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The Degree of Acculturation and Success Patterns in Three Generations of the Japanese Americans in the Portland Area

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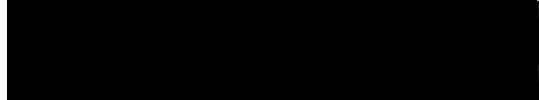
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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Toshimasa Fujii for the Master of Arts in Sociology presented July 25, 1980.

Title: The Degree of Acculturation and Success Patterns in Three Generations of the Japanese Americans in the Portland Area.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:


Frederic H. Chino, Ph. D. (Chairperson)


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Past research shows that Japanese Americans have been successful occupationally, financially and educationally. This thesis examines factors leading to this success. It is generally argued that the greater the congruence between minority and majority value systems, the less likely conflict would be generated in the minority group's acculturation. There appear to be two opposed aspects in the acculturation of the Japanese Americans, relinquishment or retention of traditional Japanese values. Also important is the degree to which Japanese Americans identify themselves as American, or Japanese, or some mixture. This thesis focusses on the following questions: What types of values have been relinquished or retained? If some are retained and others

relinquished, are those that are retained congruent with the American value system and those relinquished incongruent? What intergenerational and intragenerational differences are observable in the pattern of retention/relinquishment of traditional Japanese values? To what extent does ethnic identity affect success?

From these questions it was hypothesized: 1) those who have retained the traditional Japanese values which are congruent with the dominant American value system are more likely to be successful than those who have not; 2) those who have relinquished the traditional Japanese values which are incongruent with the dominant American value system are more likely to be successful than those who have not; 3) those who possess a strong American identity are more likely to be successful than those who have a more Japanese identity.

The findings reflected different patterns in the value system of each generation. Traditional values were strongly retained among the Issei, Protestant ethic values were pervasive among the Nisei, and the Sansei value system was different from both. The so-called "now" or current values of appreciation of human feelings, good personal relations, and freedom were strongly embraced by the Sansei.

Intragenerational analysis revealed that an individual, regardless of generation, would be successful if he/she rejected those Japanese values incompatible with the Protestant ethic, supporting the second hypothesis. The first

hypothesis, however, was rejected in some cases. Among the Issei, a negative relationship existed between the embracement of Protestant ethic values and financial success. Also, among the Issei and Sansei, embracement of Protestant ethic values was negatively correlated with educational achievement. Otherwise, embracement of Protestant ethic values can be a predictor of success. The findings also showed that educational achievement is closely related to a value orientation. Acculturation significantly influences, and is influenced by, level of educational achievement.

In the relationship between self-judged ethnic identity and success, among the Issei, a strong positive correlation between American identity and occupational as well as educational success obtained. Among the Sansei, a positive correlation between Japanese identity and financial success was found. One explanation is that part of their "now" values are congruent with traditional Japanese values which stress harmonious stability. Despite some exceptions, one can conclude from these findings that success patterns of the Japanese Americans are closely related to whether the dominant American value system, which stresses individualism, is embraced or rejected, although intergenerational differences do exist.

THE DEGREE OF ACCULTURATION AND SUCCESS PATTERNS
IN THREE GENERATIONS OF THE JAPANESE AMERICANS
IN THE PORTLAND AREA

by

TOSHIMASA FUJII

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

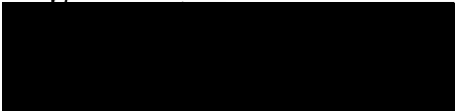
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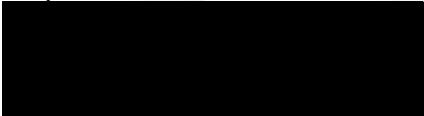
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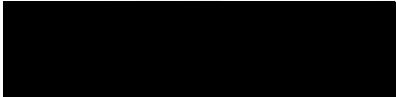
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TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESERACH:

The members of the Committee approve the thesis of
Toshimasa Fujii presented July 25, 1980

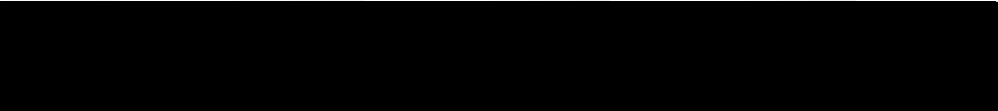

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This study is dedicated to my parents:

Mr. Takashi Fujii

and

Mrs. Itsuko Fujii

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Toshimasa Fujii

Portland, Oregon
July 1980

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Japanese Americans and Their Success¹

According to the 1970 United States Census, the Japanese Americans are the largest Asian group in the United States, with 588,000 individuals, followed by the Chinese with 435,000, the Filipino with 340,000, and the Korean with 70,000.² Approximately 72% of the Japanese Americans live in two states; Hawaii (217,000) and California (213,000). Other relatively populous states include New York (20,000), Washington (20,000) and Illinois (18,000).

In 1970, 33% of all working Japanese-American males were employed as professionals and managers, a higher rate than the 25% found in the U. S. as a whole.³ In Los Angeles County, which has the largest Japanese-American population

¹The term Japanese Americans is used consistently in this thesis as Americans of Japanese ancestry; that is to say, the first-generation immigrants born in Japan and their American-born children, grandchildren, and so forth.

²Because there have been a large number of Filipino, Korean and Vietnamese immigrants in the 1970's, the ranking may be different by 1980.

³Of the total population of the Japanese Americans, 46% were males and 54% were females.

on the mainland of the United States, school authorities reported that children of Japanese descent had outstripped all others in the level of I. Q. scores (Schwartz, 1971). In issues of social pathology, it has been reported that crime rates among the Japanese Americans are consistently lower than the general crime rate for the nation.⁴

The United States Census also reports data on education, and it is often noted that Japanese Americans are better educated than other ethnic groups in America. According to the statistics, the average length of their schooling was 12.5 years. Of all Japanese-American males 16 years of age and older, 70% had finished high school, compared to 54% for the United States at large. Nineteen percent of Japanese-American males had completed college education, compared to 13% of the United States as a whole. For females, 11% had completed college education which was higher than the 8% of the U. S. total for females. Regarding income, a median family income of the Japanese Americans in 1970 was \$3,000 higher than the nation's average income.⁵

Because of these facts, it has often been asserted

⁴See, for example, Harry H. L. Kitano, Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture (1976), Chapter 9; or William Petersen, Japanese Americans: Oppression and Success (1971), Chapter 6.

⁵Cf. "Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States," and "Occupational Characteristics" in 1970 Census of Population (1973).

that the Japanese Americans are one of the successful minorities in the United States.⁶ Despite their experience as victims of racial discrimination throughout the United States, particularly their confinement in internment camps during World War II, the Japanese Americans have established a reputation as being a "middleman minority" within the hierarchy of American society.⁷ Their success, which was attained rapidly after World War II, has been so great that they are sometimes called America's "model minority."⁸

From this characterization of the Japanese Americans, it is reasonable to raise the question: What were the crucial

⁶Frequent reference is made in the literature to the "success story" of the Japanese Americans. See for example, William Petersen, "Success Story, Japanese American Style," The New York Times Magazine (January 9, 1966): 20-43; and "Success Story: Outwhiting the Whites," Newsweek (June 21, 1971): 24-5.

⁷The notion of "middleman minority" has been developed in the following articles. Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities" (1973); and Harry H. L. Kitano, "Japanese Americans: The Development of a Middleman Minority" (1976). The argument is based upon the observation that Japanese Americans have achieved considerable social mobility, while other minority groups have remained in the lower strata of American society. This is noticeable especially when their occupations are considered. Their competitive advantage is salient in such fields as business and agriculture. See Percentage Distribution of Japanese and All Employed People by Occupational Groups, 1940-1970, Table 4, in Joseph Hraba, American Ethnicity (1979), p. 332.

⁸The title of "model minority" has been bestowed primarily upon the second-generation Japanese Americans because of their educational and occupational success with a relatively low rate of social problems. It has been pointed out, however, that this judgment is made exclusively from the point of view of dominant white majority.

factors which made it possible for them to succeed in American society?

Plausible Factors in Their Success

What were the crucial factors which made it possible for Japanese Americans to succeed in American society? One plausible explanation focuses on the Japanese American's emphasis on the value of formal education.⁹ It is widely believed that education is the key to success in the United States. The median years of schooling completed by the Japanese Americans are greater than the nation's average.

Another explanation attributes the success of the Japanese Americans to their emphasis upon such industrial practices and values as hard work, thrift and self-control.¹⁰ Those values are quite congruent with the dominant value orientations of the American middle class.¹¹ Consequently, it is often argued that the Japanese Americans have been able to absorb the dominant cultural pattern in the United States without having difficulties experienced by other immigrant groups.

⁹For example, see Audrey J. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, or Harry H. L. Kitano, "Japanese Americans: The Development of Middleman Minority" (1976).

¹⁰For example, see William Caudill, "Japanese-American Personality and Acculturation" (1952).

¹¹Williams has classified major value orientations in the United States. See Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (1951), pp. 388-440. Also Cohen has conducted a study regarding the pattern of American middle class standards. See Albert K. Cohen, Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (1955), pp. 87-93.

While it is true that some values of Japanese Americans are congruent with the dominant value orientations of American society, there are other Japanese values that are incongruent with the dominant American value system. Another important factor to be considered is racism in American society. Williams (1970 [195]) has asserted that racism and related group-superiority themes are two of the major value orientations in American society.

Petersen (1971: 4) argues that color prejudice is so great among Caucasians that anyone who carries a visible stigma has little or no possibility of rising in the status structure in American society. Except for those who have visible stigma, he contends, acculturation in terms of absorption of the dominant culture seems to be one of the crucial factors for climbing up the ladder of success in the United States.

This prompts a second question. If the success of the Japanese Americans is due to their successful acculturation (that is, practicing the values that are quite similar to the values of the American middle class), to what extent do three adult generations of Japanese Americans differ with respect to the degree of acculturation?

Transformational Aspects of the Culture

A seventy-nine-year old Issei¹² told the writer that when he and his wife visited his home town in Japan two years

¹²Issei means first-generation immigrants born in Japan. When the generations of the Japanese Americans are

ago for the first time in fourteen years, he realized that the traditional Japanese cultural values, beliefs and practices were so out of vogue in contemporary Japan that those characteristics seemed to have been retained more strongly among the Issei of the Japanese-American community.¹³ This point of view is generally agreed upon by those who are conversant with the culture of America and Japan.

However, transformation of the "traditional" values has also occurred within the Japanese-American community. Changes are easily discerned, especially between generations, the so-called generation gap. The differences between the generations are symbolized by the well-suited metaphorical expression: the Issei as the bamboo people, the Nisei as the banana people, and the Sansei as the boiled-egg people. The Issei are described as bamboo because of their shared characteristic of patience. The Issei's experience was like bamboo in the snowy country -- as snow accumulates, the bamboo bends without hurting until

mentioned in general, there are certain age spans; i.e., the generations are usually distinguished by some cultural features which will be discussed in this thesis. Today, the average age of the Issei is over seventy. That of the Nisei (second generation) is between 50 and 60, and the Sansei (third generation) is between 25 and 35. It should also be mentioned here that most "pioneer" Issei are now deceased and the Issei of this study are called Yobiyose, the family of the "pioneer" Issei. Yobiyose means the persons who were called out from Japan by their parents in America. In most cases, Yobiyose were the children of the "pioneer" Issei.

¹³Based upon the writer's private interview with Mr. Sam H. Kondo in the summer of 1978 in Portland, Oregon.

the snow melts. The snow, in this context, means the hardships or oppression that the Issei experienced as immigrants in the United States. The Nisei are described as bananas. Although the color of the skin (outside) of the Nisei is yellow, their way of thinking (inside) is quite similar to the whites'. As for the Sansei, they are described as eggs because they are almost identical with the white Americans with respect to the way of thinking; however, there is a yellow part inside of them no matter how white they assert themselves to be.¹⁴

The Sansei are now in their 20's or 30's. They appear to put more emphasis than the Nisei and Issei on such phases of assimilation as interracial marriage, residence in non-Japanese neighborhoods, and identification with non-Japanese social organizations and friends. At the same time, the degree of acculturation of the Sansei, in terms of transformation or modification of the traditional Japanese culture, would be predicted to be higher than that of the Nisei and Issei.

Objects of the Study

Many studies have been conducted with regard to the issue of "majority and minority." The term minority has

¹⁴The Sansei are sometimes described as the "bee" people because they are, like the bees, active and self-assertive compared with their Nisei parents and Issei grandparents. The writer was told this metaphorical description regarding the three generations of the Japanese Americans by several persons during his interviews.

been defined by Wirth (1945: 347) as:

[A] group of people who, because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objects of collective discrimination.

He continues:

The existence of a minority in a society implies the existence of a corresponding dominant group with higher social status and greater privileges. Minority status carries with it the exclusion from full participation in the life of the society. ...

Thus, the major premise for the discussion of minority is its relation to the majority; i. e., a dominant group. However, one might expect that conflict between those two groups will be reduced if the goals (or values) of a certain minority group are similar to the goals (or values) of the dominant group. Consequently, it might be hypothesized that the greater the congruence in the value systems between a minority and the majority, the less likely conflict would be generated in the process of acculturation of the minority.

There appear to be two opposed aspects in regard to acculturation of the Japanese Americans; that is, relinquishment of the traditional Japanese values on the one hand and retention on the other. This study will focus on the following questions: First, what sort of values have been relinquished or retained in three adult generations of the Japanese Americans? Second, if some are retained and others are relinquished, are those that are retained

congruent with the American middle-class value systems and those that are relinquished incongruent? Finally, what intergenerational and intragenerational differences are observable in the pattern of retention and relinquishment of traditional Japanese values?

As will be fully discussed later on, the object of this study is to test what might be called the "acculturation-success" theory. The whole aspect of this theory is seen in Figure 1. Using Figure 1, most Nisei would fit to the cell I; that is, the category of "acculturated-therefore-successful." Many Issei would fit to the cell III; that is, the category of "not-acculturated-but-successful." However, some Issei might be in the cell IV; that is, the category of "not-acculturated-and-not-successful." On the other hand, because the Sansei are still in their 20's and 30's, it would be predicted that most of them are in the cell II; that is, the category of "acculturated-but-not-yet-successful."

	<u>Success</u>	
	Successful	Not Successful
<u>Acculturation</u>		
Acculturated	I	II
Not Acculturated	III	IV

Figure 1. Four Dimensions of the Acculturation-Success Theory.

It is also hypothesized that there are four ideal types of the value system of the Japanese Americans. That is to say, there are: 1) those who have retained Japanese values and have adopted American values, 2) those who have retained Japanese values and have spurned American values, 3) those who have relinquished Japanese values and have adopted American values, and 4) those who have relinquished Japanese values and have spurned American values (Figure 2). People who have the characteristics of the cell III are predicted to be more successful than people who have the characteristics of the cell I, II and IV.

	<u>American Values</u>	
	Adopt	Spurn
<u>Japanese Values</u> Retain	I	II
Relinquish	III	IV

Figure 2. Four Dimensions of the Value System of the Japanese Americans.

Concerning the relationship between the retention-relinquishment pattern of Japanese values and success, further hypotheses can be derived. Within each generation:

- 1) Those who have retained traditional Japanese values which are congruent with the dominant American value system are more likely to be successful than those who have not.
- 2) Those who have relinquished traditional Japanese values which are congruent with the dominant

American value system are less likely to be successful than those who have not.

- 3) Those who have retained traditional Japanese values which are incongruent with the dominant American value system are less likely to be successful than those who have not.
- 4) Those who have relinquished traditional Japanese values which are incongruent with the dominant American value system are more likely to be successful than those who have not.

In regard to these four aspects, it is hypothesized that these patterns would be observed 1) among the three generations, and 2) within each generation.

Thus, this study will be an intergenerational and intragenerational analysis. Further, the reasons for acculturation will also be considered. Finally, some implications of the future direction of the Japanese Americans as a minority in American society will be discussed.

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CHAPTER II

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

How Did It Start?

The large scale Japanese immigration to the mainland United States did not begin until almost the end of the nineteenth century. This was because of the rigorous enforcement of travel prohibition for Japanese during the Tokugawa regime (1603-1867). In addition, the prohibition against leaving the country was continued for some time although the new Meiji government was to break down the heritages from the feudalistic Tokugawa Shogunate. Therefore, prior to the repeal of the prohibition against laborers going abroad most of the Japanese in the United States were students (Hosokawa, 1969: 37).

After labor emigration was legalized in 1884 by the Meiji government, people started emigrating gradually, primarily to Hawaii, then to mainland America. McWilliams (1944: 74) asserted they came to the United States for purely economic reasons and not as refugees in quest of religious or political freedom. Their socio-economic background was reported to be lower farming class (Kitano, 1976: 11).

The farming class in Japan's rigid hierarchical society at that time was a lower status group. However, most of the members of the class had the equivalence of an eighth-grade education (Edward, 1934: 185-7). Moreover, as an immigrant group, they were exceptionally hard workers, habituated by experience to the most strenuous physical labor (McWilliams, 1944: 35). Regarding the causes of their emigration, McWilliams (1944: 74) has written:

The immigrants who came to Hawaii and the West Coast were "birds of passage": not one in a thousand intended to remain. They planned on returning to Japan as soon as they had accumulated a nest egg.

There is another significant factor with respect to the background of Japanese emigration; that is, the overcrowding of the home population. Owing to the rigorous social structure of feudalism during the Tokugawa regime, Japan's population could not swell beyond a certain number -- it remained around twenty-six million (Ichihashi, 1932: 378-91). Malthusian factors, such as pestilence and famine, as well as artificial means of birth control prevented the nation from excessive expansion of the population.

