

PACIFIC CITIZEN



Alan Kumamoto, Quarterly Coordinator

Friday, September 2, 1966



How American Can You Get?

—San Francisco Examiner Photo

OUR THIRD GENERATION:

They're Too Good to Be True

Reprinted with Permission from California Living, Sunday Color Magazine of the San Francisco Examiner

By R. B. Read

San Francisco
A small boy who was in prison had to have surgery requiring general anesthesia. In his drugged dream, he thought he had died. He awoke looking into the smiling white face of a nurse, and he mistook her for an angel. "How good!" he thought — "heaven is integrated."

The imprisoned child was not a Negro civil rights demonstrator. The year was 1943, and he was a Nisei youth in a "relocation" camp in the Rockies. His people were then undergoing the most flagrant oppression any ethnic group of native Americans has known in our history. The Japanese Americans are the only minority we have officially declared non grata, deprived of property and placed in concentration camps.

That Nisei boy is now a successful S.F. businessman with two teenage Sansei sons—one an Eagle Scout and champion swimming contender, the younger in the 12-member hon-

ors class at his large junior high here (of the 12, six are Orientals).

The American Sansei—third-generation Japanese, born here of Nisei parents—range from grade-school age to young parents in their late 30's, now raising their Yonsei children. All of us know the Sansei by sight, and cherish them for their quickness, their assured ease. But few Californians have any but the faintest notion how very special a group they are.

Sociologically, they are a collective miracle. Today, barely 20 years after their return to the Coast in 1945, they are universally liked and accepted, and their record is better than that of any other group in our society, including the white majority.

Japanese Americans are at the top of the list for achievement, at the bottom of the list for delinquency and crime. In years of school completed, in grade-point average, in per-

(Continued on Page 2)

San Francisco Examiner Photos by Fran Ortiz

ON THE SANSEI

An Assimilated Generation

Only Color of Skin, Prejudices on Part of Dominant Group Keep It From Making It Complete

BY ALAN KUMAMOTO

A recent study conducted by Dr. Mamoru Iga, Associate Professor of Sociology at San Fernando Valley State College, indicates that assimilation of young Japanese Americans to middle-class American culture is almost complete.

The study used as its criteria the core elements of democracy as indicated by the attitude about collectivity-orientation, paternalism, emphasis on status distinction and on discipline, and fear of authority.

Iga's study also seemed to suggest two propositions, that:

1—The differences between Japanese Americans and Caucasians facilitate rather than hinder the Oriental adjusting to American culture.

2—The third generation (Sansei) return theory is untenable with reference to the Japanese Americans.

In fact, it is believed that the Sansei desire to be assimilated appears to be so complete and their knowledge of Japanese culture so marginal that we cannot anticipate their return to traditional Japanese cultural interests. The only factor which prevents them from complete assimilation seems to be a combination of their physical visibility as well as any racial prejudice on the part of dominant group members.

These very interesting conclusions, which Iga arrived at, were a result of a multiphase study where he circulated a series of questionnaires, reviewed many past Japanese

American assimilation and acculturation studies, and delved into some of the national surveys conducted by the Japanese government on the Japanese people.

Some of JAACLers, in fact, may note at the San Diego National Convention, a questionnaire was mysteriously circulated with hopeful responses coming from both the Nisei and Sansei participants. This was the basic questionnaire which was prepared by Dr. Iga, in studying the changes in value orientations among.

Purpose and Sample

Purpose for the Iga study was to investigate the changes in value orientations of Japanese Americans and also to find the difference in value orientation between Japanese and Caucasians in the United States.

While deriving the purpose of the paper, it is interesting to note that among the many writers who have studied Japanese acculturation, William Caudill writing "Japanese American Personality and Acculturation," in 1952 and Caudill and George De Vos in their joint 1958 work "Achievement, Culture and Personality: The Case of Japanese Americans," found similarities between Japanese Americans and middle-class Americans in value orientation and adaptive mechanisms, by the use of the Thematic Apperception Test.

In 1957, Dr. Steven Abe, while studying the personality type of Japanese Americans as a part of his doctorate requirements used the Edwards

Personal Preference Schedule and the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, placing more emphasis on the differences between them and American norms.

Thus, actually in finding a longitudinal study on change in value orientation of Japanese Americans unfeasible, Dr. Iga compared young Japanese Americans with young Caucasian Americans in terms of the relative distance in value orientation from young and old Japanese in Japan, the last being regarded as representative of the traditional Japanese.

As a comparative study, various groups were taken into consideration. For purposes of his study, Dr. Iga starts with David McClelland's "The Roots Of Consciousness", where the author defines the national characteristics of Germans and Americans, and Iga thus obtained the major components of Japanese national characteristics.

According to the major components, Iga drafted 47 questions for his research from more than 100 questions used by the Japanese Bureau of Statistical Mathematics in their Japanese National Character Surveys in 1953, 1958 and 1963.

In the Japanese National Character Surveys, all the Japanese samples were highly representative and obtained by stratified random sampling methods. Although the Japanese American and Caucasian American subjects were not

(Continued on Page 2)



The Paul Hayashis of Orinda with their Yonsei sons meet the problem of the San-

sei by taking the best of their Japanese and American heritage.

—San Francisco Examiner Photo

Our Third Generation -

(Continued from Front Page)

centage of males in white collar jobs and in professional fields (here they more than double the white percentage)—even in years of life-expectancy—they lead the field.

A few years ago a wealthy British-born socialite in the Bay area set up a university scholarship, to be awarded for all-round excellence. The first year it was won by a Japanese American youth. Surprised, the donor said "Well, how nice." The second year it was won by another J-A youth. "Well!" said the donor. After a third Sansei won it in the third year, the donor—his Anglo-Saxon pride battered—withdrawed the offer.

His action would neither surprise nor daunt the Sansei. They too know something of tribal pride. But in seeking to explain what Prof. William Petersen of UC, writing recently in the New York Times Magazine, calls "this unprecedented success story," what emerges strongly in talking with both Sansei and Nisei is that highly personal pride, the standing of the individual among his peers—the very Oriental idea of "face."

Concept of 'Face'

The values involved in face are ethical, not material. Unlike our concept of "status," it lies not in the outward signs of success but in the discharge of obligation to specific groups—to family first, then to friends, then to ever wider groups (classmates, school, on up to the Nation). Success—social or material—only extends the area of obligation, which can lead to such prodigies of heroism as the kamikaze pilots. "Loss of face," resulting from failure to meet acknowledged responsibilities, can lead to ritual suicide by hara-kiri.

