would make my parents very nervous. So, it was a fairly big and sort of continuous struggle from probably the tenth grade on, as far as who I was associating with, what my political agendas were, if that was interfering with my studies, and continued through college.)" (SK301)

"I was a pretty angry, young adolescent. Probably of significance is a whole lot of alienation and uh challenging of authority within the home. uh getting into some serious, at this point I would call it predelinquent kinds of problems....I was rebellious and it resulted in an expulsion from eighth grade, having to finish elementary school in a private school....I was exposed at a relatively young age to drugs, to what rebellious kids do, smoking cigarettes. I was given when I think I was thirteen, marijuana." (JO302)

Even though the Sansei hung out with fast crowds (JO302) or with radicals (SK301) and engaged in delinquent type activities, they did not go to extremes where legal actions were necessary. It is pushing up against the rules and authority, but as SK301 reported, "Even in my really rebellious stage, ...I wasn't that terribly radical in comparison to my peers at that time, especially in the late sixties, so I was actually fairly straight in comparison." (SK301)

GRANDPARENTS

All the Sansei respondents knew at least one grandparent who served as role models. They spent time together which exposed them to Japanese language and culture. Three respondents did not discuss any activity in particular but did indicate regular visits with grandparents. One stated, "We were there a lot, you know, running back and forth, probably in their apartment three or four times a week, I'd say, for whatever reason." (JK308)

Two respondents remembered grandmother's cooking with fondness. One stated, "Well, I was spoiled with grandma around, and she would make Japanese food three or four times a week. And New Years, I remember growing up, always having that big New Year's spread with, ... 25, 30, 40 people over and this huge, huge, spread. Chirashijushi (form of sushi), and tempura (deep fried vegetables and shrimp) and teriyaki (meat cooked with sweet, soy sauce based sauce), and have fondness for kanten (gelatin dessert)... (listed other J foods) I still enjoy that.

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(SK301)

Three respondents felt very close to their grandfathers. One of them admired greatly his tough, no nonsense grandfather who tried to do everything without help even when he was quite old. "My grandfather threw nothing away....Balls of string, rubber bands, everything." The high hall ceiling light was difficult for his grandfather to reach without a ladder, but he was unsteady on his feet. "He takes an old broomstick, takes three pieces of wire, ties it down one end, takes an old door spring that used to close the screen door. Puts it along the top, goes like this. I don't believe it." (DS303) His grandparents were indulgent and showered him with praise and money even if his mother got mad. (DS303)

The tradition of storytelling continued across the generations. One respondent reported, "I remember grandmother ...did a lot of the bedtime stories, and of course they were all Japanese stories. They were Momotaro, and she would sing the songs, you know, that went along with them. And so, I think subconsciously that became a real part of who I was and even though I can't remember all those tales verbatim, I think I still have some of that, the cultural remnant of those. (SK301)

JAPANESE LANGUAGE

Of the seven Sansei respondents, none of them attended Japanese school as children, perhaps because it was such a disliked activity by their Nisei parents during their childhood. Six of the seven, however, know a little Japanese. All of the respondents knew their grandparents and four reported learning a few Japanese words to communicate with them. (SK301, JO302, DS303, TT306) Five took lessons as adults, which indicates interest in the Japanese language when given a choice. One expressed delight in Japanese language with, "There's something that's very fascinating about it and I love, uh, you know, I love the language and I love the kanji.... It's fun." (GM307)

One Sansei learned Japanese from both sets of grandparents, so that he can understand enough to know what's going on. He catches the key words. (DS303) Japanese was another Sansei's first language and she currently speaks to her grandparents, "pretty much exclusively" in Japanese. Her ability is at a kindergarten level.