However, the population started to expand at a tremendous rate when the feudalistic Tokugawa regime was replaced by the new Meiji government, whose political and social policies were much more liberal. The advent of Occidental enlightenment went far to improve the economic

conditions of the country and, hence, the living conditions. Consequently, the rapid multiplication of people became a social problem. In the period between 1872 and 1927, the population increased from thirty-three million to sixty-four million (Ibid., 380). As a result, emigration was promoted by the government as well as by private organizations. Destinations were sought in such countries as Hawaii, the United States, China, Korea, Brazil and Canada.

TABLE I
JAPANESE POPULATION IN THE MAINLAND UNITED STATES

Census Year	Number	Decade	Percentage Rate of Increase
1970	373,987	1960-70	43.4
1960	260,887	1950-60	83.3
1950	141,768	1940-50	11.6
1940	126,947	1930-40	-13.1
1930	138,834	1920-30	25.1
1920	111,010	1910-20	53.8
1910	72,157	1900-10	196.6
1900	24,326	1890-1900	1,093.0
1890	2,039	1880-90	1,227.7
1880	148	1870-80	169.1
1870	55	1860-70	
1860	0	1850-60	

From U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Characteristics By Race of Non-White Population. Mainland figures were obtained by subtracting Japanese population in Hawaii.

With regard to the emigration to the United States, the population of Americans of Japanese descent in the mainland United States has been increasing continuously as

Table I shows. The only exception occurred during 1930-40 decade when the number of Japanese returning to the homeland exceeded the number of new immigrants. By 1970, the Japanese population in the mainland America had reached 370,000.

However, it was sometimes noted that the Japanese were "incapable of assimilation" (McWilliams, op. cit.: 73) presumably because of the somewhat slower rate of assimilation of Japanese immigrants in America in comparison with some other immigrant groups. Certain behavioral patterns of Japanese immigrants appeared incomprehensible to the non-Japanese. This is easily explained by a cultural heritage which was radically different from the Occidental traditions. For instance, traditionally, Japanese place less emphasis on individuality; on the other hand, they place great importance on group superiority. This idea, which was derived from Shinto philosophy of wa or harmony, has been fully established in Japan for hundreds of years. Hence, the behavior of Japanese immigrants might be somewhat "curious, mysterious and inscrutable" to many non-Japanese in America who emphasize rugged individuality.

Nature of the Immigrants

As Kitano (1976: 51) pointed out, much early Issei behavior appeared to reflect the behavior patterns commonly associated with the lower class of the hierarchical structure of Japanese society in the late eighteenth and the early

nineteenth century. Recognition of this factor will be helpful in comprehending the Issei's pattern of achievement orientation to the middle class.

"It is seldom," said McWilliams (1944: 73), "that a first-generation foreign-born group has become thoroughly assimilated, particularly where sharp cultural, linguistic, and racial differences are involved." In particular, cultural luggage from their homeland was an invisible, yet crucial obstacle for the Issei immigrants to achieve smooth assimilation.

There is another obstacle to assimilation; that is, rejection of interracial marriage. In the early twentieth century, within a short period of time, spouses were chosen by and for the male immigrants -- most of them were unmarried -- from the pictures of bride-candidates who were living in Japan. The practice of marrying "picture brides" continued until 1920 when the Japanese government, under pressure from the American government, ceased to issue passports to "picture brides." In 1920, the sex ratio (the number of males per 100 females) was 190, whereas it was 2,370 in 1900 (Marden and Meyer, 1978: 300).

Although marital preference of the Japanese immigrants remained in-group, they endeavored to adapt themselves to the American culture. Their strategy for adaptation was to be like a stream -- "they have followed the contours of the land, followed the lines of least

resistance, avoided direct confrontation, and developed at their own pace, always shaped by the external realities of the larger society" (Kitano, 1976: 30). Consequently, it has often been noted, "Scratch a Japanese American and find a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant."

The Japanese Americans are claimed to have achieved successful acculturation. The reason appears to be derived from the cultural compatibility between Japanese Americans and white Americans. Inasmuch as culture is an integral element of human social interaction (Parsons 1951: 15), it is imperative to examine cultural compatibility as well as incompatibility between these two cultures. Unlike other immigrant groups from other countries, generalizations about the cultural patterns of the first-generation Japanese immigrants may be possible because Japanese immigrants came from the southern prefectures such as Hiroshima, Okayama and Yamaguchi (Hosokawa, op. cit.: 37). The value system of those districts is presumed to have been homogeneous.

The character, or personality, of the immigrants from Japan has been carefully scrutinized. Above all, Benedict's The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of Japanese Culture (1946) is an excellent introduction to the value system of the first-generation Japanese immigrants. Despite Benedict's attempt to reveal the development patterns of the ideology of the Japanese, she had

never had real contact with the Japanese in Japan. Instead, data were gathered from the Issei, who she assumed were representative of Japan's national character. Namely, she attempted to elicit the standardized patterns of Japanese behavior by the data from the Japanese in America, the Issei. Therefore, her pioneering study focusing on patterns of Japanese culture seems to be valid with respect to the values shared by the Issei.

Japanese in Japan and Japanese in America

In regard to the differences between the Japanese in Japan and the Japanese in the United States, Kitano (1969: 77-8) has written that:

The differences between the Japanese in the two cultures can be attributed to many sources. One of the most important deals with majority-minority status -- the Japanese Americans living as a small group within a white majority have constantly adapted to a weaker position through servility, conformity, conservatism and a willingness to please. ...

Another plausible explanation for the differences relates to the relative isolation of the Japanese in America. Because of this isolation, their values, representing the Meiji Japanese era, have remained relatively intact and unchanged, while the people in Japan have seen rather dramatic changes.¹ (Underlined by the writer).

As far as studies about Japanese culture in the homeland are concerned, Western writers have sometimes over-

¹This is a quotation from the first edition of Kitano's Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture (1969). The paragraph entitled "The Differences Between Japanese in Japan and the United States," which contains this quotation, has been eliminated from the second edition.

emphasized the "traditional" aspects of Japanese culture and underestimated the great changes which were taking place. Writers, such as Benedict and Dore, have often been criticized for placing too much emphasis on the hierarchical structure of interpersonal relations, the importance of obligations over human nature, and the priority of the family over the individuals (Benedict, 1946; Dore, 1958). Such studies have not recognized the rapid social changes in Japan since the Meiji Restoration of 1868. Namely, a firm generalization of one decade is likely to become obsolete in the next decade and it may fall into oblivion in the one after. The prominent features of the Japanese way of life have shown remarkable difference between, for instance, the 1930's and 40's, or the 1950's and 70's. A great variety of elements of Japanese culture traits are subject to constant change.

Reischauer (1977: 124) writes:

Contemporary Japanese are no more bound by the patterns of feudal warriors, Tokugawa samurai bureaucrats, or prewar militarists than Swedes are bound by Viking traditions or early modern military conquests, Germans by their premodern political disunion or their more recent Nazi experience, or Americans by their Puritan heritage or traditions of isolationism.

Obliteration of Japanese traditions through cultural de-institutionalization was particularly salient in the processes of demilitarization and democratization which occurred after Japan's defeat in World War II. Consequently, the standard of their conduct has been changing

rapidly. A given value pattern merely has transitory validity. Because the Japanese Americans do not have this experience as well as their relative insulation from the dominant American community, their value system still contains the values of the Meiji era when the most Issei emigrated from Japan to America.

Because people in Japan have experienced rapid social changes, the society to which they belong is as a result considerably complex and divergent. Despite the small size of the land, contemporary Japan is a complex society containing different types of value systems. Therefore, as Reischauer (1977: 124) states, "the roughly 115 million Japanese display great variations of attitudes and ways of life by age group and according to their diverse roles in society." Thus, the traditional Japanese culture which many Issei have remembered and practiced is no longer identical with the contemporary Japanese culture. Therefore, when the Issei visit their home town in Japan after a long period of absence, most of them find it different or alien from the image they were holding.

Racism in American Society

The Issei faced a variety of discrimination by the whites when they immigrated. The discrimination they experienced was a manifestation of American racism. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, racism and related group-superiority themes have been two of the major value

orientations in American society. The Japanese immigrants had to develop a special strategy to protect themselves from American racism which rejected Japanese immigration to the United States. What sort of nature does American racism have and how has it affected the assimilation pattern of the Japanese immigrants and their descendants?

Hodge, Struckmann and Trost (1975) argued that Western culture underlies a strong sense of dualism; that is to say, there is an institutionalized value among the Western societies, including America, that the universe is divided into objectively existing and recognizable forces of "good and evil" which are necessarily in conflict. With regard to the notion of dualism and group oppression, Hodge states:

Because of his Dualist presuppositions, the traditional Westerner assumes that what is not Good is Bad or Evil. The not-Good includes all behavior not predetermined by or contained within prescribed law and all behavior guided primarily by feeling or emotion. The not-Good also includes spontaneous emotional expressiveness, intimacy with nature, and bodily urges and instincts. These not-Good qualities are considered to be "nonrational." These are the qualities which are to be controlled by the Good, as the Good is supposed to control the not-Good. (Hodge, et al, 1975: 235).

Thus, the combination of rationalism and dualism, both of which are the major value orientations in American society, has produced racism and related group-superiority themes as two of the major value orientations in the United States.

It has been believed that "inferior" cultures are to be controlled by the more "rational" culture. Many examples of the practice of this "logic" are found in the history of America. The Japanese Americans were examples of victims of this "logic," culminating in their experiences of relegation to internment camps during World War II.

Hodge, et al (1975: 236) assert that, once the non-Western people are identified by race, they are forced into the bottom of the hierarchical structures of American society. Consequently, there have been hostilities against non-Western immigrants. Among them included the Chinese, Korean and Japanese.

With respect to anti-Japanese movements, the first overt act occurred in San Francisco in March, 1900. The areas of the city where both the Chinese and the Japanese were living were quarantined by the mayor without any reasonable explanation. In response, the Japanese organized the Japanese Association of America to protest against the racial discriminatory movement. With this event as a start, the anti-Japanese campaign gradually spread, first in California and later throughout the nation.

"Japanophobia" never disappeared until Japan's defeat in World War II although there were minor changes in the attitude toward the Japanese as international situations changed.²

²See, for example, McWilliams (1944), Bosworth (1967), Myer (1971), or Chuman (1976). The literature offers various views regarding the history of anti-Japanese movements.

Discrimination was blatantly reflected in the legislation that attempted to exclude the Japanese population. There were such items in anti-Japanese legislation as: forbidding Japanese the use or ownership of power engines; forbidding Japanese to employ white girls; making Japanese inheritance of land illegal, and raising the standard fishing license fee of ten dollars per year to one hundred dollars for Orientals (Kitano, 1976: 28).

Above all, the anti-Japanese land laws (the Alien Land Laws) were a harsh reality for the Japanese immigrants because these laws prohibited them from owning land. Many of the early immigrants were engaged in various forms of farm labor for most of them had experience in and respect for farming. The white farmers were afraid of the possibility that Japanese farmers might take over the agricultural market. Consequently, this fear influences the state legislatures of various states to take action against Japanese immigrants.

The first anti-Japanese land law was enacted in California in 1913. The purpose of this bill was to drive the Japanese out of agriculture, and perhaps out of California. Later on, the anti-Japanese land legislation spread to other states: Arizona in 1917, Louisiana in 1921, New Mexico in 1922, Idaho, Montana and Oregon in 1923, Kansas in 1935, and Arkansas, Utah and Wyoming in 1943. Attorney General Webb made a speech in 1913

concerning the nature of the California Alien Land Bill in which he stated:

The fundamental basis of all legislation ... has been, and is, race undesirability. It seeks to limit their presence by curtailing their privileges which they may enjoy here, for they will not come in large numbers and long abide with us if they may not acquire land. And it seeks to limit the numbers who will come by limiting the opportunities for their activity here when they arrive (Gulick, 1914: 189).

The Alien Land Law of 1913 was amended in 1920, in an act "designed to prevent the Issei from acting as guardians for the property of a native-born minor if the property could not be held legally by the alien himself" (Kitano, 1976: 69).

The consistency and intensity of anti-Japanese hostility were persistent. However, other immigrant groups have also experienced discrimination similar in kind and intensity to that experienced by the Japanese immigrants, due to white racism. In other words, minority groups have been "equally" oppressed by the white majority.

The Current Trend in the Community of the Japanese Americans

At first, backgrounds of the Japanese immigrants were homogeneous with respect to their age structure, sex, regions of origin, social class, length of completed formal education. However, as time passed, some heterogeneity has appeared within the community of the Japanese Americans.

As Kitano (1976: 9-10) argued:

The convenient division of the present Japanese population into relatively homogeneous Issei, Nisei,

and Sansei groups is complicated by the presence of the Kibei (Japanese educated Nisei); the post-war influx of Japanese war brides; the arrival of many new Issei immigrants beginning in the 1950's; the entrance of Japanese businessmen, tourists, and sojourning students; and a continuous stream of Japanese from Hawaii, who are not necessarily homogeneous in education, generation, or other characteristics.

Characteristics of these subgroups are divergent.

Consequently, a pluralistic structure has emerged. Therefore, when considering the Japanese acculturative process, it should not be forgotten that structural pluralism is now a widespread phenomenon in the community of the Japanese Americans.

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CHAPTER III

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE STUDY

The Notion of Values

Orientation for the study of values has come from the fields of anthropology and sociology (Kluckhohn, 1951; Albert, 1953; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961; Parsons and Shils, 1951; Williams, 1951; among others). In the field of sociology, the study of values sometimes has been regarded as the study of the subjective because of the unobservable nature of values. However, objective and scientific aspects of the study of values have been developed beginning with The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, a remarkable pioneering effort by Thomas and Znaniecki (1918). As a result, the study of values is now considered to deal with the "social facts" that are suitable objects for a sociological interpretation. Moreover, analysis of values is an important approach for the study of behavioral patterns of a particular group of people.

Values are defined by Parsons (1970: 158) as "patterned conceptions of qualities of meaning of the objects of human experiences; by virtue of these

qualities, the objects are considered desirable for the evaluating persons." Williams (1970: 442) defines values as "those conceptions of desirable state of affairs that are utilized in selective conduct as criteria for preference or choice or as justifications for proposed or actual behavior."

Based upon these definitions, one could consider values as those standards by which our behavior is determined. However, it should be noted that values are nurtured by the individuals through the process of socialization; in other words, in order for values to be fixed, they have to be internalized by the individuals.

Values are internalized in various social settings. Parental discipline and formal education appear to be two of the major sources of value internalization. Both are significant factors in value internalization; and those factors seem to be supplementary. Once internalized, values would play an important role in determining one's behavior.

Parsons and Shils (1951) have argued that internalization of values is a function of the fundamental role structure within a society, and it creates normative integration among the individuals. Moreover, according to Parsons and Bales (1955), society and individual are both well organized by the medium of values. Values are "institutionalized" within a society, while they are "internalized" by an individual. Thus, values are integral parts

of social character as well as individual character (i. e., personality). Values would determine the destination of society and/or individual once they are institutionalized and/or internalized. A question arises: What is the mechanism of value internalization? In the following sections of this chapter, the writer addresses this question, dealing with Japanese Americans as a case.

Japanese Immigrants and the Notion of Reference Groups

People act in a social frame of reference held by the groups to which they belong. However, there is also another aspect of human behavior; that is, people frequently orient themselves to groups other than their own in shaping their behavior and evaluation.¹ This factor seems to be a crucial concept in the study of acculturation of certain immigrant groups in the United States.

Merton (1968: 384) has pointed out that the consideration of "different reference groups for different norms and values" has become an important focus of sociological attention. The notion of reference groups has thus been developed to refer to those groups or social categories which are especially significant to an individual in helping to define his/her values, beliefs and behavior. The individual does not have to be a member of his/her reference group; namely his/her reference group is the

¹Above all arguments, see Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (1968), Chapter XI.

group he/she looks up to and intends to conform. Therefore, it is possible that first-generation Japanese immigrants have relinquished the values and customs of their own country in order to conform to the values and customs of those Americans whom they selected as their reference group. The next question is: Who were "those Americans" whom Japanese immigrants chose as their "model"? Did Japanese immigrants really select a certain part of American society as their reference group?

As mentioned in Chapter II, the Japanese immigrants who came to the United States planned to return to Japan as soon as they had accumulated a "fortune." Not one in a thousand intended to remain; instead, they intended to return home loaded with a fortune and with honors. This fact might lead us to a conclusion that the Japanese immigrants did not spontaneously conform to the norms of any group in the dominant American society. Instead, it is more likely that they have conformed to some ethnic social organizations in the community of Japanese settlers. If this assumption is correct, the Japanese immigrants were as a result insulating themselves from the dominant group in the United States. The prefectural associations, Kenjinkai (ken=prefecture; jin=people; kai=association), are excellent examples of social organizations among the Japanese settlers in America to which most Japanese had a sense of attachment. Light (1972: 62) has pointed out that ken-consciousness was

characteristic only of overseas Japanese. He writes:

The manifest purpose of the kenjinkai were social and benevolent. ... [T]he kenjinkai also played a leading role in overseeing the social and economic welfare of the immigrants. ... Prefectural contacts were critical sources of influence in business and politics. Kenjinkai provided direct welfare assistance to destitute or needy members, buried the indigent, and paid medical bills. Because of these varied prefectural services, Japanese thought that membership in a large kai was a distinct advantage (Light, 1972: 62-3).