For the U.S. Nisei, the Pearl Harbor attack was a traumatic cataclysm—a sudden, abysmal loss of face with their fellow citizens. Precisely because they were Americans, not Japanese, they did not contemplate mass hara-kiri; but it was their deep sense of face—the strong drive to repair their standing—which made it possible for them to overcome the wartime injustices without becoming embittered.

"There was nobody to hate," says a local Boy Scout leader, "except Gen. DeWitt, and he hated our guts anyway." (Gen. John L. DeWitt signed the Exclusion Order barring persons of Japanese descent from the Coast area). The statement implies that other Americans might be willing to change

their mind about the loyalty and worth of the Nisei. They were and they did—most of them long before the war was over, due to the record of heroism racked up in Italy by the 442nd Infantry Regiment of Nisei volunteers.

Every member of the 442nd fought as if the future of his people in America hung on his personal bravery—as, in a way, it did. But the internees back home had their battle, too.

Try Harder

"We just tried harder," smiles Masao Satow, national director of the Japanese American Citizens League, "whenever we met some new form of prejudice." The community smarted under indignity, of course, but the abrasive action of their trials only sharpened their determination to win through.

The relocation camps became centers of strategy for rehabilitation. There and in later JACL-sponsored conferences, they stressed education as the key to opportunity here and decided that their best future lay in the sciences and in business. An unprecedented high percentage of Nisei gained college degrees—but very few were in the liberal arts or social sciences.

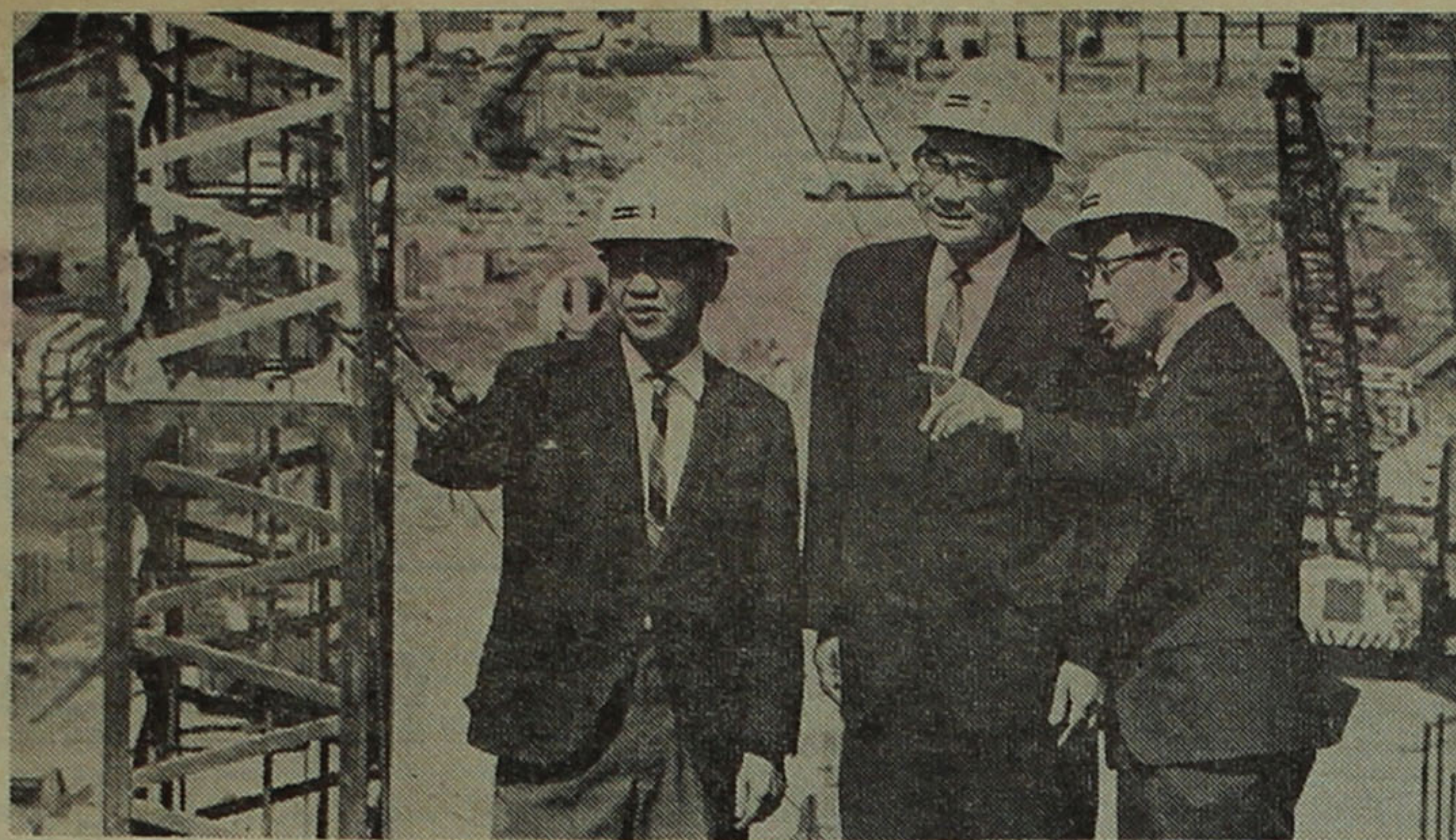
When they returned to The City after the war, their one-time ghetto (in the blocks near Fillmore and Geary) had been largely preempted. (Many did not return: San Francisco's present J-A population of about 11,000 is much less than the prewar figure.) They were forced to disperse throughout city and suburbs—a fact which accelerated their acculturation (just as, conversely, the persistence of Chinatown has maintained the ethnic difference of the Chinese Americans). And they stopped speaking Japanese at home—the first ethnic minority to lose their native language in a single generation. But language is the umbilical cord to a culture (particularly so with Japanese, where whole societal attitudes are embodied in set idiomatic phrases). The Sansei experienced an abrupt cut-off from the tradition which made possible their parents' success and their own.

Sansei's Strange Problem

They now face a strange and serious problem, without precedent here: the problem of a non-conforming excellence.