JAPANESE CULTURE

Exposure to the Japanese community was not all encompassing for the Sansei who resided in areas with few Japanese Americans. Four travelled to attend Japanese churches, three for sports, two for judo, two for scouts, and one for koto and classical dance with other Sanseis. The Japanese American community did not have as great an influence on their lives because of the small amount of the Sansei spent there. One respondent stated, "Well, ...we're losing touch with our history and our cultural heritage....They are acclimated more toward (American) culture." (JK308)

The Sansei are interested in learning about Japanese American things as a way of better understanding themselves, "I think a lot of Sansei are kind of going back to the Issei and seeing where they came from and wanting to, at least being curious about what that all was about, and what the whole Japanese culture is about, and wanting to understand that better, too." (SK301)

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"I think my heritage adds to me because in college I was a psych major. I was more interested in ...the aberrations that were mediative states like wisdom, tranquility and peace. ... I am interested in oriental religion and philosophy like the I ching, Taoism, and then Zen Buddhism. So even if I don't ever go to a Japanese function, ...that Japanese culture is ingrained in me." (LK305)

RACISM

All seven of the Sansei respondents had faced racism in one form or another and were able to relate each incidence in detail with accompanying affect felt. When one respondent was twelve years there was a fire two blocks from his home. On the way to a friend's house, he met a friend, stood in the crowd and watched for a while. Several hours later the police picked him up "because I was Asian and ...somebody had said that there was an Asian in or around the area of the fire. They wanted to know what I was doing?" "It was as if somebody had seen me and basically just picked me out as somebody suspicious in that particular part of the world." (JO302)

At times, a Japanese American person may be considered white, as in this incident, "when a client died we went to on the west side to an all black funeral and I went and the executive director went and we were asked when we came back, Were you and J the only white people there? It was like wait a second. I'm not white, uh and so I think that there is in that sense uh there is a lack of recognition." (JO302)

Another reported incident of racism include "going into restaurants or truck stops in tiny towns in Michigan and having people literally stop eating and the place get quiet to see a long haired Asian coming in with a white girl" during the seventies when resentment toward Japan was high. (JO302) Still another respondent experienced the invisible glass ceiling which is difficult to pass. Her husband works in a large Fortune 500 company where the most senior level is "pretty lily white." "So I think he has often felt that maybe if he were (pause) British, he would have better opportunities." (JK 308) Racism today is not as overt but is experienced in subtle indirect ways.

The Sansei do not take racist remarks with gaman but stand up and expect changes in the system. One respondent learned Gook was a derogatory term used by the military for local nationals on Okinawa....in Korea, in Vietnam. "And I was really mad. Uh (pause), I got mad to the point where I almost got into a fight the first week I was on Okinawa and I got brought in front of the company commander (pause) with this other guy I was going to be in a fight with. Uh, the company commander heard my side of the story and the guy was kind of apologetic and everything else. Uh, (pause), I got placed in charge of the local nationals that worked for the Military." (DS303)

Reverse racism was also experienced in the acceptance of those that are not Japanese Americans. One respondent reported that it "just felt strange" to the whole family when his aunt married a hakujin guy. However, if they had any stronger concerns they would try to shield it away from the kids." (TT306)

Another respondent related that "There was some friction because (my brother) married a

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woman from Hong Kong, ... So, there were all kinds of...racism, you know from the family, saying, 'Well how could you be doing this and this and this?' And there (is) some mixed feelings even after ...eight to ten years now of marriage. (SK301)

"I believe that marrying a black woman in some form broke my mother's heart....to this day she doesn't talk about who I'm married to her close friends. She will talk about (us) but I don't think that she'll ever overtly recognize that she (my wife) is black....I think she had distanced herself." "And, if people don't ask, then my mom doesn't volunteer any information. She just tends to not want to disclose." (JO302)

CAMPS

Rather than not talking about camp, JO302's mother likes to remember camp fondly with what was fun about it, the friendships she made, "the summer camp kind of aspects to it." (JO302)

The parents did not wish to talk about camps as indicated by this statement: "We'll it's something we want to smooth over and want to forget about and it's not important." (DS303)

Even though Nisei parents chose not to talk about their camp experiences with their children, the silence was not a comfortable one. The Sansei felt their parents' pain and wondered what to do to alleviate it.

