

WHEN THE TWAIN MEET

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Foreward

This work, a survey of the cultural change taking place in the Japanese immigrant group in America, was undertaken as a preliminary study in order that I might gain some background for future research in the problems of acculturation. In undertaking this study, I learned, among other things, of the immensity of the task that I have cut out for myself as well as of the vastness of the literature in this field, and at the same time, paradoxically, of its inadequacy.

Because of the sloppiness in preparation, this paper cannot be dignified by the description "scientific." While the aim of the research was to seek "truth," there may occur at times statements which cannot yet be verified because of the unfortunate lack of data. Thus, as a historian seeking to avoid the influence of the "climate of opinion" of his time can do no more than to realize that he is biased and to discount its effect, so I must be content for the time being to realize the inadequacy of my techniques until further work is done. A fuller account of the method of analysis used is included in the methodological note in appendix A.

The material submitted in this paper was drawn from books; articles in magazines, scientific journals, pamphlets, and dissertations; personal observations in central California and in the Bay Region; and from conversations and correspondence with first and second generation Orientals during the past few years. Some information was also provided by students at the College of the Pacific, Mills College, San Francisco State College, and here at the University of California. I am also indebted to Mr. Lewis Kohrs of the Department of Social Institutions and Dr. Chitoshi Yanaga of the Departments of History and Political Science for their many valuable criticisms and suggestions.

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Outline

Controlling purpose: The purpose of this paper is to examine the manner in which the basic social institutions, especially the family, of the Japanese immigrant group in America have changed as a result of their contact with the new culture in the hope that we may thereby gain some insight into the nature of the incipient disorganization in the second generation social groups.

I. The nature and scope of the paper

- A. General problem: what explanation can be given for the manifestations of incipient social disorganization among the second generation Japanese in America?
 - 1. Hypotheses thus far advanced
 - a. Race prejudice
 - b. Ignorance of the immigrants
 - c. Stupidity of the leaders
 - d. Fragility of the Nisei
 - e. Inevitable result of cultural change
 - 2. Assumption made: hypothesis of disorganization as a result of cultural change is correct
- B. Specific problem for this paper: What changes have taken place?
- C. Prerequisites for obtaining verifiable knowledge from historical data (Teggart)
 - 1. Aim should be investigation of a problem
 - 2. Problem should have reference to events
 - 3. Procedure should be based upon comparison of events in different areas
- D. Factors in social change
 - 1. Historical events
 - 2. Social processes
 - a. Persistence
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 - 2. Main forms of rural society homogeneous
 - 3. Geographical and social subdivisions
- B. The family as a basic and comprehensive unit
 - 1. Underlying concept of family name and honor
 - 2. Family organization
 - a. Constituent elements of the family
 - b. Authoritarian control
 - c. The concept of property in the family
 - 3. Functions of the family
 - a. Agency of social control
 - b. Agency of socialization
 - 4. The status of the individual
- C. Marriage and related institutions
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 3. The bases of marriage
 4. Making the marriage contract
 5. The wedding ceremony
- D. Characteristics of rural social organization in Japan
1. Stability
 2. Patriarchal control
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- A. Expanding range of the villagers' world
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- B. Types of emigres
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- C. Immigration statistics
- D. The reception in America
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 2. Anti-Oriental laws
 - a. "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907
 - b. Alien Land Law of 1913 (reenacted 1919)
 - c. Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924
 3. Difficulties in social adjustment
- E. The causes of antagonism
1. Center of a modern labor problem
 2. Local politics
 3. Land owning
- F. The effect of the agitation on the Orientals and their social organization

IV. The settlement of Japanese in central California

- A. Early history of the Orientals in the valley
- B. Social organization of the Japanese immigrants
1. Causes of group solidarity
 - a. Common interests
 - b. External hostility
 2. Associations
 - a. "Gang" system
 - b. Business and Producers' Associations
 - c. Language schools
 - d. Religious groups
 - e. The Japanese Association of America
 3. The coming of women to America
 - a. "Picture-brides"
 - b. Stability in organization
- C. The transplanted family in America
1. The basic concept unchanged
 2. Family organization
 3. Functions of the family
 4. Incipient changes in the family pattern

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1. The rapid change in society
2. The rise of a hybrid culture
 - a. No standardized pattern to follow
 - b. Avenues for learning of new ways
 - c. The urbanization of rural regions
3. Bars to complete emancipation
 - a. Race prejudice
 - b. Vocational problem
4. The marriage problem
 - a. Low income
 - b. Unusual age and sex distribution
5. Plight of the Kibei

B. The family and related institutions

1. Marriage
 - a. Change in the basic concept
 - b. Shift in the bases of marriage
 - c. Remnants of the old heritage
2. Americanized courtship
3. Organization of the family
 - a. Basic concept
 - b. Constituent elements
 - c. Residence
 - d. Lack of patriarchal control
 - e. Individualized concept of property
 - f. Functions of the new family

C. The emancipation from parental control

VI. The future of the Japanese in America

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 - a. In the family
 - (1) Underlying concept
 - (2) Concept of property
 - (3) Reverence of ancestors
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3. Persistence: wedding customs

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WHEN THE TWAIN MEET

I. Prolegomenon to Discord

Of late, the pipedreams of paradise indulged in by many American-born Orientals have been shattered by the impact of the cold, uncompromising touch of reality, a state of existence inconsistent with their hopes, ideals, and ambitions. Instead of the wished-for haven, they find widespread demoralization, economic dependency to an appalling extent, in some communities a rising rate of crime, delinquency and immorality, and increasing personality maladjustments.¹ Since one of the characteristic frailties of human nature is to find a culprit for all things undesirable, blame for this unfortunate state of affairs has been cast upon, among other things, racial intolerance, the narrow-mindedness of the immigrants, the stupidity of the leaders, and even upon the fragility of the second-generation themselves. It seems to me however, that this condition of disorganization² is an inevitable result of the conflict of two widely divergent cultures and the resultant cultural change; for when two different sets of standards vie for support, the victims trapped in the pincers tend to become highly individualized

1. As far as I know there are no adequate statistics on the crime rate of the Orientals in America for recent years, but it is believed that thus far, on the whole, the rate has not increased proportionately to the increasing population. However, it is admitted, even by the Orientals themselves, that considerable disorganization does exist in the Los Angeles area and among certain groups in central California.

2. By the term "social disorganization" is meant simply the "decrease of the influence of existing social rules of behavior upon the individual members of the group." Demoralization, delinquency, and dependency are merely the external manifestations of the internal collapse. Cf. Thomas, W.I. and F. Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Badger, Boston, 1920, vol. IV, p. 2.

and follow the dictates of neither set of rules. Without any restraints to our natural desires to give vent to our selfish interests, clashes and disorganization are virtually unavoidable. It is upon the assumption that this hypothesis is correct that this study of the cultural change was undertaken.

While the modern intellectual atmosphere is skeptical over things that are claimed to be self-evident, it seems that almost everyone agrees that the second-generation Oriental in America does face an uncertain future. Much has been written on the subject, both by those scrupulous individuals attempting to exploit the minorities and those desiring to whitewash the ludicrous charges spuriously cast upon the group, giving suggestions as to what ought to be done to "solve" this problem. While it would be asinine to dismiss these writings as useless polemics, it seems to me that we must first understand the nature and causes of the problem before even considering means of alleviating the distress. While the theory of social disorganization as a result of cultural change does not explain everything involved, it seems to give a reasonable interpretation.

It has been argued by some that even though the European immigrant groups underwent considerable disintegration after their arrival in America, the same explanation could not be applied to the Orientals because the latter are peculiar in their ways. It would seem, however, that the mere fact that the Oriental is different accounts for many of his difficulties; the theory of disorganization as a result of social change would seem to apply all the more in this case because of the physical differences, race prejudice, the vast cultural divergence, and because of the lack of respect for parents instilled by the American habits of thought.

