

James M. Sakoda
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TULE LAKE COMMUNITY STUDY OF ACCULTURATION

Introduction

In Tule Lake, research workers of the Study often observed that evacuees from different sections of the West Coast differed in behavior sufficiently to be noticeable. The most obvious difference was between residents from the Northwest and from California. Evacuees from the Northwest were observed to be in general quieter, more Americanized, and more cooperative with the administration than those from California. This impression was strengthened by records of voting by blocks on the theater project and the ratification of the community council charter, which revealed the evacuees in blocks predominantly occupied by northwesterners to be more cooperative than residents in blocks dominated by Californians. On the loyalty registration issue there appeared the same Northwest-California difference, which was confirmed by subsequent analysis of segregation data.¹ The Northwest group also showed a significantly larger percentage of migrants during 1943 than the Californians.

Within both the California and Northwest groups some difference was noticed between specific communities of origin. Thus blocks heavily populated with residents from the Delta Area near Sacramento (Blocks 6, 25, 37) on various occasions, and especially during the registration crisis, showed themselves

1. See George Kuznets' analysis of segregation data.

to be more negativistic toward the administration. The same trend was observed in blocks heavily populated with evacuees from Placer County (Wards IV and V) during the registration crisis. Both groups were observed to be less sophisticated, more prone to believe in rumors, more antagonistic toward the administration, as well as to be less Americanized, than residents from Sacramento. This contrast seemed to involve a rural-urban difference. A tabulation of percentage of segregants and migrants by specific communities revealed a considerable range of difference, both among Californians and Northwesterners.

These observations raised the question whether or not the nature of the community in which evacuees were brought up affected their behavior in Tule Lake. More specifically, the hypothesis was raised whether or not the level of acculturation of a community affected acculturative behavior of an individual from that community. Evacuation provided an opportunity to test this hypothesis. Japanese Americans in large blocs of areas in both California and Washington and Oregon were evacuated to Tule Lake, where they were exposed to similar experiences. Statistical data gathered for each evacuee in Tule Lake made it possible to study both the level of acculturation of communities and behavior which could conceivably be affected by this measure. The nature of the sample, of the measure of the level of acculturation, and of the test of the hypothesis shall now be taken up in turn.

Sample

As a basis for procuring an adequate sample of evacuees to work with, all the areas in California and in the Northwest from which all evacuees were sent to Tule Lake were selected. This did not include the small number of evacuees who had moved out of these areas voluntarily prior to evacuation, and those who lived on borderlines of areas and were sent to other centers. In California these areas included Sacramento City (Evacuation Order No. 52), the Delta Area in Sacramento County (Nos. 75, 93, 99), other parts of Sacramento County (No. 95), Placer County (Nos. 47, 48), and the eastern half of Northern and Central California known as the Free Zone (Nos. 100, 101, 102). The bulk of the California sample was concentrated in Sacramento City and in surrounding rural areas within a radius of about 40 miles. The Northwest sample included most of western half of Washington, except Seattle and Pierce County (Nos. 39, 67, 68, 79, 80, 88, 89, 90) and the western half of Oregon, except Portland and vicinity (Nos. 49, 87, 91).¹ All communities which were not in these areas were excluded, with the exception of Seattle. Since only a part of the Seattle residents went to Tule Lake from the Puyallup Assembly Center, and there was no way of determining in what manner this selection took place, any data for it must be accepted tentatively. It was included in the analysis because it consisted of a sizable group (N of 469) and represented a

1. Western Defense Command, Final Report.

metropolis which could be compared with Sacramento.

Basic data on evacuees were taken from a comprehensive interview schedule prepared by the WRA (on Form 26). The analysis was limited to those who were 17 years and above in 1943, since the behavior to be studied largely pertained to adults and not to children. Community of origin was defined as the post office address given by evacuees as their pre-evacuation address. For communities with less than 25 adults in Tule Lake it was necessary to make combinations in order to bring the total to at least 25 for statistical manipulation, such as the calculation of percentages. As far as feasible the following criteria were used in making combinations:

1. Combine communities in the same general area.
2. Combine communities with about the same number of evacuees.
3. Combine communities with similar composition, especially with respect to percentage in agriculture.