Almost all the Japanese immigrants were eligible for membership in one of the Kenjinkai. Solidarity among the members of a Kenjinkai was very strong. Because of the tight bond among people of the same prefectural origins, "Japanese employees often were more loyal to their employers than to the labor movement, and Japanese businessmen [and farmers] with access to cheap and dependable ethnic labor had an important edge over their competitors (Hraba, 1979: 324). With regard to economic functions of the Kenjinkai, Hraba has written:

Family and regional ties reinforced the economic interdependence between Japanese businessmen and farmers and their employees and field hands. Because Japanese businessmen typically hired members of their own family or Kenjin, in most cases the relationship between employer and employee was more than simply economic; it was one of blood and regional loyalty as well. Moral obligations to family and ken tied employers and employees to one another, checking the tendency in a purely economic exchange for each party to seek only self-interest. The mutual loyalty between Japanese capital and labor was further strengthened in the common practice of Japanese employers setting up their employees in businesses of their own after an apprenticeship had been served (Hraba, 1979: 323).

Kenjinkai thus played a critical role in many respects

protecting its members from prejudice and discrimination. It was a refuge for the Japanese immigrants. Therefore, the existence of such an ethnic organization was a crucial hindrance for Issei assimilation into American society.

Accordingly, based upon the arguments so far, it would be hypothesized that first-generation Japanese immigrants did not have any "reference groups" other than those Japanese groups to which they belonged. In other words, there were no particular Americans whom the Japanese immigrants chose as their "model-to-be." In Riesman's terminology, the immigrants from Japan were not other-directed people.² Rather, the Issei can be classified as inner-directed people, with some characteristics of tradition-direction. Their values, which were internalized in the early stage of their lives in Japan, remained as guideposts for behavior throughout their lives, even after they emigrated from Japan to the United States. Next, let us examine the personality structure of Japanese immigrants.

Personality Structure of Japanese Immigrants

In regard to the definition of tradition-direction, Riesman writes:

The society of high growth potential develops in its typical members a social character whose conformity is insured by their tendency to follow

²David Riesman, with Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney, has developed the concepts of tradition-, inner- and other-direction in his book entitled The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character (1950).

tradition: these I shall term tradition-directed people and society in which they live a society dependent on tradition-direction (Riesman, 1961: 8).

Also, with regard to inner-direction, he writes:

The society of transitional population growth develops in its typical members a social character whose conformity is insured by their tendency to acquire early in life an internalized set of goals. These I shall term inner-directed people and the society in which they live a society dependent on inner-direction (Loc. cit.).

The Japanese immigrants appear to have the characteristics of both tradition-direction and inner-direction. It would be hypothesized that inner-direction was nurtured in Japanese society, and tradition-direction in American society.

According to Riesman, inner-direction is generated in a society which is characterized by:

increased personal mobility, by a rapid accumulation of capital (teamed with devastating technological shifts), and by an almost constant expansion: intensive expansion in the production of goods and people, and extensive expansion in exploration, colonization, and imperialism (Ibid: 14).

Aspects of Japanese society in the Meiji (1868-1911), Taisho (1912-25) and Showa (1926-present) eras, until the defeat in World War II, fit exactly the characteristics that Riesman has described. The primary interest of Japanese society since the end of feudalistic Tokugawa regime was consistently to expand national power. Every possible means was used to attain this national expansion policy. As a result, this promoted the rapid industrialization as

well as militarization. The national population increased at a tremendous rate as was mentioned in Chapter II. Moreover, as the national power of imperial Japan increased, the number of Japanese emigrants also increased (see Table I in Chapter II).

Riesman, using the metaphor of the "gyroscope," argued that the internalized values, once they are set in place by the parents and other authorities, keep the inner-directed person "on course" even when his/her parents and other authorities no longer dictate his/her behavior. He/she would decide what to do throughout life on the basis of those internalized values. If the Issei were inner-directed people, Riesman's theory can well explain the phenomenon that traditional Japanese culture has been retained more strongly among the Issei than among the Japanese in contemporary Japan. (Isolation provides another basis for this phenomenon, as was discussed in the previous chapter.)

Riesman provided further analysis regarding the characteristics of the inner-directed people by stating that "he can cooperate with others in action while maintaining the right of private judgement" (Ibid: 251). One of the salient behavioral traits of the Issei, which might be called "double loyalty," can be explained by this argument. If Riesman's hypothesis is correct, the inner-directed Issei were able to manage a delicate balance

between those two aspects, which Riesman calls "the demands upon him of his goal in life and the buffeting of his external environment" (Ibid: 16). Consequently, it is hypothesized that the first-generation Japanese immigrants were "autonomous inner-directed people," those who "possessed clear-cut, internalized goals and were disciplined for stern encounters with a changing world" (Ibid: 290). As a matter of fact, Japanese immigrants were a group of people who neither became lost to the demands of the American culture nor were broken by them.

Reischauer, in describing the demands of the American culture toward the Japanese immigrants, has stated that:

No immigrant group encountered higher walls of prejudice and discrimination than did the Japanese -- the denial [by] racist groups of the right to naturalization, the denial in the areas where they largely lived of the right to own land or enter certain professions, and eventually complete exclusion (Reischauer, 1969: xi).

Consequently, immigrants appear to have retained a strong and assertive sense of Japanese identity even though they have long been isolated from their parents and other authorities from whom they internalized the traditional Japanese values. In this very specific sense, it is hypothesized that the Japanese immigrants nurtured tradition-directed personality besides their inner-directed personality. Their sense of loyalty to their own community (e. g., Kenjinkai) is an excellent example for their tradition-directedness.

Based upon the discussion thus far presented, one could argue that the Japanese immigrants have embraced the values that are the mixture of tradition- and inner-direction. Now, let the discussion flow to the next topic -- the discussion of the traditional Japanese value system. What characteristics did it have?

Foundations of the Traditional Japanese Value System

As was documented in Table I, the rapid increase of the Japanese population in the mainland United States occurred during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This period roughly corresponds with the Meiji Imperial era, from 1868 to 1912. Therefore, it is assumed that the traditional Japanese values the Issei embraced were based upon so-called "Meiji ideology." One should know the historical background of the political transition from the Tokugawa regime to the Meiji regime to understand the nature of the Meiji ideology. This political transition occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century. With regard to the final phase of the Tokugawa regime, Reischauer wrote:

While the general political pattern remained rigidly unchanging, beneath the surface there were great dynamic tensions between Confucian and feudal values and between economic growth and a frozen class society. Japan, far from becoming an immobile society in its isolation, remained capable of great change, as it was to demonstrate brilliantly in the second half of the nineteenth century (Reischauer, 1977: 77).

Attempted rebellions did not occur until the first half of the nineteenth century despite those conflicts. People's consciousness was severely suppressed in the Shogunate's continuous endeavors to maintain the rigid hierarchy in society. Confucianism, which stresses the hierarchical nature of society, was strongly advocated to reinforce the feudalistic orders of Tokugawa society. On the other hand, Christianity, which stresses equality or emancipation of suppressed people, was strictly prohibited by the Shogunate. The Shogunate adopted the national seclusion policy partly in order to exterminate the Christians. This policy eventually lasted more than two centuries.

However, the invention of steam navigation enabled Western military powers to sail across the Pacific Ocean. Various Western countries tried to obtain the use of the Japanese ports by surrounding the islands of Japan with their warships. Those warships overpowered the nation. Consequently, fear of being attacked was generated among the Tokugawa samurai bureaucrats.

This fear reached its zenith when the Shogunate was forced by the American navy in 1853 to abolish the long-time policy of national seclusion. Most of the nation was against opening the country; nevertheless, the Shogunate signed many treaties with Western countries. As a result, there was a growing opinion that "in order to meet the foreign menace, the nation would have to pull itself

together more effectively around the emperor, as the legitimate symbol of unity" (Reischauer, 1977: 79-80). Subsequently, young radical samurai bureaucrats became active under the slogan of "Revere the emperor and oust the barbarians!"

This slogan was not intended to be either an attack on the Shogunate nor a call for imperial restoration.

Concerning this point, Varley wrote:

"Revere the Emperor!" was a Confucian-Shinto inspired reminder of the ethical obligations within Japan's hierarchically ordered society: by revering the emperor, subjects would automatically be loyal to the shogun (to whom the emperor had delegated governing powers) and, at a lower level, would be obedient to their immediate superiors. "Oust the Barbarians!", on the other hand, was an injunction to the Shogunate to strengthen defenses against the threat of foreign aggression (Varley, 1973: 195-60).

Recognizing the critical situation, the Shogunate finally accepted to restore the emperor system. Thus, the Tokugawa regime ended after its reign of prosperity over more than two and a half centuries.

Before the Meiji government was established, Confucianism and Buddhism had long been the bases of the nation's value systems. Both Confucianism and Buddhism had their heyday during the Tokugawa period. In particular, Confucianism, as a philosophy rather than religion, was strongly supported and advocated by the Tokugawa Shogunate because Confucianism stresses social equilibrium, especially a rigid hierarchical order of society. Confucianism fitted

the policies which the Tokugawa Shogunate embraced; in other words, Confucianism was a means to maintain social order during the Tokugawa regime from 1603 to 1867.

However, Shinto was highlighted instead of Confucianism with the establishment of the Meiji regime in 1868. Shinto was a primitive religion which stressed the animistic worship of natural phenomena until it was strengthened by the concept of imperialism. Shinto became a significant part of Meiji ideology due to this reinforcement which acknowledged the position of the emperor as sacred. Furthermore, the nation's new ideology nurtured the growth of Japan's nationalism and militarism until the official announcement by the Emperor Showa of the defeat in the Second World War.

The nature of Meiji ideology was thus highly artificial; however, the government was extremely careful in developing this ideology. That is to say, the government did not totally spurn Confucianism and Buddhism. Rather, the government tried to synthesize Confucianism and Buddhism with New Shinto. This endeavor was crystallized in the new Constitution promulgated in 1881. Thus, Meiji ideology, a selective combination of Shinto and Confucianism and Buddhism, was internalized by the nation as the Meiji Constitution was institutionalized.

Meiji ideology was considered to be a manifestation of patriotism. It was an essential part of the Japanese

value system. Besides, Meiji ideology was homogenous due to thorough "thought control" through the education system. Consequently, it generated a strong national norm of patriotism.

The Emperor was appointed in the Constitution as an absolute and charismatic leader of the nation. A Shinto idea was used as the rationale for this argument; namely, the Emperor Meiji was the direct descendant of Gods who created Japan. This mythology was reinforced by the ethics of Confucianism and Buddhism.

From the arena of Confucianism, the idea of family unity was adopted. That is to say, Meiji ideology emphasizes that all the Japanese people are to be unified under the Emperor as an absolute patriarch. The rationale for this was the fact that the Emperor family had maintained its family line for more than two thousand years. Thus, the appointment of the Emperor as an absolute monarch promoted ethnic authenticity within the nation.

From the beliefs of Buddhism, on the other hand, the idea of an ever lasting soul was adopted. This became the rationale for perpetual nature of the state, that is, imperialism. Consequently, rapid development of the state was stressed by the government focusing on industrialization and militarization.

It should also be noted that the government put great importance on education. Education was emphasized

for the development of the "sound" self by understanding the meanings of being born as a Japanese. In particular, moral education was emphasized. Emphasized values include: spiritual and physical discipline, benevolence, justice, loyalty and filial duty. The endeavor by the government to institutionalize those values reached its climax when the Meiji Emperor promulgated the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890.³

Thus, the nature of Meiji ideology, which has been the basis of the Issei's value system, was highly patriotic, imperialistic and moralistic. In addition, there was another remarkable aspect of Meiji ideology, that was its homogeneity. As was mentioned, homogeneous national ideology was institutionalized through the educational system. Consequently, Meiji ideology was strongly internalized by the nation, its members including those who emigrated to the United States later on. A question arises: In the subsequent generations of Japanese Americans, what kind of value system has been developed on the foundation of the Meiji ideology which was brought to the United States by the Issei? Or, how has the Issei's value system been modified by their descendants?

The Value Systems of the Japanese Americans

With regard to the value systems in the community of

³The translation of the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 is seen in Appendix K.

the Japanese Americans, which mainly consists of three adult generations, a number of studies have been conducted since World War II. Those endeavors appear to have the same goal, to give cognitive explanation to the clash of traditional values shared by the Issei and modern values shared by the Sansei. Kitano has pointed out:

[A]lthough Japanese and Americans have differed in the past in their collective and individualist orientations, the collectivity orientation has diminished among Sansei and at present is similar to that of Caucasian samples. Egoistic behavior and the importance of self over others has developed to such an extent that ... the Sansei held a more individualistic position than did the non-Japanese American! Similarly, standards of discipline, paternalism, status distinction, and other parameters of the "American" value system show that the Sansei are for all practical purposes completely acculturated (Kitano, 1976: 141).

In other studies, intergenerational personality differences of the Japanese Americans have been studied from the perspective of acculturation. Caudill's study (1952) indicated that there was a logical consistency between the values and the adaptive mechanism of the Issei and Nisei. DeVos's study (1955) has shown that the direction of acculturation is toward the American norms. Iga (1966) has mentioned that acculturation of the Sansei has been so complete that "we cannot anticipate their return to traditional Japanese cultural interests" (Iga, Loc cit.).

There are, however, reports from the opposite point of view. Arkoff (1959) and Arkoff, Meredith and Iwahara (1962, 1964) pointed out that there has been considerable

retention of traditional Japanese values even among the Sansei. Meredith and Meredith (1966) reported that Sansei males are more humble, more conscientious, and more regulated by external realities than Caucasian-American males; at the same time, Sansei females are less emotionally stable, less independent, and less self-assured than Caucasian-American females. Petersen (1971: 232) has concluded that the Japanese-American community still has the "community allegiance" and "nothing is done without fully considering its effect on 'the Japanese image.'"

These two perspectives argue the value system of Japanese Americans from two different points of view. The first perspective attributes the cognitive explanations of the intergenerational personality differences preponderantly to social factors. Key concepts in this approach include "value systems," "social norms," "adaptive mechanisms," "acculturation." In contrast, the second perspective emphasizes the psychological factors in its explanation of the intergenerational personality differences. Key concepts in this approach include "the Japanese image" and "cultural reminiscence of the third-generation people -- the grandson seeks to remember what the son wishes to forget."

This study pursues a sociological perspective in its analytical framework. Consequently, the second approach will not be considered in this study of intergenerational

personality differences. Thus, in this study, acculturation as a cultural phenomenon would be discussed in sociological terms.

"Assimilation" and "Acculturation"

A firm definition should be given to the key concept of this study, acculturation. In particular, acculturation has to be recognized separately from assimilation. Assimilation is defined by Theodorson and Theodorson to be "both the one-way absorption of an individual or group into another group and the mutual absorption or blending of divergent cultures" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969: 17). On the other hand, acculturation is defined by them to be:

the modification of the culture of a group or an individual through contact with one or more other cultures and the acquiring or exchanging of culture traits (Ibid: 3).

Further distinctions between the terms are made by them:

Assimilation is similar to acculturation, in which a culture is modified through contact with one or more cultures, but assimilation involves the complete elimination of cultural differences and differentiating group identification (Ibid: 17).

In short, it can be stated that acculturation is a cultural phenomenon while assimilation is a social phenomenon.

Hraba (1979) emphasized the dual aspects of assimilation, that is, acculturation and integration. According to him, acculturation refers to the fusion of the culture of different groups; while integration refers to the fusion of groups in the sense that social interaction is no longer

predicated upon one's racial or ethnic identity.

On the other hand, Gordon (1964: 71) has classified seven types of assimilation. They are:

- 1) Cultural or behavioral assimilation (or acculturation)
- 2) Structural assimilation
- 3) Marital assimilation
- 4) Identificational assimilation
- 5) Attitude receptional assimilation
- 6) Behavioral receptional assimilation
- 7) Civic assimilation

According to Gordon (1964: 77), cultural assimilation (or acculturation) is likely to be the first type of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene; furthermore, cultural assimilation (or acculturation) of the minority group may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously, and this condition of "acculturation only" may continue indefinitely.

In the case of the Japanese Americans, acculturation for the Issei was difficult. In order for full acculturation to be attained, cultural differences needed to disappear. This includes not only such aspects of the culture as clothing, manners, language, food and sports that are relatively easy to imitate, but also such less tangible elements as values, beliefs, ideas, memories and attitudes. However, some psycho-cultural problems the Issei faced were

beyond their ability to conquer. This was particularly true in the acquisition of the English language. The retention of the use of the Japanese language among the Issei has been thus very high.

The Issei have attempted to live in two worlds, Japanese and American. They have struggled to achieve reconciliation between the Japanese and American cultures. The same thing, but to a lesser extent, can be said concerning the Nisei, an identity problem is involved in their case. Actually, the Issei were reasonably successful in insulating themselves within their ethnic group. The Nisei on the other hand were marginal. Exposed to both the ethnic community and the dominant group, they were marginal to both. As for the Sansei, there is a concensus that they have attained a high degree of acculturation in terms of cultural, or behavioral assimilation. Regarding Sansei assimilation, Iga (Op. cit., 141) reported that "the only factor which prevents them from complete assimilation seems to be the combination of their physical visibility and racial prejudice on the part of dominant group members."

Based upon the arguments thus far, it is postulated that the different stages have been taking place in varying degrees. More specifically, it is postulated that inter-generational differences are observable with respect to the extent of acculturation.

Compatibility and Incompatibility of the Japanese Values with the American Value System

With respect to acculturation of the Japanese Americans, Caudil (1952) stressed the compatibility of traditional Japanese values and the American middle-class values. Shared values include: politeness, duty to the community, diligence, cleanliness and neatness, emphasis on personal achievement and long-range goals, a sense of guilt concerning nonsanctioned behavior, and the importance of keeping up one's appearance.