It was to form a basis for understanding the problems of disorganization that this study of institutional change was undertaken. While many of the changes traced, such as the differences in the marriage customs, may not have any direct bearing upon the original problem, they are valuable in that they

indicate to what extent change has taken place. The specific objective of this investigation, then, is to discover the nature of the changes that have taken place in the major social institutions, particularly the family, of the Japanese immigrant group when they came in contact with American culture.

According to Kipling:

"East is East, and West is West,
And never the twain shall meet;
Till the earth and sky meet presently,
At God's great judgment seat."³

The bard's immortal words notwithstanding, the East and West have met here in the Pacific Coast, and our query is: what happens when the twain do meet?

3. Rudyard Kipling, "The Ballad of the East and West."

II. In the Sequestered Vale of Life

"Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife
 Their sober wishes never learned to stray;
 Along the cool sequester'd vale of life
 They kept the noiseless tenour of their way."¹

From a state of existence not unlike that envisaged by Thomas Gray's beautiful lines came the majority of the immigrants from Japan. "Perhaps three-fifths or even more of the Japanese immigrants to the United States have been of the agricultural classes. The various city classes have been small in comparison."²

The countryside of Japan is dotted with small towns of a few thousand population, surrounded by clusters of villages. The main forms of rural society are much the same throughout the island, being based upon cooperation, exchange labor and a religious festival calendar closely correlated with the agricultural seasons; each section, however, has its own peculiar details and idiosyncrasies. Most villages depend economically on some single product, the commonest basis being rice, fish and silkworms.³

Until a few years ago, the prefectures of Japan were subdivided into counties (gun), which were composed of mura. "A mura consisted of several . . . house-clusters, each united geographically and socially in its own little organization."⁴ These separate social units or hamlets (buraku) were united under a common headman (soncho), and were further subdivided into groups called kumi, a unit of about five households. The basic unit of Japanese society was the household and the family.

1. Thomas Gray, "Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard."

2. Immigration Commission, Reports, vol. 23, 1911, p. 8.

3. Most of the material on the organization of rural society in Japan was taken from J.F. Embree, Suye Mura: a Japanese Village, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939. While this study was made in 1935 the changes which have taken place since the immigrants left have not been of a substantial nature.

4. ibid., p. 22.

As might be expected in such an atmosphere, the members of the family were very closely bound together, and filial piety had come to be the supreme virtue. While the family itself was not self-sufficient--economically nor otherwise--since it was dependent for its existence upon the other groups in the mura; nonetheless, there was a strong tie between the members. This natural bond was reenforced and conditioned by religious requirements. According to the national legend, all Japanese were descended from the same God; the emperor was the direct descendent of this deity and all the people were his servants, and each father was responsible to the Emperor for the behavior of his family. The family was an end in itself and its honor was zealously guarded, its traditions and ancestors being looked upon with much reverence. The main emphasis was placed in the group and its perpetuation and not upon the feelings of the individual members. The family was thus a comprehensive unit, and its nature conditioned other aspects of social organization.

In a small farmhouse of two or three rooms, the entire household lived together. It consisted not only of the man and his wife, but also the eldest son (own or adopted), eldest son's wife, any unmarried children of the master, the eldest son's children, retired elders, and sometimes servants. In ordinary daily life the whole household was together for breakfast, lunch, and supper, and sat around the hearth in the evening. During the harvest the whole aggregation often worked as a unit. This intimate association--sleeping, bathing, eating, and sitting around the hearth together--created a strong social bond within the group.

Within this household the master's word (koshu) was law. He was the first to take his daily bath, first to be served with food, and all income went to him to dispense with as he saw fit.

All the people and things of the house were referred to as uchi no (of the house) and were considered to belong to the household under the trusteeship of

the master. Everyone worked not for himself, but for the group. Obviously under such an authoritarian and unified system, there was a high degree of stability.

As an instrument of social control the family was very powerful. It was not so much the absolute authority of the master over the other members that prevented misconduct as it was the fear of incurring an injurious effect upon the name and honor of the family. In the buraku the houses were often close together so that what went on in one house could not be kept secret from another; this contiguous living and lack of privacy made the influence of public opinion unusually strong. Furthermore, since the individuals had virtually no contact with any other set of ideas, it never occurred to them that they should desire to do anything differently.

While there were public schools giving elementary training, the children learned of their tasks, station in life, and ways of doing things from their elders and friends. Since the behavior of the people were relatively uniform, a child had little difficulty in copying the folkways of the group.

In such a context the individual was relatively unimportant. He was no more than a cell in the household, for the family acted as a whole in virtually every kind of transaction. It was natural that such an organization suppressed initiative and taught children not to rely upon themselves but rather upon the traditions and customs transmitted from one generation to the next. The members were conservative, leaning upon the past rather than the future and guiding their lives by the habits of their forefathers.⁵ The individual had a minimum of freedom; no one could conduct himself according to his inclinations, for the honor of the family was all-important and had to be upheld even at great sacrifice. Any failure on the part of any member was of great concern to the whole family; it was not simply an individual matter.

5. Cf. Demolin's account of the individual's status in the peoples of the steppes in central Asia in Sorokin, P., Contemporary Sociological Theories, Harpers, New York, 1928, pp. 75-76.

Viewed in this light the reason why all marriages were arranged by parents or relatives is easily comprehensible. Since the perpetuation of the family name and ancestor cult were basic, the question of marriage could not be entrusted to the young people themselves; the desires of individuals could not be allowed to thwart the needs of the household. Since this was the general practice, marriage arrangements by parents were accepted as a matter of course.⁶ Under such a system, marriage was not a union of two persons, nor were the husband and wife the chief parties concerned. It was an affair of the family, a pure and simple business arrangement.

In the event that a man had no sons capable of carrying on his responsibilities, the problem of perpetuating the family name and taking care of the ancestral tablets was solved through adoption. Often a nephew, the brother's son, was chosen. Sometimes when there were a number of girls in the family a husband was adopted for the eldest daughter. The accepted son (omuko), usually a younger one in a family of many boys, had all the rights and privileges of a real son; however, he had to accept the religion and status of the new family and to detach himself completely from his former home.

The bride was expected not only to be a good worker but also to be willing to forget her old home and to turn all her loyalties to her new household. Ability and willingness to work, to rear children, and to uphold the traditions of the house rather than romantic love constituted the basis of marriage.

Except for a few feeble-minded or diseased individuals, almost all adults in the mura were married. A widow usually remarried, frequently to a younger brother of her late husband; while a widower often married a younger sister of his late wife. A woman who had had an illegitimate child usually married, not its father, but a widower or someone of a lower class.

6. Smith, W.C., Americans in Process, Ann Arbor, Edwards Bros., 1937, pp. 10-15. Vide also E. Sugimoto, Daughter of a Samurai, London, Hurst & Balckett, 1933, p. 89.

And thus transcending all aspects of the lives of these humble folk was the idea that the family honor was something sacred in itself and was to be preserved at all costs. Even one of the most important things in the landmarks of the life-history of an individual--his marriage--was not a matter of his concern at all. There were many things in the marriage ceremony itself and in the various customs surrounding it which indicate how completely the individuals were dominated by the ties of the family group.⁷

The average man married at about twenty-three or twenty-four; and the woman at about seventeen or eighteen. When a boy's family thought that it was about time that he had a bride they told some close friend or relative to be on the lookout for some likely girl. Often, a semisecret meeting of the two people concerned was arranged, a meeting which was supposed to be by sheer accident and to have no significance whatsoever. Afterwards, the opinions of the two were sounded and if there were no vociferous objections, the two families proceeded to investigate the history of the other clan to make sure that there were no hereditary strains of leprosy or insanity and to determine as far as possible its social and economic standing. Most of these preliminaries and secret moves were made by an official go-between (nakaudo or baishakunin), who was also important in the marriage ceremony itself and was responsible for the future welfare of the couple. Thus we can see that the marriage was primarily a social and economic arrangement between the two families.⁸

The pattern of the ceremony itself was relatively simple. It consisted only

7. Marriage customs are discussed in this paper primarily because they serve as convenient indices for measuring change. Changes in such ceremonies may not have any bearing upon the problem of disorganization, but a study of such changes serves to clarify the nature of the transition taking place in other aspects of the Oriental immigrants' lives.