It was necessary to omit a few communities from the analysis because of inability to include them in any of the combinations. In all, 40 communities and 11 combinations of communities were made available for analysis. The California sample consisted of 20 communities and community groups with a total of 4,976 individuals. The Northwest sample included 31 communities and community groups with a total of 3,408 individuals. This represented roughly _____ per cent of the adult population in Tule Lake for whom data ^{were} ~~was~~ available. A negligible proportion of cases was lost because of lack of adequate information.

For the purpose of analysis individuals in each community (or community groups) were cross-classified by the following:

Religion: Buddhists vs. Christians and Agnostics

Generation: Issei vs. Kibei vs. Nisei

Occupation: Agriculture vs. Non-agriculture

Marital Status: Married vs. Not married

Sex: Male vs. Female

Level of Acculturation

In order to rank communities by level of acculturation it was necessary to find an index other than the behavior to be tested later (segregation and migration). Two possible indexes were the percentage of Buddhists and the percentage of Issei and Kibei in the community. The first was based on the knowledge that possession of Buddhism as a religion implied lack of acculturation or Americanization when compared with possession of Christianity or with having no religion at all. This index reflected the predominance of Issei or Kibei in the community also, since a greater proportion of them, in comparison to Nisei, were known to be Buddhists. The second possible index was the proportion of Issei and Kibei in the community. On the assumption that they were the primary carrier of Japanese culture in the community, the greater their proportion in the community the lower, presumably, the level of acculturation of that community. An examination of the composition of the community population by religion and generation revealed that communities varied considerably in both percentage of Buddhists and in percentage of Issei and Kibei. An attempt was made to

devise a composite index including both variables, but it was abandoned after discovering that the percentage of Buddhists alone seemed to serve the purpose more adequately. It was found, for instance, that the proportion of Issei and Kibei in the community was not as important as it was thought to be. Between California and the Northwest and between rural and urban communities there was generally little differences in the proportion of Issei and Kibei, while there was a difference in the percentage of Buddhists.

Validation by Rating: Two different types of analyses were attempted to check on the validity of the percentage of Buddhists as a measure of level of acculturation. The first was to have an individual who was acquainted with the communities rate them for level of acculturation independent of the percentage of Buddhists. This method was given a trial on the California communities by one of the research assistants of the Study, who was acquainted to some extent with the communities in the sample, but who had not dealt with the statistical data on hand. A scattergram of the ratings of level of acculturation on a seven-point scale against the percentage of Buddhists (See Figure ____) showed a fair degree of correlation. This correlation was better than the one given by the use of the composite index mentioned above. After seeing the results, the rater agreed that the percentage of Buddhists appeared to be a fairly good indicator of level of acculturation. Because of the lack of suitable raters, this method of validation could not be used more extensively.

Validation by Correlation: Another method of gaining further insight into the nature of per cent Buddhists as an index of level of acculturation was to examine variables with which it was associated. Scattergrams of the following variables were plotted against percentage of Buddhists in the community:

1. Concentration of Japanese, represented by the absolute number of adults evacuated to Tule Lake from each community.
2. Per cent in agricultural occupations, as defined by coding by the WRA of employment history of evacuees, employing U.S.E.S. codes.
3. Per cent of Issei and Kibei. Kibei was defined as citizen having any amount of education in Japan.
4. Per cent married.
5. Population of the community as of 1940, as given by Rand McNally.
6. Per cent males.
7. Block-expected per cent segregants. The percentage of residents from a community who could be expected to be segregants on the basis of the percentage of segregants in blocks in which they lived. The percentage of segregants in a block was weighted by the number of persons in it from the particular community. This was an index devised to measure the effect of block location within the center. The scattergrams are shown in Figures _____ to _____.

There was practically no correlation between population and

per cent Buddhists and per cent marriage and per cent Buddhists. There was only a slight correlation between per cent males and per cent Buddhists. Since per cent males correlates with per cent Issei and Kibei, this factor need not be considered here. There was some correlation between block-expected per cent segregants and per cent Buddhists, but most of it was accounted for by Northwest-California differences, rather than among specific communities in each area. This correlation should be remembered in analyzing differences between California and Northwest communities. This leaves three variables with which per cent Buddhists or level of acculturation of the community is correlated to any extent: concentration, per cent in agriculture, and per cent Issei and Kibei.

