GENERATIONAL AND TRANSGENERATIONAL ISSUES OF THE JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the University of North Texas in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

Karen A. Mayeda, B.A., M.Ed.

Denton, Texas

August, 1995
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This study utilized a qualitative/phenomenological research methodology to examine the generational and transgenerational issues of five identified Japanese American families. To be included in this study, families were identified to contain at least one member who was interned during World War II or who had parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents who were interned. Semistructured interviews, including Adlerian lifestyle assessments, were conducted with the 28 research informants who represented the second, third, and fourth generations of their families.

The major findings of this study were as follows:

1. Certain acculturational lifestyle goals emerged from data analysis. Acculturational lifestyle goals were influenced by the generational and family values that governed a generation’s or an individual’s response to various experiences.

2. Informants from the three generations studied identified several ways that the internment experience directly affected their current lifestyle goals.

3. Communication within families regarding the internment experience was described as cryptic and vague. A discrepancy was noted between the information Sansei and Yonsei sought about the internment experience and the information they received.
4. Two major coping strategies were interpreted from the interviews—Avoidant and Confrontive, both expressed through either external or internal means. Generational and family coping patterns were noted.

Social and emotional repercussions resulting from the World War II internment were experienced by the Japanese American informants interviewed in all of the areas explored.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During 1942, the United States witnessed the removal of 120,000 men, women, and children from their homes to be placed in concentration camps behind barbed wire. Although the majority were United States citizens, both citizen and alien alike were treated like cattle and herded off to desolate corners of the country. Their only "crime" was their Japanese ancestry (Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians [CWRIC], 1992; Davis, 1982; Nagata, 1991; Weglyn, 1980; Williams & Coleman, 1992).

Wartime hysteria gripped the nation following the nightmarish Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed the fateful Executive Order 9066 which gave General DeWitt the authority to declare the entire West Coast as a military zone and remove all persons of Japanese ancestry from it. Japanese Americans were ordered to evacuate their West Coast homeland under the guise of national security even though there was never any evidence to support the need for such action and no formal charges were ever brought against them (CWRIC, 1992; Davis, 1982; Fukei, 1976; Hosokawa, 1969; O’Brien & Fugita, 1991; Williams & Coleman, 1992; Wilson & Hosokawa, 1980).

Allowed to take only what they could carry and given little more than a few days to sell or dispose of personal property, Japanese Americans were removed to
what has been euphemistically referred to as "relocation centers." Here they spent between one to five years of their lives sharing abhorrent communal living conditions while being watched by armed guards. Housing consisted of cramped barracks made out of tarpaper covered planks and much of the day was spent waiting in line for meals, toilets, or laundry facilities (CWRIC, 1992; Gesensway & Roseman, 1987; Kawakami, 1991; Nakano, 1990; Tomine, 1991; Weglyn, 1980). At the time, Secretary of the Interior Ickes recognized the costly toll being paid by the internees when he pointed out to President Roosevelt that "the psychology of the Japanese Americans in the relocation centers becomes progressively worse. The difficulty which will confront these people in readjusting to ordinary life becomes greater as they spend more time in the centers" (cited in Weglyn, 1980, p. 220).

The internment was a time of extreme fear, confusion, and apprehension (Mass, 1991; Nagata, 1990a). Through it all, the Japanese American internees experienced a foreboding sense of trepidation and uncertainty about what was going to happen to them and what the future would bring. As a result of the constant anxiety and loss of control, the internment can be seen as a traumatic event "or series of events which is sudden, overwhelming, and often dangerous either to self or significant others" (Figley, 1985, p. 400). Clearly, the magnitude of the internment and subsequent victimization felt by many Japanese Americans suggests the possibility that the impact of such an experience may also extend into subsequent generations (Mass, 1991; Nagata, 1989; 1990a; 1990b; 1991; 1993; Tomine, 1991; Weglyn, 1980).
A multitude of studies which focus on the aftermath of the Holocaust on survivors and subsequent generations (e.g., Phillips, 1978; Rosenthal & Rosenthal, 1980; Russell, Plotkin, & Heapy, 1985) have established the precedent for examining the multigenerational effects of trauma. In his study which explored the multigenerational effects of the Holocaust upon survivors' children, Heller concluded that the "stressful events of concentration camp survivors greatly influence the lives of their children through a heightened sensitivity to culture and to the primacy of ethnic survival" (cited in Nagata, 1990a, p. 49). While clear differences between the Holocaust and the Japanese American internment exist, similarities relating to transgenerational effects have been noted (Nagata, 1989; 1990a; 1990b; 1991; 1993; Tomine, 1991). Tomine (1991) stated that "implications of the internment experience on subsequent generations of Japanese Americans need to be addressed...including the intergenerational effect of cultural coping mechanisms with respect to the trauma of internment" (p. 103). Nagata (1991) added that exploring the "possibility that positive coping strategies have been transmitted from Nisei parents to their Sansei children" (p. 128) would also be beneficial to examine.

Nagata (1991) noted that "each [individual] will present a unique response to the internment theme depending on personal history, the age and circumstances under which parents were interned, and the manner in which parents have responded to their experience" (p. 128). Her conclusions correspond with many of the theoretical underpinnings proposed by Alfred Adler's Individual Psychology.
Adler believed that a person is holistic, phenomenological, teleological, creative, and social. Individuals are involved in consistently moving toward self-selected goals that they believe will gain them a place in the world. Heredity and environment do influence an individual's personality; however, Adler did not believe that individuals were determined by these factors. Both provide only a skeleton from which individuals creatively fill in their future course depending on the style of life they have chosen (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Ansbacher, 1983; Dinkmeyer, Dinkmeyer, & Sperry, 1987; Manaster & Corsini, 1982; Mosak, 1989).

Additionally, Adler delineated that an individual's style of life is the characteristic way in which one operates in the social field. Lifestyle includes basic convictions concerning self, others, and the world which form the person's schema of biased apperception. The lifestyle is developed in earliest childhood and conveys the creative side of the development of the unique individual including one's meaning of life, goals to pursue, style of approach, and emotional disposition (Adler, 1931; Eckstein, Baruth, & Mahrer, 1982; Griffith & Powers, 1984; Manaster & Corsini, 1982; Mosak, 1989).

Given the unique, phenomenological basis from which Japanese Americans have responded to the internment, a qualitative/phenomenological research approach is best suited for exploring perceptions and understanding the subjective reality of participants. Tesch (1990) stated that phenomenological research places the "emphasis on the individual and on subjective experience. Its aim is to study the world as it appears to us in and through consciousness" (p. 48). Additionally,
according to Langeveld, the value of phenomenological research "is measured in terms of its power to let us come to an understanding of ourselves, and an understanding of the lives of those for whom we bear pedagogic responsibility" (cited in Tesch, 1990, p. 48).

Statement of the Problem

Many Japanese Americans who have survived the internment suffer wounds which have not yet healed. Many have yet to share their stories with anyone, including their children (Moffat, 1993; Williams & Coleman, 1992). The lack of information about coping strategies, inadequate knowledge about fourth-generation internment responses, and scarce verbal communication about the internment by Japanese Americans makes an examination of generational and transgenerational lifestyle issues important and provides this study with the obligation of giving a voice to the words of internees and their heirs so that future generations will know their stories.

Through a qualitative/phenomenological approach, informants' lifestyles will be examined and common issues will be explored. This study will also investigate the existence of coping strategies which have been transmitted from Japanese American parents to their children.
Synthesis of Related Literature

The review of literature section addresses Japanese American generational characteristics and responses to the internment, Adlerian concepts and lifestyle assessment, and purposes of qualitative/phenomenological research.

**Japanese American Generational Characteristics and Responses to the Internment**

Japanese Americans typically identify themselves according to the number of generations since immigrating to the United States: the *Issei*, or first immigrant group; the *Nisei*, or second generation; the third generation, or *Sansei*; and *Yonsei*, or fourth generation (Fukei, 1976; Hosokawa, 1969; Nakano, 1990; Tomine, 1991; Williams & Coleman, 1992). Japanese Americans of different generational standing have very different life experiences which have made an impact on their values, traditions, and responses to the internment (Fugita & O'Brien, 1985; Yanagida & Marsella, 1978).

**Issei Characteristics and Response to the Internment**

The initial immigration of Japanese into the United States occurred between 1890 - 1924 (Daniels, 1972; Davis, 1982; Nakano, 1990). Most of these early Japanese immigrants were men who found employment as laborers working in canneries, mining, and farming. Many came from a farming class and naturally gravitated toward farming and gardening, where their knowledge of agriculture could be applied. Perseverance made them highly successful in these fields and eventually economically competitive (Connor, 1974; Davis, 1982). With growing economic
success and competitiveness, patterns of violence and harassment previously directed at the Chinese were soon channeled toward the Japanese. Pervasive anti-Oriental feelings and fears of being invaded by Asians became labeled as "the Yellow Peril" (Daniels, 1972; Davis, 1982; Williams & Coleman, 1992).

Anti-Japanese feelings and growing apprehension led to many restraining decrees aimed at restricting immigration and Japanese immigrants' rights. The "Gentlemen's Agreement" in 1908 sealed the flow of Asians into the country (Daniels, 1972; Davis, 1982). To further harass the Japanese, California passed the Alien Land Law in 1913 which forbade aliens to own land (Sue & Sue, 1990). Congress also hindered immigration with the enactment of the National Origins Act of 1924 which barred immigration from countries whose people were "ineligible for citizenship," which included the Japanese (Davis, 1982; O'Brien & Fugita, 1991; Williams & Coleman, 1992).

Against this historical backdrop, the Issei sacrificed and subordinated their own needs for the sake of their children and families. Kodomo no tame ni or "for the sake of the children" became a moral dictum which guided Issei actions. The strength of character to "endure regardless of what may happen" (gaman) underscored the Japanese immigrants' outlook (Nakano, 1990; Williams & Coleman, 1992).

In his study, Connor (1974) found that Issei maintained many traditional family values. Ie refers to an extended family corporate identity which typically includes the head of the household, his wife, married sons, their wives, and unmarried children. The ie family system places primary emphasis and importance
on the family over the individual. The family entails "a continuum from past to
future whose members include not only the present generation, but also the dead and
those yet unborn" (p. 159). The ie family system traditionally instilled strong
emotional bonds and dependency needs in its members (Johnson, 1977; Nakano,

While Issei held on to many traditional Japanese values, they were influenced
by their new American environment which gradually transformed their families.
Nakano (1990) found, however, that the practice of collective effort remained strong.
Giri, refers to the sense of duty and obligation that epitomizes family and social
relationships. In practice, giri "ordered a balance between give and take" (p. 37) and
encouraged continuous interaction between individuals which resulted in strengthened
bonds. The concept of giri may also explain the cooperation exhibited by some
internees in their effort "to make atonement for Pearl Harbor and to help their fellow
Japanese" (Williams & Coleman, 1992, p. 97). In this manner, Issei "demanded of
one another the subordination of self for the larger interest" (Weglyn, 1980, p. 267).

Anti-Japanese sentiments were aggravated during the onset of World War II
and Issei were seen as alien Japanese who were associated with "the enemy." Among
the Issei were many torn reactions to the outbreak of World War II. Some
reproached Japan for its act, others whose loyalties wavered kept their opinions to
themselves, but the majority held strong emotional ties to the country of their birth.
The fear of the unknown and limited use and understanding of the English language
exaggerated Issei’s apprehension about the relocation and internment conditions (Nakano, 1990; Williams & Coleman, 1992).

Issei responded to the internment procedures with tolerance and steadfast perseverance. They made possible the reversal of a crushing humiliation into an ultimate demonstration of triumph by demonstrating loyalty in the face of overwhelming adversity. The Issei continued to stress patience, obedience, and duty more than rights to their children and those around them. It is the moral fiber of the Issei, their resilience, and quiet poise under pressure which the Nisei acknowledge as the reason why this historical disaster did not overcome them (Weglyn, 1980).

While examining the psychological impact the internment had on the self-image of Japanese Americans, Mass (1991) noted that the Issei clung to a tradition of upholding personal honor so as not to reflect poorly on their race. Some Issei even considered camp as "not being so bad" (Nakano, 1990, p. 63). Nakano (1990) explained that it is important to consider the circumstances surrounding this positive reaction. Issei held low expectations of their treatment and they feared deportation or a nameless fate that was even worse. After they experienced the reality of their incarceration and were not physically abused nor deprived of food or health care, many were grateful for the treatment they received.

For the honor-conscious Issei, Executive Order 9066 represented a nullification of years of effort and hard work (Mass, 1991). They became citizens without a country and it was not until 1952, when the Walter-McCarran Immigration and Nationality Act was passed which repealed the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924, when
Japanese immigrants were allowed to become naturalized citizens (Nakano, 1990; Uchida, 1991).

**Nisei Characteristics and Response to the Internment**

There are both striking similarities and distinct differences between Nisei, or second-generation Japanese Americans and their Issei parents. Due to the short time frame in which Nisei were born (1915 - 1940), this generation shares a number of common experiences. As a result, Nisei make up a homogeneous group insofar as their shared experiences but have differed in their responses to the internment (Nakano, 1990).

Nisei were taught by their parents the essential, traditional components necessary for them to be "good Japanese." Perhaps most important for the role of being an honorable Japanese was bringing pride and honor to the Japanese race. Other traditional values included practicing such concepts as "gaman" (perseverance), "enyro" (demonstrating self restraint and reserve), stoicism, and a sense of fatalism or "skika ta ganai" (translated into "It can not be helped") (Nagata, 1990b; Tomine, 1991; Williams & Coleman, 1992). Shame and loss of face were frequently used by Issei parents to enforce adherence to traditional Japanese conduct. Issei parents also shared with their Nisei children restraint from displaying outward reactions to their experiences of injustice which may have contributed to the lack of healing experienced by many internees (Nagata, 1990b; Nakano, 1990; Tomine, 1991). The importance of family was also a value that Issei and Nisei share in common. During times of trial and tribulation the family could be turned to for comfort, affection, and
affirmation of individuality and self-worth. Consequently, as a result of societal turmoil and distrust, the Japanese American family solidified out of necessity (Connor, 1974; Nakano, 1990).

Unlike their parents, the Nisei were educated in America and lived in a manner which reflected a bicultural and bilingual approach to life. As strongly as the Nisei were commanded to be "good Japanese," they also received the clear message to be "good Americans." Due to the internment experience, most Nisei felt social and familial pressure to acculturate and adopt American ways that would ensure success and acceptance in the larger community. Wartime hysteria intensified the urgency to become "good Americans" and consequently this generation felt especially pressured to prove their worth after being rejected by their country. Many Nisei committed themselves to educational and professional achievements as the mechanism for being accepted by the dominant culture (Nagata, 1991; Nakano, 1990; Tomine, 1991).

Mass (1991) identified the duality of trying to be both a "good Japanese" and "good American" as an identity crisis. She stated that many Issei parents instructed their Nisei children to take pride in the strength and beauty of their cultural heritage, a task which was nearly impossible with "the racial hostility, propaganda, and hysteria of World War II" (p. 160). Mass (1991) also believed that the phenomena of Nisei passionately identifying with the "good American" role was the result of a common psychological response of identification with the aggressor. She posited that because American society dominated the Japanese Americans and treated them
prejudicially, the subsequent emotional turmoil of being a victim was handled by taking on the aggressor’s ideas, behavior, and viewpoint. In this manner, Nisei limited their anxiety by creating the illusion of no longer being the victim.

Nagata (1990b) and Weglyn (1980) reported that some Nisei shared the same beliefs and response pattern as incest or rape victims by feeling responsible for their victimization. Nisei’s sense of victimization was intensified by their not doing anything to provoke their imprisonment, feeling ashamed of what had happened, and believing that they were responsible for their situation. The humiliation, degradation, and shame of being betrayed by one’s own government, an entity which was trusted, also contributed to making the internment injustice too painful for many to respond to consciously. Many Nisei protected themselves against the pain and incongruence of their experience by developing the immediate and long-term defense mechanisms of repression, denial, and rationalization (Mass, 1991; Nagata, 1990a; Nagata, 1990b).

Janoff-Bulman and Frieze (1983) noted that as a result of victimization, an individual’s belief in personal invulnerability, perception of the world as meaningful, and view of self as positive are changed. As a result, denial may be a necessary and adaptive response when a victim’s assumptive world is destroyed (Moffat, 1993; Nagata, 1990a; Nagata, 1990b). In this sense, the internment has had a severe psychological impact on virtually all who were interned, including Nisei, by altering basic assumptions which may have been previously held.

One of the most notable consequences of the internment has been the general lack of communication about the experience by those who lived through it, a
phenomenon which Daniels (1991) referred to as "collective social amnesia." For most internees, silence has served as a way to repress the experience and subsequently to protect their children from the past suffering and humiliation that they endured. It was not until 1981, as the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians held hearings across the country to investigate the facts, circumstances, and directives of the internment, when many Japanese Americans began to share their experiences and feelings (CWRIC, 1992; Hohri, 1988; Nagata, 1990a). One description of the emotional scars left by the rejection and social isolation experienced during the internment was described much like "'castration': a deep consciousness of personal inferiority, a proclivity to noncommunication and inarticulateness, evidenced in a shying away from exposure which might subject them to further hurt" (Weglyn, 1980, p. 273).

Some Nisei were able to reframe their internment experience by viewing it as a "test of character" rather than as a prejudicial act. Nisei who held this belief or response were thus provided an opportunity to prove their worth and loyalty (Nagata, 1990b). Even so, the internment affected the psychological make-up of virtually all Nisei. Weglyn (1980) reported that nothing has influenced the Nisei as profoundly as wartime accusations of their "unassimilability." As a result, Nisei became seemingly obsessed with assimilating into the larger society. Many made conscious efforts to be more American than their Caucasian peers and raise their Sansei children as American as possible.
Nisei's overt acceptance of injustice during the internment may have stemmed from self-devaluation, which led many to believe that they did not deserve better in life. Although some may have felt that they deserved better they may have learned to expect exclusion and injustice (Nagata, 1990b). Not all Nisei were equally traumatized by the internment. Those who were young children at the time often recall positive memories of camp filled with days of playing with friends and relaxed parental authority (Nagata, 1990a). Unfortunately, adolescents formed a particularly vulnerable group within the camps. During adolescence, an individual's life is typically involved in a transitional period of development when questions about one's identity are the major focus. For Japanese American adolescents during the internment, the tasks of this period were especially painful and difficult. Additionally, the institutionalizing effect of camp compounded one's emerging identity by stripping away individuality and reducing people to a number (Mass, 1991).

Even though an incredible cost was paid by both Issei and Nisei, positive benefits of the internment were also noted. Resettlement after internment displaced Issei and Nisei from their familiar home towns and "Little Tokyos," sending them into the larger society which opened opportunities for them that many would not have had on the West Coast (Weglyn, 1980). Williams and Coleman (1992) also acknowledged positive outcomes of the camps. They cited "expansion of the social world and of opportunities for Japanese Americans, solidification of group unity, and contributing to the Americanization of young people" (p. 89) as possible advantages resulting from the internment.
Sansei Characteristics and Response to the Internment

It should be of no surprise that the same high standards aspired to by Nisei parents were passed onto the Sansei. Much like a baton being passed during a race, Sansei have seemingly entered the race, running with an all-out fervency. Popular press and media have noticed the hypervigilent attempt by many Sansei to be "good Americans" by touting the belief that Japanese Americans represent a "model" minority (Sue & Sue, 1990; Tomine, 1991).

Sansei form a very diverse group. Those born before 1950, tend to share more behavioral and value similarities with the Nisei, while Sansei who were born later hold behavioral norms which are closer to contemporary society (Nakano, 1990). In general, Sansei are more highly educated and more fully acculturated than their parents. Additionally, unlike their parents, the majority of Sansei are English speaking only (Tomine, 1991). While these differences are notable, value similarities do exist between Sansei and previous generations.

Connor (1975) examined the value changes in third generation Japanese Americans. He found that while acculturation has taken place, Sansei still express traditional Japanese values in their greater need of succorance and expression of humility when compared to normative Caucasian American groups. Connor also found Sansei to be more autonomous and less dominant with a greater need for nurturance. In other studies, Connor (1974; 1976a; 1976b) found that Japanese Americans have retained many aspects of their traditional family system. It is within the Japanese family system that values are instilled and maintained. Strong family
ties and emotional attachment to one's mother were also noted when comparing Japanese Americans to Caucasian Americans. Tomine (1991) agreed with Connor by asserting that even though considerable acculturation has occurred, Sansei have preserved many values and personality characteristics of their immigrant grandparents, including highly developed feelings of duty and obligation, deference, loyalty, ability to endure hardships, and harmonious interpersonal relationships.

It has been difficult for many Sansei to understand the silence and lack of resistance and anger demonstrated by most Nisei during the internment. As a result, Sansei have played a critical role in resurrecting past events and not being satisfied with allowing the injustice of their parents' and grandparents' generation to pass without recognition and restitution (Nagata, 1989; Nagata, 1990b). Moffat (1993) wrote that this crusade to uncover the "truth" is a common, universal American experience which reflects the longing of successive generations to know, understand, and learn from the past. Sansei activism is a striking departure from their ancestors' apparent passivity (Weglyn, 1980) and yet benefits may exist. In Desert Exile, Yoshiko Uchida (1982) wrote "they [Sansei] are the generation who taught us to celebrate our ethnicity and discover our ethnic pride" (p. 147).

Nagata's Sansei Research Project (1990a) documented the high degree of silence and noncommunication about the internment which has characterized most Japanese American families. About 40% of Sansei with a parent who had been interned indicated that their primary source of information did not come directly from their parents but through overhearing parent conversations with others. The absence
of parental communication about the internment did not deter Sansei from seeking out their own information. Nagata (1989) found that Sansei actively sought to learn more about the camps either through personal reading, community-sponsored events, or Asian-American studies courses. Results indicate that even though most Nisei did not openly discuss the internment with their children, Sansei know about it on a cognitive level.

For many Sansei, a sense of injustice has developed in reaction to the silence typically surrounding their parents’ reactions to the camps. Subjects involved in a study focusing on the transgenerational impact of the Japanese-American internment (Nagata 1990a; 1990b) reported that frequency of communications relating to the internment within their families occurred an average of 10 times, with each episode lasting approximately 15-30 minutes. Sansei described their parents’ communication about the internment as being evasive, cryptic, confusing, or negative. During the rare times when the internment was discussed, the majority of Sansei reported that communication was either characterized by a matter-of-fact, non-emotional style or an evasive, negative style. In either case, the impact on the Sansei children led to the same conclusion - that the internment was something negative that should not be talked about. Sansei reported that the absence of affect and relative silence about camp created a sense of uneasiness in their parents, which Sansei interpreted as being indicative of the presence of deeper psychological scars felt by their parents (Nagata, 1989).
Fear of uncovering the pain and emotions of the past, along with a respect for parents' privacy, prevented Sansei from pursuing conversations further, resulting in a heightened sense of parental trauma (Nagata, 1991). In some ways, Sansei are similar to "third party observers" who experience empathic distress in reaction to a perceived injustice but in a less intense manner than victims (Nagata, 1990a; 1990b). Laub and Auerhahn (1984) proposed that children find themselves compelled to experience more fully and to amplify their parents' suppressed themes. In the case of Nisei silence, many Sansei children have interpreted the emotional burden carried by their parents and have felt the need to express the unspoken grief, anger, and resentment of their parents (Nagata, 1991). In another study, Nagata (1990b) suggested that the internment affected the Sansei generation's sense of community. She found significant differences on items assessing Sansei's preference for Japanese Americans over Caucasian Americans and their general sense of uneasiness about their security in the United States (Nagata, 1991). This data suggests that the internment is still a strong force in Sansei's lives.

Nagata (1991) noted several internment-related counseling themes or issues which may underlie presenting concerns of a Sansei client. Among issues noted were inhibited family communication, self-esteem, vocational choices, assertiveness, identity, guilt, and loss. Many Sansei acknowledged that because the internment helped to shape their parents' personalities, it also shaped their own experiences by creating more emotional distance between their parents and themselves (Nagata, 1989; Tomine, 1991; Weglyn, 1980).
Yonsei characteristics and response to the internment

Research focusing on the latest generation of Japanese Americans, or Yonsei, is essentially nonexistent. The deficit in the literature may be due to the fact that many Yonsei are just now entering adulthood (Nagata, personal communication, October 27, 1992). In one of the few studies which mentions Yonsei, Connor (1976a) stated that Sansei mothers seemed to have preserved enough of their traditional Japanese parenting/caretaking style that the fourth-generation offspring remain significantly more passive than their Caucasian-American counterparts.

In their study on the relationship between depression and self-concept discrepancy among different generations of Japanese-American women, Yanagida and Marsella (1978) suggested that Nisei and young Sansei may hold more westernized self-concept discrepancies than older Sansei and Yonsei women. The researchers posited that this discrepancy may be due to acculturation-process differences.

Adlerian Lifestyle Investigation

Adler proposed that one's lifestyle develops from conclusions made about self, others, and the world which provide a unique "blueprint for living." Once our lifestyle is developed, every experience is felt, interpreted, and responded to with this same attitude toward life. Our lifestyle is largely out of our awareness and remains consistent throughout life (Adler, 1931; 1943). Adler further stated that "style of life is a unity because it has grown out of the difficulties of early life and out of the striving for a goal" (Adler, 1943, p. 99).
Adler believed that an individual's personality could not be explained through objective means. He stated that "objective determiners are probabilities only, not direct causes" (cited in Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 14). Adler posited that explanation of individual cases was possible only from the individual's own inner nature. In this manner, inner relationships may be uncovered through utilizing Husserl's phenomenology which described psychology as the phenomena of consciousness (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956).

Although Adler did not use the term phenomenology, he consistently advocated a psychological methodology which emphasized an unprejudiced approach which was based on empathy. In support of this ideology, phenomenology can also be viewed as an empirical method based exclusively on communication on the part of the subject, and in principle does not differ from the method of objective description. Adler's adamant beliefs about phenomenology were apparent when he admonished clinicians to "...see with his [sic] eyes and listen with his [sic] ears" (Adler, 1931, p. 72).

Watkins (1992) supported his earlier research (1983) when he restated that research studies focusing on lifestyle remain limited. Reasons for the lack of lifestyle research cited by Wheeler, Kern, and Curlette (1991) include the lengthy interview process and subjective nature of the lifestyle analysis. While the process of gathering lifestyle information through the form of an interview may be tedious, it appears clear that Adler considered this the preferred methodology for lifestyle assessment.
During a lifestyle interview, Eckstein, Baruth, and Mahrer (1982) recommended collecting information about one's family constellation, birth order, and sibling relationships. The importance of the family unit, as the first socializing agent, cannot be minimized. However, the family constellation does not force an individual to behave in a certain manner; it merely indicates how one may have arrived at certain convictions (Dinkmeyer et al., 1987; Griffith & Powers, 1984).

Additionally, early recollection information and recurring dreams are seen as important components of the lifestyle interview. An early recollection is "nothing but a unitary early memory, an event or closely connected series of events that one recalls" (Olsen, 1979, pg. xiv). Recalling one's past is a behavior and pleasure shared by individuals of all ages. A substantial body of literature (e.g., Haight, 1991; Sweeney & Meyers, 1986; Wallace, 1992; Webster & Young, 1988; Wolf, 1985) supports the beneficial, therapeutic effects of reminiscing or reviewing one's life.

Adlerians believe early recollections reveal an individual's central life-style theme. Memories represent a unique story of life; a story which individuals repeat to themselves in order to warn, comfort, focus, and prepare themselves by means of past experiences, in order to meet the future with an already tested style of action (Adler, 1931). Early recollections and family atmosphere information both have been considered to be projective materials because they are not completely objective and are based on subjective, biased apperceptions.
**Purposes of Qualitative/Phenomenological Research**

According to the basic tenets of phenomenology, all knowledge is rooted in our immediate experience of the world. It is therefore the task of the phenomenological researcher to depict the basic structure of an individual’s experience of various aspects of reality and "to make conscious what the world was like before we learned how to see it" (Marton, 1988, p. 152). Phenomenological research emphasizes the individual and subjective experience and entails the systematic investigation of subjectivity with the goal of studying the world as it appears to us in and through consciousness. The significance of phenomenological research is measured in terms of its power to let us come to an understanding of ourselves and an understanding of the lives of those with whom we come in contact (Tesch, 1990).