On the other hand, Kitano (1976) emphasized the "functional compatibility" and interaction between the two cultures rather than their cultural similarities. According to Kitano, the Issei have not acculturated but have retained most of the ways of the traditional Japanese culture. If the assumption that the Issei are both "tradition-directed" and "inner-directed" is correct, as Riesman (Op. cit.: 16) has asserted, they possessed a considerable degree of flexibility in adapting themselves to the circumstances.

Unquestionably, it can be stated that parts of traditional Japanese culture are still retained in the Japanese-American community. Examples include the retention of the Japanese language. Nearly all the Japanese immigrants retained their mother tongue. Also, the Kenjinkai and other ethnic organizations published newspapers or other organs for information. At the same time,

however, some traditional Japanese values have been relinquished due to the adaptive mechanism of human behavior. According to Kitano (1976: 141), relinquished values include: authoritative discipline, blind obedience to ritual, extensive use of guilt and shame to shape behavior, and the submissiveness of females.

Thus, the transformational aspects of values need to be studied in order to understand the actual condition of acculturation and the degree of retention of the traditional culture in three generations of the Japanese Americans.

Some Notes Regarding Success Orientation of Japanese Americans

It can be stated here that the major assumption in this study is that each generation has its own distinctive characteristics in its degree of acculturation. Moreover, it is argued that a principal objective of the Japanese Americans has been toward being "successful."

The meaning of the term success should be clarified to avoid confusion. According to The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language (1977), the term success has the following meanings:

- 1) The achievement of something desired or attempted.
- 2) The gaining of fame or prosperity.
- 3) One that succeeds.

The Random House Dictionary (1978) defines the term success as follows:

- 1) A favorable result that one has tried or hoped for.
- 2) The attainment of wealth, fame, etc.
- 3) A successful person or thing.

Herein, when reference is made to the "success story," it means the achievement of something desired or attempted which has a favorable result, usually accompanied by socioeconomic attainment.

Williams (1951, 1960, 1970) has classified "achievement and success" as one of the major value orientations in the United States. In his American Society: A Sociological Interpretation, Williams noted that American culture places a central stress upon personal achievement, especially secular occupational achievement. American society thus features a high degree of competitiveness in which ascribed status in the form of fixed, hereditary social stratification is minimized.

The success pattern is linked to achievement; this is endorsed by the belief that "success is seldom achieved without hard work." "Because of the preoccupation with business," asserted Williams (1951: 390), "the most conspicuous achievements have been those centered in business enterprise." Thus, the "economic success" is highlighted in most success stories. Specifically, in the success story a focal point is the level of pecuniary rewards a person attained throughout his life.

Discussing wealth as one salient aspect of the

achievement patterns, Williams put it:

The central type of achievement is in business, manufacturing, commerce, finance; and since traditionalized social hierarchies, fixed estates, and established symbols of hereditary rank have had only a rudimentary development, there is a strong tendency to use money as a symbol of success. Money comes to be valued not only for itself and for the goods it will buy, but as symbolic evidence of success and, thereby, of personal worth (Williams 1951: 393).

Based upon the discussion above, the "success story" of the Japanese Americans in this study is concerned with, first, their occupational achievement in terms of occupational success; and second, their achievement in remuneration, or financial success. Furthermore, because it has commonly believed that Japanese Americans put high emphasis on formal education to attain their success, their educational achievement, or educational success would also be a matter of concern in this study.

The central argument of this thesis contends that many of the traditional Japanese values are consistent with the Protestant ethic. If Weber is correct, the Protestant ethic was instrumental in the development of Capitalism. It follows, then, that those who embrace the Protestant ethic will be more successful than those who do not. Therefore, it is hypothesized that if Japanese Americans have retained traditional Japanese values that are congruent with the Protestant ethic and/or relinquished incongruent ones, they would be successful.

Study Hypotheses

A set of hypotheses regarding the retention-relinquishment pattern of the values and one's success is articulated. That is to say, among Japanese Americans:

- 1) Those who have retained traditional Japanese values which are congruent with dominant American value system are more likely to be successful than those who have not.
- 2) Those who have relinquished traditional Japanese values which are congruent with dominant American value system are less likely to be successful than those who have not.
- 3) Those who have retained traditional Japanese values which are incongruent with dominant American value system are less likely to be successful than those who have not.
- 4) Those who have relinquished traditional Japanese values which are incongruent with dominant American value system are more likely to be successful than those who have not.

However, in the case of Issei, there would be exceptions because they have insulated themselves from the dominant American society. In their case, therefore, the "success story" has been possible within the community of Japanese Americans. Accordingly, if Issei are excluded, the degree of acculturation would be a predictor of one's occupational and pecuniary success. With regard to educational success, it is assumed that the causation might be backwards, i. e., educational achievement could be a predictor of the degree of acculturation. Besides, it is hypothesized that one's educational success could be a predictor of one's occupational and pecuniary success.

In the argument presented above, because the proposition 2 could be implied by the proposition 1 and the proposition 3 could be implied by the proposition 4, these are to be integrated into the proposition 1 and 4, respectively. Therefore, the clarified hypotheses are:

- 1) Those who have retained the traditional Japanese values which are congruent with dominant American value system are more likely to be successful than those who have not.
- 2) Those who have relinquished the traditional Japanese values which are incongruent with dominant American value system are more likely to be successful than those who have not.

In these study hypotheses, the independent variable is the degree of acculturation and the dependent variable is "successfulness" which includes occupational and financial success.

With regard to educational success, the study will treat educational achievement as an "ambivalent" variable because educational achievement is assumed to be both cause and effect of the degree of acculturation.

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CHAPTER IV

PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY

The Sampling Method

According to the spokesman for the Japanese Consulate of Portland, Oregon, the total population of Japanese Americans in the city of Portland and its suburbs was estimated to be 2,950 on October 1, 1978. This figure is an extrapolation from the 1970 U. S. Census. This figure consists of four or five generations including three adult generations although the percentage in each generation is unknown. Moreover, there is no such thing as a directory of Japanese Americans for Portland.

Despite the fact that Japanese names can be easily identified, the telephone directory is not a completely reliable source for the identification of the Japanese American population. There are several defects of using the telephone directory. First, this method can not cover people whose names do not appear in the pages of the directory. Second, there are changes of the last name, from Japanese to non-Japanese, in the case of interracial marriage of Japanese women. Third, according to the Japanese Consulate, there are approximately 440 Japanese who are visiting Portland temporarily for various reasons.

Such persons include dispatched officer workers from Japanese companies or banks, their families, students, diplomats, missionaries, and so forth. Further, there are some four hundred Japanese who do not yet possess American citizenship but are planning to settle in the United States. Therefore, more than eight hundred persons, who are not Japanese Americans, could not be distinguished from the Japanese-American population of 2,950 were the telephone directory used.

Another alternative for the selection of the sample was to use the directories of such organizations as the Japanese Ancestral Society (JAS), the Japanese Ancestral Women's Club (JAWC), and the Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL). Fortunately, the directories of those ethnic organizations were made available for this study through the writer's acquaintances. The uses of the directories was permitted by each organization for the pursuit of this study.¹ Characteristics of those directories are described below.

The directory of the Japanese Ancestral Society (or Nikkeijinkai) for the year of 1979 consisted of 344 members which included both Issei and Nisei. The Nisei members were mostly those who were born in the United States and sent to Japan for a substantial portion of their formative years; they received most of their education in Japan.

¹This research project was also approved by the Human Subjects Research Review Committee of Portland State University.

They are called Kibei-nisei or simply Kibei. The writer was told by one Kibei woman that she would feel much more comfortable being with Issei rather than with "pure" Nisei because Kibei are much less Americanized than "pure" Nisei. As evidence, most Kibei still use the Japanese language in their everyday life, and many Kibei women have married Issei men. The JAS directory has been revised every year to reflect death or change of the addresses of members. The numbers of the Issei members have been decreasing proportionate to the numbers of the Nisei members including the Kibei.

The directory of the Japanese Ancestral Women's Club (or Nikkei-fujin-kai) for the year of 1979 lists 124 members. Among them, by December 31, 1979, 6 had died, 1 had moved, 6 were Nisei, 17 were kibei, 8 were the so-called "war brides,"² and 34 members overlapped with the JAS roster. Therefore, it contained 92 useful names of female Issei members.

With respect to the directory of the Japanese American Citizens' League, the newest directory was one edited in 1967 which contained 320 names and addresses of Nisei members and 68 names and addresses of Sansei members. Because the directory was twelve years old, all the names and

²War brides are those who came to the United States as wives of American soldiers after the American occupation of Japan (1945-52). The number of the emigrated war brides is estimated to be at least 40,000. Their age structure is almost identical with that of the Nisei.

addresses were checked in the telephone directory. As a result, 209 Nisei and 42 Sansei were identified in the telephone directory.

Because the 1967 JACL directory did not contain enough names and addresses of Sansei members, names and present addresses of the Sansei were collected from as many sources as available. A name and address list for the Sansei was edited by the writer with the cooperation of the writer's Sansei friends. Above all, the membership rolls of the Japanese American Bowling Club were examined because the club consisted of a fairly large number of the Sansei. Fifty names and addresses of the Sansei members were collected from this source. All duplicate names were eliminated from this list. All of these efforts resulted in the compilation of 162 names and addresses of the Sansei.

A sample was selected, consisting of three hundred persons, one hundred from each of the three generations.

The Issei Sample

Owing to the effort by Mr. George Azumano, the former president of the Japanese Ancestral Society, 43 names of male Issei were extracted from the 1979 JAS directory. Those selected were the Issei who were over sixty years of age and those who immigrated to the United States before the Second World War. From the 1979 JAWC directory which contained 92 names of female Issei, 57 names were randomly selected. The table of random numbers in Babbie's Survey

Research Method (1973: 373-6) was used. Accordingly, the Issei sample ultimately consisted of 43 males and 57 females.

The Nisei Sample

As was mentioned before, the 1967 JACL directory contained 209 identifiable names and addresses of Nisei members. Among them were 153 males and 56 females. In addition to those, 62 names of male Nisei were extracted from the 1979 JAS Membership roster. Five names of female Nisei and 17 names of female Kibei were found in the 1979 JAWC membership roster. All duplicate names were eliminated. The effort resulted in the compilation of 265 names of the Nisei; 187 of which were male and 78 of which were female. Those names were numbered from 001 to 265; and 100 names were randomly selected using the tables of random numbers in Babbie's Survey Research Method. The sample consisted of 71 males and 29 females.

The Sansei Sample

The sampling method was a little different for the Sansei from that employed in the cases of Issei and Nisei. This difference in method was made necessary primarily because the 1967 JACL directory did not contain enough names and addresses of the Sansei. Therefore, names and addresses from other sources were needed.³

³The writer's Sansei acquaintances such as Miss

Eventually, 120 names and addresses of the Sansei were collected. The 120 names included 50 of the Sansei membership of the Japanese American Bowling Club of Portland. The total listing of Sansei contained 162 names. From those, 100 were randomly selected by the same method used in the cases of the Issei and Nisei sample. The sample consisted of 56 males and 44 females.

An Overview of the Sample

The total number of the Japanese-American population that was found is described in Table II. The total names that were identified were thus, 562. This figure is approximately 20% of the total Japanese-American population of 2,950 who live in the city of Portland and its suburbs. The total sample size of 300 is approximately 10% of the population of the Japanese Americans of the Portland area. This area was delimited to Portland, Beaverton, Boring, Gresham, Hillsboro, Lake Oswego, Milwaukie, Oregon City, Sherwood, Tigard and Tualatin. The Washington side of the Columbia River including Vancouver was excluded.

Christy Iwasaki and Miss Teri Imai were very cooperative in this endeavor. Names were provided also by Mr. Sho Dozono, President of the Japanese American Citizen's League. My thanks for their cooperation.

TABLE II
THE JAPANESE-AMERICAN POPULATION UTILIZED IN THE STUDY

	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total</u>
Issei	43	92	135
Nisei	187	78	265
Sansei	89	73	162
<hr/>			
Total	319	243	562

Data Collection

The study data were obtained by the use of self-mailing questionnaire, accompanied by a letter of explanation and a return envelope. The purpose of the study was described in the introductory letter. The research office's return address (-- i. e., Department of Sociology, Portland State Univeristy --) was pre-typed on a stamped envelope. First class mail postage was used.

The questionnaire and the introductory letter⁴ sent to members of the Issei samples were translated by the writer into Japanese because it was assumed that the return rate would be higher were the questionnaire written in Japanese instead of in English.⁵

A follow-up mailing was sent to all the persons in the samples one week after the questionnaires were mailed. Postcards were used for this mailing. The follow-ups sent to the Issei respondents were also translated into Japanese.⁶

^{4,5,6}Samples are seen in Appendix.

The details of the response characteristics are shown in Table III.

TABLE III
THE RESPONSE CHARACTERISTICS

Day	Number of Responses	Total	%(cumulative)
4	2	2	0.7
5	22	24	8.0
6	4	28	9.3
7	32	60	20.0
11	11	71	23.7
12	22	93	31.0
13	7	100	33.3
14	2	102	34.0
18	5	107	35.7
20	4	111	37.0
21	1	112	37.3
25	1	113	37.7
32	1	114	38.0

Within one week after the first mailing, the response was 20%; within two weeks after the follow-up mailing, an additional 17% of the questionnaires were returned. The characteristics of the respondents by generation and gender are shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV

RESPONDENT RATIO BY GENERATION AND GENDER

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Total (%)</u>
Issei	15	19	32 (28.0)
Nisei	27	13	40 (35.1)
Sansei	17	16	33 (29.0)
Others*	5	4	9 (7.9)
<hr/>			
Total	64	50	114 (100.0)

*"Others" are the so-called "in-betweens." Examples of such "in-betweens" include: Father - Issei, Mother - Nisei; or Father - Caucasian American, Mother - Issei.

According to Table IV, the responses from Nisei are approximately 10% higher than the responses from either Issei or Sansei. Because the writer's home telephone number appeared on the questionnaire, the writer received several telephone calls from the respondents who were particularly interested in the study. Those who called the writer were, interestingly enough, all Nisei.

Several Issei respondents enclosed letters with the completed questionnaires; three of them urged the writer to telephone them so that they could provide additional information on the phone. Conversations with them (two males and one female) were very informative and their cooperation was highly appreciated.

Measures Utilized in the Study

To the extent that research and theory ought to be

related to one another, care needs to be given to the ways in which abstract concepts and their definitions are related to variables and their operationalization. In the hypotheses formulated in the previous chapter, there are concepts which need to be operationalized; those concepts are, the degree of acculturation and the degrees of occupational, financial and educational success.

1) Degree of Acculturation. Acculturation was defined in this study to be a "synonym of cultural (or behavioral) assimilation". In other words, acculturation is a modification of a certain culture pattern which occurs through contact with other cultures. This means that acculturation is a process of the fusion of a particular ethnic pattern with a different culture. Different racial and ethnic groups acculturate by becoming similar in their thinking, feeling and acting with the patterns in the dominant culture (Hraba, 1979: 29).

In this study, the degree of acculturation is measured by two different methods. One method is self-judged identity and the other is the use of a set of value questions which was developed by the writer. Self-judged ethnic identity was measured by a scale of one-to-ten, a value of one representing a complete American identity and a value of ten representing a complete Japanese identity. The actual question asked was:

Let us assume that on a scale of one-to-ten, a complete

Japanese identity be given a value of 10 and a complete American identity a value of 1. Indicate the number which in your judgment most closely describes your ethnic identity.

The value questions were designed to measure the extent of value-internalization of the subjects. Some 34 values were represented.⁷ The respondents were asked to check one of five categories. Those categories are: 1) Very Important, 2) Important, 3) Somewhat Important, 4) Somewhat Unimportant, and 5) Unimportant. An instruction was given at the beginning of this section which was entitled "Question About Your Opinions." The instruction given was:

In this section, questions about your opinions to thirty-four words or phrases will be asked. Those words or phrases are considered to be "values" or "standards of behavior." Please check the category that best applies to you.

An example of the value questions is as follows:

Repayment of kindness which one received in the past

Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant

The 34 values were the mixture of traditional Japanese values and American middle-class values. Those values were extracted from classic literature which have dealt with either American or Japanese culture. Among those sources include The Chrysanthemum and the Sword: Patterns of

⁷A list of the selected values is seen in Appendix A.

Japanese Culture (Benedict, 1946), American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (Williams, 1951), Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang (Cohen, 1955).

The selected values were arranged randomly in the questionnaire.

2) Degree of Occupational Success. With respect to the variable of "the degree of occupational success," Duncan's Socio-Economic Index Scores⁸ were used to classify respondents' occupations. Duncan's occupational scale takes values between 0 and 100 to indicate prestige ranking of each occupational category. For example, the score of 93 is given to lawyer and judges, one of the highest occupational categories, and the score of 0 is assigned to laborers in the tobacco manufacturing, the lowest score among the categories.

Reliability problems were anticipated regarding the use of Duncan's Socio-Economic Index Scores when respondent's description of his/her occupation was to be translated into a numerical number. In order to minimize this problem, the question was asked in the following manner:

What kind of occupation are you currently engaged in? (Be specific please. For example, teacher of English in a high school, or supervisor of electronics quality control.)

⁸Otis D. Duncan, in Albert J. Reize, Jr., Occupations and Social Status (1961), pp. 263-75.

3) Degree of Financial Success. This variable was measured by simply providing a question concerning the respondent's family income. The question asked was:

What is currently the average total annual income before taxes of your family? Please check the most appropriate category.

Twenty ordinal categories were provided after the above question. Below \$20,000, the response categories were in class intervals of \$2,500. From \$20,000 to \$74,999, the intervals were increased to \$5,000. The lowest category was "Less than \$2,500" and the highest category was "\$75,000 and over."