8. Embree, op. cit., pp. 203-214.

of having tea, the presentation of gifts, a drinking ceremony, and sometimes a party. The exchange of drinks by the couple (san-san-ku-do ceremony)⁹ was actually the most important phase of the wedding. All the arrangements were made by the baishakunin and all the formal ceremony was performed by him; there were no priests present at the wedding, and the only religious aspect of the marriage ceremony is the acceptance of the bride into the religion and the ancestral group of the new household. The weddings were simple and were usually attended only by the immediate relatives of the couple.

Courtship played but a small part in this picture; for all the arrangements were made by the baishakunin, and since men and women were not seen together in public. After an engagement was announced the groom usually forwarded to the family of the bride a small sum of money (theoretically to buy a new obi) and she returned half of this sum to him (to buy a new hakama).¹⁰ Aside from this very formal custom, the couple seldom saw each other until the day of the wedding. The individuals and their feelings were unimportant and were not considered worthy of much attention.

And so we can see that the social organization in which the average immigrant to America was reared was one of stability and of authoritarian control, a system in which the family was important and the individual significant only as a member of his group. The world of the inhabitants of a mura consisted primarily of his household and then the kumi in which he lived. All of the relations were of an intimate nature, for everyone in the vicinity knew each other very well, since most of the male inhabitants were born there. All relationships and con-

9. In the three-three-nine-times-drink ceremony, some sake was poured into a tier of three cups; the groom had a drink out of the smallest cup and then the bride drank from the same cup; then the same things were repeated with the second and third cups. After drinks were similarly exchanged between the bride and the groom's father and between the nakaudo and his wife, the major portion of the ceremony was over.

10. An obi is a colorful sash worn by women over their dress; a hakama is the equivalent of our trousers.

nections were personal, intimate, and face-to-face.

It is difficult for an individual to cast off the influence of the effects of such a system, and today in America many of these traits still persist.

"The immigrant cannot divest himself of these heritages as he disembarks at the port of entry; they have shaped his life in the homeland and their influence will persist even in the new country."¹¹ Certain of these heritages are transmitted to their children born in America. "It is because of their contact with the old-world heritages in the immigrant home and community that the American-born youth differs from typical American children."¹²

11. Smith, W.C., op. cit., p. 1.

12. ibid., p. 2.

III. The Trek to Shangri-La

In the quiet and simple setting of rural Japan the thoughts of the inhabitants seldom strayed from the affairs of the mura. Occasionally, however, there were opportunities for contact with the outside world. Every now and then, one left the village and visited the towns to market his wares or to lay in provisions which were not available in the mura, and there he learned of many new things. There, newspapers, magazines, peddlers, and gossip sometimes told of the paradise in the far-off land across the sea. Girls who had gone to work in the factories and men who had been conscripted to serve in the army came into contact with an expanding world and returned to the village with their astonishing tales. In the elementary schools the children read of different peoples and different modes of living. Thus when contractors and agents of the emigration companies asked for recruits, some left the mura to seek their fortunes in the lucrative new world. Gradually more and more began to leave and as time went on and those who had gone to Hawaii returned with incredible tales, others followed suit.

America--the land of plenty, a land where everyone was rich and where everyone had all the things that he wanted! Here was an opportunity for the young men to make a name and fortune for themselves and their family! The vast majority of the immigrants to America were from the farming classes, young men seeking new opportunities and advancement. They belonged to the lower classes of the Japanese community if not to the lowest of all. While they may have formed the real cornerstone of the nation, they were poor, conservative, uneducated, and totally ignorant of foreign conditions. Added to this group were a number of the intelligent and ambitious elements of the middle class seeking to study or to avoid conscription into the army. Furthermore, there were older men who had failed in Japan and who found staying there unattractive.¹

Besides the desire for study and the relative lack of opportunities in Japan a strong factor inducing emigration was the presence of emigration companies and contractors seeking cheap farm labor. The few who had gone to America and had foreseen the opportunities waiting for their exploitation returned to Japan to organize groups of youths to migrate and seek their fortunes together.

Before 1891 the number of the immigrants was small, never exceeding more than 1,000 in any single year, since the government sent out only students and was opposed to labor emigration on a large scale. However, learning from the experience of those who had gone to Hawaii, gradually more and more began their trek to America. Some had gone to Hawaii since 1884; these were the poorest and most ignorant of all and many of these laborers have since come to America. The number increased and in the decade from 1890 to 1900 between twenty-five and thirty thousand came to the United States.² In the following decade some fifty thousands more followed.³ The increasing number of Orientals led to riots and agitation, and after several uncomfortable incidents, the governments of the United States and Japan in 1907 made a "Gentlemen's Agreement" whereby the Japanese government would issue passports only to non-laborers and three classes of workers: to former residents in America, to parents, wives, or children of

1. H.A. Millis (The Japanese Problem in the United States, New York, Macmillan, 1915, p. 5) estimates that over half the immigrants were under 25 years of age; while E.K. Strong (Japanese in California, Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1934, p. 55) found in his survey, based on a directed sample of 10% of the Japanese in California that the average males spent only 20.8 years in Japan.

2. According to the Imperial Statistical Annals of Japan, 32,529 passports were issue, while The Annual Reports of the United States Superintendent of Immigration shows that only 27,440 arrived. Cf. Y. Ichihashi, The Japanese in the United States, Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1932, p. 55.

3. There is considerable discrepancy in the statistics of the immigration in the decade from 1900 to 1910. Dr. Romanzo Adams in the "Japanese Migration Statistics," Sociology and Social Research, 1929, p. 441, estimates that only 14,994 aliens came directly from Japan to the United States; while some agitators have placed the figure as high as 104,618. The United States Census for 1910 enumerates only 72,157 Japanese including 4,502 native born. Since many who did come to America returned after a few years, it is simple for the agitator to twist the figures to suit his arguemnt. For a more detailed treatment vide Y. Ichihashi, op. cit., p. 56 ff.

residents, and to settled agriculturalists. Even though the Japanese government tightened on the requirements for passports, the number of immigrants continued to increase, for after Hawaii became a territory of the United States in 1900, the thousands of Orientals who had gone there previously were beyond the jurisprudence of the Japanese government and were free to come to the mainland. This increasing number added fuel to the already smouldering anti-Orientalism in California and finally resulted in the passage of drastic laws.

The reception in America was far from consistent with the hopes that the immigrants had envisaged on their way. Instead of the sought-for paradise, they found themselves in a turmoil of confusion and hatred. The entrance of the Japanese into American life, even without agitation, would have involved radical changes in their old habits and attitudes and their success in settlement in the new environment would have depended upon their ability to readjust themselves to the new conditions. Since the ability to adjust to a new environment depends to a great extent upon the previous training, the Japanese failed; for in their old home they seldom came in contact with different modes of living and because the education of the majority of emigres was seriously restricted.⁴

While the reaction of the newcomers to the agitation was not militant, the vituperations encountered in many ways conditioned permanently the type of social organization and attitudes adopted by them. "The active campaign against the Japanese may be said to have begun with the publication in February, 1905, in the San Francisco Chronicle of a series of articles which in sensational language pointed out the dangers of this new Yellow Peril."⁵ As the stream of labor poured into the western ports of entry, the rancorous cries arose and led finally, after

4. Dr. Strong observes, "The first-generation Japanese immigrant claim to have had about eight years of schooling in Japan. This seems high in terms of the educational facilities in Japan at the time they were children and in terms of what the average American of their age has secured." E.K. Strong, The Second Generation Japanese Problem, Stanford University, Stanford Univ. Press, 1937, p. 207.