Phenomenological methods have been used to enable the direct descriptions of the world as experienced, before it is analyzed and fragmented into social or logical categories. Thus, analyzing lives has become a "reality" which must be validated for explaining and predicting human behavior (Campbell, 1988). Giarelli and Chambliss (1988) wrote:

The purpose of such explorations of individual expression and experience is to heighten consciousness, and with it the sense of the possible; to dramatize freedom and choice. They [philosophers] argue that only with a consciousness and empowering of individual choice can authentic education occur - to develop personality and community. (p. 38)
CHAPTER II

PROCEDURES

This chapter is a description of the qualitative procedures used to explore certain Japanese American internment-related issues. It contains a statement of purpose, definition of terms, followed by a discussion of the study's limitations, five research questions, selection of informants, demographic information, pilot study methodology, data collection, and data analysis and interpretation procedures.

Purpose of the Study

Semi-structured interviews, including an Adlerian lifestyle assessment, were used to explore: (a) generational and transgenerational lifestyle goals for Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei generations of five Japanese American families. To be included in this study, families were identified to contain at least one member who was interned during World War II or who had parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents who were interned; (b) whether lifestyle goals were perceived to have been influenced by the internment experience; (c) whether any internment-related communication patterns exist within the Japanese American families interviewed; and (d) what specific coping strategies have been implemented by informants to deal with stress.
Definition of Terms

For the purposes of this study, terms will be defined as follows:

1. Assembly Centers: Temporary, make-shift military housing converted from race tracks and fair grounds provided for Japanese American internees before their evacuation to relocation centers (Williams & Coleman, 1992).

2. Coping strategy: Behavioral method and/or way of thinking utilized by individuals to deal with an experience. An individual’s coping strategy is related to the Adlerian concept of lifestyle (see Lifestyle definition); however, for the purposes of this study, the term "coping strategy" will be used with informants during interview inquiries.

3. Early recollections: "Events, experiences, and episodes one selectively remembers that are consistent with one’s current perception of oneself, the world, and significant others" (Kopp & Der, 1979, p. 31).

4. Family atmosphere: The characteristic pattern established by the relationship between the parents and the family’s commonly held beliefs and values. The atmosphere of the household has a significant influence on a child’s apperceptions and expectations about what life provides and requires (Dewey, 1973; Dinkmeyer et al., 1987; Griffith & Powers, 1984).

5. Hakujin: Japanese word meaning Caucasian.

6. Informants: Members of the researched group who are particularly knowledgeable about this studied phenomenon and whose insights help the researcher understand it (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Patton, 1987). Key informants provide a
source of "information about what the evaluation observer has not or cannot experience, as well as a source of explanation for things that the observer has actually witnessed" (Patton, 1987, p. 95-96). For the purposes of a qualitative study, informants are equivalent to the role that subjects play in a quantitative study.

7. Internees: Individuals of Japanese and Japanese American ancestry who were imprisoned in relocation centers during World War II.

8. Internment: During World War II (1942 - 1946), individuals of Japanese ancestry evacuated from their homes and detained in relocation centers. This period of imprisonment is referred to as the internment (Hohri, 1988).


10. Japanese: Individuals born in Japan, who may or may not maintain Japanese citizenship.


12. Kibei: Nisei individuals who were born in the United States and educated in Japan.

13. Lifestyle: "Is variously equated with the self or ego, an individual’s personality, the unity of personality, individuality, individual form of creative activity, the method of facing problems, opinion about oneself and the problems of
life, and the whole attitude to life and others" (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956, p. 174).


16. Relocation Centers: Government imprisonment sites provided for Japanese and Japanese American internees during the time of their internment. There were a total of ten relocation centers located in Gila, Arizona; Granada, Colorado; Heart Mountain, Wyoming; Jerome, Arkansas; Manzanar, California; Minidoka, Idaho; Poston, Arizona; Rohwer, Arkansas; Topaz, Utah; and Tule Lake, California (Weglyn, 1976; Williams & Coleman, 1992).


18. Transgenerational: Crossing or extending through generational boundaries.


Limitations of the Study

Research participants were informed about the nature of the study before consent to participate was obtained. The researcher discussed the interview format to be implemented and the generational design of the research, including the specific
focus on issues relating to the World War II internment experience. During the lifestyle interview, many questions were asked about an informant’s family of origin and early recollections. For some, these questions brought up sensitive issues and painful memories. Informants may have censored personal information that they considered to be useful or helpful and omitted early recollections that were too distressing to recall.

Interviews were conducted with biologically-related family members only. Sansei and Yonsei spouses were not specifically interviewed; however, if available during the interview, their input was recorded and provided supporting information for the interviewed family member. Only the Sansei and Yonsei children of parents who were interviewed were included in the study, while step-children and children thirteen years of age and younger were not interviewed.

Language difficulties existed for some Kibei/Nisei informants for whom English is a second language. If the researcher determined that language difficulties hindered the two-way communication necessary for the semi-structured interview, Kibei/Nisei informants were excluded from the study. As a result, one Kibei/Nisei individual’s participation was excluded from the study due to a lack of English proficiency. Two other potential Kibei/Nisei informants were unable to participate in the study due to physical and speech-related limitations resulting from stroke.

Five families were interviewed for this study. One family lived in the Midwest, two families resided on the West Coast, and the two remaining families lived in the Pacific Northwest. During World War II, three of the five families
interviewed were relocated to Tule Lake, California; one family was sent to Manzanar, California; and the remaining family was evacuated to Amache, Colorado. While an attempt was made to collect a geographically diverse representation of families’ experiences, because of the qualitative/phenomenological nature of the study results may not be generalizable to all Japanese and Japanese Americans, particularly if the internment experiences in question were qualitatively different from those represented herein.

Research Questions

Consistent with the qualitative/phenomenological nature of this study, the following research questions were explored:

1. What generational lifestyle goals exist within the five identified Japanese and Japanese American families? To be identified, the family needed to contain at least one member who was either interned during World War II or a family member whose parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents were interned.

2. What transgenerational lifestyle goals exist within the identified Japanese and Japanese American families?

3. Have any perceived generational and transgenerational lifestyle goals been influenced by the internment experience?

4. Can certain communication patterns be described as internment-related? Can some patterns of communication within Japanese American families be described?
5. Can coping strategies utilized by the informants be described? If so,

A. How could the coping strategies within the different generations of Japanese Americans interviewed be described?

B. How could the perceived coping strategies within each family interviewed be described?

Selection of Informants

This study is about individuals of Japanese and Japanese American ancestry. The pool of potential informants was limited to those who were either interned during World War II or who had parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents who were interned. Due to the transgenerational nature of the study, a minimum representation of three generations within each family was required. Only families for whom a majority (over 50%) of its members consented to take part in the study were included in the research findings. Five families were identified.

To ensure representation from a variety of informants of differing geographic locations, three regions were targeted: the Midwest; the West Coast; and the Pacific Northwest. These sites were chosen because of the condensed Japanese American population which exists in each of these areas. The initial recruitment procedure to identify possible informants involved contacting two Japanese American Citizen League (JACL) chapter presidents and two Buddhist church ministers. The researcher also solicited informants by contacting individuals currently known within the Japanese American communities of these three locations. Prospective informants were told about the nature of the transgenerational study and interview format and
were required to sign a consent form (see Appendix A) that contained details of the study, including participant rights.

Informant Demographic Information

Five Japanese American families were identified for participation in the study. Herein they are called Family A, Family K, Family N, Family U, and Family W. A total of 28 individuals participated as informants.

Informants varied in age. Seven Nisei informants ranged in age from 68 to 75, twelve Sansei informants ranged in age from 33 to 52, and nine Yonsei participants varied in age from 14 to 32. Ages of the Nisei informants at the time of their internment ranged from 17 to 23.

Of the five families interviewed, three were living on the West Coast at the outbreak of World War II and two were living in the Pacific Northwest. The duration of each family's internment varied: Family A spent 10 1/2 months at Tule Lake, Family K was interned at Tule Lake for 3 1/2 years, Family N spent approximately 2 years at Manzanar, Family U was imprisoned at Amache in Granada, Colorado for 3 1/2 years, and Family W spent 2 months at Tule Lake.

Families were discouraged from returning to the West Coast homes from which they were removed and were instead encouraged to resettle in various locations across the country. Family A and Family N initially reestablished themselves in the Midwest. Family N remained in the Midwest while Family A returned to the Pacific Northwest. Family W relocated to the Midwest but later moved back to their original
home state in the Pacific Northwest. Family U and Family W returned to the West Coast where they originally had lived before the outbreak of World War II.

Pilot Study Methodology

An extensive review of the literature and consultation with experts in the field of the Japanese American internment, including Dr. Donna Nagata, Dr. Satsuki Tomine, and Dr. Joyce Williams, culminated in a pilot study which assisted the researcher in determining appropriate questions to ask during the semi-structured interview (see Appendix C). A 79-year-old Nisei man (pseudonamed Yemon) was interviewed and his responses aided the development of the semistructured interview guide for Nisei informants (see Appendix C).

As a part of the semistructured interview, a lifestyle assessment was conducted with Yemon. His lifestyle was explored in order to determine possible lifestyle issues shared among himself, his family of origin, and his current family. Another reason for conducting the lifestyle assessment interview was to explore the reception such an interview would receive from Yemon. This information was used to confirm or alter the procedure for other Nisei informants. Questions were worded in an effort to elicit descriptive information from Nisei informants instead of vague characterizations or reports. Time references were used to help draw out memories of events, and paraphrasing feelings aided Nisei in identifying specific emotional responses.

The lifestyle assessment portion of the semistructured interview underwent some adaptations as a result of Yemon’s responses and feedback. Although Yemon’s responses initially seemed ambiguous, the interview provided valuable insight and
information. Questions added to the semistructured interview included: (a) How would you describe your initial feelings and reactions when you learned about the impending internment?; (b) How would you describe the physical relocation?; (c) What type of arrangements did you/your family make for your belongings?; (d) What was your initial reaction to the camp?; (e) What have your children said about your internment?; (f) Do you believe the internment has affected your children?; (g) How did your life change as a result of your internment experience?; (h) Do you believe the experience affected your feelings toward this country, Caucasians, the military, or being Japanese American?; (i) What was your reaction to the redress?; and (j) What was life like for you after camp?

A second phase of the pilot study examined Sansei responses to questions relating to the internment of their parents and grandparents. A questionnaire was constructed and mailed to ten Sansei acquaintances of the researcher. Six Sansei questionnaires were returned, and responses were examined for recurring issues and patterns relating to the internment, perception of parental reaction to the internment, and dynamics of family communication associated with the internment.

Responses gathered from the Sansei questionnaires provided the desired insight and information. As a result, questionnaire items were included in the semistructured interview guide for Sansei and Yonsei informants (see Appendix C). Additionally, inquiry into what informants would like to know about their parents' or grandparents' internment experience, the impact such information would have, and Sansei and Yonsei reaction to the redress were also included in the interview guide.
Data Collection Methodology

Denzin (cited in Mathison, 1988) advocated the use of triangulation, or the use of a variety of methods and data sources, in order to enhance the validity of research findings. Triangulation also aids in the elimination of bias and establishes structural corroborations, or the process of gathering data and using it to establish links that eventually create a whole picture or explanation of the phenomenon being studied. Researchers may triangulate data by using several different data sources (Mathison, 1988; Patton, 1987).

Data for this research project was triangulated utilizing the lifestyle assessment interviews, semistructured interviews, fieldnotes, and a researcher's journal. Furthermore, experts in the field of Adlerian psychology and the Japanese American internment were consulted. Each informant was interviewed in-depth during one session which lasted an average of two hours. Interviews were collected over a 13-month time period. Twenty-three of the interviews took place at each informant's home, three interviews occurred at the informant's place of work, one interview took place in a nursing home, and one interview was conducted in a university student lounge.

Lifestyle Assessment

A lifestyle assessment involves the exploration of childhood influences for the purpose of understanding an individual's decisions regarding self, others, and the world, which affect present behavior. A lifestyle investigation focuses on familial concerns such as birth order, interpersonal relationships between family members,
family values, and the individual's early recollections (Eckstein, Baruth, & Mahrer, 1992). Informants' lifestyles were explored through a modified version of the Lifestyle Assessment Interview (see Appendix B), developed by Eckstein et al. (1992). In addition to the lifestyle information identified by Eckstein et al., generational data associated with an informant's family of origin and current family constellation was also obtained.

Data obtained from lifestyle assessments was audio-recorded and then transcribed. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) recommended using a tape recorder instead of relying on memory to recall details from extensive interactions. Lincoln and Guba (1985) added that an audio-recording provides a data source that guarantees completeness. Audio tapes also provided the researcher with the convenience of returning to the actual interview as often as necessary for obtaining additional insight and understanding.

Transcription of the lifestyle assessments was aided by the use of a transcriber. Each line of dialogue was numbered and the identity of the speaker was noted in the left margin using the letter code (K) for the researcher, letter codes (N = Nisei, S = Sansei, Y = Yonsei) to denote generational standing, and an additional three letter code which identified families and specific individuals within the family.

**Semistructured Interviews**

Each informant was questioned according to a semistructured interview format that allowed the interviewer to explore unanticipated, but relevant issues introduced by the informant. An interview guide, which consisted of tentative questions to be
asked during the interview, is found in Appendix C. The interview guide delineated topic areas and provided a framework from which the interviewer developed probing questions. Questions were adapted according to the informant's responses and attempts were made to create a conversational style (Patton, 1987).

For the purposes of this study, issues relating to the Japanese American internment were explored. Interview questions varied slightly according to the generation represented by the informant. Data gathered from the semistructured interviews was audio-recorded and transcribed in the same manner as the lifestyle assessments. A transcript of the individual's interview was mailed to the informant to be checked for accuracy and to allow for additions or deletions. Informants were instructed to return corrections if any were needed. One Nisei informant returned his interview data with minor changes to be made.

Fieldnotes and Researcher's Journal

Fieldnotes consist of a "written account of what the researcher hears, sees, experiences, and thinks in the course of collecting and reflecting on the data in qualitative study" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 117). Notes also include descriptions of people, objects, places, events, and conversations and the researcher's ideas, strategies, and impressions. Bogdan and Biklen (1992) stated that fieldnotes help supplement the meaning and context of interviews by documenting the visual situation and nonverbal expressions of the informant. For this study, the researcher recorded fieldnotes to document all contact with informants in order to provide more thorough data. Brief notes were also taken during the interviews to provide quick reference
information and backup documentation in the event of a tape recording malfunction.

Bogdan and Biklen (1992) emphasized that being self-reflective is an essential component of qualitative research. Following their conviction, the researcher also kept a personal journal of feelings, experiences, and problems encountered during the data collection and analysis process.

**Data Analysis and Interpretation Procedures**

Data analysis is basically the process of bringing order to data by organizing it into patterns, categories, and basic descriptive units. Data analysis cannot be separated from data interpretation, which is the process of attaching meaning and significance to the analysis in an effort to explain descriptive patterns, relationships, and links found in the data. There is no exact point when data collection ends and analysis begins. In fact, many researchers (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Patton, 1987) believe that overlapping data collection and analysis improves the quality of the data collected and the quality of data analysis as long as data collection bias does not occur (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Patton, 1987).

Bogdan and Biklen (1992) encouraged researchers to narrow the focus of the study. To accomplish this objective, data reduction and summarization was accomplished through the use of a data summary form (see Appendix D) for each individual data source. Data summary forms helped plan data collection sessions by highlighting insight gained from previous interactions. Data summary forms also
assisted in the determination of which prominent items fit together to develop an initial classification system for the data.

After all the data sources were transcribed and summarized, pages were numbered and identified by data source (i.e., lifestyle assessment, semistructured interview, and fieldnotes). A constant comparative method of data analysis was used with multiple data sources. Data were reviewed and comments, key phrases, or words were noted in the margins in an effort to begin organizing the data into topics, examples, themes, and patterns. Labeling the data, or establishing data indices, was the first step toward data classification during which the researcher was looking for recurring regularities in data. Recurring regularities represent patterns that can be sorted into coding categories (Patton, 1987). A preliminary list of coding categories was developed and each unit of data was assigned an abbreviated, tentative coding category. Coding categories were examined with all of the data sources and revised as necessary until they fit the data (Patton, 1987; Tesch, 1990).

Data were sorted and managed by utilizing a technique related to what Bogdan and Biklen (1992) referred to as the "cut-up-and-put-in-folders" approach. Data were "cut-up" by blocking and moving phrases and vignettes into different files utilizing computerized word processing techniques. A master copy of all the data sources was preserved while additional copies of the data were manipulated to block and move.

The researcher also consulted with experts in the field of Adlerian psychology, Jane Griffith and Robert Powers, to establish internal reliability regarding acculturational lifestyle goal information. Experts, including Dr. Amy Mass, Dr.
Donna Nagata, Dr. Satsuki Tomine, and Dr. Joyce Williams who are knowledgeable about the Japanese American internment, were also consulted to establish the internal reliability associated with codes resulting from semistructured interviews and transcript responses.
CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This chapter is a summary of the research findings, including generational and transgenerational acculturational lifestyle goals, how lifestyle goals were influenced by the internment experience, some general and internment-related communication patterns within the generations of families interned, and the various coping strategies implemented by informants when dealing with stress, discussion, conclusions, and recommendations for further research.

Findings

Generational Acculturational Lifestyle Goals

Four acculturational lifestyle goals were identified and formulated as a result of the data analysis: Survival, Security, Assimilation, and Authentication. For the purpose of categorizing data and identifying lifestyle goals, the three life task issues of love, social relations, and occupation were examined. Individual Psychology posits that all life encounters can be grouped under these three categories which are inextricably connected with human cooperation and allow generations or individuals to adapt to the human community (Adler, 1931; Ansbacher & Ansbacher 1956; J. Griffith & R. Powers, personal communication, April 3, 1995). Generations and individuals may cycle and recycle through these goals depending on perception of
various experiences or the precipitated conditions that life events may pose on a
generation or individual.

The first research question guided an examination of the generational lifestyle
goals that exist within Japanese and Japanese American families that contain at least
one member who was either interned during World War II or a family member whose
parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents were interned. Based on the analysis of
the data, the predominate acculturational lifestyle goal for first generation Japanese
immigrants, or Issei, was Survival. Primary emphasis was placed on survival issues,
which included securing food, shelter, and clothing. Learning the language and
customs of the new country while simultaneously maintaining traditional family and
cultural roles occurred in an effort to meet this lifestyle goal.

The life task of love during the goal of Survival was often postponed until a
sense of financial security was established. Many Issei men came to America without
their wives and families so that they could save enough money to bring their families
to America later. These marriages may have been prearranged or orchestrated
through the exchange of pictures and they often involved a bai sha ku nin, or "go-
between." However, because of the necessity for both partners to work outside the
home, egalitarianism replaced traditional Japanese marriage and gender roles (Fugita

Social relations within the Survival lifestyle goal appeared to be happenstance.
Primary social relationships occurred with family members or others from the
workplace. Social relations with members of the majority group were often marked
by prejudice and, as a result, friendships predominately remained within the Japanese American community.

For those striving toward the lifestyle goal of Survival, major emphasis was placed on the life task of occupation. Providing for the family's well-being and care was of utmost concern for both husband and wife. Issei often gravitated towards occupational fields that they had experienced in Japan. For many, the occupational life task was disrupted or denied due to the World War II internment.

As gleaned from the data gathered for this study, the major acculturation lifestyle goal associated with the Nisei generation was Security. This lifestyle goal was marked by attempts to gain an economic foothold within the majority culture. Second generation individuals became more comfortable with the language and customs of the United States over the homeland of their parents and began to focus on establishing a sense of security through business ventures and relationships. Security was sought predominately within the Japanese American community as a result of the racist and discriminatory acts aimed at Japanese and Japanese American individuals prior to, during, and immediately following World War II.

The life task of love maintained a pragmatic emphasis while Nisei attempted to establish a sense of security. Both emotional and financial security were furnished through marital relationships because both partners worked together to provide for their families both in and out of the home. Relationships remained within the Japanese American community because marriages between Japanese Americans and
Caucasians was prohibited by antimiscegenation laws which existed in many states from 1905 through 1948 (Fugita & O'Brien, 1991).

As found during the Survival lifestyle goal, social relations remained primarily within the Japanese American community during the pursuit of security. Fugita and O'Brien (1991) noted that the phenomenon of Japanese American ethnic persistence was reinforced through the participation in Japanese associations and organizations. While many Nisei attempted to take part in various mainstream clubs and organizations, relationships with members of the majority group continued to be marked by prejudice and racism. The internment barred contact with mainstream American life and following the war, Japanese Americans found it necessary to rebuild many of their community institutions in order to meet their own social, psychological, and economic needs (Fugita & O'Brien, 1991).

The occupational life task was also disrupted for many Nisei. Just when many were identifying areas of vocational interest and beginning to pursue occupations of choice, the outbreak of World War II and the subsequent internment of Japanese Americans suspended and even denied many the pursuit of their occupational life task. It was noted by some informants that alternative work experiences were explored and training was provided for assorted vocations while in camp. Unfortunately, during the post-war years, many were unable to fully recover from the economic toll the internment took (Fugita & O'Brien, 1991) and many found themselves starting over with the lifestyle goal of Survival.
As a result of the data analysis for this study, Assimilation was found to be the primary lifestyle goal for the Sansei generation. Sansei were involved in activities and organizations endorsed by the majority culture and seemed to pursue the goal of fitting in with such devotion that many rejected their Japanese heritage. Sansei pursuing the lifestyle goal of Assimilation were noted to be the first Japanese American generation to possess the luxury of time to think about the quality of their relationships.

Sansei were also the first Japanese American generation to marry outside of their ethnic group. Fugita and O'Brien (1991) noted that the intermarriage ratio for Sansei during the late 1970s was 60%. Within marital relationships, movement was noted toward democratic partnerships where spouses had an equal voice in decision making; however, remnants of traditional gender-bound roles were dually present.

As a part of the life task of social relations, Sansei were involved in relationships with members of the majority group. Informants worked diligently to become a part of the mainstream and families stressed participation and acceptance of others. Even though this generation experienced assimilation into many activities and organizations previously reserved for majority group members, many informants vividly recalled memories of prejudicial treatment.

For Sansei, the occupational life task emerged from a foundation which stressed the importance of education. Acquiring an education, especially at the college level, was seen as means of further establishing oneself within the majority culture. Nisei parents whose dreams were postponed or shattered by the internment
wanted their Sansei children to accomplish more than they were able to and to fulfill the American dream.

This study identified that the highly individual acculturational lifestyle goal of Authentication was associated with the Yonsei generation. This lifestyle goal can be defined through its diverse and individualistic manifestation. Another characteristic of this lifestyle goal included incorporating one’s cultural heritage into a meaningful, personal identity. Many within this generation sought to complete their personal history either by seeking information or through righting the wrongs of the past.

Within the life task of love, outmarriage continued to occur at a significant rate; however, marital relationships with Japanese Americans or other Asians was dually noted. Yonsei also experienced the luxury of time and were able to observe and evaluate relationship qualities they wanted to perpetuate or discontinue. As a result, a renewed sense of appreciating and valuing one’s family traditions occurred.

Social relations for Yonsei were based on the qualities of integrity and virtue regardless of ethnicity. While some Yonsei reported experiences of prejudice in their relationships with others, the predominant social atmosphere was not characterized by racism as had been the case for previous generations. Yonsei were able to examine and analyze events and openly discuss feelings associated with being culturally different. In many cases, one’s cultural diversity was subsequently embraced and incorporated into a sense of self.

A sense of pride in parental accomplishments was noted by Yonsei informants when interviewed about the life task of occupation. Many were influenced by their
parents in relation to the importance of securing a college education and eventual
career choices. Some vocations were labeled or viewed as being "Asian appropriate,"
while another phenomenon occurred in which identification with one’s Japanese
culture was incorporated into career choices.

**Generational Case Descriptions**

**Issei Generation: Acculturational Lifestyle Goal of Survival**

For this study, information relating to the Issei generation was gathered from
their Nisei children. Many immigrants, some as young as sixteen, were immersed in
working toward the lifestyle goal of Survival. In an attempt to meet the conditions
necessary for Survival, rudimentary receptive and expressive language skills were
important. When asked to describe the circumstances surrounding her Issei father’s
immigration into the United states, HEAN reported:

**HEAN:** I think he came in 1890 something and he went...he landed in
Canada and ah, was um...I think he was um...they were taken in by
um, some um, um church missionary type of people, you know, place
and so then he said he learned his ABCs there [laughing]. But he was
only about, I think he was under twenty when he came.

For HWWN’s Issei father, proficiency in English provided movement toward physical
and economic freedom.

**HWWN:** Well, my dad came over right after...soon after he finished
service with the ah...Russo-Japanese War and ah...and he ah, came
into Vancouver, British Columbia, and I think he went back over to
Blaine, Washington, and worked in the ah...in both areas worked in the
timber camps. And he learned English by ah...by trading picture
taking for Reverend Murphy...for Reverend Murphy to tutor him a
little bit in English.

**K:** Isn’t that incredible.
HWWN: And when he got to understand English well enough, he thought, why he then went to California to join his brothers who had been here. That's how that went.

HIAN underscored the language barriers faced by his Issei parents upon arriving in the United States and also alluded to the fact that many immigrated to America in hopes of finding a more favorable situation than the circumstances which existed in Japan during the early 1900s. Many like HIAN’s Issei mother thought America would be a temporary home.

HIAN: Don’t speak the language. They were real brave. Either that or real stupid.

HEAN: Well, they didn’t have a choice. I think Japan was in such a bind too.

HIAN: Yeah, so ah...she took care of the home front but she was always talking about going back to Japan and...never made it. Real tough for her.

K: There were many Issei who thought that they would come here and make their fortune and return.

HIAN: I think that’s what she had in mind when she first came.

K: That they would go back you know, after they made some...

HIAN: Made their fortunes. And that didn’t happen.

K: A lot of them did so...

HIAN: There wasn’t anything at their little island community, Oshima...Obominato, the name of their home town and it’s a nice little home town, but ah...there’s no industry there. A little fishing industry.

Life task: Love.

When asked about details regarding HEAN parents’ marriage, she elaborated that, like many Issei men, her father returned to Japan to marry.
HEAN: So he went back...I don’t know how long he worked in Canada and then he went back. And then she...then they were married I guess and she came later.

K: Okay.

HEAN: But she had one child when she came. My oldest sister was two or three years old when she came.

K: Oh...so they stayed in Japan for a little while?

HEAN: So then...yeah, she did...and then he came back and got a job here and um...in um...in the...in Washington instead of in Canada. I think that’s how he got over here, I really don’t know.

While HIAN’s parents were married in the United States, they knew each other previously in Japan. He reported that their union was prearranged.

K: So did they...were they married when they came over?

HIAN: No, she...they got married in Seattle when she ah...arrived here.

K: Was she a picture bride?

HIAN: No, they knew each other in their home town. Ah...it was probably an arranged wedding but ah...they knew each other ’cause she was from the same place. 1892...8...yeah, she must have been just about 20 years old.

HWWN shared that his mother was a picture bride.

HWWN: Well, she was a picture bride from Japan.

K: Was she really?

HWWN: Yes. And she came in 19...ah, 1915 from the same prefecture in Japan which is Kanagawa prefecture and ah...she was a good cook. Good mother, worked hard like they all did. They ah...strapped a little one on their back and go to work.
Difficulties plagued some Issei marriages. The strain of being a stranger in a foreign country without the support of extended family or friends took a toll on many of the families interviewed. HEAN described her parents' relationship as follows:

HEAN: Well, I'm sure mother...I think mother was...ah, he never could do, you know, enough. But ah...there wasn't anything you could actually, I don't know what he could have done really...I really don't know.

HWNN's parents initially experienced loneliness and isolation. They did not have other options available to them other than to "tough it out."

HWNN: Oh, their relationship was both up and down. I'm sure they had some fierce ones, yeah. But ah...you know, when all your relatives are across seven thousand miles of ocean, you know, you don't have any options...no matter which way you look at it.

K: Yeah, that's true.