"My father was rough. ... I find that just interesting amongst all of the guys that I grew up with, Sansei males, having these difficult relationships with their fathers. My personal theory has been that the camp experience for our parents was particularly, it challenged them in ways that I think there is a lot of unspoken anger. I used to think that my father was abusive, physically and emotionally...I think he was very demanding." (JO302)

I think what his experience in camp left him scarred in a little more subtle way. It's not this overt cautiousness, but it's kind of a, you don't want to say defeatist, but the just, you know, Japanese, a lot of the culture is sort of, not a resignation, but a go with the flow of, feeling that things are maybe pre-determined. And I think that camp sort of heightened that for him. (SK301)

IDENTITY

Four of the respondents identify with being Japanese American, one with being American Japanese and one didn't know how he identified himself. JO302 identified himself as American when he was younger however because of his Japanese characteristics found it a difficult image to maintain. (JO302)

Three respondents stated that they wanted to be "accepted as completely American." (JK308) and were "straight A Americans" (DS303) It was difficult to be among Asians for one respondent, "I saw myself growing up so much as, 'I'm white, I'm white, I'm American,' ...there is no large population (of Asians). When I was among a large population of Asians, I think I had to confront my heritage, and at certain points of my life that was hard to do." (SK301)

Early in childhood, a respondent related how he learned he was Japanese American. The enemies on TV and in the movies were always "the Japs and the Krauts. Okay? It meant

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nothing to me...nothing. We were playing war in (grandparents) backyard and ...and my mother calls me into the house. And I could tell by her voice that she was mad, and I didn't know what I did. So I went in the house and she was kind of hesitant. She didn't really know how to start, I could tell. She says, uh, you know, Grandpa is a little upset. And I said, What's wrong? She says well, you're playing out in the back...and she says, well, I better tell you. And that's when she explained what Jap meant. And who we were. The first time I knew there was a difference." (DS303)

There was confusion on one Sansei's part, as he felt a push-pull action about his Japanese American heritage, "It was that real dichotomy. They, in a sense, I think, because of the camps, (my parents) wanted on the one hand the heritage to be kind of invisible. They wanted me to blend, to be real American. But within myself and within the culture, they wanted me to carry on the heritage.(SK301)

Another respondent related how it felt to be the only nonwhite person present, "I mean there were, there were obvious times where (pause) where you would be in a group and (pause) and I'd be the only Asian in the group. I suppose at first I's feel a little uncomfortable or just aware (pause) that you were the only Asian in the group...they wouldn't be talking about me, but I would cringe." (TT306) Sometimes it was difficult to feel comfortable in either group so where does the Sansei belong. Dispersion caused Sansei not to know very many others with the same experience.

Two of the respondents wished they were not Japanese Americans. One stated, "I was very confused and I guess wanted to try and not be Japanese." (SK301)

I look different, and I will always look different. I can be 80 and there will be people who will say 'You from Japan?' That happened to me a couple of weeks ago." (LK305) It continues to be difficult for Americans to see people of color and view them as Americans.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE TWO GENERATIONS

Across both generation Japanese American families stress the importance of a vertical structure with the father as head of the household. Four Nisei and two Sansei respondents indicated that father was head of the household and nobody openly disagreed with him. Obedience was expected. Two Sansei described their households as autocratic, three with the mother in control, "It just seemed a very distinct parent-child type of relationship where they tell you to do something and you do it, type of thing."(JT202)

All the respondents felt special in some way. In the Nisei group three of the respondents were the oldest, four were the youngest, three was the favorite child, one was in the 442, and one was good at judo. Of the Sansei group four were the oldest, another the oldest surviving child since her brother died at birth, two the youngest, and one a national junior judo champion six or seven times. None of the respondents felt unwanted in spite of the fact that many Issei headed families were of modest means and went through the depression. Of significance is the feeling the respondents made it on their own. (document)

For all three generations, the value of education appears to be very important. The Issei were

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relatively well educated for their time. Even at the turn of the century, the Issei had equivalent to a high school education. (Masuda, 1970) In the Nisei sample one attended DeVry Institute, two attended college and three completed college. For the Sansei group all attended college, nine graduated and one is in his senior year. Across all generations, Japanese Americans were highly educated for their time.