5. J. Steiner, The Japanese Invasion, McClurg Co. Chicago, 1917, p. 41.

riots, segregation in schools, wholesale destruction of property, and other outrages, to the passage in 1913 of the Alien Land Law in California, which forbade the owning of land of all who were ineligible for citizenship, and finally to the passage of the Japanese Exclusion Act of 1924, which cut off entirely the coming of Orientals to America. The latter law, which excluded aliens ineligible for citizenship, by barring the wives, parents and children of those already in America not only resulted in a number of broken families, but also led to the unusual age and sex distributions which are the cause of much of the second generation problems today. The Alien Land Laws, by not allowing Japanese to own land, not only expropriated farms which the immigrants had developed out of wastelands, but also drove many into the cities, where they were forced to congregate in the slum areas and transition zones.

There were many causes for the agitation other than the mere fact that strangers are not welcome in any land. The inamicable reception was partly due to the fact that the Japanese stepped into the midst of a gigantic economic struggle. "From 1882 . . . until about 1930, the history of farm labor in California has revolved around the cleverly manipulated exploitation, by the large growers, of a number of suppressed racial minority groups which were imported to work the fields."⁶ After the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the anti-Chinese riots of 1893 had driven the Chinese workers from the fields there was an acute shortage of cheap labor. At first there was little opposition to the Japanese but as they began to come in numbers the tom-toms began to beat once more. Since they underbid all other labor groups, they made it difficult for small farmers to compete with the large owners and thus incurred the former's wrath. Furthermore, as the Japanese began to own land and to hire their own

6. C. McWilliams, Factories in the Fields, Boston, Little, Brown, and Co., 1939, p. 104.

countrymen thereby antagonized the shippers and large landowners.⁷ This not only threatened the existence of the large units of production but also decreased the supply of farm labor. Furthermore, when the Japanese began monopolizing the labor supply and demanding higher wages, they attenuated the support of the large owners, who had thus far defended them against the tirades of the small farmers. This led to the enactment of the Alien Land Law of 1913 (reenacted in 1919), and the growers began using Filipino and Mexican labor. And so we can see that ". . . the problem of the Japanese in California has been made the subject of political and private exploitation, and thereby rendered unnecessarily complicated and acute. . . ." ⁸

The action of the press, the Union Labor Party, and the Asiatic Exclusion League⁹ encouraged mobs to destroy houses, restaurants, and bath houses and commit other outrages. After the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907, the laborers ceased to come in such large numbers directly from Japan, but since many came indirectly through Hawaii, the ranting went on unabated. The coming of women, some as "picture-brides", led to further agitation to the effect that the Japanese were immoral and were importing women for questionable purposes.

While many of the Orientals in America did not come into direct contact with the wanton recklessness of the agitators, most of them have heard of the incidents, and this has had an important effect upon their attitudes and opinions toward Americans and their ways. Since the teachings of Oriental religion did not consist of training one to insist on his rights but rather to accept fate, and since the immigrant had been taught to be tolerating and conciliatory and to accommodate himself to things as they came, the bitter feelings were temporarily submerged and the newcomer as far as possible made the best of his existence as

7. In 1900, the Japanese owned 29 farms of about 4,600 acres; by 1910, they had 1816 farms of about 99,000 acres; and by 1920 they controlled 6600 farms totaling over 450,000 acres and employing 15,000 workers. Iyenaga, T. and K. Sato, Japan and the California Problem, New York and London, Putnams, 1921, p. 122.

8. Ibid., p. 89

9. Formed in San Francisco in May, 1905.

he found it.¹⁰ Because of the discrepancy of this condition from the illusion of heaven that they had contemplated when they had started for America, many, disillusioned, returned to their homeland; some remained, too ashamed to return defeated. But it was not allhell, and while only a few achieved the glory they sought, the majority contented themselves with the simple things in life and made their homes and reared their children in the hope of justice and peace.

¹⁰. K.S. Inui, Unsolved Problems of the Pacific, Kamakura, Japan, 1925, pp. 23-25.

IV. In the Valley of the Sun

At first, when there were but a few Japanese in the country, they "moved throughout the state, at their own expense, working as migratory farms laborers;"¹ but later, the vast majority of them remained together and settled in colonies in California.² After a considerable number had come, they began to spread out into the rural districts and secure work as seasonal farm laborers under the direction of small contractors and bosses of their own nationality.³ While the present stronghold of Japanese agriculture in California is in the south, certainly their most important contributions were made in the valley in the central portion of the state.

While the Chinese first made their appearance in the San Jouquin and Sacramento Valleys as early as 1850,⁴ the Japanese did not arrive until 1868. More came after 1891, but these were all composed of students who soon left. It was not until 1900 that a large number began to flow into the valley.

At this time the delta, or "tule" land, was among the most undesirable areas in California, mosquitoes, malaria, and typhoid being abundant among the myriad of swamps. Combustible peat land, blazing sun, and the unsanitary marshland challenged the newcomer. From 1857 to 1894 millions of dollars had been spent

1. C. McWilliams, op. cit., p. 107.

2. According to the figures given in the United States Census, about 70% of the Japanese in the United States were settled in California in 1930--about 97,456 out of a total of 138,834; in 1920, 71,952 out of 111,010 were in the state; while in 1910, 41,356 of 72,157 were here. Of the 97,456 in California in 1930, 19,006 were living in central portion--Fresno, Merced, Sacramento, San Jouquin, and Stanislaus counties.

3. According to an investigation made in 1909, 65% of the Japanese in California were engaged in agriculture, 15% in domestic service, 15% in business enterprises generally connected with supplying the wants of the Japanese communities, and 5% in other pursuits. Cf. S.L. Gulick, The American-Japanese Problem, New York, Scribner's, 1914, p. 322.

4. W. Smith, The Garden of the Sun, Los Angeles, Lymanhouse, 1939, p. 408.

in an attempt to reclaim the land from swamps by building levees and pumping out the water, but it was not until the "potato king" appeared on the scene that the land became productive. "The early history of successful potato growing in the San Jouquin Valley centers around one man. The delta region near Stockton was considered worthless for agricultural purposes until George Shima, a Japanese contractor, made it the big potato field of California."⁵ Shima drained the delta of the San Jouquin River, leased 6,000 acres and paid owners over \$8,000,000 in rent in 20 years. Having come to California earlier as a student, he saw the opportunities which lay open, and returning to Japan, he brought with him a number of laborers to work his fields and to turn into a mine of wealth that which had previously been ignored as the hotbed of disease.

Thus, in certain portions of the valley, organized under Shima and other contractors the Japanese congregated. The peculiarities of thought, habit, diet, and forms of recreation tended to draw them into racial colonies. It seemed inevitable that immigrants of this type should indicate a tendency to segregate themselves in communities of their own people, where they could continue to use their old customs and language; but besides the desire to stay with their own group there were other factors forcing this solidarity. Economically it was necessary, for there were few other ways in which newcomers could seek employment other than through contractors of their own group. Furthermore, this natural tendency was accentuated by the strong race prejudice that existed. The outside pressure of a hostile environment as well as the inner compulsion of common interests forced them to live in segregated quarters. This living together intensified their old sentiments and made more persistent the traits which they had brought to America and caused their social organization to follow lines not dissimilar from those of the East.

5. ibid., p. 503.