HWNN: So, you tough it out...and it goes away and changes the other way. So some how you get a norm out of it...by averaging the ups and downs. Just depends on whether it's like this...or like that [finger drawing large and small peaks].

SUUN indicated that her father was an alcoholic. For him, the challenge of surviving in the United States was apparently met with unsurmountable discouragement.

SUUN: Ah...I think that my father used to drink. So, um...you know, he's a quite type...I mean he gets drunk then he just want to...that's why my father doesn't...didn't drive. My mother drove, you know, that Model T Ford.

As a result of her father's alcoholism and the need for her mother to support the family, SUUN's parent’s relationship was predominately egalitarian in nature.

K: ...um, but your mom seems to be, like she was pretty equal, almost.
SUUN: Oh yes, uh huh.

K: With him.

SUUN: Oh, yes, uh huh.

K: And I'm wondering if that was typical. Do you think that was typical?

SUUN: I guess. Uh huh.

K: Okay. I guess, I'm back to maybe stereotypes...stereotypical where wife is very submissive to husband and not an equal...but you know, maybe because they both had to work?

SUUN: Yeah, both of them had to work.

K: Maybe that helped equal things.

SUUN: Both had to work. Those days, lot of time they were laborers. You know, go out in the field to work. Yeah. That's how it was.

K: Uh huh.

SUUN: And then when my mother started the tofu business, then he stayed home to help...to cook the tofu and then my mother would go to the country to deliver the tofu, to sell. He would keep the house.

Unfortunately for TNNN, his parents divorced. Unable to care for his son, TNNN's father sent him to Japan to be raised by his grandfather. TNNN vividly recalled his childhood desire to have a "mama and papa."

TNNN: So I grow up...and knew father in America, right? So, you know...you know my father, right...he doesn't want my mother. So even there, I got one time...I meet my mother one time, you know. Just like you know, people, you know. Nothing. That's why we grow up. Oh, I wish I was just like other people--father, mother, right? So otherwise, I have to go so working, get up early in the morning and ah...deliver newspaper, get up about two o'clock in the morning and go down to railroad station to pick up newspaper. I think two hundred, three hundred newspaper. Me and my brother, even snow, raining...go to railroad station and pick the newspaper before you go
school...deliver all newspaper. That's why I wish I got a mama and papa. Otherwise I have to do this kind of job. Right?

**Life task: Social relations.**

Social relations with others appear to have been determined by proximity and was almost exclusively limited to other Japanese Americans. As HIAN reported:

**HIAN:** Well, we lived way out in the boondocks by ourselves, more or less...two miles from anybody.

**K:** So was it the three...was it the W family and your family [HEAN] and your family [HIAN] that lived in Burlington?

**HIAN:** Yeah, the T's and the A's...

**HEAN:** We were T’s. And the M’s...

**HIAN:** They were out in the country.

**HEAN:** We were about ten miles away.

**EWWN** concurred that relations with others were difficult especially in the isolated area where her family lived.

**EWWN:** And I think too that it must have been hard for them [where we lived] because we had the two families...the "A's" and our family and you know, they visited back and forth...maybe once a week, something like that and ah...that’s all they had social except for later on when I was a little older, then we became acquainted with more families from [our area] and on up from [the north] and [a town which is south] of [where we lived] so ah...they were able to get together, the Nisei and Issei. And we would have some great picnics.

Differences were noted in the social relations adopted by each gender.

Informants reported that their Issei fathers enjoyed more social interaction than their Issei mothers. **SEKN** and **HIAN** shared:

**SEKN:** Well, my father was more social so you know, he belonged to different clubs and so he’d go out and so my mother was the one that
always stayed home. And um...it was just that way. I guess the men always went out and had...socialized and the women never did. And I guess that's true of almost all Isseis.

HIAN: She [mother] took care of the house and he took care of the business. He went his way and she went hers...or she never did have much of a social life except when we had get-togethers with the other Japanese families in the area...two or three times or four or five times a year, we'd have picnics together and get-togethers. But there was just...[in our] county, there was probably three families and then [in a neighboring county] there was probably about two or three that we...not too many that we got together with from that end of town...end of the county and then the "T's" and us in [our] county so there was...about a dozen families that knew each other through picnics and what not.

For many, the internment caused a disruption in personal relationships. Issei were uncertain about the future and if they would see friends and loved ones again.

SEKN recalled her parents' experience saying goodbye to friends:

SEKN: So my mother and her friends, when they parted here, they all cried and said "Oh, we're never going to see each other again." And then, um, when we moved from [where were living], from the um...assembly centers in Sacramento and there was an assembly center in [our home town] and they were all sent to Tule Lake. And they had to go through the station [in our town], you know, before...on their way. And then so every night these trains would pass, full of people from the assembly centers and um...the track was on the other side where we weren't supposed to go. But then the police in Marysville just overlooked it so we all went to the station to bid everybody...to see everybody. And so my mother and my father saw all these friends who we had parted from in San Francisco. And then they were...and they said "Oh, we're never going to see each other again." So they cried again and then we all ended up in Tule Lake together.

Life task: Occupation.

For the Issei, the occupational life task received foremost attention as individuals strove to provide the basic necessities for their families. Many immigrants secured jobs performing manual labor in areas they were familiar with
and in which they had experienced a sense of mastery during their time in Japan.

Informants HEAN, TNNN, HWWN, and SUUN all reported that their Issei parents initially worked as farm laborers.

HEAN: But ah...so they did move around a lot...they had a farm and um...I don’t know, when he first came over, I think he worked in a saw mill. And then ah...and I don’t know what he...oh, he must have started farming when he came into Washington. That’s what he did.

TNNN: Yeah, because we had a business over in Mexico...me and my brother in Mexico. I think about two year...two year and war break out and that time, my father come out to Los Angeles for...used to be a big farmer for chili pepper, you know chili pepper?

K: Uh-huh.

TNNN: He’s ah...you know, was big farmer. So business would come down for...Los Angeles chili pepper company...they had a contract...everything finished there...war started so he have to go home to Mexico. So I stayed with him for about four year.

HWWN: He was very sensitive to the environment and had hobbies. Like photography and hunting, which was a little unusual in the early 20th century. And he did a lot of farm work; most of it he done as ah...as a...either owning a farm or contracting labor to farmers.

SUUN: At the beginning when my father...when I was small, they were laborers...working out in the orchards and fields.

Cooking was another occupational area into which both male and female Issei individuals entered. As HIAN, SUUN, and SEKN reported:

HIAN: I think he cooked when he first came over here. He became a cook.

HEAN: That’s right. He was in Bend, Oregon, cooking.
HIAN: In the lumber camps and then he went to Alaska and so...they were pretty brave.

SUUN: And then my mother was the cook...had a lot of people working, so she would cook for all the...you know, take care of the people.

SEKN: He [father] was a cook.

SEKN: Well she [mother] never went out to work or anything and she just stayed home and she never learned to cook because my father did all the cooking and, then, after I was old enough, I took over. So, and then they lived with us until they died.

After establishing a sense of financial security, some Issei were able to invest in and pursue various business ventures. HIAN’s father owned a photography studio.

HIAN: Dad was an easy going, um...not too serious person. He wasn’t a very good businessman but he managed to make a living, barely. Um...but he was a jack of all trades. Like I said, he was a photographer for 35 years. But ah...he took quite an active part in the community over there in his own way. Ah...and was a fairly decent photographer. I think he learned everything hands on. No real formal schooling or anything but he bought the place from another photographer and he probably learned on the job. So he managed to get along. Not too successfully as far as business is concerned, but he did his job.

SUUN’s mother invested in the materials necessary to make tofu. She sold her product to individuals within the local Japanese American community.

SUUN: And then we moved to Walnut Grove when I was I think nine years old and then she was still...and then she [mother] went into tofu business.

K: Oh, she did?

SUUN: So she was in tofu business for...until we were evacuated...so she made the best tofu around there, uh huh, because everybody used to come from Lodi or other places to buy her tofu.
K: Oh, wow. So she kind of started this business and...

SUUN: Yeah, uh huh. She started it and then she and my brother would go delivering to the country...you know, to the orchards and then my brother would help with the tofu at home. That's how they...we were in tofu business.

EWWN’s and SEKN’s parents operated a variety of businesses which included a laundry and other various stores, and they each managed apartment buildings.

EWWN: But, they had a laundry there and even when they came to Seattle, I think they...oh, he managed an apartment house and I was born there.

SEKN: Well, he always...they always had a...well, they were...well, first we had the candy store and then we had a stationary store and then they operated an apartment and then we had a hotel. So...I’d say they were kind of busy.

In California, an obstacle existed for Issei who desired to own their own property or business because they were not allowed to buy property. As SEKN reported, Nisei were called upon to buy property in their names in order to circumvent this law.

SEKN: Oh yeah, 'cause we just left it. 'Cause we had these four flats on Sutter Street and um...you know, in those days, Niseis...lot of the Niseis were not old enough and you couldn’t buy property you know. And so the older Niseis would buy it in their name and um...ah, like my father had this friend who bought the four flats for us, you know for my father. And ah, so we lived in one flat and we were renting out the other three and we just left our furniture there.

The World War II internment of Japanese Americans caused further disruption in the pursuit of occupational survival and security. Many had to give up business ventures and lost property as a result of the relocation. Occupational pursuits were
temporarily put on hold, diverted, or suspended altogether. Some Issei, like TNNN’s and HIAN’s fathers, were able to work in camp.

K: How did your dad...what did your dad do in camp? Did he work too?

TNNN: He worked too. Yeah, he worked as supervisor some place. Oh, yeah...making camouflage.

HEAN: Dad ah...HIAN’s dad was a cook at the Block 13 in Tule Lake too. He was very imaginative [laughing]. He worked hard though.

For others, the internment provided an awkward, albeit somewhat welcomed break from a life characterized by hard work.

SEKN: No, in camp he did not [work] ’cause he was much older...like my mother and my father were twenty years apart which was quite common in those days, you know, and um...so my mother came over in 1924, which was the last ah...year and after that I think...

K: They closed...

SEKN: Yeah, they closed the immigration.

Making up for lost time and postponed economic progress after the internment was an obstacle faced by many Issei. SUUN shared her family’s experience.

SUUN: No house. We didn’t have a house. This landlord sold it to a Chinese person...the tofu. So, my mother...that’s why we had to stay with a friend until we found a house.

K: What did she do after the war?

SUUN: She took on my children and I would go out in the field or do...and then after that, then when we got the house, then she started tofu business again.

K: Uh huh.
SUUN: So, she had to go and buy her own equipment from the Chinese guy...it's her own thing, but naturally they won't give it to her. So she had to buy it and then she started the tofu business again. So, uh-huh. I think she was very happy about that.

K: Good for her. That just makes me...you know, that's really not, not right.

SUUN: Landlord said, "Don't worry, don't worry. We'll watch the house so when you come back you have..." Came home. "We sold it." It was gone. I think a lot of people were like that.

K: Oh, that must have been awful.

SUUN: It was. Uh-huh. No place to stay so we had to stay with a friend who had boarding house. Stayed in one room and then naturally have to...we need money so my mother watched the children and I went out picking tomatoes. Hard labor. I had to do that. Yeah, so those were the days.

Although HIAN's father owned his own photography business before the war, camp provided training and work experience as a cook, an occupation he pursued after the internment.

HIAN: My mother and dad worked for Curtis Candy Company until they retired.

HEAN: Yeah, from Rockford they did find a job at Curtis Candy Company, uh-huh. Oh, it was a cafeteria. They cooked. They went out as a cook, in fact.

While the Issei generation's primary acculturation lifestyle goal was found to be Survival, movement and emphasis were also placed on the goals of Security and Assimilation. Before the outbreak of World War II, some of the Issei included in this study were able to garner a position of relative occupational security by owning and operating various businesses. Many Issei parents also saw education as a way for
their children to assimilate and become successful citizens in the United States. For
EWWN, the importance of education was a value her family espoused. She shared:

EWWN: I think in school, or high school...my father instilled, my mother too...because they were college graduates and they stressed that education was important and um...and that we should study and learn and do the best we could. And I’m the only one that didn’t go to a university. Instead, I got married but I did go to business college and worked for twenty years after high school. Ah...but I don’t have a college degree. But they stressed education and doing the best you could, being honest, working hard...

HEAN’s parents also viewed education as an important step toward security and assimilation; however, their foci remained on survival and security issues and, as a result, they were unable to send HEAN or her siblings to school.

HEAN: But ah...that was one regret I think my mother probably had [not being able to send her children to college].

K: She really wanted you to go...

HEAN: Ah-huh. Mrs. T is ah, is ah...was a teacher I think at one time and so she really stressed the importance...she really wanted their children to all...ah, to go to college. They managed it [laughing]. My folks couldn’t. No, because the older ones, they just felt that they had to...they were responsible for the rest of us.

Nisei Generation: Acculturational Lifestyle Goal of Security

The data generated for this study supported the finding that the major acculturation lifestyle goal for the Nisei generation was Security. Many of the same Japanese traditions espoused by their Issei parents were followed by the Nisei; however, this generation of Japanese Americans also began to incorporate practices of the majority culture. Many Nisei were able to make progress toward economic and
emotional security by establishing themselves in various business ventures and through maintaining marital relationships with spouses of their choosing.

While many Nisei made progress toward the goal of security, the outbreak of World War II interrupted the development that had occurred up until that point in time. Future seeds of hope planted by their Issei parents and envisioned by the Nisei were either put on hold or were destroyed as a result of the internment. Three different time perspectives—pre-war, internment, and post-war—offer insight into the complex and diverse impact the internment had on the Nisei and their movement towards the various acculturational lifestyle goals.

Life task: Love.

Two of the five Nisei families represented in this study took part in a matchmaking ceremony. While the ceremony may not have been taken as seriously as their parents' generation, many complied with tradition and participated in a pre-wedding ceremony which involved a "go-between" or matchmaker. Both HIAN and TNNN responded:

HIAN: No, we had a ceremonial go-between but ah...we did this on our own 'cause we'd known each other all our lives.

TNNN: Oh, yeah, there matchmaker there. Yeah, uh-huh. But uff, no more. You don't need matchmaker. Oh, no. You need matchmaker...somebody.

Traditional gender roles were fulfilled in many of the families interviewed with the wife taking care of the children and the household duties and the husband providing the primary financial support. HIAN described the roles he and his wife performed.
HIAN: Well, she took care of the kids and I had to work out...and so I did my thing and she did her thing in that respect. I know when the kids were growing up, and I was working...I was going to school, taking fifteen hours and working full time and remodeling the house...

SUUN's relationship with her husband and the role she played was complicated and exacerbated by the fact that he was an alcoholic. SUUN shared:

SUUN: When he gets drunk...so he doesn't know what he's doing. That was worse thing, when he was drunk. Then he would go gamble...going after waitresses. That's happened.


SUUN: Yeah. But I couldn't leave him because children were small. See, I knew...but...and they [relatives] would go "Divorce him. Divorce him."

K: Yeah.

SUUN: And then naturally I had a pretty hard time. Everyday, everyday. He comes home...doesn't come home sometimes. And my children would stay away from him. They were going to school and I have to protect them. It was...really something. It was rough. And naturally, I had to work to support them but he would spend it. So, I was...I think I had four places I used to go.

K: Oh, and then your own house too. You know, you had to come home and...

SUUN: Oh, yeah, yeah. And so he had to have the dinner ready. And he had to have two, three kinds of food. Not just one...there had to be at least three kinds. Everyday. When I was at work I'd be thinking what am I going to cook for dinner. That's how it was.

The internment provided the opportunity for two Niseis to meet their future spouses in camp. TNNN recalled how he met his wife.

TNNN: Oh, how I meet my wife?

K: Yeah.
SEKN recalled that her husband's first wife tragically died in camp while giving birth. SEKN later met and married her husband while in camp.

SEKN: No, he [husband] was married.

K: Oh, okay.

SEKN: To his first wife and then ah...she died in childbirth.

K: Oh...in camp. Oh.

K: How did the two of you meet?

SEKN: We were in camp. We met in camp.

SEKN: And he worked at the mess hall. He was a chef. He doesn't do any cooking now [laughing]. And then we were...well, after...I graduated in camp.

K: Oh, you did.

SEKN: You know, my high school and then...so I was working in the office and then when segregation started, when people...you know, the loyals and disloyals were separated and they were sent to other camps, the loyal people were sent to other camps. And my father refused to move from...he didn't want to leave California. So, we stayed in Tule Lake and um...at that point, with people moving away, they said well, everybody should come back and work for your own mess hall because they were really getting low on help. So I went to work at the mess hall and then we kind of started going out together.

**Life task: Social relations.**

Second generation Japanese Americans were socially involved within the Japanese American community and selectively interacted within the majority
community. For many Nisei, activities in which they were involved before the outbreak of the war included several mainstream clubs and organizations. However, an undercurrent of racism and prejudice existed. HIAN reported he enjoyed close relations with his Caucasian peers and was not used to being with large groups of Japanese Americans.

HIAN: Ah...scouts and I actually kind of grew up in the church over there 'cause all my pals were...most of my pals were members of the church. So I've been a Methodist all my life, which doesn't mean anything, but I...it's kept me out of trouble, so far [laughing]. It's too late now...can't get into much more trouble. But as far as growing up is concerned, I had some real good boyhood pals.

K: What did you hope or dream of doing as a kid?

HIAN: Well, I wanted to be a major league baseball player. That didn't happen. I did make the frosh squad at the UW but I didn't make the varsity. But ah, we used to come into Seattle to play ball. I swear I never saw so many Nihonjin. My brother-in-law and I used to come in to play baseball in town. That's where I met most of Nihonjins...

Many Nisei experienced disrupted friendships and mainstream isolation due to the outbreak of World War II. HIAN later shared the confusion and betrayal he felt when his family was evacuated:

HIAN: The only thing that bothered me was ah...I didn't know where the heck they [my Caucasian friends] were when the evacuation came. Of course we didn't have much touch with each other then but...nobody ever showed up or wrote or maybe they couldn't find me...but ah...they seemed to disappear at evacuation time. Although I did get a letter from one friend that just passed away...a kid I used to play ball with all the...all winter and all summer and spring. He kind of hinted that he felt a little taken back that he hadn't done something during evacuation. He just kind of hinted at that. So...but we've never had a chance to talk to him 'cause he died shortly after that.

K: Oh. So I'm wondering if kids felt guilty or felt like they didn't know what to do?
HIAN: I think he felt a little guilt and ah...they, they kind of mentioned that at the reunion, this last [high school] reunion. They had all of us Japanese stand up and take a bow in recognition of the fact that this injustice was done to us. That felt good but it didn’t make up for all the things that we had to go through. But it did achieve something at least. It gave us an idea that they...nowadays they think...they think something about it. Before they may have been part of the rabble rousers ah...of course there weren’t too many rabble rousers in [our town] as such...it was elsewhere. After all, we grew up in that town.

K: Yeah, you knew people.

HIAN: Knew everybody. Although there was some discrimination, I suppose, in retrospect. But ah...we didn’t...we weren’t able to join the best clubs or anything. It didn’t bother us at the time because you look back...that probably was true and after we started growing up...we weren’t invited to their dinners or birthday parties or something like we did when we were little. But that...I was gone by that time. But that was a common experience all over, I’m sure. But especially over there since we were only the two families in town ah...you could notice that but ah...it probably didn’t bother us too much because we didn’t stay there that long after high school. I was...I didn’t live in town after high school. I went out.

EWWN shared some of the same feelings as HIAN as she recalled being evacuated:

EWWN: It was awful. It was just awful. You think I’m crying now, you don’t know how I cried then. Um...it was awful. You know...it was...I wondered why people didn’t, our friends didn’t come to say goodby to us and ah...it wasn’t until um...not too long ago that it came out that people were...were shocked and they couldn’t understand how come we were taken away, you know, shipped off. In fact we had...about a month ago, we had a hundred year celebration of the high school. They had a really good response and we were assembled in the gym and one of the masters of ceremony said um..."We remember at the outbreak of the war these people...Japanese people were suddenly taken from us and shipped out...you know. We didn’t know where but...and a few of them are here today with us and we want to um...recognize them." And they had us stand up...and there were about ten of us, I guess. So we stood up and after we sat, they applauded and after we sat down they stood up and gave us a standing ovation. That was...I said that has never happened...but you know, they...I...when I think about why they weren’t there to say goodby to
us. I had so many friends...kids that I grew up with and everything...it was because they couldn’t understand what was happening. They didn’t know what to say. So, ah...I understand now a lot of things...become clear. So that was worth, you know...going to that and get a standing ovation. High school was...those were the best years of my life...I really enjoyed it...did everything...joined everything I could [laughing].

K: It’s nice that at least that happened before the war. I mean that...

EWWN: So, we still have a lot of good friends...regardless of the fact that we did not see them for years. Still give you a big hug...so it was nice.

The internment marked a unique chapter in the social relationships of Japanese Americans. Some, like SEKN, were accustomed to living in close proximity with other Japanese and Japanese Americans.

SEKN: Oh, we didn’t know what we were getting into or anything. We had no idea and um...some of our classmates in camp lived um...in outlying areas and they had never seen so many Japanese together you know. But for us, we lived in Japantown so we were used to just having Japanese friends, you know. So for us it wasn’t that much of a change.

For SEKN, sharing the experience of the internment with other Japanese Americans had a positive impact on perceived inferiority feelings in relation to the majority population.

K: Do you think that camp affected how you feel about the country at all?

SEKN: No, um...well, ah...I think it was a positive thing, you know, because even if we...in San Francisco I don’t think there was much discrimination as such. But it’s because the Japanese were a tight-knit group and we just lived in Japantown and we didn’t really mingle with other people so um...

K: So that would have kind of sheltered...that sheltered you...
SEKN: Yeah, sheltered life, you know. And now um...we're more accepted than before I think. And I think that's one positive thing that came out of this. Um...like our feelings toward Caucasian things have changed I think. Before we felt inferior and now we don't think that way at all, you know.

K: Uh-huh. Why do you think that's changed or how do you think that's changed?

SEKN: You know why...I don't know. I don't know if it's their feelings toward us or...we never even thought about mingling with Caucasians you know. And we...and I guess we felt inferior. And now I think we just don't.

When asked if the internment had an impact on how she felt about Caucasians, EWWN replied:

EWWN: No. I don't think so because um...friends are friends. And the ones that we have now are Christian friends and they're really good people and ah...it's just a bad part of history that...that we want to forget and yet we shouldn't.

A symbiotic relationship existed between Japanese Americans and the Caucasian community during World War II due to shortages of field workers available to harvest crops. HEAN and HIAN alluded to the mutually beneficial relationship that existed.

K: How was that? How was living in Idaho?

HEAN: In Idaho? Well, it was ah...the people there were very ah...what you call it?

HIAN: There were some Nihonjins out there.

K: Oh, there were?

HEAN: Yeah, there were a few...but they [Caucasians] treated us all right.

HIAN: They needed us.
A characteristic of ethnic persistence related to the goal of security was observed through the involvement in Japanese American organizations. The internment severed contact with mainstream American life, and following the war, Japanese Americans found it necessary to rebuild many of their community institutions in order to meet their own social, psychological, and economic needs (Fugita & O’Brien, 1991). HIAN and HEAN reported:

HIAN: A lot of our activities are with the church...

HEAN: And community...

HIAN: JACL...used to be more, not so much anymore.

HEAN: Yeah, not now, oh gosh...

HIAN: We had our day...

Life task: Occupation.

While the internment had a profound impact on all of the life tasks examined, the occupational life task appeared to have been most disrupted. Prior to the outbreak of World War II, many Nisei were beginning to identify and establish areas of vocational interest. Unfortunately, movement from the lifestyle goal of survival toward security was severely thwarted. The impact of the internment on the occupational life task was examined from three different time frames—pre-war, internment, and post-war.

Many Nisei struggled early on with the task of education because they were the first generation to grow up speaking both English and Japanese and often did not
have parents who were able to assist them with their studies. SUUN shared information regarding her struggle in school.

SUUN: Ah...growing up, the first day of school. See, it was...we are Japanese right? Half of them were American people, right? So we go to school. I don’t know anything about...so I used to come home crying. I couldn’t do the reading or anything. I was the first one. And then it’s all Caucasian, you know. It was hard...in 19...see, I was born in 1920...so in 1926, I started going to school. Those days you know, it was hard.

K: So how did you get through it?

SUUN: In our camp there was a man. He knew English, so he used to teach me how to read. So I was very fortunate that he used to, you know, work. So my mother used to cook for everybody so he...like a boarding house, right, you know, to get...so he used to teach me English...so I was.... And then after that, my brother...I was...hardest for me maybe ’cause I talked Japanese...

K: At home.

SUUN: My mother and father can’t talk English. Naturally we talk Japanese. So, but we were good in Japanese. Uh-huh. That’s how it was.

K: Oh, that must have been hard.

SUUN: But we got through it.

Some Nisei, like SEKN, attended nihon gakko, or Japanese school, in addition to public education.

SEKN: I’d say we were all good children. Our friends and I, we used to go to Japanese school right after, you know, public school and um...I mean...I guess the war was really devastating for us ’cause we just thought everything was just going to go along you know. And you know, like the kids nowadays, they um...work after school and everything and we never did anything like that. And um...I guess we were kind of spoiled, you know. And um...
In addition to the occupational task of attending school, TNNN reported that as a child he was expected to work at his grandfather’s business.

TNNN: Yeah, my grandpa place ah...like a restaurant business.

K: Oh, he had a...

TNNN: Yeah. So that’s why after finished school, I come home and help, you know.

K: What kind of things did you have to do?

TNNN: Have to do?

K: What did you do to help?

TNNN: Oh, go by the market, go buy...ah, you know...for me, my brother, and my cousin...go downtown for how many hour, two hours go over there and, you know, go pick it up what you need today. So...

K: Do you remember playing or getting into trouble or anything that you can remember?

TNNN: No...that’s all they do after finishes school...you know...come home, change clothes, and work, work, work, work...that’s it...that’s all I did. So otherwise, I have to go so working, get up early in the morning and ah...deliver newspaper, get up about two o’clock in the morning and go down to railroad station to pick up newspaper. I think two hundred, three hundred newspaper. Me and my brother, even snow, raining...go to railroad station and pick the newspaper before you go school...deliver all newspaper. That’s why I wish I got a mama and papa. Otherwise I have to do this kind of job. Right? Everybody okay graduate from eighth grade and then going to go to high school, college, right? All friend mine, school friend, neh. He going to high school. Everybody go to high school. He got graduation maybe March?...yeah, March 23 graduation day....24. I never forget that...24, 25. Twenty-five day, I go down work.

K: Yeah.

TNNN: That kind of wholesale store. So get up five o’clock morning and by eight o’clock night, working. That’s why thinking all the time, oh, I wish I got good daddy, good mama, you know. That’s all I think
about. That's all. Right. Even come back there...oh, 1938 from Mexico. My father got, find us a school boy place. One of my father friend, he got a chopstick house so I'm the school boy there. In the daytime I go to English school, come home, wash dishes and, you know, after evening, go down to front and the people coming in...take it up and get wash up. Lot of work to do, yeah.

Although the internment disrupted Nisei progress toward occupational security, many were able to pursue areas of interest, learn new job skills, or experiment with different occupational choices while in camp. HIAN was attending college in hopes of pursuing a career in medicine. Even though his education was disrupted by the war, he was able to work in an area of interest while in camp.

K: So, what do you recall...what do you remember of Puyallup?

HEAN: What were you [HIAN] doing there?

HIAN: I was ah...male nurse.

HEAN: We weren't there very long.

HIAN: We were there nine months...no, no...not even nine months. We were only there a month and a half.

Prior to the internment, TNNN was working for a wholesale store. He was able to learn a new job skill while in camp.

TNNN: Inside, nice. But I work at about...kitchen about eight hour day.

K: You worked in the kitchen?

TNNN: Yeah, and I worked for $19 a month, some people $16. $19, everybody, even police station...same people got $19, room and board.

While in camp, TUUN took advantage of various job "opportunities" and experimented with a number of different occupational choices.
K: Did TUUN [husband] work in camp?

SUUN: Yeah, he was a...well, he had all kinds of...he was a policeman/night watchman, you know, that and then he was a fireman, and then he went into butcher. And yeah, he did a whole bunch...tried all kinds of different things.