Concentration: Since the number of adult Japanese in the sample was used to measure concentration of Japanese, a tacit assumption was made that the number in a small community was comparable to the same number in a larger community. This would hold logically if it could be assumed that in all communities Japanese were equally segregated or participate equally in the activities of the Japanese community. The tendency toward segregation, either voluntary or forced, was strong among the majority of the Japanese on the West Coast, and they were far from evenly dispersed throughout the general population, whether in a small community or in a large city. In Sacramento, Tacoma, and Seattle, for instance, the bulk of the Japanese were concentrated in a relatively small section of the city. Since there was no correlation between population and level of

acculturation there seemed to be little reason to take the size of the community into direct account in considering concentration. The largest concentrations in any community were in the large urban centers, -Sacramento, Seattle, Tacoma-and these were analyzed separately for any urban effect.

There was a striking difference in concentration between California and the Northwest, not only for our samples, but also for the total Japanese population on the West Coast. In 1940, of the 112,353 Japanese on the West Coast, 93,717 (83.4 per cent) were in California, 14,565 (13.0 per cent) in Washington, and only 4,071 (3.6 per cent) in Oregon.¹ Thus the bulk of the Japanese on the West Coast were located in California, with only 16.6 per cent in Washington and Oregon. While in both California and the Northwest the majority of the Japanese were concentrated in certain areas, this concentration was less in the Northwest than in California. In our sample, for instance, the adult population of 2,252 was distributed in the Sacramento Valley among 28 communities, with 2,724 additional in Sacramento City. The greatest distance was from Isleton in the south to Chico in the north--a distance of about a hundred miles. Most of the communities were not more than 10 or 15 miles distance from another community where 30 or more Japanese adults resided. In contrast, in the Northwest an almost equal number (2,331) was scattered through 73 communities with an additional 1,077 drawn from Seattle and Tacoma. These communities were scattered throughout most of the western part of Washington and Oregon. (See ma

1. Adon Poli, "Japanese Farm Holdings on the Pacific Coast." Fig. 1, Opposite page

From the scattergram it can be seen that the communities in the California sample included few with extremely small concentration of Japanese per community. The Northwest sample included communities with small, as well as large, concentration, and provided an adequate basis for the study of contrast between communities with different degrees of concentration.

In both California and the Northwest the relationship between concentration and level of acculturation was fairly clear. There was a consistent trend of increased percentage of Buddhists with increase in concentration up to about a concentration of about 35. Beyond that point the trend disappeared. A concentration of 30 or 35 was a transitional point beyond which further concentration was not accompanied by increase in the percentage of Buddhists.

Two considerations made the association of concentration with level of acculturation reasonable. One was that a certain amount of concentration was necessary before the organization of an effective in-group took place. While a single family still could maintain Japanese ways through the preservation of values possessed by the Issei parents, it was greatly exposed to the influences of other peoples about them and hence to cultural change. A concentration of Japanese families, on the other hand, made it possible for greater contact within the ethnic group and the creation of group solidarity which made it difficult to make other contacts. This, in fact, was what had happened to many of the Japanese brought up in communities with a fair concentration of Japanese. Concentration was especially

necessary in the maintenance of Japanese community institutions, such as the Japanese language school, the Japanese church, the Japanese restaurants, hotels, and the like.¹

Per cent Issei and Kibei: The second consideration was selective migration, which resulted in the less acculturated gravitating to places with concentration of Japanese. This could be seen in the pattern of settlement of the Issei on the West Coast. Instead of dispersing evenly throughout the region they tended to concentrate themselves in certain cities and valleys. Moreover, within these areas they tended to concentrate in certain sections of the city and in a limited number of occupations. While railroad work took many Japanese laborers into the inter-mountain region, eventually the bulk of them returned to the West Coast. Prior to evacuation the general trend on the West Coast was an increasing concentration of Japanese in Southern California, especially in and around Los Angeles. On the other hand, a smaller group of Japanese was moving out of Japanese communities in terms of residence, occupation, and association. This trend was more noticeable among the Nisei than among the Issei. In general, it was the more acculturated individuals who tended toward greater dispersal, and the less acculturated toward concentration and the maintenance of in-group ties. These opposite trends were observable in the process of resettlement in the East and in the return to the West Coast.