4) Degree of Educational Success. The last variable in the set of hypotheses of this study is "the degree of educational success." Data on the completed education of the respondents and their parents were obtained by asking the following question:

How much formal education have you and your parents completed? Please check all that apply.

Twelve categories were provided after the above question. Those are:

- 1) No formal education
- 2) Some elementary school
- 3) Completed elementary school
- 4) Some junior high school
- 5) Completed junior high school
- 6) Some high school
- 7) Completed high school
- 8) Some college
- 9) Completed college
- 10) Post graduate work, but no advanced degrees
- 11) One or more graduate degrees
- 12) I am not at all sure

To determine the kind of colleges, professional school, regular liberal arts college, or trade school, the following question accompanied the above question:

If you or your parents had some college or more education, what kind of college was that? (For example: regular liberal arts college, dental college, business college, beauty college, etc.)

In the couple of questions mentioned above, spaces were provided for the following categories: 1) Yourself, 2) Father, 3) Mother, 4) Stepfather, and 5) Stepmother.

Data Processing

The data obtained by the completed questionnaires were coded into numbers for computer processing. Codes were developed in the manner as described in the Appendix.

After the data were coded, the set of numbers was transferred onto a deck of cards using the IBM Model 26 keypunch machine. Programs for the analysis were selected from the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (S.P.S.S.) system.⁹ The set of data was processed by the Honeywell 66/20 computer system at Portland State University.

⁹Programs were available in the following material. Norman H. Nie, et al., Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (1975).

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CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

Introduction

In this chapter, the results of the data analysis will be described. Because "successfulness" of the Japanese Americans is in this study concerned with three aspects, each aspect will be treated independently in relation to the degree of acculturation. With regard to "acculturation," because this study employed dual operationalization to measure the degree of acculturation, each will be treated separately.

Marginal Distribution

Table V shows the marginal distribution of the major variables by generation. According to this table, there are significant differences in the mean scores of each variable. As far as the levels of occupational and financial success are concerned, the Nisei sample showed the highest scores. As for the level of educational success, the Sansei sample showed the highest score. With regard to the degree of value embracement and self-judged ethnic identity, this table shows that there is a trend in the three generations. That is, the older the generation, the greater the probability that an individual puts emphasis

on both Japanese values and American values. Also, the Issei tend to identify themselves as Japanese and the Sansei tend to identify themselves as American, the Nisei are in between the Issei and Sansei.

TABLE V

MARGINAL DISTRIBUTION BY GENERATION

Mean Scores

<i>Generation</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Protestant ethic values*</i>	<i>Japanese values**</i>	<i>Self-judged ethic identity</i>	<i>N</i>
Issei	41.375	4.800	5.292	3.250	3.285	6.529	32
Nisei	61.639	12.838	8.575	3.194	2.583	5.892	40
Sansei	56.107	7.500	9.152	2.898	2.156	4.625	33
Total	57.236	9.188	7.959	3.099	2.628	5.688	105

*"Protestant ethic values" are referred here to represent traditional Japanese values which are congruent with American value system.

**"Japanese values" are referred here to represent traditional Japanese values which are incongruent with American value system.

Now, let us start analyzing the findings.

Verification of the First Hypothesis

As stated in Chapter III, the first hypothesis of this study is:

Those who have retained traditional Japanese values which are congruent with dominant American value system are more likely to be successful than those who have not.

This hypothesis suggested that Japanese Americans who embrace values compatible with those generally called the "Protestant ethic" will show more success in American society. Here success is defined in three ways; namely, the level of occupational ranking, income and educational achievement. Furthermore, we expect that the ratio between values and success will be mitigated by generation in that not only do the values vary by generation but also the effect of values on success will also vary.

With regard to "traditional Japanese values which are congruent with the dominant American value system," it appears that these values are very similar to the so-called Protestant ethic.¹ Among these values include: credit to one's own name, educational achievement, work as virtue, success, courteousness, self-discipline, self-control, and asceticism (including "industry" and "thrift"). From now on, these values would be called "Protestant ethic values."

Table VI shows the statistical associations between the degree of embracement of "Protestant ethic values" and

¹Max Weber speculated that human behavior might be affected to some extent by religious thought. He hypothesized that the spirit of capitalism was likely to be the effect of the Protestant ethic. In this argument, he emphasized the ascetic aspect of the Protestant ethic. In this thesis, however, the Protestant ethic is interpreted more loosely to be related to Western individualism.

the level of occupational, financial and educational achievement by generation. Gamma was utilized to measure the associations between the independent and dependent variables.

TABLE VI

THE DEGREE OF EMBRACEMENT OF PROTESTANT ETHIC VALUES BY OCCUPATION, INCOME AND EDUCATION BY GENERATION (FIGURE = GAMMA)

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>N</u>
Issei	0.231	-0.287	-0.008	32
Nisei	0.293	0.188	0.119	40
Sansei	-0.069	0.087	-0.133	33
<hr/>				
Total	0.096	0.030	-0.063	105
<hr/>				

First of all, let us take a look at the total category. For the whole population, there are very weak associations between embracement of Protestant ethic values and the three measures of success. Only the notable relationship in the total category would be the difference of the sign.² However, when the data are differentiated by generation, it revealed some associations between the degree

²A positive sign of gamma indicates that the dependent variable varies in accordance with the direction of variance of the independent variables, whereas a negative sign indicates that the dependent variable varies in the opposite way of the independent variable.

of embracement of Protestant ethic values and success patterns.

In relation to occupational achievement, moderately strong positive correlations were found among the Issei and Nisei samples. In the case of the Sansei, the relationship is reverse even though the intensity of correlation is weak. The values of gamma in Table VI represent the percentages of possible reduction of errors in predicting occupational success by the knowledge of the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values. In the cases of the Issei and Nisei samples, 23.1% and 25.3% of errors can be reduced in predicting one's occupational success if the information regarding the degree of embracement of the Protestant ethic values is available.

Consequently, one could conclude that, as far as occupational successfulness of the Issei and Nisei is concerned, the first hypothesis is supported.

It was revealed, however, that this hypothesis would not have validity for the Sansei sample. According to Table VI, the relationship between the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values and occupational success among the Sansei respondents was reverse of the cases of Issei and Nisei. That is to say, among the Sansei, the lower the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values, the greater the probability that an individual would achieve a higher level of occupational success. In other words, embracement of Protestant ethic values functioned as an

impediment for them to obtain a higher occupation. What kind of reason was there which made it possible for the Sansei to nurture this situation?

In the Sansei sample, there was a negative correlation between educational achievement and the probability for an individual to embrace Protestant ethic values. Therefore, one could argue that: 1) higher education influences the Sansei in rejecting the Protestant ethic values; and 2) the higher his/her educational background, the greater the probability that a Sansei would possess a higher level of occupation; hence 3) the higher the educational achievement, the lower the degree of embracement of the Protestant ethic values, therefore, the greater the probability that a Sansei would achieve a higher level of occupational success. Thus, it is inferred that, among the Sansei, educational achievement is the key to occupational success. In other words, embracement of Protestant ethic values should be considered merely as a partial cause of their occupational achievement.³

Next, with regard to the relationship between Protestant ethic values and financial achievement, two

³Presumably, the direct cause of occupational success for the Sansei might be their educational achievement. The value of gamma between educational achievement and occupational success was 0.523; this value is high enough to conclude that education is a primary cause of the Sansei's occupational success. That is to say, this value represents that 52.3% of errors can be reduced in predicting one's occupational success were his/her educational background known.

propositions are articulated as follows:

Among the Issei, the lower the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values, the greater the probability that an individual would be financially successful. (Proposition 1)

Among the Nisei, the higher the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values, the greater the probability that an individual would be financially successful. (Proposition 2)

It was found that proposition number one rejects the acculturation-success hypothesis. Among the Issei respondents, those who have not embraced traditional Japanese values which are congruent with the dominant American value system were more likely to be successful than those who have. This would suggest that embracement of the American values (i. e., Protestant ethic values) functioned as a hindrance to financial success for the Issei.

On the other hand, the first study hypothesis is supported by the Nisei respondents. Proposition number two represents the positive causal relationship between the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values and financial success. Consequently, it might lead us to a conclusion that Weber's hypothesis about the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism would be relevant to the case of the Nisei.

Lastly, with regard to verification of the first hypothesis, our argument proceeds to the third variable; namely, educational achievement. As mentioned before, in the educational category, the causal direction may run

either way. That is to say, education may cause one to internalize Protestant ethic values as well as the internalized Protestant ethic values causing one to achieve higher education. What kind of relationships are there between educational achievement and the formation of personal value system in the three generations?

The Nisei's case should be noted in comparison with the cases of Issei and Sansei, namely, the Nisei shows the strongest intensity as well as the opposite sign of gamma. A set of proposition is articulated as follows:

Among the Nisei, the higher the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values, the greater the probability that an individual would achieve a higher level of educational achievement.
(Proposition 3)

Among the Nisei, the higher the educational achievement, the greater the probability that an individual would embrace Protestant ethic values.
(Proposition 4)

According to the value of gamma in this correlation, 11.9% of errors could be reduced in predicting the educational achievement of the Nisei were the information about the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values available, and vice versa.

Conversely, the sign of gamma is negative in the cases of Issei and Sansei. That is, it is less likely for both the Issei and Sansei to have achieved higher education if he/she has embraced a high degree of Protestant ethic values, or vice versa. This could be restated in the following propositions:

Among the Issei and Sansei, the lower the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values, the greater the probability that an individual would achieve a higher level of educational achievement.
(Proposition 5)

Among the Issei and Sansei, the higher the educational achievement, the lower the probability that an individual would embrace Protestant ethic values.
(Proposition 6)

Although the values of gamma are small, these propositions would have a significant meaning by contrast with the Nisei's case. Namely, in the case of Nisei, the acceptance of at least a part of the Protestant ethic is related to educational achievement; on the other hand, for the Issei and Sansei, educational achievement appears to have discouraged a person from embracing Protestant ethic values. Why is there a difference between the Nisei and the Issei/Sansei?

In order to explicate this intergenerational difference, one would have to consider the historical background of these three generations.

First of all, the "unique" age distribution in the community of the Japanese Americans should be noted. There is a serious gap in the age distribution among them. Moreover, distinctions are found between the three generational cohorts.⁴ The distinction is clear especially between the Issei cohort and the Nisei cohort. This phenomenon was

⁴A cohort is a group defined by calendar year of birth. It appears that each cohort has a so-called cohort effect. Statistically speaking, there seem to be a common feature among those who belong to a particular cohort by merely being a member of that cohort.

presumably generated from a series of restrictions of Japanese immigration in years such as 1908, 1920 and 1924.

The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1908 between the American and Japanese government restricted the right of laborers to emigrate from Japan to the United States.⁵ Even so, other emigrants like "picture brides" were still allowed as long as labor was not the primary purpose of emigration. However, in 1920, due to the political pressure by the United States, the Japanese government was obliged to cease issuing passports to picture brides. Also, in the same year, the Alien Land Law was enacted which increased legitimate discrimination against non-white immigrants including the Japanese. In 1924, another discriminatory bill was enacted. The major purpose of this "1924 Immigrant Act" was to exclude the Japanese from the United States. The Japanese immigration was thus totally prohibited by the enactment of this bill which remained effective until 1952.

Consequently, the Japanese community in the United States was isolated. This isolation became a primary cause of the bias in its age structure. By the time the second generation reached adolescence, there were no middle-aged

⁵The purpose of this agreement between the two countries was to reduce the Japanese immigration to the United States through a voluntary effort. As a result, the Japanese government discouraged many potential Japanese laborers who wished to emigrate to the United States.

people. A clear-cut distinction of the age stratification between the Issei and Nisei occurred. In addition, the two generations lacked verbal communication due to the Issei's inability to speak English. Some Nisei were able to speak Japanese. They were the Kibei⁶ who appeared to have functioned as "mediators" between the Issei and Nisei. However, despite the efforts by the Kibei, there was a serious generational gap. The Issei have been "alien" to their children, the Nisei, for the Issei still embraced Japanese identity despite their having lived in the United States more than half of their lives.

Even though there were the language problem and enormous age discrepancy between the Issei and Nisei,⁷ the Issei expected their children to be successful in American society. In other words, the Issei wished their dream of success (the dream which they have been holding ever since they left their home country; namely, to return to Japan with a fortune) to be incarnated by the Nisei. To the Issei, education for the Nisei was one of the most effective ways to embody their wish. With regard to this, Kitagawa (1967: 37) has written:

No parents were satisfied to see his child go no

⁶With regard to the Kibei, see page 60 and 61 in Chapter IV.

⁷By and large, an enormous discrepancy in age structure between the Issei and Nisei is a common phenomenon in the Japanese-American community due to late marriages and the picture bride system. For example, the writer has a Nisei friend whose father is 52 years older than he.

further than high school. The Issei sacrificed much in order to send his sons and daughters to college or at least vocational schools of post-high school standard. College education was so common place among the Japanese Americans in the late 1930's that those who did not go to college had quite severe reasons for it.

The present research shows 65.2% of the Nisei respondents had achieved an educational level beyond high school. On the other hand, among the same respondents, 8.1% of their fathers and 2.6% of their mothers had education beyond high school. From these figures, it might be inferred that the Nisei through interactions with their Issei parents internalized the values of higher education as well as incentive to "get ahead."

Thus far, the arguments have been concerned with the Issei and Nisei. But what of the Sansei?

There is a weak negative correlation between their educational achievement and the probability of embracement of Protestant ethic values. How can it be explained sociologically?

As mentioned before, Protestant ethic values are represented in the present study by: 1) credit to one's own name, 2) educational achievement, 3) work as a virtue, 4) success, 5) self-discipline, 6) self-control, and 8) asceticism which includes "industry" and "thrift." The value of gamma (-0.133) would suggest that among the Sansei sample, the degree of embracement of these values is negatively correlated to the educational achievement. That

is, a Sansei whose educational background is relatively low might have more probability to embrace these values than those who have achieved higher education. A young Sansei might consider these values as "out-of-date" or "old-fashioned."⁸ Presumably, it could be college education which discouraged the Sansei from embracing the "out-of-date" Protestant ethic values which he/she had internalized through interactions with his/her parents.

The positive correlation among the Nisei respondents between educational achievement and Protestant ethic values might be explained from the standpoint of their achievement orientation. Namely, one might hypothesize that because they were eager to identify themselves and to be identified by others to be "one hundred percent Americans," they tried to accept the American way of thinking, particularly the Protestant ethic which pervaded middle-class America. It appears that the Nisei did not try to make compromises with their parents' way of thinking.

⁸Incidentally, among the values which the Sansei respondents thought were important include: appreciation of human feelings, good personal relation, freedom, responsibility for one's conduct, and rationality. On the other hand, among the values which they thought were not important include: respect for the Emperor (of Japan), worship of ancestors, proper behavior in accordance with one's status, obedience, and willingness to sacrifice today for the gain in the future. Thus, the value system among the Sansei might be inferred as a new type which doesn't belong to either American middle-class value system or traditional Japanese value system. Incidentally, traditional Japanese values were strongly retained among the Issei and the Protestant ethic values were pervaded among the Nisei. For the details see Appendix L.

Rather, they seem to have made a great effort to establish their American identity by denying those Japanese values which were alien to the dominant American values.

However, the "Nisei dilemma" would not disappear totally because some of the traditional Japanese values had already been internalized during their childhood. In addition, they could not totally eliminate their Japanese identity because of their appearances, names and kin relations. Thus, it would appear that the Nisei have always lived in the world of ambivalence. For this reason, the title "the quiet Americans"⁹ fits them perfectly as a description of the Nisei's ambivalent character.

We are now ready to proceed to our discussion of the next stage; namely, testing of the second hypothesis.

Verification of the Second Hypothesis

The second hypothesis of this study is:

Those who have relinquished traditional Japanese values which are incongruent with dominant American value system are more likely to be successful than those who have not.

This hypothesis suggested that Japanese Americans who relinquish values incompatible with the Protestant ethic will show more success in American society.

With regard to "traditional Japanese values which are incongruent with the dominant American value system,"

⁹This title was given by Bill Hosokawa in his book entitled Nisei: The Quiet Americans (1969).

the term "Japanese values" will be used from now on. Among these values include: filial duty, respect for one's superior, worship of ancestors, feeling of togetherness with one's clan, respect for the Emperor of Japan, and obedience.

Table VII shows the statistical associations between the degree of embracement of "Japanese values" and the level of occupational, financial and educational achievement by generation. To begin with, let us observe the total category. The values of gamma are relatively great particularly in the categories of educational and financial achievement. Furthermore, the sign of gamma are all negative. That is, occupational, financial and educational achievement are all in inverse proportion to the degree of embracement of Japanese values.

TABLE VII

THE DEGREE OF EMBRACEMENT OF JAPANESE VALUES BY
OCCUPATION, INCOME AND EDUCATION BY GENERATION
(FIGURE=GAMMA)

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>N</u>
Issei	-0.400	-0.554	-0.383	32
Nisei	-0.062	-0.128	-0.293	40
Sansei	-0.176	-0.233	-0.476	33
Total	-0.094	-0.268	-0.447	105

Subsequently, let us take a look at the figures by generation. With regard to occupational success, the Issei's case stands out. Forty percent of errors can be reduced in predicting one's occupational success by knowing the degree of relinquishment (or embracement) of traditional Japanese values which are incongruent with the dominant American value system. Consequently, it would lead us to a conclusion that there is a fairly strong causal relationship between the degree of relinquishment/embracement of Japanese values and the level of occupational achievement in the case of Issei.