In order to get out of camp before the end of the war, one family interviewed left to work in the orchards in Idaho. HIAN and HEAN maintained communal living quarters with relatives and recalled the conditions.

HEAN: As a family kind of went out...we all went out to Idaho together.

K: To work on a beet farm?

HEAN: Not at one time but...at a orchard. I think my brothers had a contract or something, work with a orchardist, and so we all went there 'cause they found a big house. It was just like a commune. Well, what happened at the orchards is that it froze out. See, we went out there for the work and they worked a few...not very long.

HIAN: A couple months.

HEAN: Yeah, and then they had a big freeze, so that shut that down.

HIAN: It was a cherry orchard, so then there's no more work there so we moved to Napa and found work there in the lettuce and the sugar beets and the potatoes. Got along very nicely. It was only temporary anyway.

HEAN: So we all...we did live like a commune in that 'cause we had a great big house in Napa and each family had a bedroom. They were all large bedrooms. I had two kids...we had two kids and my sister had one and most everyone else had one. And so we all had our own bedrooms and we cooked together and ate together.

K: Uh-huh.

HEAN: And went to work together. My sister and I would take turns babysitting, you know, taking care...every other day or something like that.
In an effort to prevent Japanese Americans from returning to West Coast Little Tokyos and Japantowns, the War Relocation Authority (WRA) set up field offices to assist with the resettlement of internees. HIAN and HEAN recalled their resettlement experience and the difficulties they encountered.

HIAN: And my folks by that time were in Rockford, Illinois, so they had gone there and so ah...I wanted to join them and see how they were getting along...look for a job out there. I couldn't find anything. I went to Rockford by bus and um...stayed with my folks and looked for a job there and nothing there that I wanted so I...said, well, I might as well go to Chicago and look.

HEAN: Yeah, they [WRA] had it set it up there so that, you know, to help people relocate.

HIAN: And I found a job there and worked for this one company for about ten years.

K: What did you do there?

HIAN: I was a machinist. Never ran a machine in my life but ah...I became a machinist...ended up being...they called me superintendent of operations when I was actually a foreman. And ah, we worked there all through the war and I got deferred because we were making parts for a bomb fighter or something like that so...

K: So, you went to...you were in Chicago while the war was still going on.

HIAN: Yeah. From '43 to '52. We had a heck of a time trying to find a place.

HEAN: Oh, yeah.

HIAN: They took one look at you and they..."Oh, no the place is already rented."

HEAN: Yeah, but then the place that he found...

HIAN: Finally found a place and...but it had bed bugs and all that.
HEAN: Oh that was so...I wanted to go right home...back to Idaho because...in Idaho, the leaves were just beginning to come out, you know, leaf out and in Chicago it was still cold. It was April though and it was still cold.

HIAN: Finally found another place in the north end.

HEAN: Oh, that was depressing. Really depressing.

HIAN: A little bit better. And then finally when my brother came back from the service, we bought a house down in the south end. Lived there for the rest of the time, until we moved back here.

At about the same time that HIAN and HEAN were settling themselves in Chicago, HWWN was serving in the army. He recalled earlier aspirations to be involved in avionics but felt that training in this field would not be utilized since job prospects for Japanese Americans at the time were bleak. Instead, HWWN was drafted and he reported to military intelligence school. He served with the Allied Translators/Interpreters Service and was instrumental in assisting in the surrender and occupation of Japan. HWWN shared:

HWWN: Oh, I wanted to get into avionics. Oh, that’s an easy one. I wanted to...and I was offered a chance to go to ah...school...ah...because my father had a little bit of money. But I didn’t go because nobody would hire you, because we couldn’t get a job.

K: What did you do? What kind of work were you in? What did you...

HWWN: When the war started? I was in...we were doing...providing farm labor for any large farm at the time and ah...before the war. When the war started, I was already drafted into the army. See, I was drafted in November 1940 and reported...inducted in February 1941. When the war started, I was looking forward to finishing my one year tour and going home. And about several months later when I went to military intelligence school...outside of Minneapolis. After the school and after going to military intelligence school and then being assigned
to Allied Translators/Interpreters Service of ah...South Pacific area...that’s MacArthur’s command, we went there...we were ah...stationed in ah...in ah...Brisbane, Australia for two years, roughly two years and ah...and then when the war looked like it was trying to grind down and MacArthur was going to make his "I shall return" come true to the Philippines, then ah...we followed. We transferred to Manilla and...and in the meantime, I was the captain of the technical and tactical air translation team and took care of all other technical and tactical documents too ah...for tanks and other machinery items besides the airplanes and ah...when we got to the Philippines and the bomb was dropped, the war ended and then they came and tapped me on the shoulder and said, "We want you to go with the...and accommodate the Japanese delegation that’s coming from Japan to Manilla to lay the groundwork for the occupation of Japan." So they gave me a staff and so I took care of General Kowabe and his staff and two civilians that came with him...foreign office people, to lay the ground work for the occupation of Japan and I took care of the orders and their needs and ah...and other little strange things...

The period of time immediately following the war proved to be difficult for many Japanese American internees. Those interviewed took whatever jobs they could secure. SEKN, SUUN, and TNNN shared:

K: And what did you two do right after camp? I know you came back to the city.

SEKN: Yeah, and then we lived in...here I was twenty years old and I said "I’m a cook." [Laughing] And um...so we lived...’46...about a year, I guess, we did domestic work. Daddy [husband] did domestic work and gardening, but I didn’t work, huh? Until...when did I start work? And then we started doing catering and we still do.

SUUN: Yeah, when we came out here. Naturally, I couldn’t work with four children, so I started sewing. So there was a Matsumoto store downtown...they would cut all the patterns and I’d bring it home and sew it and make it. That’s how I used make some money. But when the children started going to school, then I said, "Oh it’s better to go out working by the hour than to stay home, ’cause I have to finish it otherwise I don’t get the money from sewing." So I said, "No, no, no...I’ll go out and work. When the time goes then you get five dollars." That’s how I started domestic.
TNNN: Cook.

K: You cooked?

TNNN: Yeah, cook all day, almost fifty year in the kitchen. Yeah, all day, cooking.

K: Where at?

TNNN: I worked twenty year over in ah...used to be popular hotel. They call. Oh, beautiful hotel. They got a come down, put highway. So after that go down to...I own my own business a little while. I work in John Hancock building and one of the comic place. I work in there twenty years.

While some Nisei may have moved into the lifestyle goal of Security prior to World War II, lifestyle conditions after the war took on characteristics identified with the goal of Survival. HIAN and HEAN shared:

HEAN: I think...they...you had to forget that [the internment] and go ahead, actually. You couldn’t sit there and dwell about it...what could have happened, what could have you know, this and that. Um...

HIAN: Of course our kids are more activists than we are.

HEAN: We all had to make a living. That was our goal after that, was to get busy and make a living. Take care of the family.

K: To survive.

HEAN: Yeah, that’s what we had to do, so we just...yep.

SUUN concurred that the time period immediately following the war was very difficult.

K: Um, I don’t know if you can answer this or not...do you think it was just as hard being in camp as it was coming out of camp? ’Cause both were hard...being there was hard and then coming out was hard.
SUUN: Coming out it was harder too because no place to stay...stay at a friend’s one room with three children. And then we need money. Where are you going to get the money?

K: Was one harder than the other? Was being in camp harder than after camp? Or was after camp harder than being in camp?

SUUN: I think after camp was harder because we didn’t have a place to stay.

K: At least in camp you had a place to stay.

SUUN: And financially, you had food, you know, whatever there. But when we came out, we needed money.

A group of unique Nisei individuals referred to as Kibei were sent to Japan to be educated and raised by relatives. One Kibei who was interviewed stated that following his parents divorce, his father could not raise him. As a result, he was sent to Japan to be raised by his grandparents. Upon returning to the United States, many Kibei found themselves behind their generational counterparts who had obtained a greater level of proficiency with the English language, established occupational and financial security, and adapted to many of the majority customs. As a result, Kibei experiences and their predominate acculturational lifestyle goal of Survival corresponded closer with the experiences associated with the Issei generation.

One Kibei interviewed recalled the difficulty he encountered trying to learn English.

TNNN: I go to one [school]...they call it Kibei...special class, okay Korean, Chinese, Mexican, Filipino, no speak English. So inside got to learn English, right? Once they all coming up, go outside, right...English again...speaking Japanese, okay. Some people Spanish, Filipino, right...no use. So I spent about four, five months. I give up, you know. So I work in to supermarket...produce. People come in
and talk English, right? That help, that help. You have to speak English. So I speak.

Being Kibei also impacted social and emotional issues. TNNN lamented the fact that he grew up wishing he had a traditional family which included a mother and a father.

TNNN: Yeah, well you know, people in Japan go to school something, occasion or like holiday or something everybody, kids go to a nice, beautiful...kimono, suits like this. We grow up poor, so you can't do that. I wish...I had father, mother. That's what I think about all the time.

Sansei Generation: Acculturational Lifestyle Goal of Assimilation

Based on data analysis related to this study, the acculturational lifestyle goal associated closest with the Sansei generation was Assimilation. The major focus for third generation Japanese Americans concentrated on fitting into the majority culture even at the expense of denying one's cultural heritage. While previous generations were forced to attend to survival and security issues, the Sansei generation was the first generation to have the luxury of time which allowed them to be more introspective. Because basic survival and security issues were fulfilled, the opportunity to be involved in activities, including civic organizations and various clubs, and other endeavors promoted by the majority culture were pursued. In all endeavors, Sansei's major focus and emphasis was placed outside of the Japanese American community and into interests which were valued by the majority culture.

Life task: Love.

Antimiscegenation laws existed until 1948 which prohibited intermarriage between individuals of Japanese decent and Caucasians. Such laws were abolished by the time many Sansei were of marrying age, and approximately 50% of the Sansei
population have engaged in outmarriage (Fugita & O’Brien, 1991; Nagata, 1993). Of the twelve Sansei interviewed for this study, eight (66%) were married to other Japanese Americans, three (25%) within the same family were married to Caucasians, and one (8%) was married to a Chinese American. Of the Sansei relationships studied, many were characterized as becoming democratic in nature with each partner participating in decision-making practices and involved in independent areas of interest and activities. The luxury of time was evidenced by the opportunity many Sansei exercised to be able to think about, discuss, and cultivate their marital relationships.

Sansei partners within marital relationships were found to behave much more independently than their Nisei parents. Partnerships where two worked in cadence with each other, being aware of their partner’s needs and yet not necessarily dependent upon the spouse, were qualities which characterized Sansei marriages. Many recognized that the differences that existed between the two partners attracted them to each other. JAAS described his relationship with his wife as follows:

JAAS: Oh, good...because I’m not...I think it’s because we’re two different personalities. Um...you know I’m probably more laid back and I know I’m more laid back and um...um...but if I don’t want to do something she...she understands that. And then she pretty much lets me ah...do what I think I have to do and um...we, we...she’s doing her thing and I’m doing my thing and ah...pretty much it’s...it’s similar kinds of things.

Like JAAS, DOWS also recognized that he and his wife balance each other by possessing different strengths and weaknesses.

DOWS: Her strengths are my weaknesses like, uh...I’m so inhibited I’d be the last person to get up on stage and sing in Karaoke, I mean, you
know. She doesn’t see those, she’s not inhibited by the things that I’m inhibited by. Let’s see. There are things that I see as walls, barriers between me and accomplishing certain things, and I look at her. She doesn’t see those, she doesn’t have those, so it doesn’t limit her. I think there are some things in my life, where she sees limits in her life, that when she watches me and she sees the same thing, she doesn’t see them as limits. So, I think between the two of us, we encourage each other to live more, to do more, to accomplish more. Uh, to see less limits through being together. We don’t have a lot of similarities. I think that was good because I think we both needed to expand our worlds. It’s really given us some of that.

DOWS saw his relationship with his wife as a growing process, one in which communication and helping each other through difficulties was imperative. When asked to further describe his relationship, he shared:

DOWS: Um, growing. Growing. Um, I try to, um, try to get her to see that it’s a relationship between the two of us is a growing one. It’s not a measured one that’s going to say, okay, once we get to this point. She has a lot of those ideas, that if we can just do this, then we’re going to be okay. If we can just do this, we’re going to be okay and it will just keep going. And it’s always going to be something, so we’re, developing into a couple that understands that there are a lot of difficulties in a relationship. Um, there are more difficulties, I guess, than there are more negatives, than positives. You have to be willing to grow and to be open with each other. If something is bothering you, you have to understand that you’re like a part of the team. If there’s a secret on one side or there’s a problem on one side, you just can’t cloister off and isolate yourself from the other person. And to think that you have to do it on your own. I guess there probably are some things that you need to conquer on your own, but for the most part, she’s been used to having to handle things on her own because she never had somebody to lean and somebody that would not hurt her back for her weaknesses. So those...we’re developing a stronger relationship that way. Uh, which right now, is probably the most characteristic thing I would say about our relationship.

MKKS also acknowledged the importance of being able to communicate with his partner when he described his relationship with his wife.
MKKS: Um, we were like best friends, um, before we got, uh, before we decided to get married. It just kind of evolved into that point. But, we've always been on the same page and it's surprising because maybe...mainly because of her. I mean, she's very intelligent so she's able to maybe, uh, pick and choose, uh, things to bounce off, or you know, she really...like a tennis player, she volleys really good, really well. Uh, so there's a lot of, we have a lot of respect. I mean, we've been together 25 years. So, uh, I think it's getting better from a meeting of the minds thing, uh...and then I think a lot of it is, like I mentioned earlier, being on the same page. A lot of that has to do with communication. Having empathy for...and sympathy and, uh, respect for each other...and being a good support system for each other.

EFUS found that many of the same patterns she witnessed within her parents' relationship occurred in her marriage. Complicating EFUS's marital relationship was the fact that her husband adopted values and customs more closely associated with those of the Nisei generation. Unfortunately, just as EFUS's parents' marriage was influenced by alcoholism and ended in divorce, so did hers. EFUS shared her experience and the changes she wanted to initiate:

EFUS: No, we're divorced. He's ah...his dad's Issei, his mom's Nisei.

K: Oh.

EFUS: But the mother can not speak that good of English. So she's more of Issei too. So he [ex-husband] was more Nisei. So when I met...when he met me and then we got married, he expected to do what his dad used to do. And so I asked him what do you want from me, you know. And he goes, "I want you to be like your mom." And I said, "No, 'cause when we got married I told you I'm American born and so uh-uh. I'm not going to walk behind you and stuff like that. No." You know, you have to...you know, realize this. When you go out...I'm going to ask you where you go and what time you're coming home, you know. But he was double standards, you know. It's all right for him to go to bars and sit there, but I can't go to bars with a bunch of girls. I had to watch myself when I'm with him because when he drinks, it would trigger him. I could be talking to a guy and he'll come over and he'll get pissed. He'll be yelling at me and I'd be
so embarrassed. You know, and it kind of reminded me of my dad. And I said, "Well, I don’t need this." And like everybody said he’s a real nice guy until he drinks...totally different. And it got to the point, I guess, after awhile, when the kids were older and he’d come home but he’d be drunk. And I didn’t need…it’s like, it’s like what my dad was doing to me. And that’s one thing I said to myself, my kids are not going to suffer like I did and um...and they respect their elders but I want them to express, you know, certain things I can’t, but other things I have to change. I have to change and I wanted them to speak up to him. And he’s...no affection just like my dad and my mom. You know, because he didn’t know how to handle it. You know, where I feel that’s something wrong with the Nisei. They wouldn’t show the affection to the children. But then I have to remember that’s how we were raised, you know, and they’ve stayed that way where, you know, I refuse to.

Family decision making in the Sansei families interviewed was handled either jointly or according to role division. BNAS reported that decisions in her family were made jointly.

K: Who made decisions in your family?

BNAS: Um, we both did. There wasn’t a whole lot...or else I just said they’re going to be doing this and that and you have to go. But we both did. We talked about it.

In CKAS’s family, decisions were made according to business versus household divisions.

CKAS: Um, he kind of makes the business decisions when the business is concerned and then I make the decisions...’cause he doesn’t really care. He’s just really laid back about not having certain...like, you know, household things. He really honestly doesn’t care. Which probably is good. I mean when I think about it sometimes I wished he had but then I think, well, I probably wouldn’t like it [laughing].

Initially, decisions were made by TUUS but the responsibility shifted to a joint sharing because he wanted his wife to be prepared if something happened to him. He shared:
TUUS: I think both of us do [make decisions]. Um, minor ones, we can do without consultation. Major ones...I'll make it sometimes without consulting her but she won't. But the real major, major ones we sit down and talk about it. And it's funny--when we first got married, um...neither of us had a checking book...check book. So I said, "Well, we better get a checking account." So we got one and um...I was sitting there reconciling our checkbook...this was when we were married maybe a year or so. I still remember sitting at the kitchen table. I was doing it and my wife was kind of looking and I said, "Honey, do you know what I'm doing?" She says, "No." I said, "You can sign the checks too." But I used to always sign the checks. She said, "Oh, okay." I said, "Wait...if I die, she's going to know nothing." So that day, I threw the checks down and I said, "This is yours." And from that day, she's been writing most of the checks and stuff. She does most of it. And then when I got out of school because I told her then that I...I've written...let's see, I've been in practice twenty years. I've signed maybe five checks on our joint account. She does all that because I take care of the business checks. So that way I just want to keep it separate. You know, but it was...the first year of marriage I just said, "Here, you're taking care of the house stuff."

In DOWS's family, decision-making practices followed his beliefs about gender role expectations. DOWS further acknowledged that his controlling and domineering demeanor presented a roadblock to communication between him and his wife.

DOWS: I do more than I should. Yeah, I do more than I should. It's kind of like that I have to curtail my, I guess, fatherhood. It's like I have this inbred need to be a father...an authoritative, controlling father. That, in itself, even though inside I know that that's...I don't mean to be so overbearing. She will see me as being overbearing and then have a hard time talking to me about certain issues. Even though inside, I want to be open and I want her to talk to me. But, the perception she gets from me, scares her off sometimes from telling me or talking to me about what she's thinking.

Handling disagreements was a conventional challenge faced by the Sansei individuals interviewed. CKAS felt that the communication differences which existed in her marriage were related to gender distinctions.
CKAS: Um, he tends to not want... before when we were first married, um, he did not say a whole lot and then of course I'm more explosive. But that's probably women and men, you know, and ah... probably true. It's not fun to argue with someone who won't argue with you so you can't say everything that you want to say. But I think that over the years, we have. I've just told him more things and actually he's gotten better about arguing, you know, saying what he feels, so then, of course, I'm probably right [laughing]. No, ah... so I think that has helped the marriage work out instead of the silent type, you know, letting everything stew....

Learning to constructively communicate during disagreements was something that DIWS and his wife have undertaken. They believed that it was important to be open about their arguments in front of their children in order to model appropriate communication skills.

DIWS: We've just gotten to be able to argue, maybe, we have some pretty heated arguments or discussions, over the last maybe six or seven years, where it didn't mean we were talking about getting divorced and that one of us would try not to walk away on the other. Just hang around until it gets taken care of or figured out. The kids are just beginning to understand, the last couple of years, just because we're arguing it doesn't mean that we're... you know--

K: That it's the end of the world.

DIWS: Yeah, yeah. So, so we don't really try and hide it from the kids anymore.

DOWS and his wife are cognizant of sharing some of their disputes openly in front of their children while keeping other disagreements behind closed doors. DOWS acknowledged the influence his family of origin had on him in developing his beliefs about male and female family roles and how affairs were supposed to run in his family.

DOWS: Yeah, we try to keep our disagreements between each other for... obvious reasons with the family, but we also understand that we
have to have some open disagreements so that the kids can see how people disagree, resolve, and then make things better. Um, because that's one thing my parents very rarely ever did, was have a dispute. And when I was married the first time, I thought everything was supposed to be my way [laughing]. Because I never, you know, I never had the tools, never had that groove...worn through my mind of how these things were supposed to happen. So, we tend to keep most of it, uh, after the kids go to bed, for us to have an hour or two to deal with things. There are things that we need to not show them. So, there's things that we hide from our kids. That's ah...decision making, you know. I know that I grew up and I know why I try to be a controlling father...because that's how I thought my dad was. That's how I grew up thinking it was. Even my dad, now, he'd probably be one of the first to tell you that that's not the way it should have been, even if it was like that for a while. Trying to deal with knowing that you have this, you know, this bad character trait and trying to deal with it is difficult, it's difficult.

Life task: Social relations.

Those within the Sansei generation (unlike their parents) had an uninterrupted opportunity to interact with the majority culture; nevertheless as children, they socialized with family and relatives and friends of family who were predominately Japanese American. Many of those interviewed were encouraged by their parents to participate in mainstream activities, which included Girl and Boy Scouts and church. Many Sansei reported an overriding value stressed within their families was to treat others equally.

Many of the Sansei interviewed grew up socializing with relatives and close family friends. BNAS recalled living in the same neighborhood with her cousins and the convenient relationships that she and her children were able to enjoy.

BNAS: But I had...in my, where we still live, three of my cousins live right down the street so all the kids were the same age within about four years, probably four, five years of each other. And we car pooled to swimming class and we car pooled to church and we car pooled to
Campfire 'cause they were all girls except for one little boy and it was easy 'cause we didn't have to run around. We didn't have to import friends...if they wanted to play in the neighborhood, fine, it's all your cousins and so we didn't worry about strange kids or where they were.

MKKS, CKAS, and JAAS all recalled the important role family and relatives played in their early social lives.

MKKS: I think to choose one thing [important value] that would be the main, uh, the central theme or idea, is that the family unit is very strong. You do a lot of things with your family, as well as your relatives and their families and, um, and it's just, uh, uh, we had no choice, but at the same time, it was accepted and we didn't have any problems with it. So, I think that was the main thing. The family is the center of...of life.

CKAS: We did a lot with family. In fact, a lot with my mom's family so it seemed like we were always together with people.

JAAS: Um...but I remember them [my parents] always having lots of friends around, lots of, you know, we have a huge extended family situation and we would go out, you know, to picnics or at the church or the church activities and that sort of thing.

MKKS recalled socializing with another Japanese American family when he was growing up.

MKKS: We'd always go [to Lake Tahoe]. They [parents] had a real close friend, or family, in Sacramento. So, we'd always go to their place, stay overnight and leave Saturday morning, early Saturday morning. And that family had four boys. I remember the fun we had with those guys overnight, staying overnight. At a young age, you know, it was like a big free-for-all. Because the boys were, one was my age, one was my brother's age, and there were two younger ones. So, we'd each have some common ground there, some common friends or something similar, age-wise anyway.

BNAS shared similar memories when she and her family would spend time with another Japanese American family:
BNAS: We didn't have a car and ah, in Chicago we'd take the "L" so we'd walk down and go visit [friends of the family] who lived on the north side. So we thought that was really far away cause that was on the north side and we had to take the "L." But we'd stay over night, and they had a son my brother's age and a daughter my age and another daughter my sister's age. So mom and dad and their mom and dad would play bridge and then all of us would just play and stay over night.

KKKS shared that even though she grew up near Japantown, she was able to voluntarily participate with the Japanese American community when she chose and was not involved when she did not want to be.

KKKS: I think because a lot of them [Nisei] grew up in like Japantown neighborhood, going into camp wasn't that difficult as opposed to what we would go through. Being stuck with all Japanese, I think, would be a lot worse for us.

K: Because we're more mainstreamed, and kind of, used to--

KKKS: And even the attitude with the Japanese people, we can always turn it off and back off. But, if you live there 24 hours a day and you deal with nothing but Japanese and that's your life, I think it's easier for you to be put into a camp like that.

The theme of participating and becoming involved in various activities of interest was modeled and stressed in BNAS's family. Her parents encouraged her to work and share an interest in the concerns of others.

BNAS: I mean, none of us are shy around strangers or afraid to get involved in groups and stuff that we're interested in. And as being a participant...I think we get this from our folks because they've always been active in many, many things and so we feel comfortable just doing that too, whatever we choose. I don't know if they said, if they stressed certain things but I think our whole um, just the way they were, I think by example of um, participating and joining things and participating and having a good time and doing your work and sharing your chores um, we all had to do that and we just did it. But they very much left it up to us as far...even our high school activities and what not, they left it up to us to decide.
While attempting to make friends with other neighborhood children, JAAS remembered being treated prejudicially and the subsequent pain he felt being the "Jap" on the block. He noted a lack of communication that existed within his family about their internment experience and post-war circumstances.

JAAS: Yeah...in fact I remember, you know, being like a...the kids, in fact...I remember sitting on the doorstep type of thing or the porch and the kids would ah...now I remember how it got started. They played war, of course you know who I was [laughing]. And I remember not liking that and ah, in fact that was sort of painful but, you know, I had to overcome that somehow. I don’t remember what happened but we didn’t play war like that anymore. Of course I was the "Jap" on the block and that sort of thing. So that was...yeah, I remember that now. Yeah...

K: The times were scary probably too. I mean just getting out and just having to...

JAAS: Oh yeah, I don’t think I really...in fact I know I didn’t know what was going on, ah looking back at it now. It’s...I don’t even remember if they [my parents] even told us you know, if we ever talked about it. I don’t think they did talk about, you know, the camp situation and then leaving camp. I just knew that we were always together and um, in fact when we went to Chicago, my uncles and aunts were all there and they had all found jobs. In fact, we lived together in a big apartment complex. My grandparents were on one floor, we were on another, I think my uncle and aunt were on the third floor. So we were all kind of in one building and then ah, my mother’s...aunts on my mother’s side were all in the area. So we were...it was a nice, you know, we were a close family, we, you know...I mean an extended family and ah...as a kid growing up you didn’t know any different. You know, you didn’t have a big world, you just had your little tiny world.

In interactions with others, a value that CKAS remembers her parents stressing was treating everyone equally.

CKAS: Definitely, they were, my parent’s were different, I think, than a lot of people their age. They were...I didn’t not grow up thinking that we were prejudice against anything.
BNAS also recalled treating everyone equally and being unaware of classmate differences.

BNAS: Um, my fifth grade...we moved out here in '52 and I was in the fifth grade but my last remembrance of being in the fifth grade was I was the only non-Black...my whole class was Black but I thought I didn’t know that. I didn’t know that 'cause they were my friends. So when I think back I go, "Gee, we had already lived in this Black area and people were getting"...but as a kid, it just didn’t matter 'cause they were my friends.

Life task: Occupation.

Of the twelve Sansei interviewed, seven (five male and two female) attended and graduated from college. Four of the five first-borns interviewed attended college and two male Sansei secured an advanced or professional degree. The data suggests that differences in gender and birth order, along with financial ability, influenced whether or not a college education was attained. Informants’ occupational choices also seem to have been influenced by their parents.

Acquiring an education was stressed by MKKS’ parents. He shared:

MKKS: Uh, I think that he [my father] just wanted to make sure that we went to college. I was--

K: Education was a big--

MKKS: Right, education was their goal or his goals to make sure that we got it. I guess mainly because he didn’t. And, uh, so, in that respect, we fulfilled that for him. Although my sister, I don’t think, she didn’t get her degree. I think she just went to JC [junior college]. But um...

CKAS assumed that she would go on to college:

K: Did your dad have any um, ambitions for you kids as you were growing up?
CKAS: If he did he never really, um...vocalized it other than I think he wanted us to go to school. But even that, I don’t recall. That might have been more something my...you know, he said to the older ones, so I just...assumed that was something I would do. But it was never specifically said "You need to go to college" that I can recall.

DAWS chose to attend college after gaining "real-life" experience and deciding on a specific area of study.

DAWS: But we don’t. You know I have, I do have friends, Sansei friends whose parents really pushed them, you know. You know, in some ways I was a little envious of that, but in other ways I’m glad it wasn’t this way. I know guys who graduated twenty-two years of age with their bachelor’s or, and uh, now are no longer working in the area that they got their degrees in because they had no experience and had to go out and...for me, I was fortunate. I waited. I graduated when I was twenty-seven with a bachelor’s in business and it’s applicable for me. So...so, and that comes from pounding nails. That comes from working in a poultry shop. Hanging live chickens to...[laughter] that comes from sweeping, uh, Six Seattle Stadium.

JAAS was the first-born son in a family with three younger sisters. His father’s college education and anticipated medical career was interrupted by the outbreak of World War II. It appeared as though JAAS contemplated going into a medical field to finish his father’s quest; however, he chose a related career in science.