The young of every other minority group have shown a pattern of escape from the ghetto whereby their academic records rise to meet the U.S.

(Continued on Page 3)



Three community leaders—Mas Satow, Yori Wada, Fred Hoshiyama—at the site of San Francisco's new Japanese Cultural and Trade Center under construction.

—San Francisco Examiner Photo

On the Sansei: Kumamoto - Comparisons Made

(Continued from Front Page)

representative nor randomly obtained, they were felt to be fairly comparable.

Eighty-one Japanese Americans were studied with 62 of them in the age group of 20 to 29, while 64 of the 75 Caucasian subjects also fell in this age group.

On education, 85 percent of the Japanese Americans were college educated in contrast to 90 percent of the Caucasian sample. Both samples were equally comprised of both sexes.

Within the Japanese American sample, breaking it down by generations, they include: 30 Nisei and 42 Sansei. The nine Kibei (Nisei educated in a Japan grammar and high school), obtained were excluded from the Nisei-Sansei comparison.

Similarities

Basically, results of the study indicated that while differences are larger between Japanese Americans and Japanese groups in Japan, those for Japanese Americans and Caucasians are generally very small. There is no significant difference between Japanese and Caucasians of the United States on such factors as collectivity-orientation and paternalism, moralism, emphasis on status distinction and on discipline, and fear of authority. (The later section in the findings will break down these terms and items.)

Six of the 20 items showed significant differences between these two groups: conformity, compromises, success aspirations, obligation dependency, and political indifference.

On all of these items, except on success aspiration, Japanese Americans are closer to young Japanese although not to older ones than to Caucasian Americans.

As a result of the study, two themes seem to be suggested:

1—Despite a high degree of assimilation, young Japanese Americans retain certain Japanese values.

However, these differences facilitate rather than hinder adjustment to American society. Japanese Americans are higher than Caucasians on success aspiration and obligation, which are ideal norms of Protestantism and are objects of praise rather than of contempt by dominant group

members, according to Iga.

The other characteristics in which Japanese were higher than Caucasians were conformity, compromise, and independence with political indifference. These differences seem to make Japanese Americans more acceptable to dominant group members. Without these traits their high success aspiration and their actual rise in the socio-economic scale would probably strengthen prejudice against them.

2—Absence of the tendency toward "the third generation return," to traditional culture interests.

Marcus L. Hansen conducted several studies concerning the problem of the third generation immigrant and purported a law of "third generation return", while studying American religio-ethnic groups.

About half of the Japanese subjects of the present study were of the third generation, and they showed an increase of assimilation over the middle-aged Japanese Americans. Of the 20 items tested, the Sansei did not come closer to Japanese orientations than did the Nisei.

Although Leonard Cain, who studied "Japanese American Protestants Acculturation and Assimilation," maintains that "the remaining barriers of assimilation appear to be in the area of family and religion, this assumption may not be correct, because of the following results which Iga obtained.

Basically the Japanese family has been primarily institutional, rather than a companionship. Family solidarity is primarily obtained by conformance to tradition, rather than by affection in the institutional family. This tendency continues in Japanese immigrants' families to a great extent. However, the decline in parental and traditional authority in this country seemed to lessen the pressure which would prevent the third generation from assimilation.

Another characteristic of the Japanese family is the strong emotional tie among family members.

The term "emotional" is used in distinction from "affective," which characterizes the companionship family. "Emotional" implies a reaction to psychological disturbance and insecurity, according to Kizaemon Aruga, who wrote on the Japanese family.

The emotional tie among Japanese family members was fostered because the family was a "self-defense" unit, against oppressive governments and social pressure. The emotional attachment between Japanese mother and child which De Vos, Caudill, and Vogel analyze, is an expression of the emotional tie among members of the Japanese family as a self-defense unit.

The emotional ties between Japanese parents and children in the United States do not form an obstacle to the children's assimilation, because it is the Japanese parents who urge their children to acquire American values in order to succeed. To them, the success value is stronger than their attachment to Japanese culture.

On the other hand, the wish to conform to parental expectations may be intense among Japanese Americans, because of the emotional tie and family obligation.

As a consequence, as D.I. Briggs cites in "Social Adaptation Among Japanese American Youth: A comparative study", "there is more social and cultural distance between the second generations of Japanese than between the Japanese American boys and their Caucasian counterparts."

Religion Enters

Religiously, the interest in Buddhism appears to be reviving. About half of the Japanese in the United States were assumed to be Buddhists, compared with 26 percent in Japan in 1963, and Japanese community leaders in this country mostly agree that young Japanese are more eager to join churches than are middle-aged persons.

These, however, Iga says do not imply the tendency toward "third generation return." And this condition is supported by a few considerations.

First, traditional religion is not a core element of Japanese personality.

Buddhist practice is largely, according to Scott Matsumoto, "customs related to death and burial" in Japan. And the Japanese "lack a clear-cut and separate individual consciousness of religious attachment."

Japan is characterized by a primary of political values; the polity takes precedence over all other institutions, including religion. Consequently what was incorporated in Japanese personality from Buddhist teachings generally is

(Continued on Page 6)



Who plays the koto, Mr. Moto? Like, man, nobody. The Others, a J-A rock group, has Russell Baba (left), Larry Morino, Glenn Watabe.

Racial Stereotypes Dulled

Jr. JACler Dispels Notions About Japanese at B'nai B'rith Youth Convention and Loses Some of Her Own About Others at the Same Time

BY MERILYNNE HAMANO

Los Angeles

District 4 B'nai B'rith Youth Organization held its annual convention at El Mirador Hotel in Palm Springs on June 26-29, 1966. Three hundred delegates representing over 6,000 members attended. Average age of the delegates was 17.

A program of various workshops dealing with such stimulating subjects as Vietnam, Judaism and civil rights were presented. The Greater Los Angeles Region prepared a workshop on civil rights. The panelists were:

- 1—Joe Muldrew (Negro)
- 2—Linda Faustino (Mexican)
- 3—Carolyn Vivanco (Indian)
- 4—Allen Koss (Jewish)
- 5—Merilynne Hamano (Japanese)

(I must categorize them in their ethnic background in order to get the full effect of this report.)

The civil rights workshop was held on June 27, 1966, from 10:45 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. It consisted of: (1) panel discussion and (2) informal question-answer period.