Moreover, if it is recalled, there was a positive relationship between the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values and occupational success (Table VI). With respect to this correlation, a further discussion would be needed. Although occupational achievement should reflect both financial and educational achievement, occupational achievement in the Issei's case is positively related to the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values whereas financial and educational achievement are negatively related. Because an occupational ranking is determined in Duncan's SEI scores by a value from a regression equation based upon income and education, financial and educational achievement should predict occupational achievement. Therefore, one would generally expect that for the Issei if financial and educational achievement were

negatively related to the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values, so should be occupational achievement.

However, the outcome of the present research betrayed this expectation. This might be explained as follows.

A study shows that a large population of the Japanese immigrants in California was working in small shops and businesses (Kitano, 1976: 21). These kinds of occupations were the second largest among them next to agriculture. This was also true among the Issei of the Portland area. Above all, many of them have been working as craftsmen, service workers and operatives, that is, so-called "blue-collar workers." Examples of these occupations include: assemblers, barbers, cooks, cosmetologists, deliverymen, gardeners, laundry and dry cleaning operatives, different kinds of manufacturing workers, and non-manufacturing industry workers including railroad service workers, construction workers, wholesale and retail trade workers, and so forth.¹⁰

Being involved in or being a part of the existence of the "guild" system is a common feature among these occupations. There are many Japanese guilds corresponding

¹⁰According to Duncan's classification of occupational categories, the mean scores of major occupational categories are: 31 for "craftsmen, foremen and kindred workers," 21 for "service workers (except private household)," and 18 for "operatives and kindred workers including mine labors."

to each occupational category. As Light (1972: 68) has pointed out, the memberships in the guild (or trade association) tend to overlap with memberships in the Kenjinkai. With regard to this point, he writes:

Like the Kenjinkai, the trade guilds combined benevolent, social, economic and welfare functions. In this combination, the trade guilds went considerably beyond the normal range of activities of a Western trade association (Light, 1972: 68).

It appears that the Japanese guild system has nurtured strong solidarity among the members. Development of solidarity was necessary not only for benevolent reasons but also because of continuous anti-Japanese movements included acts from boycotts of Japanese businesses to terrorism against Japanese businessmen. Consequently, in order to protect themselves and survive in business, the Japanese merchants strengthened their unity through guild memberships.

Thus, the members of Japanese guild associations appear to have embraced conservative Japanese values which are incongruent with the American value system. On the other hand, those who were not members of those guild associations (who were presumably not members of Kenjinkai either) had emphasized the values of self-reliance, individualism, etc. and rejected the traditional values in order to more effectively compete in the larger community.

Besides, one could imagine that it is fairly competitive to obtain a "good" occupation in a relatively small

ethnic community. There would have been a limitation to allocate "good" occupations to the members of the community. Therefore, it could be argued that those who have relinquished Japanese values and/or embraced Protestant ethic values might have had better chances to obtain "good" occupations outside the community of Japanese Americans. In other words, those who have remained within the Japanese-American community might have had less chances to obtain "good" occupations.

Thus, for the Issei, the first and second study hypothesis are both supported as far as occupational success is concerned.

Now, the argument proceeds to financial achievement in relation to the degree of relinquishment/embracement of Japanese values.

The value of gamma in Table VII for the total category shows a fairly strong figure. Moreover, the sign is negative. This would suggest that embracement of Japanese values would discourage one's financial success. This tendency is characteristic throughout the three generations. In particular, the case of Issei is salient -- 55.4% of errors can be reduced in predicting one's financial success by knowing whether or not an individual puts importance on the values which are incongruent with the dominant American value system. Gamma also shows a relatively high value in the case of Sansei. As for the Nisei, the relationship is

positive but fairly weak compared to the Issei and Sansei.

Consequently, one could speculate that Japanese values have a negative correlation with pecuniary achievement. It is presumably because traditional Japanese values put less emphasis on materialism. In any event, the speculation mentioned above would support the second hypothesis of the present study as far as financial success is concerned.

With regard to the relationship between educational achievement and the degree of relinquishment/embrace-ment of Japanese values, the total category in Table VII shows that there is a strong negative correlation between these two variables. From this, one could conclude that the second hypothesis is in general supported as far as educational success is concerned. Again, it should be noted that the causation might be ambivalent.

By and large, each generation shows relatively high values of gamma when the data were differentiated by generation. To analyze these correlations, we turn to the category of educational achievement in Table VI in relation to the degree of embrace-ment of Protestant ethic values. This is because Japanese values and Protestant ethic values were assumed to be mutually exclusive.

From Table VI and Table VII, in the case of Nisei, one could infer that higher education plays a crucial role in the acceptance (or rejection) of Protestant ethic

values (or Japanese values). The determination whether to accept or reject may have occurred as a result of their identity dilemma. On the other hand, in the cases of Issei and Sansei, higher education did not play a significant role in embracing Protestant ethic values but it did play a critical role in rejecting Japanese values. This was salient particularly in the Sansei sample. The value of gamma (-0.476) represents that 47.6% of errors can be reduced by the knowledge of one's educational background in predicting the degrees of embracement of Japanese values among the Sansei, or vice versa.

Thus, it was found that educational achievement is closely related to the formation of personal value orientation.

Our argument now proceeds to the relationship between self-judged ethnic identity and occupational, financial and educational success.

We shall start the argument from the total category of Table VIII. The total category did not show any particular correlation between these four variables. The only outcome we should note here would be the difference of the sign in the category of educational achievement.

TABLE VIII

SELF-JUDGED ETHNIC IDENTITY BY OCCUPATION, INCOME
AND EDUCATION BY GENERATION (FIGURE=GAMMA)

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Income</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>N</u>
Issei	0.538	0	0.500	32
Nisei	-0.027	0.025	0.051	40
Sansei	0.043	-0.222	-0.015	33
Total	0.032	-0.085	0.185	105

Next, let us take a look at the values of gamma by generation. To begin with, our concern is the category of occupational achievement. The most notable relationship is the Issei's case. From this, a proposition is articulated as follows:

Among the Issei, the stronger the intensity of American identity, the greater the probability that an individual would achieve a higher level of occupational success. (Proposition 7)

This proposition would support the first hypothesis of the present study with respect to occupational success.

As mentioned in Chapter III, most Issei have insulated themselves from American society by identifying with their ethnic community. With regard to this point, Kitagawa (1967: 11) has argued:

After he had lived and worked in the United States for several years, the Japanese immigrant found himself continuing to admire America as a dreamland which he might some day make his own. Physically

he was in America, working for Americans and resting his hopes for his future in America; and yet socially (and psychologically) he was apart from the American people. He was in America but not of America. The Japanese community came to be an insulated cultural island in American society, not by choice but as a result of rejection and social ostracism by American society.

Those who conformed to the Japanese community sought their occupational opportunities exclusively within the ethnic boundary. As discussed in Chapter III, Kenjinkai or other ethnic organizations played a critical role for both Japanese employers and employees to maintain their "cultural island in American society." Consequently, the Japanese community was self-contained and self-sufficient as far as their labor market was concerned.

However, in order for the community to function smoothly, it would not need too many so-called "good occupations." Rather, it required laborers for agriculture or manufacture to support its foundation. At first, some Japanese did not want to be engaged in agriculture (Kitano, 1976: 17). Later on, however, because the background of most immigrants was the farming class and also because agriculture did not require any particular investment or special skill, people gradually started turning to agriculture. As a result, the Japanese community involved a fairly large population of farmers and orchardists.

On the other hand, those Issei who did not spontan-

eously identify with the Japanese community were obliged to seek their occupational opportunities beyond the ethnic boundary. It appears that the ethnic identity of those Issei was more American than Japanese. Also, it is assumed that a Japanese immigrant was able to obtain an occupation outside the Japanese community had he overcome the wall of acculturation by shifting his/her ethnic consciousness from Japanese to American.

Of course, not all of them were successful even though their ethnic identity was American rather than Japanese. However, despite white racism, it is speculated that there were better chances in finding "good occupations" outside the Japanese community for those Issei whose ethnic identity was preponderantly American. Thus, proposition number seven should be interpreted as identity predicts occupation. By knowing a person's self-judged ethnic identity on a one-to-ten scale, we can reduce the error of random assignment by 53.8% when predicting occupational success.

With regard to the relationship between subjective ethnic identity and financial success by generation, we could proceed in our discussion as follows. In the case of the Issei, no notable correlation was found between these two variables. There was a weak positive correlation in the Nisei sample. Finally, there was a moderately strong positive correlation in the Sansei sample. In this

case, 22.2% of errors can be reduced when one's income is predicted by the knowledge of his/her subjective ethnic identity. This would suggest that there is a causal relationship between these two variables as shown in a proposition articulated below:

Among the Sansei, the stronger the intensity of Japanese identity, the greater the probability that an individual would achieve a higher level of financial success. (Proposition 8)

The second hypothesis of this study is rejected by this proposition. However, we would have to be careful to interpret this proposition. That is to say, there are other variables which perhaps have positive statistical association with the level of financial success. Such variables would include: his/her education, father's education, father's occupation, and social class (self-identified). Incidentally, the values of gamma between these variables and one's financial success are shown in Table IX.

TABLE IX

STATISTICAL ASSOCIATIONS BETWEEN FINANCIAL ACHIEVEMENT
AND SOME OTHER VARIABLES IN THE SANSEI SAMPLE
(FIGURE=GAMMA)

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Father's Education</u>	<u>Father's Occupation</u>	<u>Social Class</u>	<u>N</u>
Sansei	0.229	-0.303	0.215	0.319	33

A moderately strong correlation was found between "education" and "Japanese ID" in the Sansei sample. Consequently, a path diagram might be developed based upon a hypothetical causal structure of the set of variables as seen in Diagram 1.

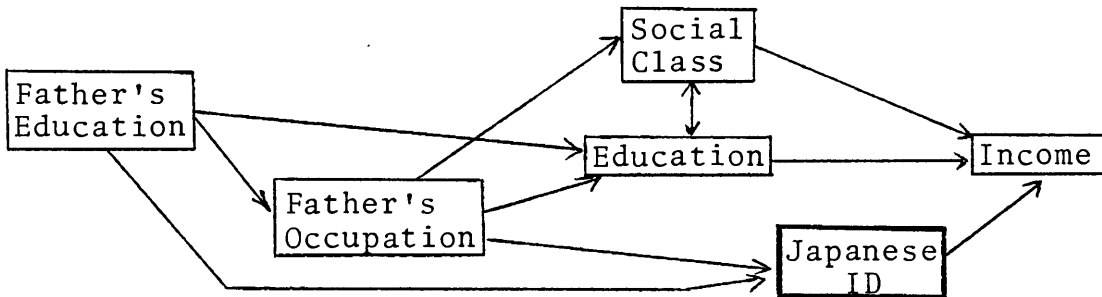


Diagram 1. Causal Relation Among the Set of Variables: A Hypothesis.

The causal relation in Diagram 1 is merely an example. It would be possible to develop other causal relations. At any rate, the important point here is to consider a particular variable as a partial cause of the presumed dependent variable.¹¹

Finally, we proceed the argument to the correlation between self-judged ethnic identity and educational achievement by generation. From the category of educational achievement in Table VIII, a set of propositions focusing on the Issei's case is articulated as follows:

Among the Issei, the stronger the American identity, the higher the educational achievement.
(Proposition 9)

Among the Issei, the higher the educational achieve-

¹¹The presumed dependent variable in Diagram 1 is "income."

ment, the greater the probability that an individual would preponderantly establish an American identity. (Proposition 10)

This set of propositions could also be stated in the following manner:

Among the Issei, the stronger the Japanese identity, the lower the educational achievement. (Proposition 9a)

Among the Issei, the lower the educational achievement, the greater the probability that an individual would preponderantly establish a Japanese identity. (Proposition 10a)

According to the values of gamma, 50.0% of errors can be reduced in predicting the Issei's ethnic identity by the knowledge of his/her educational background. Likewise, in the cases of Nisei and Sansei, the percentages of relative reduction of errors are 5.1% and 1.5% respectively. Consequently, it would suggest that in the cases of Nisei and Sansei, educational achievement is not closely related to ethnic identity.

On the other hand, educational background can be an excellent predictor of one's ethnic identity in the case of Issei (or vice versa). From this, one might speculate that education had a special function to nurture flexibility for a Japanese immigrant to shift his/her ethnic identity from Japanese to American.

Nisei and Sansei samples showed only a weak correlation. Education for the Nisei and Sansei might be an expectation regardless of their ethnic identity. Further, their parents may have determined their going to college.

Another plausible reason appears to be related to their "marginal" experiences between Japanese and American culture. It might be argued that their "Japanese soul" has been pulling them into ambivalence no matter how much formal education they have achieved. To the Nisei and Sansei, the Issei are the people who abandoned their home country; however, like the analogy of the "banana people" or the "egg people," the Nisei and Sansei have not been able to overcome their stigma of being of Japanese descents. In particular, there is a weak positive correlation between educational achievement and Japanese identity among the Sansei sample. Thus, most Nisei and even Sansei could not identify themselves to be "complete Americans."¹²

Thus, the study hypotheses were supported especially by the Nisei sample. With respect to the Sansei, however, further considerations will be needed.

The Sansei were predicted to be acculturated but "not-yet-successful" due primarily to their age. In fact, the data did not show any notable correlations regarding the degree of acculturation and successfulness in the case of Sansei. However, there were a few excep-

¹²As shown in Table V, the average scores of self-judged ethnic identity were: 6.529 for the Issei with the standard deviation of 2.478; 5.857 for the Nisei with the standard deviation of 1.995; and 4.625 for the Sansei with the standard deviation of 1.601. Note the trend in the generations from Japanese identity to American identity.

tions. First, Proposition 5 and 6 shows a negative relationship between education and the degree of embracement of Protestant ethic values. Second, Proposition 8 showed a moderately strong positive relationship between "Japanese values" and financial success. These correlations contradict the study hypothesis. In addition to the explanations presented before, one might have to take the nature of the Sansei sample into consideration to analyze these propositions further. That is to say, those who participated in activities of ethnic organizations might possess stronger Japanese identity than those who do not.¹³ In other words, they appear to be more concerned with "Japaneseness." Furthermore, it might be argued that the older Sansei are likely to be the members of these organizations. If this assumption is correct, the positive relationship between Japanese identity and financial success might be explained better.

¹³Note that the Sansei sample was selected from the rosters of the Japanese American Citizens' League and the Japanese American Bowling Club of Portland. It is inferred that those who are active in these organizations are less acculturated than those who are inactive.

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CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In the first chapter of this thesis, it was hypothesized that there would be four major categories with regard to the value system of the Japanese Americans. Those are: 1) those who have retained Japanese values and have adopted American values; 2) those who have retained Japanese values and have spurned American values; 3) those who have relinquished Japanese values and have adopted American values; and 4) those who have relinquished Japanese values and have spurned American values. In this typology, the use of such words as "Japanese values" and "American values" is loose; namely, the use of these words implies that they are mutually exclusive.

However, there is a congruence in the value systems between Japanese and American. Therefore, one could hypothesize that the success of the Japanese Americans is due to their successful acculturation in practicing the values which are congruent with the values of the dominant American society. Concomitantly, one could argue that the greater the congruence between these two value systems, the less likely conflict would be generated in the process of acculturation. This argument might be an indication

for the future study.

As stated in Chapter I, the object of this study is to test the "acculturation-success theory" which has been developed throughout this thesis. This theory considers acculturation as an independent variable or a primary cause of success of the Japanese Americans. With regard to the "acculturation-success" patterns, several types were depicted in accordance with the generational categorization. Many Issei were predicted to be "not-acculturated-but-successful" and some to be "not-acculturated-and-not-successful." Next, most Nisei were predicted to be "acculturated-therefore-successful." Finally, the Sansei were predicted to be "acculturated-but-not-yet-successful."

"Acculturation" is thus the key concept in this study in relation to "successfulness." Regarding successfulness, three aspects have been articulated: occupational, financial and educational success. Both occupational and financial success were in this study treated as dependent variables in the causal relation with the degree of acculturation. Acculturation, then, was treated as a presumed cause of success.

With regard to educational success, however, it was hypothesized that the causal direction may run either way. Education was on the one hand hypothesized to be an independent variable affecting acculturation; on the other

hand, education was also hypothesized to be a dependent variable affected by acculturation.

The findings in Chapter V would suggest that an individual would be successful if he/she has retained the compatible values and/or relinquished the incompatible ones, particularly in the case of the Nisei. The arguments in Chapter V would also suggest that educational achievement is closely related to one's value orientation. That is, one might be able to conclude that the degree of acculturation is significantly influenced by or influencing the level of educational achievement.

The return rate of 38.0% might not be high enough to make a conclusion here. In addition, sample was selected from the rosters of ethnic organizations which were highly self-selected groups. These aspects might have jeopardized the validity of the results of this study. However, one could not deny the important impact of those organizations on the Japanese Americans as a whole. Therefore, the writer wishes that the analysis of those group members be a stepstone to a future study of the Japanese Americans.