JAAS: I don’t have any memories...like I said, they [my parents] were both very supportive and let us pretty much do what we wanted to do. Or let me do what I wanted to do. I don’t know what they told the girls, but ah, I pretty much was able to do anything. Like in high school, I know I studied but I mean I didn’t have...I mean it wasn’t that they said "You should spend x hours" and in fact ah, you know...coming out of high school I really wasn’t sure what I wanted to do. I mean I had seen doctors and kind of had the idea that maybe I would go to medical school or become a dentist or something like that but then that kind of disappeared when I was about a junior in college I think. Let’s see, then I did my graduate work after college, I did my...I got a degree in zoology ah...only because I didn’t know
anything else I really wanted to do. And then, I think it was my junior year I kind of decided I wanted to work with kids. I worked at a camp as a camp counselor, a church camp, and kind of thought, Well, it's kind of fun. I was pretty good with kids, so I thought I'll go into teaching and this ah, M.A.T. program at Chicago came up and I applied and was accepted there.

DIWS also pursued a career related to his father's area of interest in avionics.

DIWS: Uh, I started off working at a machine shop and I gradually worked my way up to manager level. So, I'm involved with machine parts, aircraft stuff.

For some Sansei, life-long dreams or ambitions were known from childhood, whereas for others, aspirations remained vague. TUUS always knew he was good with his hands and that he wanted to be a dentist.

TUUS: Same question basically I was asked when I applied for dental school and I don't remember what it was...or why, it was always there. It's just amazing. I never really thought about why. Well, I tried to think back...why, what might have triggered it but there wasn't a dentist or anything that I knew that triggered it.

K: You've just always wanted to be a dentist.

TUUS: Yeah, for some unknown reason. I don't know; that was as far back as grammar school and I don't know why.

BNAS's aspirations did not involve a specific career. Rather, she wanted to enjoy her family and viewed her part-time job as an optional component of her life.

BNAS: [Laughing] I don't think I had any [ambitions]. I think just to be happy and healthy. Um, I didn't want to be anything and when I was in high school, I think the girls were going into education or nursing. I got married, but um, there was nothing that interested me in school, if you want to know for sure. When I think about it, you know I didn't want to be anything. And I took a few business courses and stuff like that and I thought that this is really boring [laughing]. Yeah. My job, this job is like gravy. And I think I don't need to have anything more. Maybe my goal is...has never been high so why do more than I want to do. But now that you see what's going on in the
world and people and their stress and their high blood pressure and all
that stuff, and I think that I don’t need that.

At the time CKAS was deciding on a career, she perceived that the choices
open to her were restricted by her gender. CKAS’s primary vocational criteria was to
be able to work while raising her family.

CKAS: Um, probably just having a family. I did go to school and I
got into hygiene. Um, but I don’t think that was my...one of the
reasons I went into hygiene, which was kind of a dumb reason as I
look back on it, was um, it was a great part-time job. And that you
were either a teacher or a hygienist which was relatively new, or a
nurse or a physical therapist, those were the things that, you know,
women did...or a secretary. But um, that was...I wanted to go into the
health field. So, since dental hygiene didn’t require physics
[laughing]...oh, that’s a stupid reason now that I look back on it, but I
think the real reason was because I knew I could do it part-time, so I
could have a career and I could also have a family.

K: So you were real practical.

CKAS: Yeah.

DOWS experienced criticism from his mother regarding his occupational
choice. She wanted him to be involved in a "more honorable" profession.

DOWS: I say that because she [my mother], every couple months, says
something to me about getting out of the car business. She doesn’t
want me to be in the car business.

K: Oh, even now?

DOWS: Yes. Yes. She asked me to do something more honorable.
You know, something more professional. You know, she says
something about being in the F.B.I. because, you know, I had some,
uh, uh, a little bit of law background. You know, she, it’s not so
much she wanted me to be an F.B.I. guy, but she has a hard time with
me being in the car business because of the stereotypes around the car
business. But, my dad, he didn’t really, you know, I think, he doesn’t
care what his kids do, other than just trying to be happy. Not as
concerned with what you, what you get up in the morning to go do.
Many of the Sansei interviewed ultimately defined occupational success as the ability to support their families and live a comfortable life. MKKS shared:

MKKS: I think I just...when I got to a point, like maybe in high school, I didn't have a thought that I was going to be a millionaire or anything like that. I think I was just looking towards getting a decent job and getting enough income in to just live comfortably. Enough to do things that we wanted to do. So, it, uh, I didn't have any thoughts about shaking up the business world or anything like that.

DOWS concurred with MKKS when he stated:

DOWS: [Pause] Just the, just the, uh, the ability to be, um, happy no matter what your circumstances are. You know, my dad never made a lot of money, and yet, he was a better provider than me, making more money than he ever did, than I can be. A lot of that just comes from the ability to deal with whatever you have and to be at peace with the world with what you have. Um, and that's probably the value I can see from my upbringing and my family that I try to keep with me...is that it doesn't matter what you do. It just depends upon if you can be happy with what you have.

DIWS: I hate to say it, but my dream was to be [pause] employed for a long period of time at one place. I mean I thought all the time I was growing up, I thought that's what it meant to be an adult and all that was stability. And, uh, I was probably, uh, early 20s before I figured out, hey, having one job for 30 or 40 years, it's not stability. That's just a small part of it.

While EFUS may have shared the same desire as MKKS and DOWS, she was faced with obstacles which made it difficult for her to support her family and meet the needs associated with survival and security. EFUS reported that although she had dreamed of being a teacher, her family’s socioeconomic status required her to work from an early age.

EFUS: What I wanted to do was to be a teacher but it never really turned out. Well, see I started working when I was in grammar school. They used me after school because we weren't rich. I mean we weren't even...I mean we were kind of on the poor side and we
used to get hand-me-downs and stuff. And you know, to me um...and if I wanted extra I could never get it or it was hard on my parents. And I see my other friends and I used to get jealous so I started working doing babysitting, you know, in grammar school. From grammar school on, I used to work and get my spending money, you know. And then after that, in high school...yeah, I started working in an office part-time after school. And then I thought once I graduate, I'm not going to school no more! But I went two years in college just to get my certificate in business and then I went to work. So...but I even to this day I kind of regret...I wish I kind of went into a professional.

Following her divorce, EFUS found herself trying to survive because she did not receive child support or alimony.

EFUS: Yeah, because I think after...we were having problems in our marriage and then after he left, I couldn't...the pay...I couldn't do it, because I wasn't getting any support and he left me all the bills and stuff. I was working two jobs. He was no help. It was like when we split, he didn't want the responsibility.

Yonsei Generation: Acculturational Lifestyle Goal of Authentication

Data analysis for this study supported the finding that the acculturational lifestyle goal emphasized by the Yonsei generation was Authentication. During this lifestyle goal, interactional focus was placed on both the majority and Japanese American cultures. Previous social emphasis for Issei and Nisei generations focused within the Japanese American community due to prejudicial majority treatment. Sansei concentrated on finding ways in which to belong within the majority culture. The Yonsei generation searched for ways in which to incorporate and unite both cultures into a meaningful and congruent manner. Members of this generational group also sought to fill-in-the-blanks of their cultural heritage through self-education which evolved into a sense of ethnic pride. While Issei, Nisei, and Sansei generations
were group focused, Yonsei tended to be individualistic in their search for personal authenticity. Again, as with the Sansei generation, the luxury of time was noted and many Yonsei rebelled against grandparents’ and parents’ efforts to become American as possible.

Life task: Love.

Of the nine Yonsei interviewed, five were or had been previously married. Of these five married Yonsei, two were married to spouses of Japanese ancestry, one was married to a Chinese American, and two had married Caucasians. The two who were married to Caucasians were divorced at the time of the interview and they were both from the same family which had a history of divorce. The two divorced informants believed that cultural differences contributed to their divorces. In general, the Yonsei interviewed were able to analyze their parents’ marriage and identify the relationship qualities which they wanted to expand or improve.

When describing her relationship with her fiance, AAAY described the importance of being able to find a partner who balanced her strengths and weaknesses. AAAY recognized that she and her fiance shared some of the same characteristics which existed in her parents’ relationship and also commented on the importance of being able to communicate.

AAAY: I think we’re, uh, really good friends. I think in a lot of ways, we’re kind of opposites, not necessarily in how we view the world or whatever. Just our personalities are real opposite. I’m more of a people person, he’s not. He’s...I’m more sort of like hyper and whatever and he’s pretty mellow. But, I think we really balance each other out. Like I think, in a quiet way, we really strengthen each other, like we can both really be okay on our own. But, I think with having each other, we are really like stronger individuals.
K: Do you see any similarities between...in your relationship and the people that you and [your fiance] are and your mom and dad's?

AAAY: Kind of. He's kind of like, even like in dumb things, he and my dad will do the same things. It's really weird, it's kind of strange. They're not real similar as people, but they, like as far as idiosyncrasies, they do the same things [laughing]. They're definitely different people, but I think [my fiance] and I are a lot more alike. I think we communicate a lot better than my mom and dad do, but I think as far as being real different people, that's real similar. Like my mom and dad are pretty different as far as how they are, and [my fiance] and I are too.

SSAY and KHAY acknowledged that sharing many of the same interests along with being able to communicate were two important factors in their relationships with their husbands.

SSAY: Um...gosh. I know we always...we always talk about "Geez, it's been a long time [we've been together]". I wonder why? [laughing] Um...well, we both...well, aside from the fact that we have the same interests, you know, um...we both like business. We're both workaholics. Um...we have both decided that we want kids so we're thinking along those lines now. But, I think it's just the fact that we talk, and we talk about things not just like "Oh...let's hang this picture here or let's buy this T.V.," but we talk about things that happen all the time like whether it's at...in our...in our work or whether it's in this area or...you know, politics. We talk politics. We talk business. We talk...um, things that we want, you know, like our dream house, you know, and things. We just...we talk...I think a lot. We like music. We like the same kind of music. I think we're just really lucky that we met, you know.

K: Uh-huh. Yeah.

SSAY: I think talking's very important. Not just talking about...I think to be able to talk about a lot of things.

KHAY: Um...[my husband] and I, we try to take an interest in each other because we want to make sure we always have that relationship together, like you were dating. You know, never lose that and that's something that I hope mom and dad can work on. [My husband] and I
like to do a lot of stuff. I mean our whole life is...we do things together, so it's different. That's one thing about their [my parent's] relationship that I didn't like that I wanted to change when I was old enough to have my own guy.

When asked what KKKY would like to take from his parents' relationship and replicate in his own, he identified communication.

KKKY: [Pause] Well, I guess you could kind of...I think you can lump communication and understanding together 'cause I think one leads to the other. So that's probably what I would take.

K: Uh-huh.

KKKY: Because it seems like they [my parents] communicate well with each other and from that comes the understanding that they can just do certain things together and then, you know, like when they get into arguments, it's not complete silence. They'll work back after awhile. It's just, you know, it's...you could tell that they're going be together forever. That's what I would take.

CUUY and SFUY discussed issues in their relationships which related to cultural and ethnic differences between them and their ex-spouses. Both married Caucasians and subsequently divorced. CUUY described his former wife as:

CUUY: Hakujin. Um, it is, it is how you're brought up. You know. It's like, it's kind of weird. It's like her family will back her up to a certain point. My family will back me up all the way to the Supreme Court. Any problems she has is her problems with her family. Any problems I have, I can tell my family and boom, they're there. And, it's...you don't really see it because it is a kind of generation gap, almost. And, it's also different race, cultural differences. And, hmm, I don't know. It's kind of weird. Morals are different.

K: Okay. What attracted you to her at that point in time?

CUUY: Ooh, that's the first Hakujin I went out with. When I was growing up it was all Asians and stuff and she was different. Carefree...wanted to have fun. Which is great, but then, when we got married, she still wanted to have fun and I wanted to, you know, settle down, plant my feet in the ground.
K: Do you think you'll look for somebody who's Asian?

CUUY: Umm, I don't think it really matters now. I think before, way back in time, it was a big issue. It's changed a lot. I won't go for some other types of races, that's just a personal opinion. But Asians have their glitch too, you know, they're stuck up. I can't deal with it. You know, Caucasians, they voice their opinions more, they really do. And, I find that Asian women, a lot of them, I would say 90%, don't. They'll hold it back. Until you bring them to that point, then whoa, you get the full thing. You know. But...they're real passive. Yeah, to a certain point. But Caucasians will let you know.

SFUY described her ex-husband in the following manner and drew parallels between him and her father:

SFUY: Like my father. I believe that I did want someone like my father...to an extent. And, I always read these books that said when you get married you're going to go with someone close to your father. Either you're really going to go with someone who has your father's characteristics or you're not. Nothing at all. And I went...whatever my father was, plus more.

She also discussed differences in upbringing and culture between her and her former husband.

SFUY: I love my upbringing and I totally appreciate everything that the family put in me versus his. All these hints were there, all these clues the first time I met him. The first week, should I say. And, ding dong me, has to pursue him because I was...that was a time in my life when I was very, very insecure. And the first person that said the right thing, I was going to leash on to them and that's what I did.

K: And you've kind of talked about what of each of them is like who. How would you describe the relationship between you and your ex when you were still married?

SFUY: Oh, I was playing the role that I saw my mother as. And, trying to hold it in like all the family says. Well, just stick by it and it'll work. Three of them are divorced and they're telling me this. And, I guess I wanted it to work really bad. I guess I just got to the point where that's it, I can't take anymore. Things are put right in front of your face. And, you try to deny it. You can't deny it. My
family was getting tired. But, it was...I saw myself trying to cater to him even though I didn’t want to and verbally step back. And saw me trying to hang on to how they taught me to stay with the family and everything come...just let it go. And the more I did that the more angry I was. And, finally had to let him go.

Communicating disagreements assumed a familiar pattern with the Yonsei informants interviewed. Many were able to verbalize the overt process that occurred during disagreements. SSAY shared:

SSAY: Okay, the process is if we really disagree, first um...we argue about it and then I get mad at him because I go...and I always bring this up, I go, "You’re too analytical. You’re too robotic. You know, you can’t think blah, blah, blah." And he’s like, "Well, you’re too emotional...da, da, da." and then eventually it’s gets down to...okay, well, on this part...reason, I’m wrong and maybe on this I’m wrong, but I am right on this and this and this [laughing]. And, eventually there’s a compromise made. I think we’re okay. We yell. I scream, he talks loud. Yeah, maybe I cry and he just talks loud and then eventually it gets back to just normal.

While KHAY was describing what happens when she and her husband disagree, she recognized that she was interacting like her mother.

KHAY: Ah, he’s more apt to bring it up, talk about it, get it over with. I’m more...if something’s bothering me I’ll let it fester and fume and I won’t bring it up but he knows something’s wrong and so we went through that for about two years and he finally just said okay that’s it. I’m not going to go through that any more. If something’s bothering you, you got to bring it up now, you know, before it gets really bad and I just blow up. So, I guess that’s how mom used to be actually. See, I’m just kind of duplicating my mom. So, we’ve learned if something’s bothering me I just bring it up with him as positively as I can. Which isn’t always easy. He’s more open about communicating challenges than I am. I’m always like you got to take care of it, don’t bother anyone, do it on your own, you don’t want to bother someone. I guess to help you out so you just kind of do it yourself. But he wants to be included in that, so that’s kind of nice...someone that can support me.
For AAAY, disagreeing seems to serve a necessary function within their relationship as they search for common ground in their relationship.

AAAY: We disagree all the time. I think, uh, I think it's funny because he's pretty set with who he is, right? So, he's hard to like change or whatever. Uh, but I think, uh, because we kind of also like respect the other person. We kind of think, well, you know, if he thinks this, then there must be some merit to it. So, I think we both try to like give a little, try to at least understand what the other person, you know, where they're coming from. And, then we try to find the middle road.

Life task: Social relations.

Information related to social relations for Yonsei provided a unique outlook into this generation's experience. Their Sansei parents espoused family values which stressed accepting and respecting others. Many Yonsei openly discussed their experiences with racism and prejudice and the resulting feelings of hurt and rejection. Friendships were not culturally bound as with earlier generations, but instead were broadened and based on an individual's qualities.

AAAY, CKAY, KHAY, and MINY all grew up in families that stressed acceptance and treating others with respect. When asked to recall important family values, they replied:

AAAY: I think also, too, just to really, I think they [my parents] were really just like to be accepting of everyone. I think they really instilled that in us all, like not to judge people. I think that was it. I think they mostly just demonstrated that. They didn't really teach us about it.

CKAY: It was just that we should just be ourselves...I mean my mom was always like going "Don't be prejudice. Don't judge a book by it's cover."
KHAY: Just to be respectful of other people, especially...actually it doesn’t matter if you were an elder or just anyone else outside the family.

MINY: Well, you know, from my dad giving, you know, to help people that may be less fortunate or you know. Um, uh, just I guess the general, the general kind of, you know, be nice and, you know, give to others, just the basic kind of--

KHAY discussed the positive stereotype which had been given to her as a result of being Japanese American. She saw the need to further educate people so that stereotypes are not passed on and perpetuated whether they are positive or negative.

KHAY: Oh, you got to educate them [the general public]. I don’t want them [my children] to grow up thinking um, that they’re better than anyone else though, just because...you know nowadays it seems like it’s cool to be Asian because you’ve got a good reputation because people think like, even the people um, people I guess that don’t really know you, they think well, you know, of course you’re going to be hard-working and industrious because you’re Japanese. That’s a stereotype!

She continued to express her opinion that the United States has remained a "white" country and the need grows to educate others about differences and accepting diversity. She believed that her choice of friends was not based on ethnicity, but rather on an individual’s virtue.

KHAY: Um, I think if something like that [another internment] ever did come up, it’s made me more aware of the fact that it still seems to be a pretty white country. That no matter how many minorities are here and we’re going to have...I don’t know if we’ve reached that already, but there’s going to be more non-white people in America than there will be white people, but it still seems like it’s a pretty white world. It’s like you want more minorities and more Asians in the limelight so that people can see hey, we speak English, we eat more than just rice you know. People have us so stereotyped and that just
really bothers me but um, I want them to know there’s a really nice mix of people out there, you know. A lot of my friends now are Caucasian, as opposed to...I have Asian friends and Caucasian. But it seems like my good friends are more Caucasian now than Asian or maybe that’s just the association that we’re with but...that there’s good and bad in the world. It’s almost as if...every year there’s a new group to pick on, you know, the Laotians ’cause there are so many, the Cambodians, the Chinese. Every year it seems like you pass the torch to who’s going to get picked on now. And um, I guess that’s just part of life and trying to get along together and trying to get all these different cultures together; working and understanding and respecting other peoples’ cultures while you’re living in one city and it’s tough. You know you have different values, you’ve got different points of views and there’s going to tend to be a clashing there and I think that’s just part of life. But that, you know, you just do your best to get along with everyone and you treat everyone just like you would someone else.

Interestingly, while KHAY had definite feelings about not wanting to be stereotyped, she shared her stereotypical definition of a "Typical Seattle Asian" (T.S.A.).

K: Okay wait, wait, so what typifies a T.S.A.?

KHAY: A T.S.A.? When I was growing up a T.S.A., this was all the way through college, okay? They [T.S.A.’s] would always wear like kind of...they always have the most fashionable clothes—real faddy clothes, um...guys and gals—jeans seemed to be a little tighter than I liked. They always wore black leather jackets or boots or, you know, they’re always wearing black it seems like. Uh, real cool. They’re afraid to express their feelings. They’re afraid to admit that maybe they were having a good time or that they were scared of something. I mean it was always like sheer ice, just uncool. "Don’t touch me, I’m going to dance. Don’t step in my space" kind of an attitude. We were pretty loose, easy-going people which is probably...you know, you talk to everybody and it’s just not what a T.S.A. does [laughing]. You talk to your friends. You don’t talk to these other people, you know, you just don’t mingle. You just stick to your little group. Very structured, I always thought, and I never wanted to be associated with them. I have a lot of friends who were, but I never went out with them. Didn’t want to even touch them.
CUUY’s experience reflected a negative viewpoint by acknowledging continued racism in his interaction with others.

CUUY: Uh, yeah, there’s still racism out there. Well, it might change when he [my son] grows up, but I still see it. It affects me but it doesn’t affect me. Racism is stupid. There’s things that I don’t like that people do that I’m probably considered a racist, but that’s just my opinion. I don’t bluntly say it to their face. People aren’t equal.

Perhaps a statement by MINY is characteristic of others made by Yonsei informants relative to the social life task when she said that others are:

MINY: Different than I am [laughing]. Um, I guess others are…um, you know, like I said, into that different, not different, um, but that social call, that good and bad judgement, a lot of judgementa [sic], um, and a lot of, I guess, people like to classify a lot, which I have a hard time doing. You know. Uh, 'cause also too, if there’s a nice person, they’re equally just as neat, can be just as, you know. But, it’s really hard to say how others are. I guess maybe others are different because my belief system and my emotion, I know I’m very strong about them. I guess in that sense, it’s a little different [laughing]. Um, well, basically, I also feel that everyone is good inside, even if they might be mean, but they could be. That’s why, that’s another judgement thing, if someone does something bad, that doesn’t mean they are bad. There might be a reason for everything. So, I basically have a lot of faith in people.

K: So, the world is very diverse, the world is very…uncategorizable?

Life task: Occupation.

Parental influence upon Yonsei was noted within the occupational life task. Many Yonsei reported wanting to pursue the same profession as their parents and to have a sense of pride as Yonsei informants recognized their parents’ accomplishments. The importance of acquiring a college education was also adopted by this generation. For many, receiving a college education was assumed because their Sansei parents had established the financial resources to fund this endeavor.
One informant believed that there were acceptable "Asian" vocations while another incorporated her culture into her career.

Yonsei, like AWWY and KKKY, were influenced by their parents as they considered vocational choices. When asked what they aspired to do, AWWY and KKKY replied:

AWWY: When I was little...I wanted to work at Boeing like my dad. That's what I wanted to do. I just wanted to stay home and be a mom. That's what I wanted to do, but my parents wanted me to go to school [college] and I want to go to school too.

KKKY: And then later I wanted to be just like my dad. I wanted to be an accountant and work for the IRS.

K: Uh-huh.

KKKY: Or something...because I thought that it was a real respectable job and it shows where you are. I mean like you gotta work hard to get there and once you're there...then say, "Well, I've earned it. I've put in my time doing this and this."

AAAY described the role education played in her family and her desire to succeed.

AAAY: I think school was always really important. But, somehow they instilled that in us, that desire to want to study...we always kind of wanted to. But, uh, I don't know how that started, but that's something that we've always, you know, wanted to succeed at.

In KHAY's family, it was assumed that she and her siblings would go to college. She also believed that there were acceptable "Asian" careers and that her father had preconceived ideas about appropriate vocational choices.

KHAY: No, they never really forced anything on us one way or the other. Just go to college and at that point decide what you want to do. I think they kind of thought that we should all go into business, you
know, your typical "Asian" thing. You go into business school, you go into engineering, or you go into medical school. And ah, my sisters were in business and I was in education so I guess I flunked that one. But they always...I was pretty good with kids growing up so I think they kind of knew that that was probably my niche. But, my mom was always supportive. Dad grew used to it after awhile, but he never really came right out and said anything really negative. He just...you can just tell that he just wasn't thrilled that you choose something like that.

KHAY continued to share that ultimately she wanted to have children and chose to go into teaching because of the practical aspects of the job.

KHAY: ...the one thing that I always knew was that I couldn’t work in an office. So that’s why I thought maybe eventually I would go into teaching...and so I thought about that, plus maybe having the summers off and then having more time to spend with my kids. But probably the biggest thing I wanted to do was I just wanted to be a mom.

For SSAY, incorporating her Japanese heritage into a career was what she desired to do. She is currently working for a Japanese company in California.

SSAY: I was in seventh grade...my mom and dad sent me and my sisters to Hawaii to live with her sister for...for about six weeks, six, seven weeks. And they have Japanese T.V. there and I started watching Japanese T.V. and then I decided...I liked this. I want to do something...you know...I want to do something that has to do with Japan. I didn’t know what I wanted to do.

The second research question analyzed the application of the acculturational lifestyle goal paradigm to a sample of three transgenerational situations. The acculturational framework, including the identified lifestyle goals of Survival, Security, Assimilation, and Authentication, was applied to the interview information from Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei informants. Results supported the finding that acculturational lifestyle goals are applicable to individuals who may cycle and recycle
transgen

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through various acculturational lifestyle goals depending upon life events and their perceptions of the life tasks of love, social relations, and occupation.

Transgenerational Case Descriptions

Nisei: HIAN

HIAN, a 75-year-old Nisei man was interned when he was 23 years old for 10 and 1/2 months at the Tule Lake Relocation Center. When applying the acculturational lifestyle goals to HIAN's life experiences, several work circumstances were associated with the goal of Survival. Many of HIAN's work experiences were related to the economic necessity created by the times. He and his wife, HEAN, shared:

HEAN: Well, we grew up in the depression years so we just had to make do with what we could. HIAN, you went to Alaska didn’t you?

HIAN: Yeah, about three years.

HEAN: To make ah...

HIAN: Try to make money to go to school.

HIAN and his family were able to leave camp before the end of the war. They made arrangements to harvest crops in Idaho. From Idaho, HIAN obtained work in Chicago, Illinois, as a machinist with an avionics company. Living conditions in Chicago were deplorable and added supporting credence to the Survival categorization of this time period in HIAN's life.

HIAN also described the experience of providing for his family during the post-war years, a time he distinctly remembers just trying to survive.
HIAN: We all had to make a living. That was our goal after that [the internment], was to get busy and make a living. Take care of the family.

K: To survive.

HIAN: Yeah, that's what we had to do, so we just...yep.

The Security acculturational lifestyle goal was associated with HIAN's life task of love. HIAN stated that he and his wife had "known each other all our lives" and their relationship followed traditional gender roles. He described their roles in the following manner.

HIAN: Well, she took care of the kids and I had to work out...and so I did my thing and she did her thing in that respect. I know when the kids were growing up, and I was working...I was going to school, taking fifteen hours and working full time and remodeling the house....

As time passed, HIAN established his career and became more secure within the occupational life task. The work experience he gained in Chicago allowed him to acquire a job in his original home state of Washington.

HIAN: Not that the job I had in Chicago was that great, but when we came back I got on with [another company] and I stayed with them for 17 years until I...my nephew has a greenhouse, wanted me to start a plant maintenance and lease business for him so I left and got into that. But ah...it gave us the opportunity to do other things.

Conditional social assimilation occurred for HIAN because his family lived in a small, rural, Caucasian community and, as a result, HIAN's early social relations were with non-Japanese children. He recalled:

HIAN: Ah...scouts and I actually kind of grew up in the church over there 'cause all my pals were...most of my pals were members of the church. So I've been a Methodist all my life, which doesn't mean anything, but I...it's kept me out of trouble, so far [laughing]. It's too late now...can't get into much more trouble. But as far as growing up
is concerned, I had some real good boyhood pals. The only thing that bothered me was ah...I didn’t know where the heck they were when the evacuation came. Of course we didn’t have much touch with each other then but...nobody ever showed up or wrote or maybe they couldn’t find me...but ah...they seemed to disappear at evacuation time. Although I did get a letter from one friend that just passed away...a kid I used to play ball with all the...all winter and all summer and spring. He kind of hinted that he felt a little taken back that he hadn’t done something during evacuation. He just kind of hinted at that. So...but we’ve never had a chance to talk to him ’cause he died shortly after that.

HIAN later recalled his experience interacting with other Japanese Americans:

HIAN: But ah, we used to come into Seattle to play ball. I swear I never saw so many Nihonjin. My brother-in-law and I used to come in to play baseball in town. That’s where I met most of Nihonjins.

HIAN and his wife participated in authentication activities, such as involvement in the Japanese American community and various organizations. They also recognized that subsequent generations were realizing "their roots" by becoming involved in the Japanese American community.

HIAN: A lot of our activities are with the church...

HEAN: And community...

HIAN: JACL...used to be more, not so much anymore.

HEAN: Yeah, not now, oh gosh...

HIAN: We had our day...

HEAN: They’re [Sansei and Yonsei] all concerned and they’re all getting involved in community and I was...I was really excited about that.