Japanese values of shame, *giri* and on which were so important when the Nisei group were growing up, were not mentioned by any of the Sansei group directly. SK301 talked about it indirectly when he brought some off beat friends home from college at the same time his aunt and uncle were visiting with the result of embarrassing his mother. The Nisei automatically conform to role expectations and will perform proper acts irrespective of how they feel. (JT202) The Sansei will only do things that they choose because they want to and will not act out of obligation.

Many Japanese American values are highly compatible with American values such as education, honesty, discipline, and respect for parents. (Kitano 1969) Therefore these values survived and continued to be identified across the generations as important.

Eight of the Nisei respondents spoke about their hard working parents, who often required their children's help in order to provide the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter. They all worked long hours and in fact the Issei defined themselves in terms of work. When HK211 told her mother, "You can slow down, you don't have to work so hard. ...(mom's) reason for going on was no longer there." Her mother collapsed and went into depression. (HK211) The Issei were self sacrificing and expressed their regrets in terms of "I wish I had let you continue with your studies." or "When you were first married, I wish I had given you some money to help you when your children were young." (HK211) The Issei generation defined themselves as doing for family.

Although four of the Sansei talked about parents working including three mothers, they were not required to work as children in family businesses. The Sansei did not have to be concerned about the basic necessities of food and shelter, so were free to think about quality of life. The Sansei do not want to work so hard but want to have fun. (JO302)

GRANDPARENTS

Grandparents were a source of modeling Japanese values. Of the Nisei group three knew their grandparents. It included one respondent spent two years living in Japan and has good memories of her grandmother. (JM206) Another respondent was cared for by her grandmother and remembers fondly during the depression, wearing sweaters knitted by grandmother who bought ice cream for her when they went to town. (EO214) Another grandfather raised the respondent's younger brother. (JT202)

All seven Sansei respondents knew at least one grandparent well and learned to appreciate things Japanese from them, cooking, reading of Japanese stories, and singing. Three respondents were very attached to their grandfathers and liked to be with them. Admiration by SK301 is apparent when he credits his grandfather for his "good eye for artistic things" and appreciation for poetry,

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photography, non-fiction and journalism. "And I think that goes all the way back to those real early years with my grandfather." They were viewed as quiet, nurturing, and caring. None of them mentioned any conflict with any grandparent. This may be because they were quiet with language barrier differences or when things are unspoken there is permission to fantasize as you chose.

When the Nisei were growing up, households were quiet places. The lack of communication with parents was in part due to a difference in languages, but also because the culture tended to transmit values nonverbal. The Nisei understood without being told directly what expectations were. The Japanese school, churches, neighbors, and the entire Japanese American community shared the same values which were reinforced for children repeatedly everywhere they went. Nisei girls did not date at eighteen but neither did their peers.

All ten Nisei attended Japanese school without much enthusiasm and without learning much Japanese, but also obtaining Japanese discipline and culture by osmosis. Because leaders of the Japanese schools were pulled by the FBI first after Pearl Harbor, a distaste for it remained even after the war.(EO214, HK102) The Nisei did not want to impose an activity they hated on their Sansei children, so none of the Sansei children attended Japanese school. The climate has changed so that Japanese language is viewed more positively and five of the Sanseis took Japanese courses as adults.