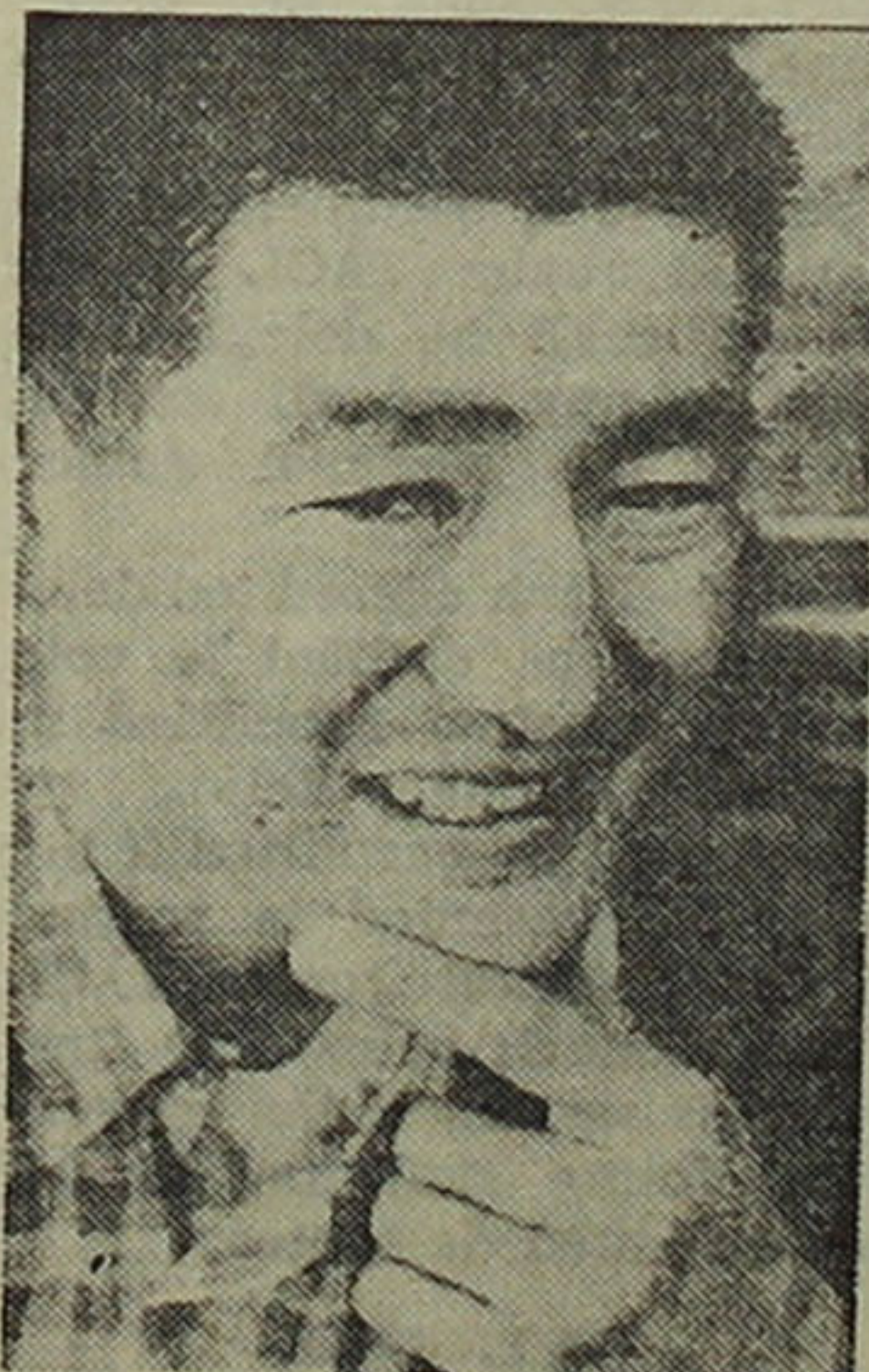
For the panel discussion, each panelist was to speak for seven minutes on the discrimination and prejudice against his particular minority group.

After the talk, each panelist was asked a question by representative from the Greater Los Angeles Region. The panel was held before 300 delegates. We were then assigned to a room where each panelist was asked questions from about 20 young people.

What Is a Sansei

Following is generally what

Our Third Generation —



—San Francisco Examiner Photo
Pete Domoto, onetime football here, is still tops to El Cerrito's youth.

(Continued from Page 2)

white middle-class standard even as their delinquency rate drops to meet it. But in the Los Angeles area, where Dr. Harry Kitano of UCLA has studied them, the Sansei in high school are exactly reversing this pattern: As their Americanization increases (measured by "popularity"—club memberships, student body offices, etc.), their scholastic level is falling and their delinquency rate rising to white American levels.

I said during the panel presentation which atmosphere was informal:

My name is Merilynne Hamano. The Japanese American youth today are called Sansei. The Sansei are the second generation to be born in America. The Issei were the first Japanese to immigrate to America and the Nisei are the first generation born in America.

As Sansei teenagers, we share the same interests, fads and beliefs as the Anglo-American. Yet, due to certain inevitable characteristics such as slant eyes and yellow skin, we still wear the label "Japanese American".

Although we are rapidly improving some stereotypes and becoming more Americanized, we remain slightly different. Simply, we are stared at in areas where there are few Japanese.

Sansei in Southern California witness relatively little prejudice against us. It must be noted here that as a small minority, the Caucasians have little reason to fear us. Also, as young people, we have not yet experienced discrimination in housing or employment, although we are aware it still exists in some parts of the country.

Our experiences, as Sansei, are on a social level; that is, in our everyday contact with others. In school, we are generally accepted. In predominantly Caucasian areas, Japanese young people sometimes have a problem with dating and some schools have social clubs which exclude Japanese.

Personally, I have experienced only two specific incidents of prejudice against myself. A few months ago, I tried

to get something to eat in a Glendale theater and was not served for almost 20 minutes. I was obviously being ignored.

The second incident demonstrated how early young children learn the difference between people. In Orange County, while riding a school bus near my aunt's home, I met with name-calling and ridicule by some young people about 9 or 10 years old. They called me a "dirty Jap", among other things. This really hurt my pride and I must admit I was quite stunned.

I am very proud to say that the Japanese have made great strides in their fight against discrimination . . . so much so that my examples of prejudice were small incidents as compared with the general acceptance of the Japanese.