Lastly, the writer would like to conclude with another set of findings as an implication for the future study. That is, there were particular values which showed strong correlations with the level of occupational, financial and educational success. Among these values which showed

positive correlations are: individuality with occupational success; success, willingness to sacrifice today for the gain in the future, and ambition with financial success; and freedom with educational success. Interestingly enough, these values are all associated with the American value system. On the other hand, there were values which showed negative correlations with the aspects of success. These values include: respect for the Emperor and obedience with occupational success; respect of ancestors and good personal relation with financial success; and proper behavior in accordance with one's status and respect for one's superior with educational success. All but one ("good personal relation") is associated with the traditional Japanese values in this case. Although particular suggestions could not be made from this, it might be inferred that success orientation is linked strongly with the Protestant ethic which stresses individualism. Moreover, it appears that success orientation could not be nurtured by traditional Japanese values which stress the harmonious stability of society.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A: Selected Values For The Value Question

A. Traditional Japanese Values

- * 1. Filial duty
- * 2. Respect for one's superior
- * 3. Worship of ancestors
- * 4. Feeling of togetherness with one's clan
- * 5. Respect for the Emperor
- * 6. Obedience
- 7. Credit to the family name
- 8. Faithfulness to one's duty
- 9. Prudence
- 10. Patience
- 11. Generosity
- 12. Appreciation of human feelings
- 13. Proper behavior in accordance with one's status
- 14. Repayment of kindness which one received in the past
- ** 15. Credit to one's own name.
- ** 16. Educational achievement
- ** 17. Work as a virtue
- ** 18. Success
- ** 19. Courteousness
- ** 20. Self-discipline
- ** 21. Self-control
- ** 22. Asceticism (including "industry" and "thrift")

*The values which are incongruent with the American middle-class value system derived from the Protestant ethic.

**The values which are congruent with the American middle-class value system.

B. Traditional American Middle-Class Values

- 1. Ambition
- 2. Individuality
- 3. Rationality
- 4. Good personal relation
- 5. Improvement

6. Pursuit of a hobby
7. Responsibility for one's conduct
8. Respect for property
9. Respect for authority
10. Freedom
11. Humanitarianism
12. Willingness to sacrifice today for the gain in the future
- * 13. Credit to one's own name
- * 14. Educational achievement
- * 15. Work as a virtue
- * 16. Success
- * 17. Courteousness
- * 18. Self-discipline
- * 19. Self-control
- * 20. Asceticism (including "industry" and "thrift")

*The values which are congruent with the traditional Japanese value system.

Appendix B: The Introductory Letter For The Questionnaire

January 7, 1980

Dear friend:

My name is Toshimasa Fujii; and I am a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology at Portland State University. I am now working on my master's thesis entitled A Study of the Degree of Acculturation in Three Generations of Japanese Americans of the Portland Area (Tentative).

The purpose of this study is to find out the reason why the Japanese Americans have been called as a "successful minority group" in the United States. In order to complete this study, your participation in a completion of the attached questionnaire is essential. Therefore, your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Please send back the completed questionnaire by January 16, 1980, using the enclosed self-addressed envelope.

Thank you very much,

Sincerely yours,

Signature
Toshimasa Fujii

Appendix C: The Cover Of The Questionnaire

PORTLAND STATE UNIVERSITY

Department of Sociology

A STUDY OF THE DEGREE OF ACCULTURATION IN THREE GENERATIONS
OF JAPANESE AMERICANS OF THE PORTLAND AREA

As a part of the thesis project of
Toshimasa Fujii (A candidate for the degree of M. A.
in Sociology)

Under the supervision of

Prof. Frederic H. Chino, Ph. D.,
Prof. Jan Hajda, Ph. D., and
Prof. Grant M. Farr, Ph. D.

Explanation and Instructions

1. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions in this questionnaire.
2. The only "right" answer to each question is the one which best applies to you.
3. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary.
4. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential.
5. If you have any questions regarding this study, call or write:

Toshimasa Fujii
Department of Sociology
Portland State University
Portland, Oregon 97207

Home Telephone: 224-9210

Thank you for your help in this study!

Appendix D: The QuestionnaireA. Questions About Your Background

1. What is your age? _____
2. What is your sex? _____ Male _____ Female
3. What is your generation?
 - _____ Issei (First generation, immigrant from Japan)
 - _____ Nisei (Second generation, born in America)
 - _____ Sansei (Third generation of Japanese ancestry)
 - _____ Other
 - _____ Please specify (For example: Father-Issei, Mother-Nisei; or Father-Caucasian American, Mother-Issei;etc.): _____
4. If you are an Issei,
 - a) Which prefecture of Japan are you from? _____
 - b) How long have you lived in the U.S.? _____
5. What is your present marital status?
 - _____ Married _____ Single _____ Widowed _____ Divorced
6. Which of the following best describes your working status?
 - _____ Working full time _____ Retired
 - _____ Working part time _____ Other
 - _____ Unemployed or laid off _____ Please specify: _____
 - _____ Keeping house _____
7. If you are married, which of the following best describes your spouse's working status?
 - _____ Working full time _____ Retired
 - _____ Working part time _____ Other
 - _____ Unemployed or laid off _____ Please specify: _____
 - _____ Keeping house _____
8. What kind of occupation are you currently engaged in? Be specific please. (For example, teacher of English in a high school or supervisor of electronics quality control.)

9. What kind of occupation is your father currently engaged in? If your father has been retired or is not alive, what was his last occupation? Be specific please like the example in the question #8.

-
10. What is currently the average total annual income before taxes of your family? Please check the most appropriate category.

<input type="checkbox"/> Less than 2,500	<input type="checkbox"/> 30,000 to 34,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 2,500 to 4,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 35,000 to 39,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 5,000 to 7,499	<input type="checkbox"/> 40,000 to 44,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 7,500 to 9,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 45,000 to 49,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 10,000 to 12,499	<input type="checkbox"/> 50,000 to 54,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 12,500 to 14,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 55,000 to 59,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 15,000 to 17,499	<input type="checkbox"/> 60,000 to 64,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 17,500 to 19,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 65,000 to 69,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 20,000 to 24,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 70,000 to 74,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 25,000 to 29,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 75,000 and over

11. What is (was) the average total annual income before taxes of your parents? Even if you do not know precisely, please make a guess as to the closest figure. Please check the most appropriate category.

<input type="checkbox"/> Less than 2,500	<input type="checkbox"/> 30,000 to 34,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 2,500 to 4,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 35,000 to 39,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 5,000 to 7,499	<input type="checkbox"/> 40,000 to 44,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 7,500 to 9,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 45,000 to 49,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 10,000 to 12,499	<input type="checkbox"/> 50,000 to 54,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 12,500 to 14,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 55,000 to 59,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 15,000 to 17,499	<input type="checkbox"/> 60,000 to 64,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 17,500 to 19,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 65,000 to 69,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 20,000 to 24,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 70,000 to 74,999
<input type="checkbox"/> 25,000 to 29,999	<input type="checkbox"/> 75,000 and over

12. How certain are you of your answer to question #11?

Very certain
 Fairly certain
 Somewhat certain
 Uncertain
 It's just a guess

13. How much formal education have you and your parents completed? Please check all that apply.

Your- self	Father	Mother	Step Father	Step Mother	
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	No formal education
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Some elementary school
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Completed elementary school
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Some junior high school
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Completed junior high school
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Some high school
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Completed high school
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Some college
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Completed college
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	Post graduate work, but no advanced degrees
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	One or more graduate degrees
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	I am not at all sure

14. If you or your parents had some college or more education, what kind of college was that? (For example: regular liberal arts college; dental college; business college; beauty college; etc.)

Yourself _____
 Father _____
 Mother _____
 Stepfather _____
 Stepmother _____

15. What is the religious preference of you and your parents? Be as specific as possible please. (For example: Shinto; Buddhism of the Jodo sect; Roman Catholic; Baptist; etc.)

Yourself _____
 Father _____
 Mother _____
 Stepfather _____
 Stepmother _____

16. Are you currently a member of any ethnic organization?

Yes No

17. If you answered "Yes" to the above question,

- a) What kind of organization is it? and
 b) How often do you participate in the organization activity?

Please check all that apply.

Nikkeijinkai (The Japanese Ancestral Society or JAS)

- Never attend
 Attend, but less than once a month
 About once or twice a month
 Three, four or more times a month

Nikkei Fujinkai (The Japanese Ancestral Women's Club or JAWC)

- Never attend
 Attend, but less than once a month
 About once or twice a month
 Three, four or more times a month

The Japanese American Citizen's League or JAACL

- Never attend
 Attend, but less than once a month
 About once or twice a month
 Three, four or more times a month

Other (Please specify: _____)

- Never attend
 Attend, but less than once a month
 About once or twice a month
 Three, four or more times a month

18. How many Japanese or Japanese Americans are there in your neighborhood? (Consider 'neighborhood' to mean the area within a walking distance of your home.) Please check the most appropriate category.

None
 1 to 5
 6 to 10
 11 to 15
 16 to 20
 21 or more

19. Broadly speaking, do you think you have more Japanese or Japanese-American friends than Caucasian-American friends?

Yes Approximately half and half No

20. Which social class do you think you belong to? Please check the most appropriate category.

Upper class
 Upper middle class
 Lower middle class
 Working class
 Lower class

21. Let us assume that on a scale of one-to-ten, a complete Japanese identity be given a value of 10 and a complete American identity a value of 1. Indicate the number which in your judgement most closely describes your ethnic identity.
- _____

B. Questions About Your Opinions (Part One)

In this section, questions about your opinions to thirty-four words or phrases will be asked. Those words or phrases considered to be "values" or "standards of behavior." Please check the category that best applies to you.

1. Rationality

Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant

2. Patience

Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant

3. Repayment of kindness which one received in the past
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
4. Prudence
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
5. Asceticism (including "industry" and "thrift")
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
6. Worship of ancestors
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
7. Individuality
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
8. Respect for authority
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
9. Filial duty
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
10. Respect for one's superior
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
11. Pursuit of a hobby
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
12. Courteousness
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
13. Appreciation of human feelings
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
14. Educational achievement
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant

15. Freedom
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
16. Self-discipline
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
17. Responsibility for one's conduct
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
18. Ambition
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
19. Credit to one's own name
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
20. Success
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
21. Credit to the family name
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
22. Feeling of togetherness with one's clan
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
23. Improvement
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
24. Willingness to sacrifice today for the gain in the future
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
25. Good personal relations
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant
26. Self-control
- Very Important
 Important
 Somewhat Important
 Somewhat Unimportant
 Unimportant

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>27. Humanitarianism</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Very Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Unimportant</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Unimportant</p> | <p>31. Generosity</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Very Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Unimportant</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Unimportant</p> |
| <p>28. Respect for property</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Very Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Unimportant</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Unimportant</p> | <p>32. Work as a virtue</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Very Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Unimportant</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Unimportant</p> |
| <p>29. Respect for the Emperor</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Very Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Unimportant</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Unimportant</p> | <p>33. Proper behavior in accordance with one's status</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Very Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Unimportant</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Unimportant</p> |
| <p>30. Obedience</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Very Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Unimportant</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Unimportant</p> | <p>34. Faithfulness to one's duty</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Very Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Important</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Somewhat Unimportant</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Unimportant</p> |

C. Questions About Your Opinions (Part Two)

Like Part One, please check the category that best applies to you.

1. Generally speaking, one should restrain his/her emotion to maintain good personal relations.

- Agree completely
- Tend to agree
- Neutral
- Tend to disagree
- Disagree completely

2. One should be willing to sacrifice his/her private time for the sake of the group to which he/she belongs. (For example: company, church, family, etc.)
- Agree completely
 Tend to agree
 Neutral
 Tend to disagree
 Disagree completely
3. One should always favor one's own relatives.
- Agree completely
 Tend to agree
 Neutral
 Tend to disagree
 Disagree completely
4. Comparatively speaking, one should be judged on the basis of "what he/she has done" rather than on the basis of his/her inborn qualities (such as sex, age, race, or family status).
- Agree completely
 Tend to agree
 Neutral
 Tend to disagree
 Disagree completely
5. One should limit the number of his/her "close friends" in relatively small number.
- Agree completely
 Tend to agree
 Neutral
 Tend to disagree
 Disagree completely

That's all. Thank you very much!

Appendix E: The Follow-Up Letter

January 17, 1980

Dear friend:

Recently, you were sent a questionnaire requesting your participation in a study concerning the degree of acculturation of Japanese Americans. I apologize for sending this if you have completed and sent back the questionnaire. I am sending this to emphasize that the validity of the research findings depends upon your cooperation.

I would appreciate your completing and sending back the questionnaire even though the dead line I requested (1/16) has passed.

Yours sincerely,

Signature
Toshimasa Fujii

P. S. If any question arises, please call 224-9210.

Appendix F: The Introductory Letter--Japanese Version

一屯の皆様へ。

省略。

私はポートランド州立大学の大学院生ですが、このたびポートランド近郊在住の日系アメリカ人の屯代向における「文化変容」に関する社会調査を実施することとなりました。この調査の目的は、なぜ日系アメリカ人がアメリカ社会における「成功した少数民族集団」と言われているのかを解き明かそうとするものです。

この調査を完成させる為には皆様の御意見をこのアンケート調査を通じて伺いする事が是非とも必要であり、皆様からの返答はとて貴重なものとなります。

記入したアンケートは同封の住所が書かれ切手の貼られた封筒を使って、なるべく一月十六日までに投函して下さいませうよろしくお願ひします。

なお、このアンケート調査は、二屯および三屯の方々については英語で行なわれます。

敬具

一九八〇年一月七日、

藤井敏雅

Appendix G: The Cover Of The Questionnaire--Japanese Version

ポートランド州立大学
社会学部

ポートランド近郊在住の日系アメリカ人の
三屯代向における文化変容程度に
関する研究

この研究はポートランド州立大学大学院生・藤井敏雅の修士論文作成計画の一環として行なわれる

もので下記教授の指導・監修によるものです。

Frederic H. Chino 教授 (哲学博士)、
Jan Hajda 教授 (哲学博士)、及び
Grant M. Farr 教授 (哲学博士)。

——説明ならびに記入にあたり、その注意——

- 一. 各問いに対する答には正しいとか間違っているという様なものはありません。
- 二. 最も自分に適した答がそれぞれの問いに「ふさわしい」答ということになります。
- 三. この研究にあなたが参加するかしないかはあなたの自主的な判断によるものです。
- 四. あなたの回答は厳重に機密事項として保存されます。
- 五. この研究に關して何か質問がありましたら、下記宛に手紙か電話でご連絡下さい。

Toshimasa Fujii
Department of Sociology
Portland State University
Portland, Oregon 97207

Home Telephone: 224-9210

御協力ありがとうございます！

Appendix H: The Questionnaire--Japanese VersionA. あなたの経歴に関する質問

1. あなたは現在何歳ですか? _____
2. あなたは男性ですか、それとも女性ですか? __男__ __女__
3. あなたの世代は?
- __一世代
__二世代
__三世代
__その他 (具体的に。例えば: 父=一世代, 母=二世代; 父=白人, 母=一世代; などのように。) _____
4. もしあなたが一世代なら,
- a) あなたは日本の何県の出身ですか? _____
- b) " アメリカにどの位長く住んでいますか? _____
- __私は一世代ではありません。
5. あなたは次のどれにあたりますか?
- __結婚中__ __独身__ __伴侶と死別__ __離婚中
6. あなたは次のどれにあたりますか?
- __フルタイムで働いている__ __リタイア (隠居)
__パートタイムで働いている__ __その他 (具体的に: _____
__解雇もしくは休職中
__家事担当専門 _____)
7. もしあなたが結婚中なら、あなたの配偶者 (伴侶) は次のどれにあたりますか?
- __フルタイムで働いている__ __家事担当専門
__パートタイムで働いている__ __リタイア (隠居)
__解雇もしくは休職中__ __その他 (具体的に: _____)

— 私は結婚中ではありません。

8. あなたは現在どのような仕事に就いていますか？ 具体的に答え下さい。（例えば、「高校」の「英語」の「教師」とか、あるいは「電子工学品負管理」における「現場監督」などというようにお願いします。）

9. あなたのお父さんは現在どのような仕事に就いていますか？ もしあなたのお父さんがすでにリタイアあるいは死去している場合、お父さんの最後の仕事は何でしたか？ 向8の例のように具体的な表現で答え下さい。

10. あなたの家庭の税引き率の年間総収入は次のどれにあたりますか？（単位：ドル）

— Less than 2,500	— 30,000 to 34,999
— 2,500 to 4,999	— 35,000 to 39,999
— 5,000 to 7,499	— 40,000 to 44,999
— 7,500 to 9,999	— 45,000 to 49,999
— 10,000 to 12,499	— 50,000 to 54,999
— 12,500 to 14,999	— 55,000 to 59,999
— 15,000 to 17,499	— 60,000 to 64,999
— 17,500 to 19,999	— 65,000 to 69,999
— 20,000 to 24,999	— 70,000 to 74,999
— 25,000 to 29,999	— 75,000 and over

11. あなたの両親の税引き率の年間総収入は次のどれにあたりますか？ 正確な額がわからなくても最も近いと思われる額を推測して下さい。（単位：ドル）

— Less than 2,500	— 30,000 to 34,999
— 2,500 to 4,999	— 35,000 to 39,999
— 5,000 to 7,499	— 40,000 to 44,999
— 7,500 to 9,999	— 45,000 to 49,999
— 10,000 to 12,499	— 50,000 to 54,999
— 12,500 to 14,999	— 55,000 to 59,999
— 15,000 to 17,499	— 60,000 to 64,999
— 17,500 to 19,999	— 65,000 to 69,999
— 20,000 to 24,999	— 70,000 to 74,999
— 25,000 to 29,999	— 75,000 and over

12. あなたの向11に対する答はどの位確かなものですか？

- 非常に確か
- かなり確か
- 少しだけ確か
- 不確か
- 単なる推測にすぎない

13. あなたとあなたの両親の学歴は次のどれにあたりますか？

あなた自身 父親 母親 継父 継母

_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	学校教育なし
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	小学校(旧・新) 未了
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	小学校(旧・新) 終了
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	中学校(旧・新) 未了
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	中学校(旧・新) 終了
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	高等学校(旧・新) 未了
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	高等学校(旧・新) 終了
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	大学(旧・新) 未了
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	大学(旧・新) 終了
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	大学院未了
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	大学院終了(修士/博士)
_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	不確か