HIAN: They’re not just involved in the...the Caucasian community. They’ve kind of come back to the Japanese community, which is a...a good feeling...that they realize their roots. And so they’re doing something to help out ah...business...
The majority of HIAN’s life task issues fell within the Security lifestyle goal. However, it is evident that at different times in his life, HIAN’s experiences can be categorized as either Survival, Assimilation, or Authentication goals. His apparent ability to adapt to changing times and situations has aided lifestyle goal transitions.

Sansei: DOWS

DOWS, a 33-year-old Sansei man, was the youngest of four children. His mother was interned at Tule Lake for approximately two months while his father served in the United States army during World War II. Lifestyle issues related to security were recognized by DOWS as he acknowledged that racism and prejudice currently exist.

DOWS: And, I think part of the reason why a lot of Japanese people don’t talk about it [the internment] is because it would take us out of our comfort zone. You know, our comfort zone is believing that, that where we live is bigot-free. And, I think deep down inside, we understand that it’s not. To live in a world where we would think that it’s not would be uncomfortable. I think, yeah, it’s, uh, it would be uncomfortable to put your mind into a different place and start understanding that, that, uh, that was 50 years ago and not... We haven’t made great strides that we’re closer to that than we are to going forward.

Assimilation lifestyle issues were apparent in DOWS’s life. He recalled his parents’ strong desire for their children to assimilate into mainstream society. DOWS shared:

DOWS: The one thing that sticks in my mind about what you’re, and what I thought about for years...my parents raised us, all four of us speaking English. We spoke no Japanese in the house. And it never really dawned on me until probably, maybe until, maybe eight or ten years ago, of how come. Uh, and I really feel that they wanted us to be...to assimilate more into the mainstream because they had things tough for being Japanese. You know, they got married in a tough
time. Uh, you know, my mother was in a camp and they had met only months before, two or three months before, February. Uh, my mother and her whole family got sent away. My dad was in the army. I don’t know how, but evidently he had enough, uh, connections in the chain of command to get my mother out. And, they went back to the Midwest to get married. A very difficult time to be Japanese. And, I think that that fear, that difficulty, led them to raise us the way they did. I think I miss it when I’m around other Japanese people who can speak Japanese, but I understand how come I don’t. I think they were afraid of…maybe a little more than they should have been, but I can understand it. I can understand it. They wanted things to be better for us than they were for them at that point in time.

Authentication lifestyle issues were also recognized in DOWS’s life. He discussed his need to resolve and integrate his mother’s internment experience into his own life in order to experience a sense of closure.

DOWS: Uh, boy. [Pause] Well, just that it doesn’t…that you have to be able to, be able to, uh, I think my mom probably tries to bury it [her internment experience] more than deal with it and resolve it. And, I recognize that in myself some, is just trying to bury something. But, also realizing that you need to, some things you’ve got to, no matter how painful, you’ve got to resolve them, you’ve got to close them, you’ve got to work them out and close them. It must be very painful to live your life with that kind of pain. Not having, you know, what they call closure. Not having something be resolved. A lot of people live their lives with some type of secret, with some type of something in their past that they go to their grave with. Uh, and that’s probably something that my mom is going to have bugging her whole life. She’s going to go the grave with it. It’s something that she doesn’t want to talk about. Everybody knows, you know, mom doesn’t want to talk about it. Either that, or that’s what we perceive. Maybe she does, maybe somewhere inside of her she does, but you don’t want to approach her on it, other than on a very informal setting.

DOWS’s life experiences can be categorized within a number of different lifestyle goals. While Assimilation was most closely associated with the Sansei generation, DOWS contemplated both Security and Authentication lifestyle issues.
SFUY, a 22-year-old Yonsei woman, was the first-born child in her family.

Her grandmother spent the duration of World War II in Amache, a relocation camp in Granada, Colorado. SFUY’s Sansei mother was born in camp. SFUY faced survival issues during young adulthood. She shared:

SFUY: Six months after [we met] I was pregnant. Got kicked out of here.

K: That was a pretty hard time.

SFUY: Oh God, my uncle wanted to throw me off the Golden Gate Bridge because of that family name, you know. My grandma even told me to get an abortion. I mean, my whole family was around the table "You’re getting an abortion. You’re getting an abortion." I’m like…and then if you tell me not to do something, I’m very rebellious.

K: That must have been a horrible time in your life.

SFUY: It was the worst time. I had nobody. And then I had no choice because I was kicked out. I had to go with [my boyfriend’s] parents and live in their house and there is a definite difference between the nationalities. Totally different.

SFUY continued to face Survival lifestyle issues that appeared to result from a need to establish a sense of security. SFUY also survived a drug addiction problem that trapped her within the lifestyle stage of Survival. She reported:

SFUY: And, ding dong me, has to pursue him because I was...that was a time in my life when I was very, very insecure. And the first person that said the right thing, I was going to leash on to them and that’s what I did. And then I wanted kids soon. I wanted it before. Like I said, it was tough because I’m the one who just got really bad grades in high school. I went to like one year of college. I’m the only one in the family that’s been arrested. I’m the only one that’s been on drugs. And to me, that’s okay, because I’ve learned from it and I think if I ever was out on the streets somewhere, I could survive. I want my
kids to have that street survival. I don’t want them to be so naive where they...

K: They get hurt.

SFUY: Yeah. I definitely...I had to go that way for whatever reasons it was. ’Cause I was off of everything for seven years and then I got into a car accident two years ago and they had me on prescription drugs and I got addicted to the prescription drugs. And then that’s another thing, Asian people do not go and check themselves into hospitals. Well, this girl had to. I didn’t care who was there or what. I needed help. I could have lost my kids, you know, ’cause I was just at the point of standing in the middle of nowhere and blacking out. I didn’t give a hoot what they thought about family. I had to go get help. And so, it’s a lot better because I know that there was other places to go to get help. Because I was going to go into the Asian program and I couldn’t because I’m going to have those issues, and so what? Now people are saying, since you go to all these meetings, people in there say, ”You know, you’re only the second Asian I’ve seen.” Maybe it’s about time. It’s like why hide it? I have no shame at all because I’m getting help. But then for them, they see it as shame. It’s not shame. And then they can’t...but now, see, all these value things are coming out. They think that if you have kids, it’s your responsibility and this is where the generation gap is. When I was in the drug program, there’s just too many problems because they’re saying that because of my kids, that should keep me clean. They don’t understand addiction. I’m like it doesn’t matter if I had everything in the world that I wanted and every person loved me, if I’ve got this problem, I’m still going to do it and they should have known that. I have two kids and I still did it. And my mom kept going ”You’ve got to get clean for the boys.” It’s like no, no, no, I need to get clean for me.

For SFUY, Security and Assimilation lifestyle issues gave way to movement towards the goal of Authentication. She acknowledged the cultural influences and family values that kept her from doing what was best for her.

SFUY: Oh, I was playing the role that I saw my mother as. And, trying to hold it in like all the family says. Well, just stick by it and it’ll work. Three of them are divorced and they’re telling me this. All my relatives helped me move in and out five times from this guy. And, I guess I wanted it to work really bad. I guess I just get to the
point where that’s it, I can’t take anymore. Things are put right in front of your face and you try to deny it. You can’t deny it. My family was getting tired. If you’re going to move again, or if you move back with him, we’re not helping you at all. We’re just cutting you off. Okay, of course I say okay. And, then I move back in and blah blah blah. But, it was...I saw myself trying to cater to him even though I didn’t want to and verbally step back. And saw me trying to hang on to how they taught me to stay with the family and everything come...just let it go. And the more I did that the more angry I was. And, finally had to let him go. Actually, I kicked him out when I was pregnant with [my son]. I just had it. One thing with me, once I finally made that final decision, I do not turn back and have the regrets. I’ll stick there as long as I can and that’s it. I won’t turn back.

The acculturational lifestyle goal identified with the majority of Yonsei informants interviewed was Authentication. However, due to life experiences, including pregnancy and drug addiction, the majority of SFUY’s acculturational lifestyle issues were categorized within the Survival goal.

Research question three examined how lifestyle goals were influenced by the internment experience. Data was analyzed by generation and as a whole, or transgenerationally. Information for the Issei generation was gathered from their children and grandchildren.

Nisei reported that the impact of the internment on their Issei parents was noted through obvious and varied levels of discouragement. The internment experience disrupted the lifestyle goal movement towards security and subsequent goals and caused an elongated period of time within the Survival lifestyle goal or an experience of “starting over.” CKAS recalled the impact the internment had on her grandmother. Her grandmother’s hard earned independence was lost when her husband was forced to sell his business before entering camp.
CKAS: Oh, I think it affected my grandmother a lot. She was a different woman anyway, but as far as my dad's um, mother and father, she [my paternal grandmother] probably would have been a lot happier because she would have had her own, you know. She would not have had to live with all of us and take care of all of us for one. But also, she would have...she wouldn't have been moved around so much. I think it was really hard for her. It's very hard for somebody who doesn't speak a lot of English. I think it really made a big difference for her, I think she would have been a lot happier not having had to move all over. And, I think he [my grandfather] had a good business, really good, you know, his photography and I think they were quite happy. All their friends were there, you know, she had a lot more independence than she did after so I think it affected her a great deal.

Even though HEAN's mother was plagued with high blood pressure, she shared that her mother's discouragement was also apparent:

HEAN: Well, my mother had ah... high blood pressure, really high blood pressure, even before the war, so she couldn't do too much anyway. So, I don't know whether they...I didn't notice any change as far as that goes. She did still, you know, did the cooking for the rest of us while the rest of us went to work. But ah...no, I don't know what kind of change. Maybe they just kind of given up, huh. I think they figured the kids could look after them...which we did, all the way down the line...older brothers and sisters.

Not only were Issei treated prejudicially by the majority culture, but specifically, many felt they were taken advantage of prior to their internment when they were forced to sell personal property at a great loss. SEKN reported:

SEKN: Yeah, in that um...it was several months before the war ended...we didn't know the war was going to end 'cause we had no radios in camp or anything. We didn't know what was going on outside. And then um...the bank was taking care of our rentals and everything and they wrote and said that they have a buyer for the property and would you sell it for what you bought it for? Which was five thousand dollars for four flats. And so my father said, "Oh, okay." Because we felt that our friend had enough worries without having to cope with our property too, when he didn't really own it. I mean, well...in name only. So, my father said okay. And then so we
sold it. And just a couple months after that the war ended. So, it was really devastating for us 'cause...well, my mother and my father came out and they had no place to go and um...my father went to the house...to the owner and asked if he could buy it back. And he wanted double what we had sold it for in two months, you know. But even then, if he had bought it for ten thousand, you know, it would have been good. But then he thought, oh no, you know, to lose that much in a couple of months, he didn’t think it was worth it. So, for them it was pretty sad.

K: Yeah. How did they handle that?

SEKN: Well, so then they ah...lived in, as you know, domestics. Because there was no place to stay and so my father cooked and my mother did the housework and they lived in for about a year and a half. I guess they lived in and did domestic work.

Survival issues were also faced by Nisei informants who were interned. An unknown future, including length of time of incarceration and post-internment living conditions, complicated the disruption in life brought on by the internment.

Additionally, many Nisei experienced an overriding sense of despair related to "what could have been," which included demoralization stemming from lost opportunities and irreclaimable accomplishments. As EWWN stated:

EWWN: Oh, I don’t have any good...good memories of camp at all. I hated every minute of it 'cause you never knew how long you were going to be in this situation, and going to the bathroom in a...and wading through the mud, you know,...not having any privacy, eating in a mess hall and ah...it just wasn’t.... So, I think at that age, it was a...a harder age 'cause you wanted to get on with your life and you didn’t like this interruption, especially when you didn’t know what was going to happen and why was it happening and you thought more about why. So you wonder...How would my life have been different if it hadn’t happened? I’m sure it would have been different.

Lack of trust in the government impacted security issues for Nisei. Many who thought the government was made up of omnipotent, ethical leaders felt overwhelming
betrayal when Executive Order 9066 was implemented and Japanese American citizens lost their civil rights and freedom because of Japanese ancestry. For some, an acute awareness of racism established the reality that being viewed as an equal citizen and fully assimilating within this country may never occur. SUUN shared:

SUUN: Um, I think that in a way you can’t depend on the government even though you’re an American citizen, yet you get put in there [camp], so...naturally you’re not a true American citizen. You think that way because we were treated like an enemy. That’s one thing that really, really just...

K: So even today, do you feel like you can’t trust the government as much as you would...as you thought you could?

SUUN: Still, that I think since we’re Japanese Americans, still there’s a...I get that feeling, a racist thing. Not a full American citizen. I don’t believe in that. They’re still treated as if...as long as we’re Japanese, you know, we’re American citizens. Still they treat us like Japanese. That’s one thing that’s not right. But I guess that’s going to be for a long time.

EWWN’s internment experience caused her to be hypervigilant about protecting her rights and the rights of others:

EWWN: Well, I guess the realization that...that your whole liberty can be taken away from you...your rights can be taken away from you just like that, and if you aren’t careful and aware all the time...it could happen. And I think you have to be careful that doesn’t happen to other people, to other groups of people.

HIAN also believed that he would stand up for his rights if he faced being interned again. On a positive note, HIAN believed that occupational doors opened as a result of the internment and the fact that Japanese Americans proved themselves to be loyal and dutiful citizens.

HIAN: Oh, it [the internment] probably had a profound effect on the way we’re living today. Um...we ah...have gotten to realize that
ah...we can "rock the boat" now if we want to and in those days, we
didn’t...well, it’s not that you wouldn’t dare, you just didn’t think
about it. And ah...that’s probably the most distinguishing factor, I
suppose, one of the most. But ah...things are a lot more available,
especially to our kids and their kids. They all know it was unfair
and...but maybe it opened up a few doors for us that weren’t open
before. In fact, it did. I know.

K: Like what?

HIAN: The jobs and other professions and more so for our kids than
for us. But ah, before the war, heck ah...a guy graduated from the
University, they had to go to Japan to find a job. That’s why a lot of
them were working in the public market or...

Many Nisei reported that they fervently sought to achieve the goal of
Assimilation, which was also stressed by their Issei parents who wanted their children
to live the American dream. When asked what his father’s dreams were for him,
HWWN reported:

HWWN: Oh, life in America. Yeah. He made that very clear...in the
mid-thirties because ah...one day he came to me and said you know, I
got to tell you something. He says, when you were born, you were the
first born in my family and I can’t be an American citizen so I
registered you with ah...Japanese consul. So you are citizen of Japan
and America and so...I have to let you know, because you’re going to
have to decide what to do...so, he decided...I decided that I...he said I
have some property in Japan, you know. I decided that I didn’t want it
and I also decided who to give it to, my cousin. And so we went down
to consulate...not the Consul General, but they had these sub...and
ah...and renounced my Japanese citizenship.

The Sansei generation recognized the tremendous sacrifice many of their
relatives tolerated as a result of their internment experience. Many acknowledged a
sense of indebtedness that they felt for their parents and grandparents who survived
their imprisonment and endured post-war conditions in order to rebuild their lives.
Overriding traditional Japanese values such as *gaman* were also recognized and
credited for helping Japanese Americans through this challenging period in history.

KKKS and MKKS shared how they were personally impacted by their parents’ internment:

MKKS: I think personally, it’s...I really admire them for going through it [being interned]. I mean, surviving and picking up the pieces after and going on from there. Knowing that, I don’t know how I would have done it. So, that’s where I hold a lot of admiration and a lot of...you know, just positive feeling that they were able to do it. I guess I’m grateful to them that they were able to do it. Especially, the post-war years. I don’t know how...I think I would have been really stressed out, walking down the street, having to be sworn at. Maybe physically beaten or whatever. They really, uh, had to endure a lot, I think, post-war. And still, ignoring that, or trying to ignore that and getting on with their lives, trying to make the best of it. Which they did...which the majority of them did, is really something.

KKKS: Sometimes don’t you think, like the way the Japanese people...they endured it [the internment], and yet, when they came out, they didn’t focus on it to blame that...that I can’t better myself, I can’t do this and that because of that. We could have said that we can’t improve because no one cares about us and we’re discriminated against and the whole thing. You could go on with that for generations, if you so choose. But I think these people were saying, this is not going to affect the rest of our lives. We will go on and our children and our children’s children will go on and hopefully they won’t have to go through that again. But, we are not going to keep blaming that as the reason why we’re turning to alcohol or drugs or whatever, you know, whatever you have to put the blame on. I think it would be very easy to do that. To say, you know, "because they took away my property...they took away everything I had...I couldn’t go to school because of camp." You know, you can go on forever saying that it was because of camp. And then, your children and their children and everyone starts feeling really negative and...you know.

K: Hopeless.

KKKS: Yeah. Look what they did to grandpa or whatever. And then you just get really bitter and ugly and you know. It’s not a good way to live.

MKKS: Yeah.
KKKS: So, in a way, I think, they were protecting us in a way to say we dealt with it and it's done, so let's move on. Hopefully you'll never have to go through that. But it's not good to keep that inside and dwell on it. Because it can kind of grow in you. You can become really embittered about it. So, most cases I've heard, they don't really say anything about that.

MKKS: Yeah, you just have to really credit them for their, you know--

KKKS: Their gaman.

MKKS: Yeah. [Laughter] Just thinking, let's put that behind us and go from here.

KKKS: Yeah, because so many of them really did lose everything...everything. And that's really sad.

An issue that was also faced by Sansei informants was the question of "what could have been?" BNAS believed that her life was directly impacted by the internment because it caused the disruption of her father's education. Had he been given the opportunity to finish college, circumstances could have been much different for her family.

BNAS: I got redress and [my husband] did too. We had to write a bunch of letters to get ours. I think 'cause they had run out of funds or whatever but, we eventually got it. And I told mom, I said "Well, gee, you know, I was just little." And she says "No, no, no. Things could have been different and we'll never know." But Dad, I think, was in...I'm not sure if he was in school, I think he was still in school and I think he was looking to be a doctor. So I said, "Oh, you mean we could have been rich?" [laughing] That would have been a whole entire different life. You never know.

Sansei attributed the internment with having a direct impact on a number of life issues directly related to the acculturational lifestyle goal of assimilation. One informant believed that he needed to work harder in order to prove himself and assimilate.
DIWS: Oh, actually, I think the things that I’ve gotten out of it [my parents’ internment] were things that have made me a stronger person. I think, I’ve known some Japanese people that were bitter and they might even have let it consume them. But, I think I’ve always thought that I’m probably going to have to work harder than the next guy to get the same thing. Don’t dwell on it, just do it. That’s what we were taught. I think that’s been good. I think a lot of us were taught that.

Several other Sansei expressed grief that their Japanese heritage was dismissed and that they were not taught to speak Japanese while growing up. However, they understood some reasons why this might have happened in their families.

BNAS: I think they [my grandparents] might have even tried harder to assimilate. When we were...we lived with them for many years and um, none of us speak Japanese because my grandpa said, "You’re not going to need it. So don’t...you don’t need it." I didn’t know anything. And um, I’m terrible. I know food but I sort of take this beginning Japanese class and it’d be just awful. And even though my grandmother spoke a lot of Japanese, they both spoke English. And I think they probably tried extra hard 'cause they did. They...of course, they were up in Bellingham, Blanchard area and surrounded by Caucasians and they had to.

DOWS: The one thing that sticks in my mind about what...my parents, raised us, all four of us speaking English. We spoke no Japanese in the house. And it never really dawned on me until probably maybe until, maybe eight or ten years ago, of how come. Uh, and I really feel that they wanted us to be...to assimilate more into the mainstream because they had things tough for being Japanese. You know, they got married in a tough time. A very difficult time to be Japanese. And, I think that that fear, that difficulty led them to raise us the way they did. I think I miss it when I’m around other Japanese people who can speak Japanese, but I understand how come I don’t. I think they were afraid of...maybe a little more than they should have been, but I can understand it. I can understand it. They wanted things to be better for us than they were for them at that point in time.

DIWS: Umm, I think that my folks, in fact, you know, it was just...coincidentally just a few weeks ago that my folks said it out aloud and I don’t think they realized it. It was the first time they’d ever said it, but they said that they, as young married people, made a conscious
effort to see that their family grew up separated from the Japanese neighborhood. I think that [the internment] had something to do with it. I've always thought that. Not that they admitted that that was the cause, but they admitted that there was a conscious effort to separate ourselves from the Japanese community.

K: Do you think that's true even now?

DIWS: No. Because, uh, they've kind of swung around the other way, where their...yeah, I think they always were proud of their Japanese heritage, but now they're involved with several Japanese things, JACL, more than when I was growing up.

K: More out of the closet.

DIWS: Yes, and they enjoy that.

Assimilation was a goal passed on to many Sansei by their Nisei parents. Sansei informants recalled that their parents stressed that they wanted their children to have more than they. Education was seen as a means through which Sansei could assimilate and many Nisei stressed the importance of acquiring a college education.

BOKS: I think really basically was to um...in fact, I think for the...for the Niseis, was to have the kids have more than what they had. They didn't get to go to college and I guess, back then, it was the biggest thing. And it was pretty stressed that they wanted me to. And really, the one value I think both...even from dad is...dad and mom, is go to college, 'cause we couldn't do it. We want you to be better than we were. We just do...they used to...they did like housecleaning and stuff, domestic stuff. We don't want you to do that. Because you know, they really wanted us to go...the college degree, I think meant a whole lot to them. And that was, yeah...it was pretty stressed.

The impact of the internment on Sansei led many interviewees to search for a personal understanding of what being Japanese American meant to them. As some Sansei strove to fulfill the goal of Authentication, finding peace about their family's
When asked how his parent’s internment affected him, DOWS replied:

DOWS: Uh, boy. [Pause] Well, just that it doesn’t...that you have to be able to, be able to, uh, I think my mom probably tries to bury it more than deal with it [her internment] and resolve it. And, I recognize that in myself some, is just trying to bury something. But, also realizing that you need to, some things you’ve got to, no matter how painful, you’ve got to resolve them. You’ve got to close them. You’ve got to work them out and close them. It must be very painful to live your life with that kind of pain. Not having, you know, what they call closure. Not having something be resolved. A lot of people live their lives with some type of secret, with some type of something in their past that they go to their grave with. Uh, and that’s probably something that my mom is going to have bugging her whole life. She’s going to go the grave with it. It’s something that she doesn’t want to talk about. Everybody knows, you know, mom doesn’t want to talk about it. Either that, or that’s what we perceive. Maybe she does, maybe somewhere inside of her she does, but you don’t want to approach her on it, other than on a very informal setting.

For Sansei, the acculturational lifestyle goal of Authentication included being able to embrace their Japanese culture. The majority reported a need to fill in the gaps surrounding their parents’ internment experience. One Sansei sought to educate himself through research. MKKS interviewed his mother for more information and described his experience.

MKKS: You know, when I was in college, I did a paper on the internment. So, I logically...they [my parents] were the first people I talked to. My mother was really, I think, she either subconsciously or intentionally, I don’t know which it is, really didn’t paint it that bleakly to me. She...the way she talked about it was that...I think she tried to get the most...she tried to get the positives out of it. That she got to hang out with a certain group of people. And it was...she did a lot of things socially because you have to when you’re confined. She didn’t make it sound like jail...you know, the barbed wire. She didn’t describe any of the negatives. She really just looked upon the positives or at least that’s what she told me. Because I tried to get into it more,
you know, like as far as the political thing and all that kind of stuff. And she really...she wouldn’t open up about it that much.

K: So, it sounds as though there’s part of you that doesn’t quite believe that’s the whole story.

MKKS: Yeah, because then I did a lot of reading up. I talked to other people too.

In an effort to educate themselves about the internment, BNAS and CKAS attended the Commission hearings. They shared:

BNAS: But it was horrifying to read those articles and the feeling. And you think gosh...and then you think well, it’s not really over. And especially when the redress came out...I went to some of the Commission hearings...and...

K: What was that like?

BNAS: Um, who was in charge? I can’t think of who was in charge now 'cause it’s been so long...but they just talked about things that people came up and spoke about things that happened in camp. And somebody was mentioning once that they should pay and so one of the Commission members said "Well, what could you possibly pay a five-year-old girl for doing what kind of work?" You know, and the redress...and the comment came back from Mako...I think...what was a five-year-old girl doing in a jail...in a prison camp? That ended that. But I’ve come across people who had never heard...

CKAS: During the redress hearings. That’s really the only time I ever heard about it. And until that time, you definitely didn’t hear about it in school and during the time we were growing up we didn’t do reports on it, you know, like they do now.

Like the preceding Sansei generation, Yonsei also gratefully recognized the sacrifices made by their grandparents and great-grandparents. One Yonsei informant vicariously applied her grandmother’s survival experiences to her own life when
difficulties arose. When asked what influence her grandmother's internment had on her, SFUY replied:

SFUY: No matter what I went through in my past experience, I can always come out surviving.

When asked what additional information she would like to know about her grandmother's internment experience, SFUY continued:

SFUY: What I would like to know is...how it was like...just starting all over again.

K: What would that information do for you?

SFUY: Probably when I'm down and out in my moods, it will keep me grounded. Even though I know I'm a survivor, it just helps to know that someone in your family went through that time and that they come out of it. I know I come out of my down moods, but sometimes it's hard.

In addition to having feelings of respect and indebtedness, MINY also acknowledged that she felt anger as a result of her parents' and grandparents' internment experience.

MINY: Um, I guess, too, when I was doing more research, and then, so I got to actually find out what exactly they [my grandparents] went through, it, um, you know, you see what they went through and, you know, you have a lot more respect. Not, not, you know, not a lot more respect, but you know they've gone through, um, so I guess since I have very close, close relatives that were in it, you know, I took a lot of it personally. I think that's why I was so kind of, uh, strong about that subject. But, it definitely did anger me more.

Issues relating to the lifestyle goal of Security were also important for Yonsei because of their ancestors' internment experience. KKKY and other Yonsei expressed a lack of trust in the government which in turn damaged their sense of security as an American citizen.
KKKY: Ah, it [the internment] made me look down on the government too. I mean I think that [pause]...I mean when you’re in the government, you’re in...you’re the president, I mean you’re supposed to be for the people, for all of the people. And how many people...how many Japanese Americans had to go into the camps? And I think they were the one’s that got disrespected. They didn’t count as Americans. All they’re doing the best job for everyone on the outside and um...it just seems like, I don’t know, it really made me mad that America’s supposed to be supposedly “Land of Freedom” and equal everything...equal people. But you know, it’s obviously not. Ever since the Black people were slaves, way back in the 1800s and I don’t think that America’s that great. I just know...it seems to strike me a lot more when I see anti-Japanese things like on T.V. or whatever, they have hate crimes and things like that. And then you know all the publicity about the Rising Sun movie and all that. You know, it just seems to be so much now of Japan-bashing. And I think that just goes back to ah...internment camps, how it was focused on the Japanese.

K: It was okay then, it’s okay now.

KKKY: Yeah, so I mean, it just seems to carry over. And then now, they say it’s because Japan is so successful and then they’re treating again the Japanese in America like they’re the ones in Japan, when we’re two different people. And I think it’s the same thing really. They interned the Japanese Americans back in the 1940s and they’re the citizens there and a lot of them fight for America. I mean we’re good enough to be in the army, but we’re not good enough to live on the street with everyone else?

Yonsei directly identified the internment as having an impact on the lifestyle goal of Assimilation. They were raised by Sansei parents who aspired to be as American as possible. CKAY and KHAY shared their personal observations, noting the loss of culture they experienced.

CKAY: Um, maybe...this is a theory...my grandma on my dad’s side is really bitter about it and so I think that maybe after that [being interned] they wanted to become really assimilated a lot more into the American culture, and when I was born, my dad didn’t want me to have a Japanese middle name and so I have a German or Greek name and then my last name. And um, like now my mom even goes we’re a totally American family and we don’t really have any culture, which is
sad. Maybe that's what happened, they just wanted to disassociate themselves with the Japanese culture, maybe?