Although the Issei met discrimination from the very beginning, they maintained their self-respect. We know we are not inferior to the "white" society, but we face the fact that we were thought inferior.

Education was and still is considered a vital weapon to gain a better station in life. The Issei worked hard to give the Nisei an education.

Self-Respect Retained

In maintaining their self-respect, the Japanese gained the respect of others. Progress has been mainly after the World War II. During World War II, the Japanese, alien and citizen alike, were hauled into concentration camps without trial or reason.

The publicity we received from this and the courageous deeds of the 100th Battalion and 442d Regiment consisting of only men of Japanese ancestry helped our cause. This combined unit was the most decorated in American history and more than proved the loyalty of the Japanese Americans.

After the war, a national feeling of guilt paved the way for new freedom and opportunity for the Japanese.

Today the Sansei enjoy the fruits of the Issei and Nisei's suffering and I am sure most of us will take advantage of it.

What is the BBYO

The B'nai B'rith Youth Organization is the largest and oldest Jewish youth movement in the world. Founded in 1924, it has approximately 45,000 Jewish youth in North America and more on five other continents.

BBYO is a federation of three youth groups: Aleph Zadick Aleph (AZA) for teenage boys, B'nai B'rith Girls (BBG) for teenage girls and B'nai B'rith Young Adults for 18 to 26 year olds.

Most of the young people in AZA and BBG were between the ages of 14 and 18.

My stereotype of the shrewd, black-haired and crooked nose Jew was disproved. Jewish people have one common bond, Judaism. Anyone can be a Jew, be he a Negro or Japanese.

The cultural background is Hebrew and the way the Jewish people have preserved their culture is very impressive.

After the talk, I was asked two questions: one question from Mrs. Esther Friedman, who was the resource leader of our group, and the other from one of the panelists:

Questions & Answers

Question: Why are there so many Japanese gardeners or farmers and why didn't they go into other fields?

Answer: I believe this question refers to the Issei and Nisei. Although there is a large number of Issei and Nisei gardeners, the majority of the Sansei will go into other fields such as medicine, law, teaching, etc.

When the first Issei came to America in the late 1800s, many of them were already farmers and thus, continued their occupation on new soil. Some Issei enjoyed working with the soil.

However, Nisei were forced into this type of work because of the discrimination in jobs at that time. The average Nisei went through college or university earning a BA, MA or Ph.D. in engineering, architecture, etc., but upon graduation, they were unable to get employment in their selected field. These educated people had a choice of being a gardener, farmer, houseboy or fruitstand worker.

Question: Why don't the Japanese participate in community affairs and why do they try to hide their emotions?

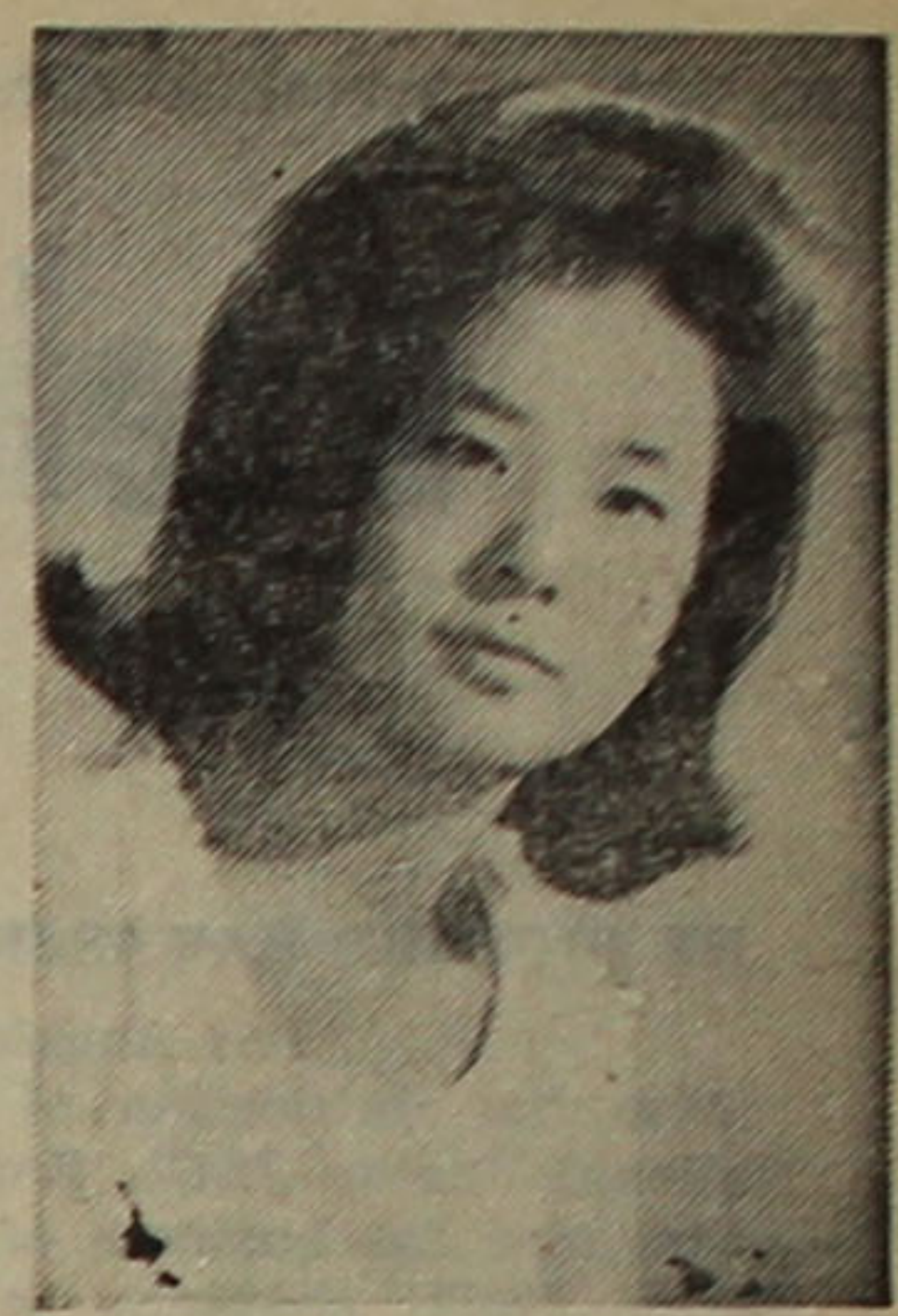
Answer: The Japanese people in the past did not participate in community affairs simply because they were not accepted. The Issei and Nisei had to face discrimination in housing and jobs in the community. The Issei were denied American citizenship and under the Alien Land Law, they were unable to buy land.