Scattered housing prevented the Sansei from getting totally immersed in Japanese American values. Sansei attended school with few Japanese Americans. Four respondents attended Japanese churches, three did CNAA sports program, two judo, two scouts, one Lane Japanese club, one koto, one Japanese classical dance and one JACL. These programs were not daily activities but weekend ones which not all participated, so that the Japanese American community had less influence on them and could only reinforce Japanese American values to a limited extent. Strict Nisei parental guidelines were not reinforced by mainstream America so that Sanseis wanted the freedoms granted to their peers. They were exposed to many kinds of values quite different from their parents. Instead of group, collective thinking, individual effort was important. Rather than gaman assertiveness was stressed. The Sansei did not get the reinforcement that their Nisei parent had from everywhere. This meant that the Sansei had many values from which to choose to make "part of their belief system."(JK 308).

The Sansei were pressured by their parents to be completely American, to excel and be successful. The Nisei were able to communicate effectively in both verbal and nonverbal ways. They spoke English fluently and were educated in American schools so that they could identify with some of their children's experiences. Still, many things were not verbalized or spoken of in the home, especially if they were negative or unpleasant. "Since it wasn't spoken of, we kind of knew you can't ask." (SK301) One Sansei talked about the necessity to decipher messages from context of the situation. (DS303) Others desire more direct communication. One of our Nisei respondents described this interaction with her son, who brought home a classmate, played music to 2:30 in the morning and slept all day. She pulled her son aside to complain. " His reply was 'It's what you always do Mom when you're upset.' I shut people out. I was becoming my mother. Gaman, pull things under the rug. Not make waves. He said he didn't

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know what he had done wrong. I told him it was common sense not to play music at 2:30 in the morning. A Japanese American household values sensitivity for those around them and get vibes from the atmosphere." (JT202) The Sansei because of their great ability with verbal language are not as sensitive to the subtle nonverbal nuances of communication. They do not understand nonverbal messages.

The Nisei parent may think that their children are interpreting their messages with the same naturalness they understood their non talking Issei parents. Sansei view verbal restraint as a social handicap. The responses made by Sansei to interview questions were lengthy and full of affective materials. They are in touch with their feelings and can express them easily. Many Sansei believe in open communication and verbalizing everything. Still Sanseis report that they love their parents but have difficulty showing that affection physically with a hug or kiss.

Important issues are never really discussed with parents so that the Sansei is left to figure things out for themselves without any guidance. (JT202, JO302) They want that their emotional needs to be acknowledged. Nisei do not understand what the Sansei are saying even when the messages are explicit. When Mura (1991) told his parents he did not want to be depressed the way he was all through high school, his father replies, "I didn't know you were depressed." and his mother replies, "You knew." Father is blind to anything emotionally difficult and mother sees everything and says nothing. The parents do not respond when he is suicidal because "they thought the situation couldn't be as serious as described." When again confronted about his depression, Dad didn't remember the first incident. Even when parents know what is being asked verbally they still are unable to respond affectively. A huge communication gap exists because of the ways in which each generation operates and expresses themselves.

REBELLIOUSNESS

Three Nisei and six Sansei viewed themselves as rebellious, but both groups were rarely punished. The Nisei thought they were naughty but living in Japanese American communities, there was little trouble they could find. When one respondent's mother went to the police station after he was caught in a pool hall underage she did not say anything to him. (AY205) When another respondent was punished she viewed that as benefitting the neighbors and mother and not her. (HK211) Some of the misdemeanors for the Sansei include staying out all night, using drugs, and taking \$50 and going with friends to Riverview.

There seems to be some tolerance within the Japanese American community for not following the rules. JO302 tells of how he and his Sansei friends played cards instead of attending church service. This activity was, however, not hidden. The Issei used to bring food to feed these misbehaving youths. Even though guidelines are clear in Japanese American families, there is permission to deviate. Nothing is said or punishment is given because the individual is supposed to feel bad when they do anything wrong and self correct.

Another interesting point is that in spite of the very difficult relationships between Nisei parents and Sanseis during the adolescent years, all those Sansei reported having improved relationships today with their alienated parent.(JO302, GM307) A great deal of support is given to offspring no matter what they do. They can always find acceptance, peace and stability when they go

home.