KHAY: It seems like they just jumped in... one thing I asked my mom when I was in junior high and I was taking Japanese language classes is why don't you know how to speak Japanese 'cause my dad kind of knows how 'cause his aunties are a little bit older and they speak Japanese, and my mom, she doesn't know beans, you know, about how to speak. And she said because her parents and grandma...you know, great-grandma and great-grandpa they wanted her to become as Americanized as possible, not that they were denying the fact that they were Japanese but they didn't want her to stand out even more so than they did. And so she grew up speaking only English which in my eyes was a waste because, you know, nowadays it's cool to have multi-languages and to be bilingual and if I had been bilingual...I was mad at her for not teaching me Japanese. That's what it came down to! "Why didn't you teach me Japanese in the household?" You know, because then I could have picked it up naturally. She said it was just not something that they wanted her to do and I don't know if that was a direct, you know, directly or indirectly, I don't know. So it's almost as if they were trying to push away everything that was Asian and do everything that was American.

The lifestyle goal of Authentication was addressed in depth by Yonsei informants. When asked about the impact her grandparents' and parents' internment experience had on her, AAAY's response epitomized the focus on the authentication, during which time individuals incorporate their ethnic identity into a personally meaningful manner.

AAAY: Umm, uh, I think it's [their internment experience] made me, I don't know the word... I think, uh, I guess it's always made me aware that I am culturally different than other people and as far as race goes, that I am... I've never felt bad because of that. I've always been kind of proud of my race. And, uh, I think maybe that's something that separates me from other people that I've always kind of liked and been proud of. I didn't have a lot of friends who were Japanese when I was growing up in suburbia, so I always felt different. And that was always like a part of what my family was, was that, that part of, that like uh, they meant that to me...that they kind of symbolized that sort
of difference. I don’t think that when I was growing up that my friends saw me as being Japanese. They never really saw me as being like a minority or something like that. But, it’s something that I’ve always not...I’ve always been kind of proud of. That I was like that. So, it was always nice to have my family because we were the only ones that were like that too. So, that was always kind of neat. Maybe just that, that it was just a distinction.

Several other Yonsei educated themselves about the Japanese culture and the internment. Attempting to fill in the blanks about one’s cultural heritage was identified as another distinguishing hallmark of those involved in meeting the goal of Authentication. Many Yonsei involved themselves in researching the internment and read books such as *Farewell to Manzanar*. KHAY and KKKY shared:

**KHAY:** My greatgrandma and grandpa, I never was old enough to talk to them about it so everything I learned, I learned through reading myself what happened. Like that book, *Farewell to Manzanar*, I really liked that book a lot ’cause that kind of explained what it might have been like there.

**KKKY:** And then just later I um...I...I think in high school when I was a junior, my teacher was talking about it [the internment] more and I got interested in it, so I started doing some research...’cause we read this one book *Farewell to Manzanar* and so I was getting into that and then I started doing other research on it. And then it just kept on coming up a lot and then like freshmen year in college, and then now, I was writing about it.

For SSAY, self-education also occurred through books and later becoming involved in Asian clubs.

**SSAY:** And so then I think that’s when I started being interested in more where my grandparents came from or where my great grandparents came from, you know, reading books where...Issei, Nisei. You know, Bill Hosokawa’s books and becoming involved in the Asian American clubs at school and things like that and um...just getting involved and starting to ask questions about being Japanese.
Passing on the goal of authentication to the next generation was viewed as important to SSAY. She shared that she wanted her children to grow up knowing their Japanese culture.

SSAY: I want them [my children] to be happy. Whatever they’re doing, I just want them to be happy. If they’re happy, they’re successful. You know, I don’t care if they’re rich or whatever...as long as they’re happy. I want them to grow up knowing that um...ah...I want them to grow up world...worldly. I want them to be able to experience other cultures. I want them to...I definitely want them to know their culture...the Japanese culture.

Research question four assessed general and internment-related communication patterns within the generations and families interviewed. Cultural dictums appear to have restricted communication between the Issei and Nisei generations. One Nisei informant described his Issei father in the following manner:

HWWN: Like a typical Japanese father...was quite aloof and...

K: A disciplinarian?

HWWN: No, my father was not a disciplinarian. Ah...he always said a man shouldn’t talk too much. A man should be someone of few words. Of course, most all of the...I think majority of the Isseis were like that.

Another complicating factor affecting verbal communication between the generations occurred in families when parents spoke primarily Japanese. EWWN recalled:

EWWN: I don’t know. I wish we had [talked about the internment].

K: You know that’s not just something that’s unique in your family...

EWWN: I don’t know whether it was a language barrier...I never...although I could understand, I could get by, I could understand Nihongo [Japanese] enough to talk to them and they could make their point clear to me...I don’t know why we didn’t. We should have.
K: What would you have wanted to be said if you had talked about it?

EWWN: I would have asked what they thought about it...ah...did they enjoy, you know, not having to work so hard for their living. Of course, when they went...got out of camp, they had to work hard anyway, so it didn't last that long, you know.

All of the Niseis interviewed shared that they had not discussed the internment with their families. EWWN offered that although her children believed that she did not talk about her internment experience, she has more openly discussed camp with her grandchildren.

EWWN: Well, they [our children] say don't know much, but...but I don't...I'm not aware that I was ever adverse to talking about it because I was bitter about it for a long time and ah...um...if they had asked me or something or something had happened that I could bring it up, I would have, I think. Um...[my son] tells me that he doesn't know much about it...that we didn't talk about it very much and maybe we didn't and they didn't ask. But it's strange now because our grandkids, one after the other, they reach a certain...high school or something...they have to write a term paper. "I want to write about evacuation." So okay, we give them the same material, each with the same material and um...they write the paper and they all get As because the teacher doesn't know a thing about it and it's all...hard to believe...something about history that you don't want to know about.

One overriding reason for the absence of communication about the internment existed within families. Nisei shared that they did not discuss their internment experience because it was a negative event which they wanted to forget and put behind them.

HEAN responded:

HEAN: I think...they...you had to forget that [internment experience] and go ahead, actually. You couldn't sit there and dwell about it...what could have happened, what could have you know, this and that.
All of the Nisei individuals who participated in the research project concurred with HEAN. TNNN added:

TNNN: No, I don’t talk much.

K: Is there anything that you would like them [your children] or your grandchildren to know about camp?

TNNN: No, I don’t want to talk...it’s bad, you know. War is no good.

K: Being in camp...looking back now and thinking about being in camp, do you think you’re different now because you were in camp?

TNNN: No. Forget the camp, now. I never speaking about camp. It happened, it happened.

General communication characteristics were noted for the Sansei generation.

Those Sansei whose parents primarily spoke Japanese recalled communication difficulties. MKKS shared:

MKKS: He’s [my father’s] very, uh, conservative. Um, since he was educated in Japan, it was at times hard to communicate with him. Although we did communicate, but since he spoke mostly Japanese it was sometimes hard to get ideas across to him and for him to return ideas...

TUUS reminisced that his father had difficulty openly communicating his ambitions and thoughts with his children.

TUUS: He never expressed them [desires for us] if he did. The only thing he did, but he never verbalized it and ah...years later I understand what he was doing and I talked to him about it and he says, "Yeah, that’s what I was doing." But I never told him you should have said something...was that he spent...I still remember the...I don’t know where they are. I think we threw them away...leather bound books of fairy tales and they were in gold letters and white...I mean there was a whole set of them...we never opened them. Once in awhile we’d open them and that was it. But Dad spent...at that time, it must have cost him an arm and a leg...he never said that, until after I talked to him
years later, why he bought them. He wanted us to use it and to read it...but he never said that.

MKKS and KKKS noted that their parents’ communication style was influenced by the internment. MKKS shared that they did not argue or fight in front of him and his siblings because:

MKKS: Well, I think it’s because they...I think a lot has to do with what they went through. You know, the war and internment and stuff. They had a lot of things that were just...thrust on them. They went through some hard times there. So, I think they used that as a focal point a lot in the post-war years.

K: Like the marker, that they made it through this, they can make it through a lot of things?

MKKS: Right. Yeah.

KKKS: Or, it could be, too, that maybe when they were in that camp situation, they couldn’t openly scream and yell and throw things at each other because then the whole neighborhood would know.

Communication issues specifically related to the internment resulted in a common theme: Sansei informants perceived that their Nisei parents did not want to talk about their internment experience. DAWS explicitly understood that discussions about the internment were off limits.

DAWS: Um, I remember Mom not wanting to talk about it [the internment] anymore. She was very adamant, don’t want to talk about it. Ah, and I knew I couldn’t pursue it anymore...and it was pretty hush-hush to last that long without anything being said. Um, it’s just one of those things that...it’s kind of like a hands off, let’s not talk about it.

MNNS and TUUS concurred with other Sansei as they recalled that their parents did not want to share information about their camp experiences. They also added that any discussions or answers to questions were presented with cryptic, brief
descriptions. The vagueness and forbidden nature of their parents’ responses gave rise to concern and anxiety regarding the experiences and events of the Japanese American internment.

MNNS: And that’s the only time [after watching the movie Return to Manzanar] she ever talked about camp...when she talked about that. Other than that, my father never said anything about camp. My mother never said anything about camp and even if I asked questions about it, they wouldn’t say anything about it. You know, I find out a lot of Niseis don’t like to talk about internment. Even if you ask them a question...it’s either, I don’t want to talk about it or a one sentence answer and that’s it. They just drop it.

TUUS: They’re both...they’re both very quiet. Won’t say anything unless you ask questions and then, even then, they’re kind of evasive. ’Cause I don’t think they want to talk about it.

Another interesting consideration arose when several Sansei suggested that their Nisei parents did not discuss their internment experiences because of collective amnesia.

MKKS: I think they all have this, the Niseis, I think they have this common ground or common thought, that, I don’t know...maybe they, it’s like, to me, the majority of them kind of got brainwashed and when the war was over and they were finally released, they just decided let’s put it behind us. I don’t know how they did it...in such huge numbers because they were all...I would say the big majority from that point became successful. I mean, they worked hard at whatever vocations or careers that they had and they succeeded. And so obviously to do that, they had to collectively say let’s put it behind us. This is day one and we’re going to move forward and raise our families and try to just make things the best that we can for our future generations, you know...because what a success story. I mean, I don’t know too many Nisei families who, you know, just went down after that. I think they all...maybe it’s because they all thought that "Hey, we have nothing. Let’s start and go on from here."

EFUS also attributed the desire to forget about camp to the lack of communication in her family.
EFUS: I think because...I think it was such a...I think it hurt them so much because they were citizens. They were American born and they didn’t really deserve...they were farmers, you know. And they didn’t do anything but to be put into like camps, you know, and to loose everything they worked for and then come back to nothing. I think it was just like a nightmare. You know, and I think just to forget it. You know, and I think that’s mainly my mom. And I think what was so hard on them too...we were born in camp and then to come out and have nothing...to start all over. And I think that was ah...and I think that’s why they have so much...I think...it’s partly so much hatred and then plus so much hurt that I think they want to just forget it. Which is a shame, you know.

Although all of the Sansei interviewed claimed that their parents and grandparents were reluctant to discuss their internment experiences, several issues were cited which prevented direct communication about camp. The predominate issue noted for precluding open family conversation regarding the internment was protection. Sansei felt that their parents wanted to protect them from the pain they endured. According to KKKS:

KKKS: So, in a way, I think, they [my parents] were protecting us in a way to say we dealt with it [the internment] and it’s done, so let’s move on. Hopefully you’ll never have to go through that. But it’s not good to keep that inside and dwell on it because it can kind of grow in you. You can become really embittered about it. So, most cases I’ve heard, they [Nisei] don’t really say anything about that [camp].

DOWS also received the message that the internment was not a topic open for discussion and added that he believed that his parents wanted to protect him from issues of shame and personal pain.

DOWS: You know, my parents, my mom really never spoke about it too much. It was always kind of unspoken. She didn’t want to talk about it. I had to find out a lot of things over a long period of time. Uh, because I think it was something that they, were, maybe, I don’t know if ashamed is the right word, but it’s not far off from the right word. And, you know, they wanted to put it behind them and move on. Part of that was that my mom never really related a lot of that to
us. I don’t know if was because they wanted to have us be protected from that. And, that’s why I believe is how come we never spoke Japanese in the house. I think it was something that was painful, it was very painful. And I think there was some shame to it, I think. That’s how, uh, I feel they felt, because...how my mother felt because she never really wanted to relate much of that to us. It was like we don’t want to talk about that.

Protection was reciprocated between the Nisei and Sansei generations. Sansei informants expressed a desire to protect their parents from having to relive distressing internment events. DAWS described his reaction to his mother’s recollection of internment events:

DAWS: Pain. That not wanting...[sigh], there is a desire to know, but a respect of not wanting to open wounds. You know, if [pause] the few times that mom has talked about it, you just see the tears roll out. So, you just go...and then, eventually, you can tell she doesn’t want to talk about it anymore. So, you just say, okay, back off.

DOWS refrained from discussing the internment out of respect for his parents. Additionally, he believed that cultural dictums contributed to his family’s silence.

DOWS: I perceive that my parents, especially my mother...partially out of respect for her, I don’t talk to her about it. Partially out of respect for the fact that I have a feeling I understand how...that she doesn’t want to talk about it. That’s just from the way I was raised, some of the things that I gathered, of how they raised us the way they did, is that I don’t talk about it. And, I think part of the reason why a lot of Japanese people don’t talk about it is because it would take us out of our comfort zone. You know, our comfort zone is believing that, that where we live is bigot-free. And, I think deep down inside, we understand that it’s not. To live in a world where we would think that it’s not, would be uncomfortable. I think, yeah, it’s, uh, it would be uncomfortable to put your mind into a different place and start understanding that, that, uh, that was fifty years ago and not...we haven’t made great strides that we’re closer to that than we are to going forward.
EFUS concurred with DOWS and stated that the traditional Japanese practice of *gaman* prevented many Nisei from openly expressing their internment-related feelings and experiences.

EFUS: I was in pain but I wouldn't yell because I remember the things she [my mother] used to tell me. It was like *gaman* and hold your pain...Yeah, because I think to me seeing all her [mother's] friends and then um...a lot of my friends and they're older...this keeping quiet stuff to me now, it's got to change. And I think that's what happened with the camp and everything and then after we came out all this prejudice feelings. You know, and that's one part the Japanese have to change. We need to speak up, you know, if you're right, you're right. You speak up.

Communication between siblings about the internment was also examined. All of the Sansei informants interviewed reported that discussions regarding their parents' and grandparents' internment experience have either not occurred or have taken place on a limited basis with their siblings. The redress movement provided a forum from which one informant indirectly discussed the internment.

EFUS: Um...just more recently maybe because of the redress...when they were starting the redress and stuff and then that's when we were saying, you know, this redress...the thing is twenty thousand is nothing. That's it basically that we were saying. And I said "Yeah, look at the Issei that were there but they're gone." They should have done this much earlier. Because like my grandmother. She passed away before, you know. And I said it's sad because they're the ones that deserved it, you know. I think that's the only time...that's the most we've talked about camp.

One Sansei reported that he attempted to clarify information regarding his parents' internment with his siblings.

DIWS: Oh, we were just kind of comparing notes as to what each of us had overheard and those kind of things. I think, uh, it's probably been 15 years since we talked about those things, but I can remember family get-togethers and by some odd coincidence, three of us would be standing some place and we would talk about that. "Well, I heard Mom say this" or "I'm kind of
confused because if Uncle Jack was here and Dad was there and how did this happen?" And so it’s not that we got anything really resolved, but we did kind of compare notes.

Another aspect of family communication was examined. What had been shared by Sansei parents with their Yonsei children regarding the Japanese American internment experience? The majority of informants stated that they had discussed the internment with their children through sharing factual information, whereas two Sansei interviewees stated that they had not discussed the internment with their Yonsei children.

DIWS recalled discussions he had with his children.

DIWS: I think, I think we’ve tried to explain what happened without getting into too much detail. But, I know that I’ve always found myself telling them, you got to remember, I know it’s hard for you to understand, but you got to remember that those were different times. Those were different people. Those were...that was during the war and people under stress do things that don’t seem right under other circumstances. So, I’ve always prefaced what discussions we had about camp by saying that. I don’t know if I feel a subconscious need to apologize for America or what. But, maybe it’s I just didn’t want the subject of internment to have the same affect on my kids that it did on me.

DOWS limited discussions with his children to factual information sharing.

DOWS: Just the structure. You know, what happened, why it happened. Uh, but other than knowing that Grandma was in one of those camps, that we sometimes see on T.V., you know, you don’t know how much you can relate to a kid. You can say things to a kid, but you wonder how much do they soak in, how much do they really get that emotion, the actual feeling of what took place.

For other Sansei, the topic of camp was initiated by their children because the Japanese American internment has recently been included in United States history curricula.
CKAS: Well, [my son] had to...they both kind of had to do a little something when they were in school. So they both have talked about it, but my guess is they would also feel some of the same way. I don’t know, maybe not, maybe they thought of it differently because I suppose that was something they see...they’re seen at a...it was a long time ago and they really have no close ties with it at all. And ah, they’re seeing...because their school talks about it, they do have a time in class and so [my daughter] has had to argue about it with her Hakujin friends in class about the rights and wrongs of it. So, she might see it totally different than I saw it because she actually had to confront it. Whereas I’ve never really confronted it with anyone whether it was right or wrong, you know, our friends when we’ve talked about it with our friends who are white, they would just...they would also feel that it was wrong, so we never had to talk...I mean like take a stand one way or the other.

Communication patterns were also examined within the Yonsei generation. It was noted that Yonsei generally reported having an open dialogue with their Sansei parents, especially with their mothers. AAAY recalled:

AAAY: Um, I think she [my mother] was the one that would always talk to us about things and at least try to, if we let her [laughing]. You know, you go through that stage but, she uh, she was always the one that talked about things. And you know, taught you about, she’s aware of all the issues that you go through in high school, so she always sprung them on us, and we were like [laughing] "Oh no." But she always talked about stuff and so she was the more vocal person as far as how she interacted with us.

In CKAY’s family, her mother was the one who communicated for her father.

CKAY: If he [my father] doesn’t want me to do something he won’t tell me. He’ll tell my mom and my mom will have to tell me "Dad doesn’t want you to do this." Or he’ll let me do it but he won’t be happy about it. He won’t ever say anything, unless he’s really against it and then he’ll say something, but my mom won’t hold back.

SSAY characterized the communication within her family as being open.

SSAY: They [my parents] were always pretty open. I think. Um...I...um, they were always pretty open, you know, if something was wrong, we...we would know about it and if we were not to say anything or whatever, you know, we would say, "Look you’re not supposed to say anything." And I know that was as we, you
know...when we were older, you know. Yeah. But, I mean the family was always pretty open.

K: Uh-huh.

SSAY: If something was wrong, someone would say something, because I...I guess...I don’t...um...yeah...honesty to...you know, you can’t...you can’t hide things from people. You can’t hide things from kids.

Although general communication within families was reported to be candid, discussions specifically related to the internment were again noted to be cryptic or nonexistent by all of the Yonsei interviewed. KHAY recognized the perpetuated silence that has existed in her family since the Issei generation.

KHAY: They’ve [my parents] never, ever talked about it...Grandma and Grandpa never talked about it. Grandmama and Grandpapa, of course, never talked about it. They were there too. Um, it’s almost like they made the best of it and then they just kind of left it behind them. My Greatgrandma and Grandpa, I never was old enough to talk to them about it so everything I learned, I learned through reading myself what happened.

For some, writing a school report opened the door for direct inquiry and conversation about the internment.

CKAY: And they don’t really talk about it. But they don’t want to talk about it...my parents don’t want to talk about it that much. And like the only time it ever comes up is when one of us is doing a report on it...on the internment. And ah, my mom’s mom, they’re just a lot more like, well, it happened and there’s nothing we can do about it.

AWWY observed that her grandparents began to open up and talk more about their internment experiences after the redress settlement was received.

AWWY: Like before...they didn’t talk about it [the internment] a lot. Like, this is...he [my grandfather] got their check or whatever from the government. Right after that, he started talking about it a little. Now he talks about it a lot more, but not like conversation. She [my grandmother] talks about it more than my grandpa. My grandpa is kind of quiet. They probably don’t like to
remember what happened. I think they don’t mind now. Uh, they show us
the picture from Washington, D.C. and stuff that they have in there...Japanese
stuff. I think they’re more open about it. I think that they felt like the
country wasn’t...they didn’t want them there, or something like that...before,
but now that they’ve got their apology note, they feel better.

Several reasons were cited for the lack of communication between Yonsei and
previous generations regarding the internment. Many Yonsei interpreted their
parents’ and grandparents’ silence to mean that wartime events were too painful to
remember and are better left in the past. SSAY specifically interpreted her family’s
silence:

SSAY: It’s [the internment] embarrassing. It’s hurtful. It was shameful.
It’s...you know, when something bad happens to you, you just don’t want to
talk about it ’cause you talk about it, you remember. You remember, you
hurt. You know? They never talk about it.

The issue of protection was also addressed by Yonsei informants. Many
thought that family members who had been interned wanted to protect subsequent
generations from their pain. As KHAY shared:

KHAY: Oh, you know, I really...I don’t really honestly know their reasons
but I can tell you my reasons. I think it was something that they want to
forget and the more they talk about it, the harder it is to forget about it, that it
ever existed. I don’t think they want us to know what they went through
because it was bad and I’m sure they made the best of it, you know how
people are just...I mean they’re pretty hard working people and you just make
the best of it. That’s what you’ve always just learned. I don’t think they
really wanted us to know everything that went on and the conditions that they
went through. It’s almost as if they’re protecting us from the truth, where as
you know, maybe one day I’ll have the guts just to come right out and say
what really did happen you know, tell me what really did happen. I don’t
think they want us to deny the fact that it happened. I think they just don’t
want us to know...they don’t want us to know maybe the pain that they went
through...and they must have known it was wrong and they must have been so
mad and so hurt that maybe they’re experiencing all these feelings that they
don’t want us to know about for some reason or another. I figure if they want
to bring it up, they will and if they’re not going to bring it up I have to
respect the fact that they’re going to be silent about it. 'Cause I’ve always been curious about it, but I’ve...until they bring it up, I don’t think it’s polite to bring it up. It’s like they don’t want to pass the negative down to us or something. Which is probably why I never brought it up because I figured if they wanted me to know, they would have told me about it. Um, if they don’t want me to know about it then, we won’t talk about it.

SSAY felt that protection was reciprocated between the generations. She shared:

SSAY: They [my parents and grandparents] don’t want to talk about it.

K: And how do you interpret that?

SSAY: I just, like okay, fine. You know, it was bad, so you don’t want to talk about it. I’ll talk about it next time. So you keep saying I’ll try again next time or we’ll talk about it...or..I’ll..maybe I’ll remember to think, you know, next time, but...and visa versa, they want to protect us from any bad feelings or, you know, any bad events that have taken place in...in the family.

SSAY experienced difficulty in knowing how to initiate communication about her parents’ internment experience. She expressed concern about the sensitive nature of the topic.

SSAY: Um...[pause] I think part of it is to...is that growing up I don’t think that um....we were aware or we were...I don’t think we knew what questions to ask and I think for some of us it’s...it was too late, you know, to ask the questions but then when we do ask the questions...um...I don’t know. It’s almost like uh...it’s almost like that you feel like um...they feel like it’s bachi to talk about it. Like if you talk about it, something bad’s going to happen. It’s so...bad that they just like, "Oh yeah, we were there for two years, that’s all." So, you go, "Oh, maybe I’ll say it this way or I’ll ask it this way." But then it’s like, "Oh well, I’ll see them next time. They’re gone now. I’ll think about it next time." That, I think has happened to me. How do I ask? What do I say? How do I bring it up? You know, "Oh, by the way..." [laughing] And then also, I think when you do bring it up sometimes they tend to...they back off. They don’t want to talk about it.
For MINY, personal comfort issues prevented her from discussing the internment with her parents.

MINY: I guess I didn't feel comfortable and I didn't feel like it's something that they would really want to talk about or anything. I don't think I would feel comfortable either because it's very, it really is a touchy subject for me 'cause I, not, I do get mad about, like you know, doing a lot of the research, and I guess it would be too, I don't know, not, I guess very personal, and, you know, and um, so close, you know, and too, if I went through, you know, I wasn't comfortable reading the materials, so I just, so I don't think I would be comfortable giving the material.

Yonsei communication with siblings about camp was also examined as a part of internment-related communication patterns. As with the Sansei generation, Yonsei informants also reported that they did not discuss the internment with their siblings. Those interviewed did recount talking about the internment with peers and spouses.

KHAY recalled internment-related communication with others.

KHAY: I think I talked more about it with maybe my friends, my peers during...you know, when we were doing research and all that. And I didn't talk with people who weren't Japanese, only people who were Japanese 'cause I didn't know if people who weren't Japanese could understand or would even care, you know, who cares? But no, I never really talked about it with my sisters very much. It's not that it was taboo to bring up, it just was never brought up. It's almost as if it didn't exist...it didn't happen, you know, which was kind of weird.

The final aspect of internment-related communication patterns explored what Yonsei planned to share with their children regarding their ancestors' camp experiences. The overwhelming response from all of the Yonsei interviewed indicated that they desired to educate the next generation as fully as possible about the Japanese American internment experience. SSAY felt that in order to prevent history
from repeating itself, it was her responsibility to educate the next generation and personalize her family's history in the United States.

SSAY: I want them to know everything. I want...I just want them to know everything...to be able to read everything or to know everything, you know. That means I'm going to have to do a lot more reading. Right? But, I think they should know.

K: Why is it important?

SSAY: It's important, because um...unfortunately, it's important because um...I think it can happen again and maybe not to Japanese Americans, but to some other group and maybe not in the U.S. but somewhere else in the world. And um...it's just, um...it's important for them to know that...you know there's a lot of good in the world, but there's also a lot of bad and it's all part of the judging. Don't judge until you know.

KHAY also shared that the internment was an important part of her life and she specifically detailed what she would like her children to know about the internment.

KHAY: I'd like them [my children] to know everything. Um, I don't know why I never really talked about it. I think I never brought it up because they never brought it up--my parents and grandparents. But I'd like them before they're all dead and gone...but I'd like my kids to get to know Grandma and Grandpa and have them just explain you know, what went on on a daily basis, well, back it up with why they were there in the first place, what was going on in America at the time, ah, the feelings that were going around, some of the signs. You know, every time you hear the word "Jap" it's like it just makes me really mad. Um, so, I would like them to know everything that went on, to know that it existed, to know that good or bad, it affected our lives. But I want them to know what went on during the camp, in the camp, after the camp, and once they got back, you know, how they were treated and all that. Not to have them put up guards against themselves or to be defensive but just to let them know that this happened and it's part of our history here in America.

Research question five explored the various coping strategies implemented by informants when dealing with stress. Coping strategy patterns specifically associated
with Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei generations were identified and analyzed. Additionally, coping strategy patterns within the families interviewed were examined.

As a result of data analysis, two broad categories consisting of External and Internal coping strategies were identified. External coping strategies placed primary focus on external elements, which may include interaction with people or things as a means of managing stress. Internal coping strategies maintained an internal focus, one in which energy was concentrated within the individual and the use of other people or things was either nonexistent or kept to a minimum.

For both External and Internal coping strategies, either an avoidant or confrontive mode of functioning was practiced. Individuals who utilized External Avoidance strategies as a means of coping kept busy through activities which distracted or redirected their thoughts. As a result of employing External Avoidance strategies, the situational stress was eschewed. Through data analysis, another External coping strategy involved utilizing confrontive means as a way of dealing with stress. Interactions with people or activities which allowed individuals to channel stress was characteristic of the External Confrontive coping strategy.

Individuals who utilized Internal coping strategies solely did not increase their activity level or contact with other people. Rather, energy was focused inward. Through Internal Avoidance strategies, stress is not directly addressed. For those implementing Internal Confrontive strategies, the main focus is within the individual; however, input from people or events outside of self are employed. Individuals utilizing Internal Confrontive strategies involved cognitive reframing practices,
psychological therapy, or religion as a means of changing personal perceptions to alleviate stress.

Generational coping strategies were analyzed in order to identify specific strategies relative to each of the generations involved in the study. The Nisei generation utilized both External and Internal Avoidance coping strategies. Two Nisei informants who implemented External Avoidance strategies stated that when they experienced stress, they kept busy with work or other activities as a way to avoid thinking about stress.