The Japanese, unlike the Chinese whom they replaced, organized into definite groups, the farmers dividing into "gangs" for work under a contractor. These contractors usually had full supervision and control over their men, not only paying their wages and overseeing their work but also in conducting the houses in which they lived. Arrangements were made for cooperative housekeeping and it was in these camps that the men worked until they had earned enough to return to Japan for a bride or could arrange for a "picture-bride." Producers' associations, business associations, language schools, religious centers, and the Japanese Association of America tended to solidify the community.⁶

It was in this setting that the women began to migrate to America in large numbers, joining their husbands after they had made a secure place in the new environment. Many men, after getting things started, returned to Japan to wed, but others had to be content with arranging for "picture-brides." While the latter practice has been the subject of much antagonism, actually the principle involved is not much different from that used in Japan. A Japanese in America who wished to secure a wife without the expense of crossing the ocean for her, made an application to the Japanese Association of America. The secretary of the Association then carefully investigated the financial and moral standing of the individual and made a full report to the Japanese consulate. If the report were satisfactory, the consul informed the Tokyo authorities, who then issued a passport to the girl who had consented to come to America to be his bride. While many were married in this manner, usually the marriage arrangements were made for the young man by his relatives, who proceeded in the customary way in seeking his mate. Since this manner of arranging a marriage was not so different from the ordinary Japanese procedure, it was much more satisfactory than one might have expected and resulted generally in permanent unions.

6. J. Steiner, op. cit., VIII.

The brides, whether picked by the consulate or by the bridegroom's parents, were officially married in Japan and came to America as the wives of the residents. Upon disembarking there was usually no ceremony, although sometimes there was a small wedding party in America. The work of the baishakunin was performed entirely in Japan.

Since most of the immigrants married, the coming of women added stability to the Japanese communities.⁷ The traits and ways of the old world were transplanted in America. The family once again became a closely knit unit. Much attention was paid to family loyalties, honor, pride, and traditions. The tradition of male superiority prevailed, as the women gave way. This familial solidarity transmitted to America was especially discernable in the rural regions than in the towns.

The transplanted family, like the original in Japan, consisted of the master, his wife, children, but often included some relatives and a few aged persons. For obvious reasons, servants were almost non-existent, although on the farms the laborers sometimes lived in the same household with the family.

The family ties were so strong and the fear of disgracing the family was so great that the individual rarely did anything that might incur harm to the family name. The crime rate of the Japanese was uniformly low throughout the United States, and this can be attributed to the fact that group control was unusually potent. Delinquency was at a minimum in areas where the Orientals were incorporated into closely integrated family and community groups.⁸ Crime and delinquency did not arise in the Japanese immigrant group upon their first impact with America; it was not until the second generation had grown up and had become partially emancipated from the control of their parents that the problems of disorganization began to be manifest.

7. According to a survey made by Dr. Strong with a directed sample, out of 2,205 males over 14 years of age, all but 335 were married, and among the women over 98% were married. Strong, Japanese in California, pp. 69-70.

The children were at first strongly influenced by their parents in their ways, even though they spent part of their time in the public schools where they learned of an entirely different type of life. Often, however, since the child had no idea of many of the things to which their teachers and friends referred, the home environment for a long time was a more effective agency of socialization.

All property was held in common and was considered as belonging to the family as a unit. It was not until the second generation began to grow up that questions regarding shares in the income arose.

Many close associations were formed, partly because of geographical contiguity, partly on the basis of the prefectures (ken) from which the individuals had come, and partly on the basis of a common religion. Most of the immigrants were Buddhists and congregated in the Buddhist centers, but Christianity seems to have been the more influential religion and has caused many changes not only in the Buddhist members but also in the program of the church itself. For example, Buddhist churches in America meet on Sundays, a day of no significance in their religion; the members sing hymns which were unknown in Japan; and the children even give presents on Christmas!

And so we see that some changes began to creep into the social organization of the Japanese immigrant group soon after their initial adjustments in America. This process of change proceeded in an ever accelerating pace, and the old traditions and values were gradually impaled by the onslaught of the new ways. As the second generation grew older they more and more became emancipated from the shackles of Oriental authority and increasingly became the cause of much concern among the elders. In some instances, the immigrants gave up their attempts to restrain their children, and the results sometimes led to disastrous consequences.

In the peaceful looking shacks cluttered on the countryside and on the levies

S. N.S. Hayner, "Social Factors in Oriental Crime," American Journal of Sociology, vol. 43 (May, 1938), pp. 908-16.

and in the rooms behind the shops in the slums the clash of traditions began slowly to embroil.

V. Icarus Gets his Wings

The ways and institutions of the second-generation Japanese are neither entirely Japanese nor American and constitute a peculiar combination of the two sets of ways, although considerable assimilation has taken place. Recently many drastic changes have occurred which are the cause of much concern to the immigrants. Among the factors leading to this change is the declining influence of the home upon the individual.

Unlike the stable system in Japan, the Nisei¹ are living in an ever changing society. The stability of organization under which their parents lived is not theirs. Furthermore, there has been no standardized pattern of life for them to follow. Besides the traditional type of family discipline that their parents had attempted to inflict, they have learned of a different, more democratic procedure in the schools and from their friends. Some, by working in American homes, have experienced the different customs and relate them to their friends.

The religious factor, likewise, has been important. The teachings of Buddhism are in no many respects different from the things learned in school that the Nisei cannot understand their significance and unconsciously turn to Christian ideas. Those who are Christians, furthermore, come into direct contact with Caucasians and have adopted their ways.

Furthermore, the rural regions, which are notoriously lagging in change, have likewise been affected. The children in the rural regions learn by attending common public schools. Moreover, the rise of automobile transportation has facilitated the contact of the rural children with those of the city, and there has been considerable urbanization of the ideas and habits of the children on the farms. Niseis, from the farms and cities alike, often gather at social functions,

1. This term, pronounced "nee-say", means second-generation Japanese and is in common use in referring to this group.

athletic games, and church activities, and read the same newspapers and magazines; thus, the rural and urban groups are becoming more and more alike in their attitudes and values. There is a relative homogeneity of culture among the Niseis in central California.

Much to the apprehension of their parents the Niseis have virtually succeeded in becoming Americanized.² Unfortunately, however, there is, so to speak, a fly in the ointment. Instead of being able to step into American society like the other second-generation groups, the Orientals are forced to live among themselves and to seek means of livelihood within their own groups. Obtaining jobs outside of the Japanese community seems to be a remote dream to all but a few of exceptional talent. Within the community itself there is an overabundance of workers and only a few jobs. Since a large portion of the jobs that are obtained are acquired through "pull," those not fortunate enough to have influential friends or relatives must be content with working in the farms as seasonal laborers.

Those who do get jobs in the towns are usually pitifully underpaid.³ The best income and most opportunity seems to be offered by agricultural work, but since most Nisei have seen what farm work is like at its worst they are reluctant to go into this field.⁴ Some openings are offered in civil service work, but here the field is restricted to the exceptional few. Of the large number who

2. The first generation oppose the complete acceptance of American ways not so much because of dislike for America but because they are so different from the traditions which they would like to see upheld.

3. Mr. Charles Kikuchi, in a survey made under the auspices of the California State Employment Service, found that the average wage received by the Nisei in San Francisco was only \$14.50 a week. While I know of no comparable figures on the wages paid in Stockton or Sacramento, it is reasonable to assume that they certainly cannot be much higher.

4. Most second-generation Orientals judge farming conditions by the standards under which their parents had lived and do not take into consideration the fact that these conditions can be improved substantially.

are now in institutions of higher learning getting technical training only a selected few will be able to get positions worthy of their training and the others will be forced to accept lesser jobs. Race prejudice against the Oriental has not flared at the level of thirty years ago, but the anti-Oriental tradition still persists and is forcing the Nisei to stay within his own community.