Due to this type of rejection, the Japanese people began to band together to help each other. This resulted in the birth of so-called "Little Tokyos", where businessmen, merchants and salesmen depended upon each other.

In the past, most of the Japanese tended to help and support only their own kind. They shied away from community affairs. However, this is changing with the times.

Recently, two Nisei men ran for state senate and assembly seats. Involvement in politics was almost completely unknown in the past years. Frankly, the odds were against a Japanese winning over any Caucasian.

Also, more and more interested Sansei are involved



Merilynne Hamano

in many community projects, such as Operation Head Start.

As for the second part of the question—first of all, if anyone is emotional, I am. I think this is a stereotype which the Sansei are rapidly disproving. Perhaps I can answer in this way.

My father once told me that in Japan, one is taught to control his emotions. Honor and pride are very important to Japanese people and sometimes a hurt would be carefully hidden.

Informal Quizzing

After the panel, I was confronted by a very informal group of 50 young people to answer questions, some of which were:

Question: What does the Japanese culture consist of? Is the culture dying out? Would you like it to be preserved?

Answer: The Japanese culture consists of language, history, arts (koto, sumi, judo, tea ceremony, flower arrangement, etc.), odori, food preparation, appreciation of nature, etc. I think that slowly the Japanese culture is becoming less important to the Sansei. Many of them do not even understand the language or eat Japanese food. In order to learn the arts or language, one must go to a special school.

I am ashamed to say that a large number of Sansei who are sent by their parents are shy to mention that they go to "Japanese school". Sansei are becoming more and more American.

I believe that we should try our very, very best to preserve our beautiful culture. I, personally, am proud to be of Japanese ancestry. I felt that the Sansei have the opportunity to choose the good from both the Eastern and Western way of life.

(At this point, one boy expressed his thought that I was in the minority in wanting to preserve the culture.)

Question: What would you do if there were open discrimination against you in your neighborhood? Would you move?

Answer: I think I would stay to do my best to ignore any name calling but I would also

(Continued on Page 7)

Editor's Note

As conference reports go, none has come to our attention with the thoroughness and style presented by a high school Sansei as this one by Merilynne Hamano, a Hollywood Jr. JACler, who participated in an interracial panel on civil rights before the B'nai B'rith Youth Organization district convention at Palm Springs recently. Her attendance was sponsored by the Pacific Southwest District Youth Council.

JACL has sponsored youth delegates to various conferences in the past and will continue to do so. We trust the publication of this particular report stimulates not only attendance but an interesting summary for those unable to attend.

(Continued on Page 6)

Prelude to Ratification by Chapters

Proportional Representation Allowed by 'Great Compromise'

BY RICHARD KAWASAKI

Los Angeles

With the ratification of the National Junior JACL Constitution now the business of all Junior JACL chapters, it is imperative that the main points of the approved draft be made clear. This is important especially to those chapters which were unfortunately not represented at San Diego.

The constitution approved at San Diego will be included in the minutes of the National Youth Convention, being prepared for distribution.

The national organization will be led by an eight member council, composed of representatives from each of the eight JACL districts.

Distinction between the District Youth Council Chairman and the District Youth Council Representative is important. The NYC Chairman would carry out the duties governed by the NYC chairmanship in

the past except that he will not represent his NYC on the national level. The latter; i.e., membership on the National Youth Council, will be the job of the NYC Representative.

This provision was the result of experiences of the National Interim Youth Council in which members of the council were overtaxed by the responsibilities of both NYC Chairmanships and National Committee Chairmanships. To accommodate interchange between the NYC Representative and his district, the National Constitution stipulates that the NYC Representative be a member of his NYC Board.

It should be noted that the present NYC Representatives selected in San Diego are protem and that appropriate elections should take place to provide for the ensuing two year terms. It should also be noted that the NYC Chairman can-

not be the NYC Representative concurrently.

The Jr. JACL Constitution has been revised to provide more chapter autonomy than had been previously envisioned. The wide variance of chapter needs, programming, and facilities effected this trend.

An instance of this can be seen in the sections on age limits where chapters are allowed to choose their own limits.

However, those members outside of the national age limits stated as "ninth grade through undergraduate college age or equivalent" cannot hold national office nor can they be the basis for additional votes in the National Youth Assembly which meets biennially at the National Junior JACL Convention.

Formerly, it had been accepted that 21 would be the absolute upper age limit for both chapters and the national organization. In cases where

the age of a member exceeds the national age limit, national membership would not terminate until the end of the fiscal year or until the end of the administrative year should that person be a national officer.

In San Diego the battle over proportionate representation in the National Youth Assembly ended with what should be called the Great Compromise of '66.

The combatants decided after three days that each chapter should be allowed one vote per each 30 chapter members except in the voting upon amendments to the National Constitution where each chapter is limited to one vote.

An additional compromise took place outside of the Constitution Committee. The Budget and Finance Committee recommended a \$10 levy for each additional vote per chapter.

These clarifications are

hopefully presented to avoid any delay in the ratification of the National Constitution by the chapters. Ratification requires a two-thirds majority of chapter members present and voting at a chapter meeting.

All chapters notifying the National Youth Director or the National Office of ratification by Dec. 31, 1966 shall be designated charter members of the National Junior JACL.

Need for further clarification of the Jr. JACL Constitution should be referred to Richard Kawasaki, 2312 W. 30th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90018.

Suggestions as to changes should be sent to Martin Koba, 484 Naples St., Chula Vista, Calif. Martin is the current chairman of the National Constitution Committee and will, with the aid of an attorney, study changes to the Constitution in relation to semantics and logical order.

PRELIMINARY DRAFT:

Jr. JACL National Constitution

ARTICLE I NAME

Sec. 1—The name of this organization shall be the National Junior Japanese American Citizens League.

ARTICLE II PURPOSE

Sec. 1—The purpose of this organization shall be to promote good citizenship, to develop initiative and leadership, to increase understanding and appreciation of our cultural heritage, to serve youth and community, to promote the ideas of social justice, patriotism, goodwill, and to promote high standards in scholarship, sportsmanship, and human relations.