1. A tabulation Japanese community institutions by localities should bear out this point.

An evidence of differential migration could be gathered from an analysis of the percentage of Issei and of Kibei in communities of high and low concentration. The percentage of Issei tends to be higher in communities with concentration above 35 than in those below 35. The difference in distribution of percentage of Kibei in communities of high and low concentration was more marked and was perhaps a better indication of selective migration, since their movement, unlike that of the married Issei, was independent of Nisei.¹

The relative importance of concentration and selective migration in determining the level of acculturation of the community to some extent can be inferred from a comparison of California and Northwest communities in the sample. There was considerable difference in level of acculturation between California and Northwest communities as measured by the percentage of Buddhists. There was greater dispersal in the Northwest, but little difference in the percentage of Issei and Kibei. Evidently concentration can be counted upon to explain the California-Northwest difference in acculturation to a greater extent than can selective migration.

Per Cent in Agriculture: The third variable with which percentage of Buddhists was associated was the percentage in agricultural occupations. In general, communities with higher percentage in agricultural occupations also tend to have higher proportion of Buddhists. There was a definite California-Northwest difference in percentage in agriculture, with the bulk

1. It might be profitable to compare the percentages of unmarried Issei in different communities.

of the California population in the sample in agriculture and also with a high percentage of Buddhists. This relationship was somewhat obscured in the Northwest by the classification of logging and sawmill work as non-agricultural occupation, whereas the actual life in logging and sawmill camps was rural and non-urban in nature. These were located in Snolqualmie Falls (21), Longview (22), Enumclaw (24), National (31). When these communities were disregarded there was a straightline relationship between percentage of Buddhists and percentage in agriculture. This relationship was reasonable in view of field observations and on the basis of other studies of rural-urban differences which show that rural people were generally slower to accept social change.

The level of acculturation of communities as measured by the percentage of Buddhists, therefore, was associated with concentration, percentage of Issei and Kibei, and percentage in agricultural occupations. On this basis, it seemed highly reasonable to continue the use of percentage of Buddhists of communities as a measure of level of acculturation.

The association of Buddhism with Kibei and Nisei and with agricultural occupations could also be shown by an analysis of the percentage of Buddhists in stratified groups. (See Table ____ and Chart ____).

By examining the difference in percentage of Buddhists of a stratified group in communities with high and low level of acculturation (as measured by percentage of Buddhists) it was possible to obtain some hint of degree of association of

percentage of Buddhists of stratified groups with the level of acculturation of the community. In general, the greater the difference the greater the association. Table ____ and Figure ____ show consistent differences among stratified groups. Thus, difference was consistently greater for Nisei than for Issei-Kibei groups and to a lesser extent for non-agricultural than for agricultural groups. In addition, the difference was greater for Northwest than for California groups. In other words, in general the difference was greater in favor of the more acculturated groups. This raises an interesting hypothesis as to whether or not this might not be an indication that the level of acculturation of certain groups was affected more by the level of acculturation of the community than others. In other words, Nisei groups were affected to a greater extent by the level of acculturation of the community than Issei groups, and that acculturation had proceeded at a slightly greater pace among non agricultural than among agricultural peoples.

The difference between Issei-Kibei and Nisei was reasonable in view of the fact that the older generation changed less than the second generation which was exposed to cultural conflicts and possibilities for change. The greater effect of the acculturation level of the community upon these with non agricultural than with agricultural occupations was again reasonable in view of findings in other fields, showing that the non agricultural people were more progressive than the agricultural people.

Test of the Hypothesis

Employing the percentage of Buddhists in communities as a measure of acculturation differences, it was then possible to test the hypothesis that the difference in acculturation of the community of origin was associated with behavior reflecting acculturation of the individual. The two sets of behavior were segregation at Tule Lake Segregation Center after September, 1943, and migration from Tule Lake between February and September, 1943. For both types of behavior field notes and statistics indicated that a smaller percentage of more acculturated individuals were segregated and a larger percentage of them migrated. The best indication of acculturation difference among individuals was the comparison of Buddhists with Christians and agnostics. Holding generation, California-Northwest origin, occupation, sex, and marital status constant through cross-classification, a significantly greater proportion of Buddhists against Christians and agnostics remained at Tule Lake as segregants.¹ In the analysis of migration data of Tule Lake, Minidoka and Poston, employing the same technique for holding constant generation, occupation, marital status, and in addition California-Northwest origin for Tule Lake, it was found that a significantly greater proportion of Christian and agnostics against Buddhists migrated from Tule Lake. The comparison of the Japan-born Issei and Japan-educated Kibei with Nisei also

1. See George Kuznets' analysis of segregation data.

indicated acculturation differences. Since other non-acculturation differences, such as age and citizenship, existed between these two groups, their difference in segregation and migration could only be admitted as secondary evidence of association of individual acculturation with segregation or migration. Holding other factors constant, a greater percentage of the Issei and Kibei were segregated and a fewer percentage of them migrated in comparison with the Nisei. Observational records of field observer also sustained these interpretations.