Obviously, without a job or with a small income, the Nisei cannot afford to be married or to have a home. To add to this chaotic condition, the age and sex distribution of the Nisei is very unusual.⁵ Since the vast majority of the immigrant women arrived in America at about the same time,⁶ most of the children are of approximately the same age. Since girls reach a marriageable age before the boys and since the men are unable to get jobs which would enable them to support their wives, there is a serious shortage of eligible men. The common belief among the Japanese is that there are three times as many women of marriageable age as there are men, and while the statistics do not substantiate such a contention, the conviction is so widespread that it has had a serious effect upon the attitudes and behavior of the Nisei and their anxious parents.⁷ While the marriage problem is gradually becoming less acute, the older girls (those who are now over twenty-five) face the dilemmatic choice of launching a career in some field (if an opportunity is available) or intermarriage (which is frowned upon).

In the midst of this hodge-podge the presence of another group of American-born Japanese complicates the already serious problem. The Kibeis⁸ find themselves alone and almost hopeless. Since they have been educated in modern Japan their ideas are essentially different from those of the first generation who were educated thirty or forty years ago if at all, and even more distant from the ways

5. vide Appendix B

6. From about 1915 to 1924.

7. In 1941 the biological ratio of potentially marriageable males to females seems to be roughly 11 to 13; however, if we take into consideration the economic factor the difference would be much greater than 1 to 3.

8. The Kibeis are American-born children who were sent to Japan while quite young and educated there.

of the Niseis whose ideas are basically American. The Kibei finds himself in social isolation and is forced to withdraw into his own group. Since most of them returned to America with ambitious plans and hopes, their reception here has caused many to become disillusioned. Many of them in central California simply drift aimlessly from one farm to another and are hopelessly building up a reputation of being the most ill-behaved of the Orientals. Their gambling, drinking, frequenting houses of prostitution, and fighting are the cause of considerable concern on the part of civic-minded members of the community.

Since most of the Niseis are still in their late 'teens or early twenties, the marriage problem has not yet become acute; the majority are still in school and dependent upon their parents economically and the first generation still wields some authority, although this is rapidly breaking down. In some regions, particularly in southern California, incipient signs of disorganization are appearing and it seems that the disruption will become more prevalent as the Niseis grow older and find themselves without work or hope of obtaining positions better than menial and farm labor and as the aging parents die or become less influential. Disorganization has not yet struck the Nisei community, but it seems reasonable to assume that it will take place soon.

It is in this context that we must view the Nisei family which has changed drastically from that of their parents and in most instances contain only the vestiges of the heritage of their parents. Marriage is no longer considered an affair of the family, but rather that of the individuals involved. Usually the Nisei pick their own mates, often with the approval of their parents, although some actually go against the wishes of the elders. No attempt is made to check the ancestry of the other family, and love and occasionally rational thought serve as the bases for selecting mates instead of the perpetuation of the family name. Thus we find that the underlying concept of the institution of marriage has changed completely; the family name is no longer important.

However, there are some remnants of the old customs. Baishakunin are still retained, although they serve no function whatever and are merely formalities. The ceremony is now, both among the Buddhists and Christians, colored by religious considerations and is performed either by a minister or a justice of the peace, while the baishakunin merely sit by and express their good wishes. Occasionally we find traces of the bride and groom exchanging money as the custom in Japan dictates; however, this is becoming more and more rare; in fact, most Niseis do not even know of the custom. The wedding of the Buddhist group has been almost entirely Christianized.⁹

Courtship among the Niseis likewise is considerably Americanized, although on some occasions there has been some difficulty because many Niseis do not have an opportunity to learn the American ways. The sexes mingle freely in socials, parties, dances, club meetings, athletics, and picnics, much to the disgust of some of the older residents, and seek their friends in much the same manner as do most Americans. Occasionally, however, a boy, after looking about for a wife and being unable to find one, asks his parents to find one for him. Even in such cases, however, the couple go out together and see each other often before marriage, and instances of arranged marriages of the nature of those of Japan are virtually non-existent.

While there are not yet many Nisei families, the ones that do exist are usually very different from those of their parents. The newlyweds usually dislike living with their parents and unless there is an economic necessity preventing their setting up their own homes, they leave the old household. The Nisei family consists of the husband, wife, and their children, and only occasionally are there relatives living with them. Often the wife works part time to help keep up the household and to meet the expenses.

9. Organ music, best man, wedding rings, the bride's walking down the aisle with her father, and priests at weddings were unknown in Buddhist circles in Japan at the time when the immigrants left the country. For examples of wedding and engagement announcements vide Appendix C.

There is also much opposition to autocratic family control. The Nisei family, as a rule, is run on a more democratic basis, with the wife and children having more say in the affairs of the group. While remnants of familial sentiments remain, the reverence for ancestors is virutally non-existent. Because of racial barriers, however, many of them are unable to break away completely from the parental group and remain to some extent under their surveillance.

In many other ways the unity of the family has broken down. Property is no longer held in common, each individual keeping a share as "his own" and often starting bank accounts separately. While the family pride is not entirely lacking, it seems that the forces of political control are more and more the agents of control. The children spend much of their time outside, in schools and with their friends and are more influenced by their outer environment.

Thus we can see that the basic concept of a family as a unit and an end in itself is completely superseded by the idea of a family as a means to another--individual happiness. Couples no longer feel obligated to have children to perpetuate their family line, nor do they bother themselves with the care of ancestral tablets.

To be sure, not all Nisei have completely emancipated themselves from the ways that they were taught when they were young. There are some conformists (thoroughly disliked by other Niseis) who accept in toto the traditions of their parents and do not vary from them. There are some who react violently to the attempts of their parents to hold their interests in check, while some accept the situation philosephically and attempt to compromise. There is no question, however, that by and large the Nisei family has changed. The second generation find it difficult to understand the language, religion, and ideas of their parents and therefore many of them do not even comprehend the significance of the family to the Japanese immigrant.

The young people have made contact with several types of family and have accepted the type that had the most appeal. After the democratic ideas are instilled in them in school, it is difficult for them to accept the type of family in which they had been reared; and the type of family they see in the movies and read of in books seems much more attractive. Much to the dismay of the older generation, the Niseis are striking out on their own, having largely emancipated themselves from parental control.

VI. Under the Shadow of Crisis

The Nisei is a cultural hybrid, being neither entirely American nor entirely Japanese, but it is easy to see that the influence of the American environment has been much stronger than that of their parents. In the family, the underlying concept has changed entirely; the patriarchal control has been replaced by democracy; the concept of property has been shifted from the group to the individual; the religious reverence for ancestors is absent; the values and philosophy of life of the individuals are entirely different. In marriage love has replaced family name as the basis; the ceremony is entirely Christianized; and courtship has taken the American form.

Some changes have not been quite so complete. In many instances there is patrilocal residence in central California, partly because of economic necessity and partly because the familial sentiments still remain; furthermore, the family still remains to some extent an agency of social control. A few traits, insignificant and unimportant, have struggled through the turmoil and still persist, especially in respect to marriage. The baishakunin is still retained although he performs no function and there is still sometimes an exchange of money between the bride and the groom. The basic concept, the organization, and the functions of the family, however, have changed almost beyond recognition, and as the parents die or leave the country, it is reasonable to believe that the emancipation will become more complete.

This process of change has not taken place without being influenced by historical occurrences. In fact, the changes taking place in the Nisei group are similar to those taking place throughout the nation, but these have taken a different twist in some instances because of the peculiar historical setting. Among the many factors that have been of importance is the fact that the Japanese

immigrants came to California and stepped into the midst of the stress of modern labor conditions. This directly led to agitation and the passage of the Alien Land Laws and the Exclusion Act. The Land Laws drove many to the cities where because of the prejudice, the Japanese were forced to occupy zones which were ecologically the poorest. In a sense, however, the prejudice aided in that the Japanese were forced into a solid colony and thus for almost three decades group opinion was able to keep the individuals in the community restrained from rash action in the fear of injuring their family name. The agitation further led to much remorse on the part of the Orientals and since they settled in the transition zones in the city and among the workers in the farms where they came into contact with the lowest classes, the attitude of the Japanese toward the whites is one of contempt and disrespect.