RACISM

The gaman trained Nisei had difficulty relating experiences of racism to the interviewers but did report discrimination in housing, employment, and verbal abuse. One respondent reported that her mother took her back to Japan because they were so restricted in access to facilities. (JM206) Another stated that graduates of the University of California with high honors were unable to find a job and reverted back to farming with their parents. (EO214), Finally one respondent who wanted to do commercial art reported that "to this day it really hurts that I was never able to do what I really wanted to do." (ES203) Because denial and repression continues to be employed instead of fully acknowledging racist acts that happened to them, Nisei experiences discussed are just a small portion of what has happened to them. They can more easily tell what happened to someone else because it removes them from feeling the impact of such actions.

In contrast, all seven of the Sansei could relate personal experiences they had with racism. The racist situations occurring during childhood and adolescence could not always be handled assertively, however one example of standing up was reported by DS303 when he was in the military. This group could remember in great detail each incident of racism that occurred to them. Every racist incident was stated, so that none remain hidden.

There is a qualitative difference in the kinds of racism which existed for the Nisei and Sansei. The entire lives of the Nisei were affected by racism which had legislation as well as mainstream America preventing them from access to facilities, entering occupations, living where they wanted or even marrying whom they chose. Respondent GM307's mother told how her Issei father had to go to Vancouver to marry her Caucasian mother because interracial marriages were illegal. Her mother then lost her American citizenship and they changed their last name to a French name to protect the children from harassment. Then her parents were in Japan prior to the outbreak of the war, but her father sent mom back but was unable to return himself. Her mother found living in California during the war so racist, that she divorced her Issei husband without telling anyone which made it difficult for her father to return to the States. When he finally return the couple remarry and use the Japanese last name because their daughters are grown and married. (GM308) The racism faced by Sanseis were difficult for them personally, but were not as intrusive in their lives as before the war. Currently racist acts are not openly done, but occur in subtle ways such as the "lily white at the most senior levels" of business. (JK308)

CAMPS

For the Nisei being placed into internment camps was a deep kind of embarrassment because it put them on public display when they were so adverse to being shamed. They were punished without doing anything wrong simply on the basis of race. They choose to gaman and not talk about this deeply humiliating experience.

The Sansei honored their parent's wish to smooth over the camp experience. Silence did not mean however that nothing was conveyed to the Sansei. The offspring realized a great deal of bitterness, resentment, fear and anger were present. (JO302) Another spoke of the scarring of

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the experience of camp which resulted in his father's cautiousness and defeatist attitude.(SK301) Need to play it safe (SK301) was expressed in many ways by the Nisei as protection for their children in an unpredictable world. The theme of security was most evident when they thought about careers for their children. The camp experience sat silent because it was too painful to face, however the unhappiness could not be dismissed.

The Sansei were influenced by the pain in their family.(GM307) No longer silent with *gaman*, they worked to make their parents happy by channelling their rage into legislation to redress the wrongs done by the incarceration. It might be viewed as selfish if gain was for themselves, however, most Sanseis did not profit personally. They fought assertively for their parents and for higher principles of justice. Sanseis were sophisticated enough to successfully maneuver the legal system in order to obtain an apology and payment for damages. These actions were completed in repayment to their parents in gratitude for obligations felt.

The Nisei admittedly had a difficult time bridging the two worlds of their Japanese parents and American school or work. They could operate in both worlds, but after the war rampant racism forced them to deny knowledge of the Japanese language and reject their cultural heritage in order to become completely American. In Chicago, Japanese Americans were ordered not to gather in groups of more than three fearing racial violence.(Lehrman) It was difficult to obtain housing and jobs.

Of the Nisei respondents, five viewed themselves as Japanese Americans, two as Japanese, and one as American. Two others did not respond to the question directly. Of the Sanseis five viewed themselves as Japanese American and one as American Japanese. One thought he was American when he was younger, however his physical appearance did not make that possible.(JO302) Another respondent also feels totally American said, "I'm white, I'm white, I'm American." (SK301) Yet mainstream America does not see a Japanese American person and see an American. "I look different, and I will always look different." (LK305) Appearance is viewed as hindering Japanese Americans from blending into the mainstream. Three of the respondents wished they were not Japanese Americans. One felt quite uncomfortable when he was the only Asian in the group. (TT306) Identity is a Sansei struggle.