Sec. 2—The National Junior JACL shall support and comply with the provisions and policies of the National Japanese American Citizens League.

ARTICLE III MEMBERSHIP

Sec. 1—The National Junior JACL shall consist of local Junior JACL chapters officially chartered in the manner provided in the By-laws.

Sec. 2—Membership in the National Junior JACL shall be open to youth groups affiliated with or sponsored by local JACL chapters.

Sec. 3—Any member chapter that fails to conform to the provisions of the National Junior JACL Constitution and By-laws may suffer the suspension of its charter by action of the National Junior JACL Youth Council.

Sec. 4—The membership of the National organization shall consist of persons from ninth

grade through college age equivalent to undergraduate college students.

ARTICLE IV CHAPTERS

Sec. 1—Junior JACL chapters may be organized in communities where a local JACL chapter is established.

Sec. 2—Junior JACL chapters may be organized by the district council in communities where no JACL chapter exists.

Sec. 3—A charter shall be granted to each chapter which meets all requirements and obligations presented in the National Junior JACL Constitution and By-laws.

Sec. 4—Membership: The age limits of the chartered chapter shall be determined by the chapter itself in its by-laws. However, only those chapter members who come within the age limits of the National organization shall be recognized by the national organization.

ARTICLE V DISTRICTS

Sec. 1—The National Junior JACL districts shall correspond to the regional districts of the National JACL.

Sec. 2—A District Youth Council composed of Junior JACL chapters shall be organized within each district. A District Youth Council may be formed with the minimum of 3 chapters or at the discretion of the National Youth Council.

Sec. 3—Each district shall hold an annual meeting or convention in accordance with the By-laws unless the National Junior JACL Youth Council shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE VI NATIONAL JR. JACL YOUTH COUNCIL

Sec. 1—The Youth Council shall consist of District Youth Council Representatives.

Sec. 2—The District Representative to the National Youth Council shall be a member of the District Youth Council Board.

Sec. 3—The Youth Council shall define the policies of the National Junior JACL and shall be the executive and judicial body of this organization.

Sec. 4—The Youth Council shall meet biennially in conjunction with the National Jr. JACL Convention, and if possible, shall also meet during the intervening years.

ARTICLE VII OFFICERS

Sec. 1—The chairman of the National Junior JACL shall be elected by the District Youth Representatives. The Chairman shall appoint a Corresponding Secretary from the Chairman's chapter membership. The Council shall appoint from the National Youth Council a Recording Secretary, a Finance Chairman, and any other chairman deemed necessary by the National Youth Council.

Sec. 2—The administrative term of all officers shall commence upon installation.

Sec. 3—All officers shall serve without compensation.

Sec. 4—The chairman shall be elected by and from the members of the National Youth Council and installed at the Biennial Convention for a period of two years following the date of installation. The Corresponding Secretary shall serve during the term of the

appointing Chairman.

Sec. 5—The District Youth Council Chairman shall be elected by and from the Districts in the manner prescribed in the District By-laws.

Sec. 6—All officers shall serve until their successors are elected and installed.

Sec. 7—All officers of the National Junior JACL and its member chapters shall be members in good standing of the Junior JACL.

Sec. 8—A vacancy occurring in any elective office shall be filled in the manner prescribed in the By-laws.

Sec. 9—The District Youth Council representative shall serve for two years and shall be elected by the District Youth Council, and he shall not be the current District Youth Council Chairman. The District Youth Council Representative shall be elected before the National Youth Convention.

ARTICLE VIII LEGISLATIVE BODY

Sec. 1—The Legislative body of the National Junior JACL shall be called the National Youth Assembly, which shall convene biennially at the National Jr. JACL Convention.

ARTICLE IX CONVENTIONS

Sec. 1—A convention of the National Junior JACL shall be held biennially at such time and place established by the directly preceding National Junior JACL convention.

Sec. 2—Special conventions of the National Junior JACL shall be called by the Chairman upon the request of three-fourths (¾) of the National Junior JACL Youth Council, or a majority of the chartered

Jr. JACL chapters in good standing.

Sec. 3—Each chartered Junior JACL chapter in good standing shall be entitled to at least one vote in any convention. Chapters with memberships larger than thirty (30) shall be entitled to at least one (1) vote per each thirty (30) chapter members.

Sec. 4—The size of chapter delegations shall be determined by a committee on credentials.

Sec. 5—The members of the National Junior JACL Youth Council shall be delegates-at-large to any and all conventions of the National Junior JACL.

Sec. 6—Each accredited delegate shall be entitled to vote on any question submitted in any convention. Voting by proxy shall be permitted if the proxy is presented in writing to the National Junior JACL Youth Council before the first business session of the convention. Voting shall be limited to accredited delegates.

ARTICLE X COMMITTEES

Sec. 1—The National Youth Council shall appoint the Chairman of all standing and special committees.

ARTICLE XI FISCAL YEAR

Sec. 1—The fiscal year for the national organization shall begin on the first day of the month following the national convention.

ARTICLE XII DUES

Sec. 1—Dues shall be at least \$1 or as determined by

(Continued on Page 5)

Constitution —

(Continued from Page 4)

the finance committee and approved by the National Youth Council.

ARTICLE XIII OFFICIAL PUBLICATION

Sec. 1—The official publication of the National Junior JACL shall be the youth section of the Pacific Citizen.

ARTICLE XIV USE AND NAME OF EMBLEM

Sec. 1—The emblem of the National Junior JACL shall be (to be designated).

Sec. 2—Any active member in good standing in a chartered Junior JACL chapter shall be entitled to wear the emblem and or other insignia of the National Junior JACL.

ARTICLE XV AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

Sec. 1—Amendments to this Constitution shall be made only at the Convention of the National Junior JACL by two-thirds vote of the chapters where each chapter shall have one (1) vote only.

* * *

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I CHAPTERS

Sec. 1—The officers of a chartered Junior JACL chapter shall be at least a President, a Treasurer, and a Secretary. The duties of these officers shall be such as prescribed in the chapter by-laws.

Sec. 2—The committees of a chartered chapter and their duties shall be as prescribed in the chapter by-laws.