The Exclusion Act of 1924 was of considerable importance in that it led to many broken families. Furthermore, many men were forced to go without wives. Perhaps the most important effect of the laws was that it caused an unusual age and sex distribution among the Nisei which is now the basis of many serious problems. The passage of this law was valuable in that it stopped one of the sources of agitation; however, it has led to many unforeseen problems.

Labor difficulties, however, were not the only sources of maladjustment. In fact, the racial difference, the rise of Japan as a world power, and the exploitation of these factors by local politicians were likewise important. The coming of "picture-brides" also contributed to the confusion. These misunderstandings led to agitation and the prejudice drove the Orientals into solid communities in which the family ties were kept intact for decades; when in other immigrant groups disorganization struck the first generation.

Today, under the shadow of war-clouds the future of the Nisei looks far from rosy. With Japan and the United States following foreign policies which seem diametrically opposed and seemingly drawing nearer to conflict, many anemic-minded

individuals are beginning to question the loyalty of American-born Japanese. This suspicion further accentuates the already serious vocational and marriage problems. As the Nisei in increasing numbers pour out of school and find themselves without jobs, as the controlling influence of their parents decrease, the outlook is indeed very gloomy. Should the United States and Japan go to war, no doubt the social organization of the Orientals in America will suffer from the drastic repercussions.

Granted that the Nisei faces an unwanted reality, the inevitable question arises: what can be done about it? Obviously when formulating any plan of social action one must remain within the realm of reality and refrain from drawing up blueprints of a Utopia unlikely to be blessed by felicitous realization. Fortunately, leaders in politics, religion, education, the press, social welfare agencies have already taken some steps to alleviate the problem and to aid in reorganizing Nisei society. What these groups can do however will be conditioned by the turn of events in the world.

Perhaps it would help if the Niseis themselves faced the facts; however, thus far those who think that they can foresee the future have relapsed into melancholy outlook, a feeling of defeatism which often comes perilously near the crags of utter disillusionment. Perhaps a reexamination of their philosophies of life would aid. It seems to me, however, that whatever prescription of reform that is proposed must be based upon a sound and thorough understanding of the situation and of the issues involved. Any immature plans of reorganization may in the long run lead to futile efforts and disastrous sacrifice. The demoralization prevalent among the Niseis today is not due to the lack of a feeling of belonging to something, but rather to a vague realization that the future does not hold much for them; perhaps a happy turn of events will provide a stimulus for a rapid and systematic effort to reorientate the victims of circumstance.

Appendix AMethodological Note

At the end of their epochal treatise, Thomas and Znaniecki conclude:

"The prevalent general social unrest and demoralization is due to the decay of the primary-group organization, which gave the individual a sense of responsibility and security because he belonged to something. This system has given way partly to the forces making for individual efficiency, and we have developed nothing to take its place--no organization which would restore the sense of social responsibility without limiting the efficiency of the individual."¹

Concerning the individuals themselves they wrote:

"An immigrant of the first generation who becomes demoralized in any particular line--family life, economic relations, community relations--soon loses moral self-control in general, all his institutional attitudes are more or less dissolved."²

This process of degeneration becomes greater in the second generation:

" . . . both because the parents have less to give than they had received themselves in the line of social principles and emotions, and because the children brought up in American cities have more freedom and less respect for their parents."³

It was on the assumption that these hypotheses were reasonably consistent with the facts that this study on the Japanese immigrant group was undertaken. During the course of the investigation, I have found that while the theory holds to a large extent, sometimes the "processes" of change took a peculiar twist due to the presence of some unexpected factor. For example, the primary-group organization of the Japanese did not collapse upon its initial impact with American ways and the first generation underwent virtually no disorganization because of the unusually strong kinship ties developed in Japan and because the hostility of the other groups would not permit them to leave their group. Furthermore, it seems to me that many of the manifestations of disorder in the second-generation

1. W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 344-45.

2. ibid., New York, Knopf, 1927, vol. II, p. 1651.

3. ibid.

are due, partially at least, to factors other than the decrease of the influence of group-ways upon the individuals. Economic dependency is due to an unfortunate twist of circumstance, while demoralization may be due to a realization that the future does not hold much in store for the Nisei. By and large, however, the hypotheses of Thomas and Znaniecki hold up admirably well even in a context so different from that of the original study.

The original aim of this investigation was of a very ambitious nature. An effort was made to follow the method of writing social histories advocated by professor Teggart: problem, events, comparison.⁴ The underlying aim of the research was to seek the processes by which the hybrid culture of the second-generation came to be as it is. In studying this change an attempt was made to trace the historical events which seemed to have had considerable influence upon the changes, and the conclusions were to have been drawn from a comparison of data gathered from a series of specific case studies. Unfortunately, however, all this could not be done in a single semester partly because of the lack of time and more because of the inadequacy of my background to carry on such a project.

Instead of a series of case studies in the various sections in Japan from which the majority of the immigrants came, I relied for the bulk of my information on the study made by Dr. Embree in Kumamoto ken,⁵ primarily because it happens to be one of the finest studies of Japanese rural society in the English language. Furthermore, because of my inability to read the Japanese language I was unable to gather data from other available sources. Fortunately, it so happens that Kumamoto supplied a relatively large percentage of the immigrants to California.⁶

There are available many fine works on the organization and history of the immigrants in Hawaii; however, to simplify the task, no account is taken of this

4. F.J. Teggart, Rome and China, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1939, preface, vi.

5. J.F. Embree, Suye Mura, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1939.

6. Ichihashi, op. cit. p. 80.

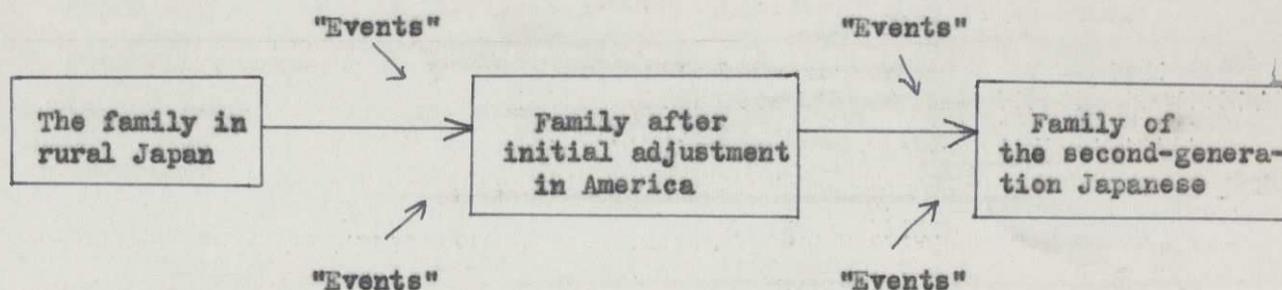
very important aspect of the immigration. In California, I had intended to gather information on Los Angeles, Imperial Valley, San Francisco, Stockton, and the San Jouquin Valley; however, the material on hand was so sparse that I decided to confine my attention only to rural regions in central California and Stockton, with which I am personally fairly well acquainted. While my conclusions are stated very generally, actually they apply primarily only to central California.