Internalization of values is dependent on how one views oneself and is deeply rooted in family, community and ethnicity. Niseis identified with being American without being a part of the mainstream culture. The Sanseis can navigate through mainstream America a little better but are still not accepted as totally American. They continue to be frustrated by "internal things that I've been carrying around, and I think some of it does go back to the cautiousness and the sort of fatalism, if you will, of 'Well, it's meant to be it'll happen.' of not really pushing myself as hard in some circumstances, or not being comfortable in doing that."(SK301) It has not been easy to overcome Japanese cultural values to be more assertive rather than quiet and *gaman*.

Sansei do not feel they can completely assimilate because of their appearance. In our study three respondents were married, two were divorced and two were single. The rate of marriages and number of children are drastic changes from the Nisei group. One Sansei respondent doesn't want to have children because it costs too much money, too much trouble and you have to worry about them while there is social deterioration. His only wants to worry about his bicycle.

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(LK305) Of those that married only one had a Japanese American partner. Perhaps outmarriages and production of Amerasian children is a way to align themselves with the majority culture and to help their offspring be accepted as American. They feel they are a hundred percent American yet are not accepted as such by mainstream America. The Japanese American part of themselves has negative connotations including the reason for being interned. There may be an unconscious desire to eliminate Japanese features which are obvious to all.

CONCLUSIONS

In this study of how values were transmitted across generations, Nisei and Sansei were interviewed and their responses studied. The Issei parent quietly and often non-verbally taught Japanese values to the Nisei with the help of the entire Japanese community. Japanese schools, churches, and recreational activities all reinforced the same shared values. The Issei were well educated with lots of reading material available, so values transmission occurred from the Japanese books. The Nisei knew without being told what was expected. The only time they were exposed to different values was in school, but there was limited free time and segregation existed. By total immersion, the Nisei learned the values of hard work, obedience, obligation, perseverance, cooperation and respect for elderly.

The war and relocation into camps created an abrupt end to Japanese communities. It was an event that created unexpressed anger and great shame to the Nisei. When they relocated to Chicago, they pursued assimilation rather than remaining a closed community. They wanted to become completely American but sought security because the future was unpredictable. The Sansei children were thrust into mainstream America and had exposure to a wide variety of values quite different from those of their parents. Japanese values were reinforced for them by their grandparents and participation at Japanese churches and recreational activities such as judo and sports. Because of the limited time spent with Japanese Americans, their influence became less important in their lives. The Nisei never mentioned that their parents were strict because their cohorts followed the same well defined rules. The Sansei found their parents rules to be restrictive compared to those of their peers. They tried to be completely American but found only their physical appearance precluded that.

Although the Nisei are fluent in English they still never expressed feelings or tried to put their family experiences into words. They were unable to provide the emotional support requested by the Sansei because of their inability to communicate feelings. They, however always provided security for their physical needs. The Sansei are in touch with their feelings and are able to articulate them easily. They rejected some Japanese values such as gaman and on and choose to act only when they want and not out of obligation. The Nisei could be counted on to behave correctly even when they didn't want to. Many Japanese values are compatible with American values therefore moved across the generations easily such as education, honesty, discipline, and respect for parents and the elderly. The Sansei attempted to add new values such as assertiveness so that they can compete easier with other Americans.

Future generations of Japanese Americans will be able to function even better in mainstream America with less reliance on the Japanese community. Japanese American values will continue to be combined with American values to form a more functional set of values. The outmarriage rate is so high that physical appearance may not continue to prevent full access into mainstream

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America. Still, the inner thoughts and behaviors expressed may have traces of Japanese American values. The majority culture is also changing so that in the very near future a time will come when people of color are accepted as American as those that are blond and blue eyed.

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