Other Nisei informants utilized a variety of Internal Avoidance strategies. SEKN reported that she "takes things as they come," a conviction which is related to the Japanese expression shita ta ganai, or "It can not be helped." Another Japanese dictum influenced TNOD's response to stress. He claimed that gaman, or being able to persevere through adverse situations, was the attitude he employed in order to survive life stress. EWN's approach to coping with stress was also categorized as Internal Avoidance. She became physically ill as a means of coping with anxiety.

Informants from the Sansei generation implemented a wider variety of coping strategies than their Nisei parents. Of the twelve Sansei interviewed, four implemented External Avoidance coping strategies, three utilized an External Confrontive coping approach, two practiced Internal Avoidance coping methods, and Internal Confrontive coping strategies were employed by three Sansei informants. No clear coping strategy theme was apparent within the Sansei generation.
Sansei who reported to implement External Avoidance coping strategies kept themselves busy by being involved with work, activities, and exercise during stress-related circumstances. Even though informants were involved in different activities, the purpose of their actions produced the same outcome: they avoided stress. Three Sansei utilized External Confrontive methods as a means of coping with stress. They reported that they verbally expressed themselves in order to "let off steam" and to help them determine problem-solving strategies or interventions.

Internally focused coping strategies were implemented by five of the twelve Sansei informants. Through data analysis, it was determined that two Sansei utilized Internal Avoidance coping methods when faced with stress. MKKS and MNNS reported that they tended to withdraw and became noncommunicative as a means of coping with stress.

A variety of Internal Confrontive coping strategies were employed by the three remaining Sansei informants. DOWS shared that he is able to internally reframe or rationalize stress-provoking thoughts and thus, change personal perceptions.

*DOWS*: In my mind, I have become very adept at being able to look at things from a different viewpoint so that, I guess you would call it rationalizing... positive thinking, looking at it optimistically. I look at it as it doesn’t matter to me what situation I’m in, whether it be work or home, whether I’m facing difficult times or good times. I can take a stressful situation and deal with it in my mind so that my heart feels better about it. There’s always a positive side to anything. Difficult times are positive.

*JINS’s* coping strategy was also categorized as Internal Confrontive. She reported that she periodically was involved in psychological therapy as a means of helping her change her thoughts, feelings, and behavior. *DAWS* credited his faith and religious
involvement with helping him meet the challenges of stress. Because DAWIS believed that his religious convictions made internal changes in the way he responds to stress, his coping strategy was also determined to be Internal Confrontive.

Coping strategies utilized within the Yonsei generation were also examined and a theme was identified. Of the nine Yonsei interviewed, eight reported implementing Confrontive coping strategies, while only one informant claimed to employ an Avoidance strategy. It should also be noted that seven research participants’ coping behavior was categorized as being externally-oriented while only two were classified as internally-oriented.

The majority of Yonsei reported utilizing External Confrontive coping strategies. When experiencing stress, six Yonsei stated that they verbally expressed themselves in an effort to identify problem-solving strategies or possible interventions. Only one Yonsei was found to implement an External Avoidance approach when faced with stress. CUUY stated that he watched television and played Sega video games as a means of stress distraction. Two Yonsei informants employed Internal Confrontive coping strategies. Both reported to worry, but that worrying led to action and resolution of troublesome situation.

Coping strategy themes were also examined within the families interviewed. Coping patterns were noted within the External/Internal paradigm. Of the five families involved in the research project, two families exhibited External coping strategy patterns and three families displayed various Internal coping preferences.
Family A exhibited a predominately External coping strategy pattern. Of the nine family members interviewed, a total of four, two Nisei and two Sansei, described utilizing an External Avoidance method of dealing with stress. Four other family members, three Yonsei and one Sansei, stated that they employed an External Confrontive strategy. Only one member, a Yonsei, was found to use an Internal Confrontive mode of coping. Behaviors reported by those utilizing an External coping strategy included keeping busy through activity and exercise, verbally expressing thoughts and ideas, and setting personal limits.

In Family U, a strong External coping preference was noted. All five family members interviewed reported using an External coping strategy. Three family members, including one Nisei, one Sansei, and one Yonsei, employed External Avoidance methods of coping with stress. Specifically, these three informants kept busy through work and various activities as a means of avoiding anxiety-provoking situations. The two remaining family members, a Sansei mother and her Yonsei daughter, established that they dealt with stress by using External Confrontive means. Both women shared that they needed to verbally express themselves when experiencing stress in order to develop problem-solving techniques.

In Family K, an Internal coping strategy pattern was recognized. Out of the four individual interviewed from Family K, a total of three family members, including the Nisei mother, a Sansei father, and his Yonsei son, were determined to utilize Internal coping strategies. Internal coping strategy behaviors included worrying, trying not to think about the situation, and withdrawing. The remaining
Sansei family member employed an External Confrontive coping method. She reported verbally expressing herself and "letting off steam" as a means of developing possible solutions.

Family N also employed Internal coping strategies. Of the four individuals interviewed, a total of three informants, one Nisei and two Sansei, practiced internally-focused coping methods. Internal coping behaviors for Family N included withdrawal and psychological therapy. One Yonsei informant in Family N identified that she utilized External coping methods. She reported that verbally expressing her thoughts helped her develop problem-solving strategies.

An Internal coping strategy theme was noted in Family W. Four of the six family members interviewed reported that they implemented Internal coping methods when dealing with stress. Two Nisei and two Sansei described specific Internal idiosyncrasies, including psychosomatic illness, cognitive reframing, and religious beliefs. Two other family members, one Sansei and his Yonsei daughter, reported practicing External coping methods that included keeping busy through various activities and verbal expression of thoughts.

Discussion

Certain generational and transgenerational acculturational lifestyle goals emerged from the data analysis that can be interpreted with the theoretical foundation provided by the work of Alfred Adler. Acculturational lifestyle goals were influenced by generational and family values that governed a generation's or an individual's response to various experiences, which for Japanese Americans included the World
War II internment experience. Acculturational lifestyle goals may have propelled Japanese American individuals toward the goal of overcoming inferiority perceptions and/or identity ambiguity to increase feelings of belonging to the majority culture (J. Griffith & R. Powers, personal communication, March 6, 1995). Adler stated that all human culture is based upon feelings of inferiority. He believed that inferiority feelings caused improvements in the capacity of humankind because such feelings were the result of striving to enhance one’s universal situation (Adler, 1931).

The World War II internment was seen by many of the Japanese Americans interviewed as a reference point from which a concerted effort was made to assimilate. Although Japanese Americans have experienced a high degree of social, educational, economic, and political assimilation, this study supports the finding that their cultural experience has not ended with assimilation. Rather, the Japanese Americans interviewed have continued to maintain a high degree of ethnic identification and ethnic community involvement when compared to other ethnic minority groups, consistent with a finding reported by Fugita & O’Brien (1991).

The data from this study were interpreted within four identifiable acculturational lifestyle goals, including Survival, Security, Assimilation, and Authentication. These acculturational lifestyle goals were noted for individuals and across generations. It was also determined that both individuals and generations may recycle through lifestyle goals depending on perception of various experiences or the precipitated conditions life events may pose on an individual or generation.
The acculturational lifestyle goal associated with the Issei generation was Survival. Several factors support this hypothesis. Anti-Asian sentiment fueled the sponsorship of laws, including the Gentlemen’s Agreement and the Oriental Exclusion Act, that restricted Japanese immigration. The Alien Land Act prohibited Japanese individuals from being eligible to become United States citizens and consequently from being able to own land (O’Brien & Fugita, 1991). These mainstream American statues and laws barred Issei from assimilating and perpetuated the time they spent focusing on the goal of Survival.

Before the outbreak of World War II, many Issei were able to establish a sense of economic strength and, as a result, began to move to the acculturational goal of Security. However, after the internment, the majority of Issei were unable to fully recover from financial and psychological losses they experienced (Nagata, 1993). Many were discouraged and lost their desire to rebuild their lives, often remaining dependent on their Nisei children and unable to move beyond the goals of Survival and Security.

The acculturational lifestyle goal of Security is most closely associated with the Nisei generation. Before the outbreak of World War II, a limited social and economic status forced many Nisei to focus their attention within the Japanese American community for a sense of security. Immediately following the war, a rapid assimilation movement was influenced by several factors, including a booming economy and reduced economic competition. Traditional Japanese values, including a strong work ethic and perseverance, sustained Nisei through the internment, helped
them overcome the aftermath of their imprisonment, and eventually, aided the assimilation process. This finding was also noted by O’Brien & Fugita (1991).

The Sansei generation assimilated rapidly into mainstream America. Many Sansei excelled in higher education and secured jobs that had been inaccessible to the Nisei generation. Nisei parents stressed the importance of becoming as American as possible and, as a result, many Sansei rejected their Japanese heritage. Another indication of the level of Sansei assimilation was evidenced by the rate of intermarriage which dramatically rose with the Sansei generation. These findings were also supported by O’Brien and Fugita (1991) and Nagata (1993).

The Yonsei acculturational phenomenon of Authentication was supported by various factors. This generation experienced the luxury of time to analyze relationships and openly discuss feelings associated with being culturally different. Yonsei embraced their cultural diversity and sought ways to incorporate their Japanese heritage into a meaningful, personal identity. These findings were supported by O’Brien and Fugita’s (1991) hypothesis that although structural assimilation will continue to occur, future generations of Japanese Americans will become increasingly concerned about symbolic aspects of ethnicity. As a result, Yonsei are finding ways to integrate their ethnicity into an important part of their personal identity in order to address a sense of incompleteness. Yonsei have also been able to transform the nature of their ethnicity to meet the changing demands of American society.

The current research findings also concur with Reitz’s (1980) emergent ethnicity perspective. The emergent ethnicity perspective posits that ethnic minorities
may devalue the importance of assimilation and instead focus on developing adaptive responses and ethnic identifications whose specific cultural content will change as the ethnic group encounters different structural demands. Related to the evolutionary nature of the proposed acculturational lifestyle goals is the emergent ethnicity concept that the purpose for maintaining ethnic identification and ethnic community involvement will change with each succeeding generation. Another contribution of the emergent ethnicity perspective relative to the Japanese American experience focuses increased sensitivity on the role historic events play in shaping the direction and experience of a given ethnic community (Fugita & O’Brien, 1991).

By applying this acculturational lifestyle goal paradigm to Japanese American individuals, therapists can gain a cultural perspective that will enhance understanding. Although certain acculturational lifestyle goals were found to be associated with specific generations, individuals may confront a variety of acculturational goals depending on their life experiences. Therapists can better address the needs of Japanese American clients when their acculturational lifestyle goals have been identified because different goals require different assistance. For example, a Japanese American client dealing with authentication issues may require emotional support from the therapist while collecting personal family history information. Therapists may also be asked to connect a client with Japanese American community resources as individuals attempt to integrate their Japanese culture into their personal lives.
Educating Japanese American clients about the various acculturational lifestyle goals would facilitate identification of where they are in the acculturational process. This knowledge would help individuals gain an understanding of where they see themselves belonging within the majority group and in relationship to their own ethnic group. D. W. Sue (personal communication, May 5, 1995) believed that it is important to identify and address issues relating to cultural self-hatred, a chronic battle of culturally different individuals. Through the application of the acculturational lifestyle goal model, cultural dissonance and self-hatred can be recognized and confronted.

It should also be noted that an Adlerian lifestyle assessment was conducted with each informant under the premise that generational and family lifestyle themes would be identified. After a careful analysis of the lifestyle data, including psychological birth order information, lifestyle typologies, and family atmosphere conditions, no lifestyle themes were identified either within generations or within families. An explanation of the absence of lifestyle themes within the generations and families studied can be established from the basic theoretical underpinnings of Adlerian psychology which posits that individuals are creative, phenomenological, holistic, and teleological in nature. Therefore, each person will creatively construct a uniquely individual lifestyle profile based on perceptions of self, others, and the world (Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Ansbacher, 1983; Dinkmeyer et al., 1987; Manaster & Corsini, 1982; Mosak, 1989).
Informants identified several ways that the internment experience directly impacted their current lifestyle goals. Consequences experienced across the generations included pressure to assimilate, loss of culture, unanswered "what if" questions, and a lack of trust with the government (Mass, 1991; Nagata, 1993). The fact that Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei generations all reported direct repercussions as a result of the Japanese American internment is indicative of the significant psychological impact the experience posed. Furthermore, historical incidences can have a direct influence on individuals even though they may not have directly experienced the incident or event and should not be overlooked when treating a client (Nagata, 1993).

Research findings related to Japanese American generational and transgenerational communication patterns concurred with Nagata’s (1993) Sansei Research Project. She documented that many Nisei employed silence as a means of suppressing feelings of pain and anger regarding their internment experiences. Nisei silence represented more than the mere absence of communication. Significant meaning was conveyed through Nisei silence and, as a result, Sansei have experienced the heightened perception that the internment was a portentous event in the lives of their parents and grandparents. Reluctance to talk about the internment may have also stemmed from a conscious effort on the part of Nisei parents to protect their Sansei children from the burden of their experience. Nagata further noted that the lack of communication between Sansei and their Nisei parents regarding internment has created an obstacle in Sansei’s ability to develop a clear sense of identity.
Mass (1991) reported that many Japanese Americans coped with aftermath of the internment by utilizing protective defense mechanisms. The predominant Nisei response to the internment was denial. Behaviorally, denial was exhibited in a number of different ways. Some Nisei minimized the significance of the losses and/or the trauma they endured (Mass, personal communication, December 10, 1994.) Others acknowledged the significance of the injustice they experienced but stated they did not retain any lingering emotional resentment (Nagata, 1993). Still others exhibited collective amnesia, a phenomenon that Daniels (1991) documented as a consequence of non-verbal communication about the internment.

Sansei and Yonsei were asked what they knew about their parents’ and grandparents’ internment. Most informants could recount camp location, duration of internment, and stories pertaining to camp conditions. However, when asked to describe family communication related to the internment, Sansei and Yonsei informants replied that they were not given specific information about the experience. A discrepancy exists between the information Sansei and Yonsei sought about the internment experience and the information they received. Sansei and Yonsei informants reported that they would like to know more about the emotional responses and impact of their parents’ and grandparents’ internment rather than factual descriptions of camp conditions. Sansei and Yonsei expressed a tendency to deduce the worst possible internment-related conditions and emotional turmoil suffered by their relatives. In the absence of information, Sansei’s and Yonsei’s negative impressions served as a safeguard that helped them cope with the reality of possible
internment scenarios. Possessing accurate information relative to the emotional consequences of the World War II evacuation and internment would provide Sansei and Yonsei generations with the ability to fill in the ominous, foreboding gaps resulting from the aftermath of silence.

Two major coping strategies were interpreted from the interviews—Avoidant and Confrontive—which were both expressed through either external or internal means. An interesting coping pattern was noted. All of the Nisei informants utilized an Avoidant coping strategy. Coping strategy preferences among Sansei informants covered a wider range of approaches, including both Avoidant and Confrontive strategies expressed through internal and external means. A shift in coping strategies was noted with the Yonsei informants who predominately practiced Confrontive coping strategies.

The generational coping style evolution from Nisei Avoidance to Yonsei Confrontation seemed to be influenced by both cultural and generational factors. Nisei informants reportedly adhered to many traditional Japanese values, including the practice of *gaman*, *shita ta ganai*, and valuing the good of the family and community over individual needs (Fugita & O’Brien, 1991). These traditional Japanese values supported an Avoidant coping style. Sansei informants were involved in a transition between adhering to traditional Japanese values and incorporating mainstream cultural practices (i.e., individuation, assertiveness, self-advocacy). The process of blending the two practices may explain the diversity of responses to stress. Yonsei informants continued to incorporate mainstream cultural values and practices into their lives and,
as a result, identified behaviors associated with a Confrontive coping style. The majority of Yonsei interviewed stated that they verbally expressed feelings and thoughts in order to work out possible interventions relative to whatever stress they were experiencing.

Within the families interviewed, certain coping-style patterns were identified. Data analysis revealed that Sansei and Yonsei generations matched the external or internal coping strategy means employed by their Nisei ancestors. These results indicate that coping strategies modeled by preceding generations may have influenced subsequent generations.

Supplemental Data

As would be expected from the interview methodology, other information was offered and recorded but was not included in this study. Additional information associated with family and interpersonal relationship patterns and issues was collected. For example, reoccurring incidences of divorce and generational patterns of marriage to alcoholic partners was chronicled. Factors contributing to either a predominately pessimistic or optimistic personal outlook that might be associated with the internment experience and life after World War II was noted. Patterns of family interaction between Sansei children raised by Kibei parents and those raised by Nisei parents appear to differ. Reactions to the redress provisions were recorded.

Additional information was also garnered from the Adlerian lifestyle assessment interviews. Adlerian considerations, including family atmosphere typology and early recollections, were documented and identified for each generation of the
five identified families interviewed. Social interest factors were also noted for each informant but were not included as a part of the data analyses.

Conclusions and Interpretation

Social and emotional repercussions resulting from the World War II internment were experienced by the Japanese American informants interviewed within all of the areas explored. Four acculturational lifestyle goals applicable to both generational and individual experiences were identified: Survival, Security, Assimilation, and Authentication. An impact of the internment on the evolution of the acculturational lifestyle goals and general psychological repercussions on all of the informants interviewed was noted even though Sansei and Yonsei individuals did not directly experience the internment. Family communication related to the internment experience was perceived as being cryptic and ambiguous. Parental silence was often suggested as a means of protecting subsequent generations from the pain associated with being interned. Additionally, discrepancies were noted between the factual information Sansei and Yonsei informants received from their parents and grandparents about the internment and the emotional responses sought by Sansei and Yonsei. Finally, coping style strategies evolved from generation to generation. Nisei informants utilized an Avoidant coping style strategy. Sansei informants employed an eclectic range of coping strategies that included both Avoidant and Confrontive strategies. Yonsei informants practiced Confrontive coping style strategies.

Consistent with the theoretical dictums of Adlerian theory, Japanese American informants involved in this study responded to the internment in a unique,
phenomenological manner. Perception influenced interpretation of experience. Adler’s admonition to clinicians to "...see with his [sic] eyes and listen with his [sic] ears" (Adler, 1931, p. 72) stressed the important role phenomenology plays in understanding and helping clients.

The four identified acculturational lifestyle goals helped to propel Japanese American informants toward the goal of overcoming inferiority perceptions and/or identity ambiguity and increased feelings of belonging to the majority culture. The Japanese American individuals involved in this study creativity developed adaptive responses and ethnic identifications that influenced individual responses to the ever changing demands of society. Adler believed that inferiority feelings and the resulting creative manner in which individuals fill in their future course accomplished necessary improvements in the capacity of humankind and enhanced one’s universal situation (Adler, 1931; Ansbacher & Ansbacher, 1956; Manaster & Corsini, 1982; Mosak, 1989).

Therapeutic benefits from the application of the acculturational lifestyle goal paradigm to Japanese American individuals were proposed as a result of this study. An important component of Adlerian therapy involves the investigation and understanding of a client’s lifestyle including basic convictions about self, others, and the world. Adler believed that the lifestyle is developed in earliest childhood and conveys the creative side of the development of the unique individual, including one’s meaning of life, goals to pursue, style of approach, and emotional disposition (Adler, 1931; Griffith & Powers, 1984; Manaster & Corsini, 1982; Mosak, 1989). Inquiry
into one’s family history would provide added depth of understanding into the formation and influences upon one’s lifestyle. Specifically collecting the family histories of Japanese American clients could be a factor of significant importance due to the implications of the internment experience.

Certain communication voids were documented. Although Sansei and Yonsei informants reported that they knew factual information relative to their parents’ and grandparents’ internment experience, they shared that they did not know specific information relative to the internment. Informants desired information related to their parents’ and grandparents’ emotional response to being interned. Many Yonsei reported that they did not know how to discuss the internment with their parents and grandparents. Therefore, educating Japanese American individuals about possible ways in which communication can be facilitated in order to gather the desired information relative to the internment, including oral family histories, would be beneficial.

Data analyses led to the identification of various coping style strategies. Coping style differences that exist within families and between generations would be helpful to identify in a therapeutic setting. Japanese American clients could benefit from identification and education regarding coping style strategies. This is especially true if a coping strategy based on prior beliefs or convictions, which may have been necessary and useful at one time, is no longer useful. Consequently, reevaluation of the usefulness of one’s coping style strategy may be helpful with some clients.
Recommendations

Based on the results and conclusions of this study, several recommendations are suggested.

Replication of this study after time (perhaps five years) would be beneficial. It is not known if or how the passage of time will affect Yonsei and subsequent generations' knowledge of, reaction to, and perceptions of the Japanese American internment experience. Additional research might include an investigation into coping strategy preferences between generations and within families and communication patterns related to the internment.

In response to the documented void between the factual information Sansei and Yonsei informants received from their parents and grandparents and the emotional response they desired, it is suggested that further research be conducted to investigate the impact additional internment information (e.g., Nisei's emotional responses to their internment) supplied by Nisei parents and grandparents has on Sansei and Yonsei generations. Additionally, since many Yonsei informants reported that they did not know how to discuss the internment with their parents and grandparents, it might be beneficial to provide suggestions or recommendations that address how to ask for the desired internment-related information and collect oral family histories.

An analysis of the effect of applying the acculturational lifestyle goal paradigm to Japanese American individuals for the purpose of therapeutic identification and treatment planning might also provide useful information. Education and identification of the acculturational lifestyle goals with Japanese American clients may
facilitate an understanding of the acculturational process. Therapists may be able to better address the needs of Japanese American clients when their acculturational lifestyle goals have been identified because different goals require different assistance. Similar research might also be conducted with other ethnic minority groups.

Informants identified several ways that the internment experience directly impacted their lifestyle goals. Reports of the direct repercussions of the Japanese American internment is indicative of the significant psychological impact the experience posed. Because historical incidences can have a direct influence on individuals even though they may not have directly experienced the incident or event, identification and analysis of the implications of collecting family history information in the therapeutic treatment of Japanese American individuals and other ethnic minority clients would provide valuable information related to the identification of transgenerational issues.

Investigation into the therapeutic usefulness of coping style identification and education about various coping style strategies might also provide valuable therapeutic information. Japanese American clients may benefit from understanding their coping style approach and evaluating whether or not their approach remains useful. Understanding coping style differences within families and between generations may also help clients understand various family conflicts.

Another useful application of these research findings would be to apply the identified acculturational lifestyle goals to other minority group experiences to
determine whether the paradigm is germane to other group experiences. Further research may investigate issues of protection among various ethnic minority groups, identification of culturally influenced coping strategies, and the existence of various communication patterns.
APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

I, ________________________________, hereby affirm that Karen Mayeda has explained to me, in language that I understand, the nature of her research and I agree to be interviewed for this study which is designed to examine the transgenerational issues of the Japanese American internment during World War II. I have been informed that information obtained in this study may be documented using a variety of methodology which may include audio recording. I further understand that my rights to confidentiality will be protected by the exclusion of my name and other possible identifying information and that pseudonyms will be used in all written documents which may be used for publication or educational purposes. I fully understand the contents of this disclosure, and based upon that understanding I have made an informed, voluntary consent to be involved in this research project. I also understand that I have the right to withdraw my consent at any time without prejudice or penalty.

_________________________________  
Informant Signature

_________________________________  
Date

If the informant is a minor, the legal guardian/Managing Conservator must sign the statement below:

I affirm that I am the legal guardian/Managing Conservator of  
______________________________ (minor informant). With an understanding of the above information, I do grant permission for my child to participate in this research project.

_________________________________  
Guardian/Managing Conservator's Signature

_________________________________  
Date
APPENDIX B

LIFESTYLE ASSESSMENT
LIFESTYLE ASSESSMENT

FAMILY OF ORIGIN ATMOSPHERE:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATION</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PARENTS:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIBLINGS:</td>
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</table>

1.) Which sibling is most like you? How?
2.) Which sibling is most different from you? How?
3.) What kind of person (was) is your father?
4.) What kind of person (was) is your mother?
5.) Which of your siblings is most like your father? How?
6.) Which of your siblings is most like your mother? How?
7.) Which of your parents are you most like? How?
8.) Who is your favorite fictional character?
9.) Do you remember any childhood dreams? If so, describe.
10.) As a child, what were you most afraid of?
11.) Name at least three early recollections, including your age at the time, who was there, and how you remember feeling.
A.)

B.)

C.)

12.) What was your family motto?

13.) What were the most important family values?

14.) What were your hopes, dreams, or aspirations as a child?

15.) What were your father’s ambitions for the children?

16.) What were your mother’s ambitions for the children?

17.) Describe the relationship your father had with the children as you were growing up.

18.) Describe the relationship your mother had with the children as you were growing up.

19.) Describe the nature of your parents’ relationship.
CURRENT FAMILY ATMOSPHERE:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELATION</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>DESCRIPTION</th>
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Spouse:

Children:

20.) How would you describe your spouse?

21.) Which child is most like you? How?

22.) Which child is most like your spouse? How?

23.) Describe the relationship between you and your spouse.

24.) Who makes decisions?

25.) Do you and your spouse disagree openly?

26.) What are your hopes, dreams, or ambitions for your children?

27.) What is the family motto in your family? Important family values?
APPENDIX C

SEMISTRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE
1.) **Describe the circumstances surrounding your internment.** How old were you? Where were you living? How did you find out about the internment? How would you describe your initial feelings and reactions when you learned about your impending internment? Where were you interned (Assembly and Relocation centers)? Who was interned with you? What was the move like for you?

2.) **What memories do you have about camp?** What sticks out in your mind about your experience? How would you describe the physical location? What was your initial reaction to the camp? Do you have any such feelings now? Did you work at the camp?

3.) **How did you and your family cope with being interned?** Did you notice any changes in your parents? Self? What type of arrangements did you/your family make for your belongings?

4.) **What have you told your family about your internment experience?** What would you like them to know? What would you like others to know about the internment?

5.) **If communication about the internment in your family has been limited, why do you think this has not occurred more?** What have you not told your family members about the internment? Why not? How do your children feel about you being interned? Do you think it has affected them?

6.) **How has the internment influenced or impacted you?** How did the internment influence or impact your parents? Do you believe that the internment affected your children? Can you identify any positive personal influences related to the internment? Negative influences? How did your life change as a result of your internment? Are you any different because of the internment? Do you think the experience affected your feelings toward:

   1.) this country?
   2.) Caucasians?
   3.) the military?
   4.) being Japanese American?
   5.) yourself?

7.) **What was life like for you after camp?** What was your reaction to the redress?
SEMISTRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SANSEI/YONSEI INFORMANTS

1.) What do you know about your parent’s (grandparents) internment experience? Where were they interned? For how long?

2.) How did you first find out about the Japanese American internment experience? How old were you? What were the circumstances surrounding your initial discovery?

3.) What is your perception of your parents’ (grandparents’) reaction to their internment experience? At the time? Now?

4.) To what extent have you had discussions with your parents (grandparents) regarding their internment experience?

5.) Have you discussed the internment with any of your siblings? To what extent? What has been the general focus of such discussions? If you have not discussed the internment with siblings, why not?

6.) If you have children (or plan to) what, if anything, would you share or like to share with them regarding the Japanese American internment experience?

7.) Many (Sansei, Yonsei) have found discussion about the internment with their (parents, grandparents) to be limited. If this has been your experience, why do you think that this is true?

8.) In what way (if any) has your parent’s internment influenced you? Your parents? Grandparents?

9.) What, if anything, would you like to know about your parent’s (grandparent’s) internment experience? What would additional information provide for you?

10.) What was your reaction to the redress?
APPENDIX D

DATA SUMMARY FORM
DATA SUMMARY FORM

CONTACT TYPE:  

SITE:  

CONTACT DATE:  

1.) WHAT PEOPLE, EVENTS, OR SITUATIONS WERE INVOLVED?

2.) WHAT WERE THE MAIN ISSUES OR THEMES THAT STRUCK YOU IN THIS CONTACT?

3.) SUMMARIZE THE INFORMATION YOU GOT (OR FAILED TO GET) ON EACH OF THE TARGET QUESTIONS YOU HAD FOR THIS CONTACT.

4.) ANYTHING ELSE THAT STRUCK YOU AS INTERESTING OR IMPORTANT ABOUT THIS CONTACT?

5.) SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE CONTACTS; TARGET QUESTIONS OR THINGS YOU NEED TO FIND OUT?
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