Although social change involves all culture, this study was confined largely to an analysis of the institutions of family and marriage. Since social phenomena are so complex, one must have some categories into which the data can be classified in order to be comprehensible, and in the quest for categories for classification I have turned to a number of general works in sociology and to lecture notes. As far as possible the following sketchy outline was followed in analyzing the family and related institutions:

- I. The family as a social institution
 - A. underlying concept
 - B. organization of the family
 - 1. residence
 - 2. constituent elements
 - 3. control and stability
 - 4. property in the family
 - C. functions of the family
 - 1. social control
 - 2. socialization
 - 3. religious aspects
 - D. The individual and the family
- II. Institutions related to the family
 - A. marriage
 - 1. underlying concept
 - 2. bases for marriage
 - 3. complex of ways and traditions
 - a. attitudes
 - b. consent
 - c. making the contract
 - 4. economic considerations
 - 5. religious considerations
 - B. courtship
 - 1. underlying concept
 - 2. attitudes

In measuring the transition an attempt was made to distinguish between fixity,

modification, and change.⁷ Besides the "processes" of change the various "events" were likewise taken into consideration,⁸ and much space in the paper is devoted solely to an account of historical happenings. The following diagram charts the approach used in this paper:

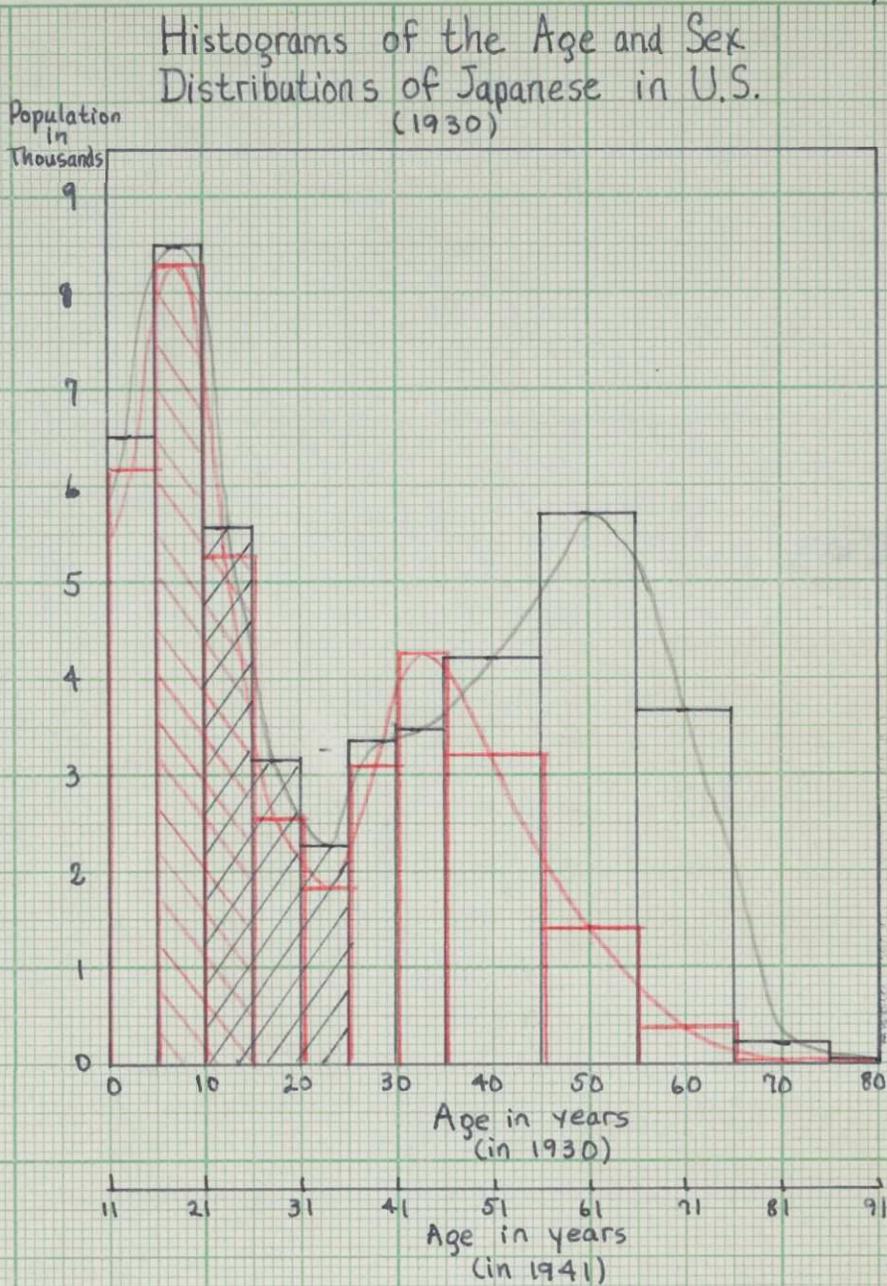


Thus each division contains, first, the setting; then an analysis of the social organization, and finally the conclusions.

Every effort was made to guard against letting this work degenerate into supplying facts to fit ready-made conclusions, and as far as possible the approach was inductive. The only conviction, now somewhat shaken, with which I began this paper was that the incipient disorganization among the Nisei was due primarily to cultural change. This assumption, whether true or not, was accepted and no effort was made either to prove it true or false, since the specific object of this paper was to trace the changes that have taken place in the social organization of the immigrant group.

7. F.J. Teggart, The Processes of History, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918, IV.

8. F.J. Teggart, The Theory of History, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925, VII.



1. Data taken from U.S. Census of 1930, quoted in Strong, E.K., Second Generation Japanese Problem
2. Bimodal distribution is due to presence of non-homogeneous data; i.e., first & second generations
3. Sex distribution:
 - = Female of marriagiable age in 1941 (16-26)
 - = Males of marriagiable age in 1941 (21-36)
 Ratio = 13,485 women : 10,978 men
4. This chart is far from accurate, since it is based upon the assumption that none have died or have left the country since 1930; however it gives a general picture.



Appendix CSamples of wedding and engagement announcements

These samples were taken at random from the New World Sun and the Japanese-American News, San Francisco dailies. Note that in almost every instance the announcements contain some reference to the baishakunin and often emphasize the fact that someone is the first son or first daughter of a family. These wedding announcements constitute a good example of the process of persistence, modification, and change in the culture of the Japanese immigrant group in America.

Yamashita-Miyao Nuptial Rites Held at Florin

FLORIN, Feb. 25—Martin Miyao, prominent member of the Florin YBA and second son of Mr. and Mrs. Tokumatsu Miyao, and Yukiko Yamashita, eldest daughter of Mr. and Mrs. K. Yamashita of Broderick, will be united at a nuptial rite which will be held at Florin Buddhist temple on Wednesday afternoon, from 3 o'clock with Rev. Naito performing the ceremony. Baishakunin for the couple were Mr. and Mrs. T. Tanikawa of Florin and Mr. and Mrs. G. Kono of Mills.

Mr. Miyao has been actively engaged in the trucking business while his parents are pioneer berry growers of the Florin district. Miss Yamashita is a graduate of high school and was also educated in Japan.

The wedding reception will be held at M. Chop Suey in Sacramento from 6 o'clock. Many friends of the couple are expected to attend. After their honeymoon to an unknown destination, the couple expect to make their home in Florin.

Ota-Kozuki Betrothal Told

FRESNO, Feb. 21—The betrothal of Nancy Kozuki of Parlier to Ronald Ota of Fresno was announced recently at the home of Mrs. Y. Kozuki. Both are active Bussei. The wedding date was not announced.

Baishakunin are Mr. and Mrs. Jitsumiyo of Fresno, Mr. and Mrs. K. Kimoto of Parlier.

Seattle Girl Reveals Troth To SLO Youth

SEATTLE, March 16—The engagement of Margaret Etsuko Hisayasu, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. K. Hisayasu of South Park to Masaji Eto of San Luis Obispo, was announced last Sunday at the Kinka Low.

Baishakunin were Mr. and Mrs. Okuda of Seattle; Y. Minami of Santa Maria, California and K. Momoi of San Francisco.

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