The gross relationship of level of acculturation of communities and percentage of segregants and migrants could be shown by scattergrams. (See figures _____ and _____). It was evident that there was a high degree of association between level of acculturation of the community and the two variables representing acculturation behavior.

For a more crucial test, however, it was necessary to hold constant some of the variables which were likely to invalidate the comparison. These variables were those which were highly associated with segregation and migration and also with percentage of Buddhists in the community. The two most important variables in this regard were religion, generation (Issei and Kibei vs. Nisei) and occupation. To have a sufficient number of cases in the final comparison, it was now necessary to group the communities by level of acculturation. Since California and Northwest communities differed markedly in the range of percentage of Buddhists, the communities were first grouped by these two regions. Within each group a subdivision was made about the middle of the distribution--at

80 per cent for the California communities and 60 per cent for the Northwest communities. These distributions are shown in Figure _____. The large cities--Sacramento in California, Tacoma and Seattle in the Northwest--were treated as separate subdivisions. The Japanese population in each of these was large enough for a breakdown by stratified groups, and it was desirable to note where these urban communities stood with respect to the others.

Were there community differences in percentage of segregants and percentage of migrants in each of the stratified groups? The results are given in Tables ____ and ____ and in Figures ____ and _____. The hypotheses appeared to be borne out in both analyses. The range in percentage of segregants is from 19.3 per cent to 36.8 per cent for Christian-agnostic Issei-Kibei, in non agricultural occupations, to 23.3 per cent to 72.2 per cent for Buddhist Issei-Kibei in agriculture, or 3.3 per cent to 29.3 per cent for Christian-agnostic Nisei in non agricultural occupations. On the average the difference between community groups was larger than the difference between comparable Buddhist and Christian-agnostic groups or Issei-Kibei and Nisei groups. Moreover, this difference was a fairly consistent one, in line with the hypothesis. Out of sixteen comparisons of high per cent Buddhist and low per cent Buddhist communities in California and the Northwest there were only two slight reversals. The California-Northwest difference was large, and it was surprising that there was not more overlap between low Buddhist communities in California and high Buddhist communities in the Northwest, since they occupied

roughly the same range in the per cent Buddhist scale.¹

In migration the differences between community groups in general were not as marked as the difference between Issei-Kibei and Nisei and between Buddhists and Christian-agnostics. The largest range of per cent migration between community groups is in Buddhist Nisei in non agricultural occupations with a range of 6.8 to 41.0 per cent. A moderate range is from 8.3 to 22.5 per cent in Christian-agnostic Issei-Kibei in non agricultural occupations. The differences were fairly consistent. Of the 16 comparisons of high and low per cent Buddhist communities in California and the Northwest, there were only 4 reverses. The California-Northwest difference was not as great as was in the segregation analysis. The differences between California low Buddhist communities and Northwest high Buddhist communities were not great, and out of eight comparisons there were three reverses.

The three large urban communities on the whole had a smaller percentage of segregants and a larger percentage of migrants than might be expected on the basis of their percentage of Buddhists. Sacramento, with 68 per cent Buddhists, had either similar or higher percentage of segregants than California communities with low percentage of Buddhists with _____ per cent Buddhists. There was little difference among Christian-agnostics, but the difference among Buddhists was marked. A similar situation existed in the comparison of percentage of migrants from Sacramento and California communities with low percentage of Buddhists. Tacoma, with 61 per

cent Buddhists, was between Northwest communities with high percentage of Buddhists (____ per cent) and with low percentage of Buddhists (____ per cent). In both segregation and migration, however, it did not maintain a consistent position. Seattle, with 49 per cent Buddhists, maintained a slightly smaller percentage of segregants and a higher percentage of migrants in general than did Northwest communities with low percentage (____) of Buddhists. Either the percentage of Buddhists in the community did not adequately reflect the greater acculturation of the large urban communities over communities with low percentage of Buddhists, or the operation of non-cultural (i.e. in terms of Americanization) factors resulted in this difference.