14. もしあなたもしくはあなたの(両)親が大学教育を受けていたなら、それはどんな種類の大学でしたか？ (例えば: 普通の四年制大学; 短期大学; 歯科大学; 医科大学; ビジネス・カレッジ; ビューティ・カレッジ; 等々)

あなた自身 _____
 父 親 _____
 母 親 _____
 継 父 _____
 継 母 _____

15. あなたとあなたの両親の宗教は何ですか？ 出来るだけ具体的に答え下さい。(例えば: 神道; 禅宗仏教; 浄土宗仏教; キリスト教=ローマ・カトリック派; キリスト教=バプテテスト派, 等々)

あなた自身 _____
 父 親 _____
 母 親 _____

継父 _____
 継母 _____

16. あなたは目下何かの「会」に加入していますか？

__はい __いいえ

17. もしあなたが上の向いに「はい」と答えたなら、

a) それはどんな団体ですか？

b) そしてあなたはその団体の活動にどの位参加していますか？ 該当するものを選んで下さい。

__日系人会 (J. A. S.)

__全く参加しない

__参加するが一ヶ月に一回より少ない

__大体一ヶ月に一回か二回

__一ヶ月に三、四回かそれ以上

__日系婦人会 (J. A. W. C.)

__全く参加しない

__参加するが一ヶ月に一回より少ない

__大体一ヶ月に一回か二回

__一ヶ月に三、四回かそれ以上

__日系アメリカ市民連盟 (J. A. C. L.)

__全く参加しない

__参加するが一ヶ月に一回より少ない

__大体一ヶ月に一回か二回

__一ヶ月に三、四回かそれ以上

__その他 (具体的に: _____)

__全く参加しない

__参加するが一ヶ月に一回より少ない

__大体一ヶ月に一回か二回

__一ヶ月に三、四回かそれ以上

18. あなたの家の近所に日本人か日系アメリカ人は何人位住んでいますか？ («近所」とはあなたの家から歩いて行かれる範囲と考え下さい。

__0人

__1~5人

- 6~10人
- 11~15人
- 16~20人
- 21人以上

19. 大まかに言ってあなたは日本人か日系アメリカ人の友人の方が、白人の友人よりも多いですか？

- はい 大体半々 いいえ

20. 社会におけるあなたは次のどの階層にあたると思いますか？

- 上流階級
- 中流階級の上
- 中流階級の下
- 労働者階級
- 下層階級

21. 1から10までの「尺度」を仮定し、完全な日本人が「1」にあたり、完全なアメリカ人が「10」にあたるとうします。この尺度の中のどの数字(1, 2, 3, ..., 9, 10)があなた自身にあたると思いますか？

B. あなたの意見に関する質問(の一部)

この部門では34の言葉や言い回しに対するあなたの意見がたずねられます。これらの言葉や言い回しは「価値観」とか「行動の規範」と呼ばれるものです。あなたがもっともふさわしいと思うものに印(✓)をつけて下さい。

1. 合理性

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

2. 忍耐

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

3. 恩返し

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

4. 思慮分別^{しりょぶんべつ}

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

5. 勤勉及び儉約

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

6. 祖先崇拜

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

7. 個性

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

8. 権力(者)に対する敬意

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

9. 親孝行

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

10. 目上の者に対する敬意

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

11. 趣味の追究

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

12. 礼儀作法

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

13. 人情を解する事

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

14. 学校教育

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

15. 自由

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

16. 自己鍛練たんれん

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

17. 自分の行動に対する責任

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

18. 野心あるいは大志

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

19. 自分の名前に対する信用

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

20. 成功

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

21. 家の名に対する信用

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

22. 自分の親類との連帯感

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

23. 向上心

- とても重要
 重要
 やや重要
 あまり重要でない
 重要でない

24. 将来の為に現在を犠牲にする事

- とても重要
 重要
 やや重要
 あまり重要でない
 重要でない

25. 良い対人関係

- とても重要
 重要
 やや重要
 あまり重要でない
 重要でない

26. 自己統制

- とても重要
 重要
 やや重要
 あまり重要でない
 重要でない

27. 人道(博愛)主義

- とても重要
 重要
 やや重要
 あまり重要でない
 重要でない

28. 持ち物を大切にすること

- とても重要
 重要
 やや重要
 あまり重要でない
 重要でない

29. 天皇尊敬

- とても重要
 重要
 やや重要
 あまり重要でない
 重要でない

30. 従順

- とても重要
 重要
 やや重要
 あまり重要でない
 重要でない

31. 寛容

- とても重要
 重要
 やや重要
 あまり重要でない
 重要でない

32. 忸らく事

- とても重要
 重要
 やや重要
 あまり重要でない
 重要でない

33. 身分相応なふるまい

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

34. 自分の義務への忠誠心

- とても重要
- 重要
- やや重要
- あまり重要でない
- 重要でない

C. あなたの意見に関する質問(オ二部)

オ一部と同じ要領で、あなたがもっともふさわしいと思うものに印をつけて下さい。

1. 一般的に言って、良い対人関係を維持する為には感情は極力押さえるよう心がけるべきである。

- 全面的に賛成
- やや賛成
- どちらとも言えない
- やや反対
- 全面的に反対

2. プライベートな時間であっても、自分が所属する集団(例えば、会社、教会、家族など)の為にはその時間を惜しみなく使うよう心がけるべきである。

- 全面的に賛成
- やや賛成
- どちらとも言えない
- やや反対
- 全面的に反対

3. 自分の親類・縁者には常に助力(ヘルプ)するよう心がけるべきである。

- 全面的に賛成
- やや賛成
- どちらとも言えない
- やや反対

全面的に反対

4. 人は、その人の生まれつきの性質（男女の別、年齢、人種、家の地位など）によるよりも、むしろ「その人がいままでしてきた事」を基準として判断されるべきである。

- 全面的に賛成
やや賛成
どちらとも言えない
やや反対
全面的に反対

5. 「親しい友人」の数は少なく保つよう心がけるべきである。

- 全面的に賛成
やや賛成
どちらとも言えない
やや反対
全面的に反対

これで全部です。ありがとうございました。

Appendix I: The Follow-Up Letter--Japanese Version

孝略、

先日、日系アメリカ人の文化変容の研究に關してのアンケート調査を受け取ったことと思います。この葉書きは、今回の調査の成果が皆様一人一人の貴重な御協力にかかっていることを知、またいただくために出すことにしました。（もし既にアンケートを送り返していただいていたのでしたら、この葉書きを出す失礼をお詫びいたします。）皆様のお名前は、ジョージ東野氏ならびに近藤三郎氏の御好意によ、て得たものです。ごめんどうとは思いますが、是非ともアンケートに御記入の上、送り返していただきますようお願いいたします。締切日（1/16）は既に過ぎておりますがまだ送、ていただいても構いません。敬具 一月十七日 藤井敏雅

Appendix J: The Developed Code Categories

<u>Columns</u>	<u>Code</u>	<u>Question No.</u>
1-3	Identification (001-)	
4	Card Number (1)	
5-6	Age	A-1
7	Gender (0=Male, 1=Female)	A-2
8	1=Issei, 2=Nisei, 3=Sansei, 4=Father-Issei/Mother-Nisei, 5=Father-Nisei/Mother-Sansei, 6=Father-Caucasian American/Mother-Issei, 7=Father-Caucasian American/Mother-Nisei, 8=Father-Caucasian American/Mother-Sansei, 9=Other, 0=No Answer (from now on, N/A)	
9	Prefecture (1=Hokkaido, 2=Tohoku, 3=Kanto, 4=Chubu, 5=Kinki, 6=Chugoku-Shikoku, 7=Kyushu-Okinawa, 9=N/A, 0=Not Issei)*	A-4a
10-11	"How long" in years (00=Not Issei, 99=N/A)	A-4b
12	Marital status (1=Married, 2=Single, 3=Widowed, 4=Divorced, 9=N/A)	A-5
13	Work status (1=Work full time, 2=Work part time, 3=Unemployed or laid off, 4=Keep house, 5=Retired, 6=Other, 0=No occupation, 9=N/A)	A-6
14	Work status of the spouse (Same as above except 0=Not married)	A-7
15-17	Occupational categorization by Duncan's classification (From 001 to 100 for each occupation, 000=No occupation, 555=Retired, 999=N/A)	A-8
18-20	Occupation of father (Same as above)	A-9
21-22	Family income (01=Less than \$2,500, 02=\$2,500 to 4,999, 03=\$5,000 to 7,499, 04=\$7,500 to 9,999, 05=\$10,000 to 12,499, 06=\$12,500 to 14,999, 07=\$15,000 to 17,499, 08=\$17,500 to 19,999, 09=\$20,000 to 24,999, 10=\$25,000 to 29,999, 11=\$30,000 to 34,999, 12=\$35,000 to 39,999, 13=\$40,000 to 44,999, 14=\$45,000 to 49,999, 15=\$50,000 to 54,999, 16=\$55,000 to 59,999, 17=\$60,000 to 64,999, 18=\$65,000 to 69,999, 19=\$70,000 to 74,999, 20=\$75,000 and over, 99=N/A)	A-10

23-24	Parents' income (Same as above. 98=When the answer to the next question is #4 or 5)	A-11
25	Certainty to the question #11 (1=Very Certain, 2=Fairly Certain, 3=Somewhat Certain, 4=Uncertain, 5=It's just a guess, 9=N/A)	A-12
26-27	Education of yourself (01=None, 02= Some elementary school, 03=Completed elementary school, 04=Some junior high school, 05=Completed junior high school, 06=Some high school, 07=Completed high school, 08=Some college, 09=Completed college, 10=Post graduate work, but no advanced degrees, 11=One or more graduate degrees, 12=I am not at all sure, 99=N/A)	A-13
28-29	Education of father (Same as above)	
30-31	Education of mother (Same as above)	
32-33	Education of stepfather (Same as above)	
34-35	Education of Stepmother (Same as above)	
36	Kind of college: yourself (1=High pro- fession including medical, dental and law school, 2=Low profession including theology, M.B.A., education, or anything beyond undergraduate school, 3=Regular liberal arts, 4=Trade school including community college, two-year business school, or other education institutes which teach skills, 8=No college education, 9=N/A)	A-14
37	Kind of college: father (Same as above)	
38	Kind of college: mother (Same as above)	
39	Kind of college: stepfather (Same as above)	
40	Kind of college: stepmother (Same as above)	
41	Religious preference: yourself (0=No preference, 1=Shinto, 2=Buddhism, 3= Christianity, 4=Other, 9=N/A)	A-15
42	Religious preference: father (Same as above)	
43	Religious preference: mother (Same as above)	
44	Religious preference: stepfather (Same as above)	
45	Religious preference: stepmother (Same as above)	
46	Organization participation (0=Yes, 1=No, 9=N/A)	A-16
47	JAS participation (0=Yes, 1=No or answered "no" in the question #16)	A-17
48	JAS: how many times (0=Answered "no" in the question above or #16, 1= Never, 2=Less than once a month, 3=1 or 2 a month, 4=3,4 or more a month, 9=N/A)	

49	JAWC participation (Same as column #47)	
50	JAWC: how many times (Same as column #48)	
51	JACL participation (Same as column #47)	
52	JACL: how many times (Same as column #48)	
53	Participation in other organization (Same as column #47)	
54	Other organization: how many times (Same as column #48)	
55	How many Japanese neighbors (1=0, 2=1-5, 3=6-10, 4=11-15, 5=16-20, 6=21 or over, 9=N/A)	A-18
56	More Japanese friends than Caucasian friends (1=Yes, 2=Half & half, 3=No, 9=N/A)	A-19
57	Self-judged social class (1=Upper, 2=Upper Middle, 3=Lower Middle, 4=Working, 5=Lower, 9=N/A)	A-20
58-59	Self-judged ethnic ID (From 01 to 10, 99=N/A)	A-21

*The detail regarding the prefectural classification is as follows:

- 1) Hokkaido: Hokkaido
- 2) Tohoku: Aomori, Iwate, Akita, Miyagi, Yamagata, Fukushima
- 3) Kanto: Tokyo, Kanagawa, Chiba, Ibaragi, Saitama, Gunma, Tochigi
- 4) Chubu: Yamanashi, Shizuoka, Nagano, Niigata, Toyama, Ishikawa, Gifu, Aichi, Fukui
- 5) Kinki: Osaka, Kyoto, Hyogo, Shiga, Nara, Wakayama, Mie
- 6) Chugoku-Shikoku: Yamaguchi, Hiroshima, Shimane, Tottori, Okayama, Tokushima, Kagawa, Kochi, Ehime
- 7) Kyushu-Okinawa: Nagasaki, Fukuoka, Kumamoto, Oita, Saga, Miyazaki, Kagoshima, Okinawa

The Second Card

<u>Columns</u>	<u>Code</u>	<u>Question No.</u>
1-3	Identification (001-)	
4	Card Number (2)	
5	Rationality (5=Very Important, 4=Important, 3=Somewhat Important, 2=Somewhat Unimportant, 1=Unimportant, 9=N/A)	B-1

6	Patience (Same as above)	B-2
7	Repayment of kindness (Same as above)	B-3
8	Prudence (Same as above)	B-4
9	Asceticism (Same as above)	B-5
10	Worship of ancestors (Same as above)	B-6
11	Individuality (Same as above)	B-7
12	Respect for authority (Same as above)	B-8
13	Filial duty (Same as above)	B-9
14	Respect for one's superior (Same as above)	B-10
15	Pursuit of a hobby (Same as above)	B-11
16	Courteousness (Same as above)	B-12
17	Appreciation of feelings (Same as above)	B-13
18	Educational achievement (Same as above)	B-14
19	Freedom (Same as above)	B-15
20	Self-discipline (Same as above)	B-16
21	Responsibility (Same as above)	B-17
22	Ambition (Same as above)	B-18
23	Credit to one's own name (Same as above)	B-19
24	Success (Same as above)	B-20
25	Credit to the family name (Same as above)	B-21
26	Togetherness with one's clan (Same as above)	B-22
27	Improvement (Same as above)	B-23
28	Sacrifice of today (Same as above)	B-24
29	Personal relations (Same as above)	B-25
30	Self-control (Same as above)	B-26
31	Humanitarianism (Same as above)	B-27
32	Respect for property (Same as above)	B-28
33	Respect for the Emperor (Same as above)	B-29
34	Obedience (Same as above)	B-30
35	Generosity (Same as above)	B-31
36	Work as a virtue (Same as above)	B-32
37	Proper behavior (Same as above)	B-33
38	Faithfulness to one's duty (Same as above)	B-34
39	Emotion/Personal relation (5=Agree completely, 4=Tend to agree, 3=Neutral, 2=Tend to disagree, 1=Disagree completely, 9=N/A)	C-1
40	Individual-group relation (Same as above)	C-2
41	Kin consciousness (Same as above)	C-3
42	Achievement-ascription value (Same as above)	C-4
43	Association consciousness (Same as above)	C-5

Appendix K: Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890

Know ye, our Subjects!

Our Imperial ancestors have founded our empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; our subjects, ever united in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of our empire, and herein also lies the source of our education. Ye, our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop your intellectual faculties and perfect your moral powers; furthermore, advance the public good and promote common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws; should any emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the state; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial throne, coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial ancestors, to be observed alike by their descendants and subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue.

From Jon Livingston et al. ed., Imperial Japan: 1800-1945, New York: Pantheon Books, 1973, pp. 153-4.

Appendix L: Rank Order of Values (Retained or Relinquished) for Issei, Nisei, Sansei and All Three Generations

Issei

<u>Retained Values</u>	<u>Score*</u>
1. Good personal relation	4.760
2. Prudence	4.692
3. Filial duty	4.667
4. Responsibility	4.654
5. Repayment of kindness which one received in the past	4.556

<u>Relinquished Values</u>	<u>Score*</u>
1. Willingness to sacrifice today for the gain in the future	3.261
2. Ambition	3.318
3. Success	3.409
4. Respect for one's superior	3.480
5. Pursuit of a hobby	3.577

*Scoring was utilized in the following method:

- 5 points for the category of "Very Important"
- 4 points for the category of "Important"
- 3 points for the category of "Somewhat Important"
- 2 points for the category of "Somewhat Unimportant"
- 1 point for the category of "Unimportant"

Nisei

<u>Retained Values</u>	<u>Score</u>
1. Responsibility	4.590
2. Respect for property	4.550
3. Rationality	4.500
4. Prudence	4.500
5. Self-discipline	4.500

<u>Relinquished Values</u>	<u>Score</u>
1. Respect for the Emperor	2.421
2. Worship of ancestors	3.316
3. Pursuit of a hobby	3.625
4. Generosity	3.775
5. Willingness to sacrifice today for the gain in the future	3.821

Sansei

<u>Retained Values</u>	<u>Score</u>
1. Appreciation of human feelings	4.545
2. Good personal relation	4.469
3. Freedom	4.455
4. Responsibility	4.455
5. Rationality	4.364

<u>Relinquished Values</u>	<u>Score</u>
1. Respect for the Emperor	1.719
2. Worship of ancestry	2.576

3. Proper behavior in accordance with one's status	2.758
4. Obedience	3.344
5. Willingness to sacrifice today for the gain in the future	3.375

All Three Generations

<u>Retained Values</u>	<u>Score</u>
1. Responsibility	4.575
2. Appreciation of human feelings	4.514
3. Good personal relation	4.495
4. Repayment of kindness which one received in the past	4.439
5. Retentionality	4.423
<u>Relinquished Values</u>	<u>Score</u>
1. Respect for the Emperor	2.587
2. Worship of ancestry	3.302
3. Willingness to sacrifice today for the gain in the future	3.451
4. Pursuit of a hobby	3.561
5. Proper behavior in accordance with one's status	3.593