ARTICLE II MEMBERSHIP IN CHAPTERS

Sec. 1—Any person possessing the qualifications prescribed in Article IV, Section 4, of the National Junior JACL Constitution may become an active member in a chartered chapter.

Sec. 2—Membership in a chartered chapter is transferable from that chapter to another chartered chapter.

Sec. 3—An active member shall pay a membership fee and dues as set by the chapter constitution.

ARTICLE III ORGANIZING AND CHARTERING CHAPTERS

Sec. 1—Junior JACL chapters may be organized and chartered in those communities where local JACL chapters exist. A district council may support a Junior JACL where there is no local JACL chapter provided the approval of the National Youth Commission is given.

Sec. 2—The chapter membership shall not be less than eight (8) active members.

Sec. 3—Application for organizing a Junior JACL chapter shall be made by written petition with the approval of the local JACL chapter Youth Chairman and the endorsement of the District Youth Commissioner. The petition shall be forwarded to the National JACL Youth Commission for action.

Sec. 4—Upon approval of a petition for a Junior JACL charter, the National JACL Youth Commission, through its accredited representatives

shall assist in completing the organization.

Sec. 5—The standard charter fee shall be ten (10) dollars payable before the issuance of the charter.

Sec. 6—With the approval of the National JACL Youth Commission and the receipt of the charter fee, there shall be issued a charter of the National Junior JACL signed by the Chairman of the National Junior JACL Youth Council.

ARTICLE IV MEMBERSHIP

Sec. 1—Any member chapter more than six (6) months in arrears of financial indebtedness to the National Junior JACL or to the governing district shall be considered not in good standing, and may have its charter suspended or revoked by action of the National Junior JACL Youth Council.

Sec. 2—Any member chapter which fails to conform to the Constitution or By-laws of the National Junior JACL may have its charter suspended or revoked, or may be otherwise disciplined by a majority vote of the National Junior JACL Youth Council.

Sec. 3—Any member chapter may resign from the national organization provided that all financial and other obligations to the JACL and Junior JACL have been fulfilled.

ARTICLE V DISTRICTS

Sec. 1—The officers of a district shall be at least a Chairman, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. A district may provide for additional officers as needed.

Sec. 2—The governing body of the district shall be the District Youth Council and shall consist of the District Chairman, the Secretary, the Treasurer and the current Jr. JACL Chapter Presidents of the district.

Sec. 3—The duties of the district officers and of the district youth council shall be prescribed in the district by-laws.

Sec. 4—The District Youth Council shall hold at least one (1) meeting during each year, at such time and place as designated by the District Chairman.

Sec. 5—The annual business meeting or convention of each district shall be at such place and date between the first day of March and the fifteenth day of September as designated by the District Youth Council. The rules of delegation and representation shall be prescribed in the district by-laws.

Sec. 6—The District Youth Council shall assign an official representative to attend each national convention and meeting of the National Junior JACL Youth Council.

Sec. 7—Within thirty (30) days after the close of any meeting of the District Youth Council the Secretary shall make a report of the proceedings in writing, approved by the District Youth Chairman, to the National Junior JACL, submitting copies to the National headquarters and to the National Junior JACL Chairman.

ARTICLE VI NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS

Sec. 1—Districts shall elect their representatives on the National Youth Council in a

manner prescribed by their District By-laws, but these elections must take place prior to the Biennial Convention.

Sec. 2—The election of the National Youth Council Chairman shall be held during the Biennial National Junior JACL Convention.

ARTICLE VII VACANCIES

Sec. 1—In the event of vacancies, the National Youth Council shall direct the District Youth Council Chairman to appoint a representative until such time as an election can take place.

ARTICLE VIII DUTIES OF THE OFFICERS

Sec. 1—Chairman. The Chairman shall preside at all conventions and all meetings of the National Junior JACL Youth Council. He shall perform such duties as usually pertain to the office of the Chairman.

Sec. 2—Chairman pro tem. In the event of the inability of the Chairman to perform his duties, the National Junior JACL Youth Council shall appoint a Chairman pro tem who shall perform the duties of and shall have the same authority as the Chairman. The tenure of the Chairman pro tem shall be designated by that council.

Sec. 3—District Representative. Each District Representative shall have the duty of furthering the purpose of the Junior JACL and of promoting the interests of the chapters chartered within his district.

Sec. 4—Recording Secretary. The Recording Secretary shall record the proceedings of the National Junior JACL Youth Council. The Recording Secretary shall provide a copy of the proceeding to all members of the Council and to others as may be designated by the Council.

Sec. 5—Corresponding Secretary. The Corresponding Secretary shall handle the correspondence of the National Junior JACL Youth Council and shall perform other duties as may be assigned by the Council.

Sec. 6—Treasurer. The Treasurer shall maintain a record of all monies received and disbursed by this organization in a proper and secure financial institution approved by the Council. The financial records shall be open to inspection by members of the Council upon request. The Treasurer shall perform other duties as may be assigned to him by the Council.

ARTICLE IX NATIONAL JR. JACL YOUTH COUNCIL

Sec. 1—The National Junior JACL Youth Council shall meet at such times and places as may be determined by action of the Council.

Sec. 2—The National Junior JACL Youth Council may transact business by mail, by voting upon proposed resolutions sent to them by the Corresponding Secretary with the approval of the Chairman.

ARTICLE X CONVENTIONS

Sec. 1—The National Junior JACL shall assemble biennially in convention which shall be held at such time as determined by the Council for the purpose of electing the Chairman, receiving reports, and conducting any other business necessary to the organization.

Sec. 2—The selection of the place of the Convention is to

be made by the National Junior JACL Youth Council.

Sec. 3—The Secretary shall mail to each chartered chapter an official call to the Biennial Convention at least sixty (60) days prior to the date of the Convention.

Sec. 4—The National Junior JACL Youth Council shall have full supervision and management over all Conventions and shall announce the official program and order of business of each convention.

Sec. 5—The officers of each Biennial Convention shall be the officers of the Junior JACL.

Sec. 6—The Chairman shall appoint a Sergeant-at-Arms of the Convention if he deems it necessary.

Sec. 7—At each called Convention, the National Youth Council shall appoint a committee on Credentials.

Sec. 8—The National Junior Youth Council shall establish uniform registration fees for all persons attending any Convention of the National Junior JACL. Such fees shall be recommended by the host chapter.

Sec. 9—The quorum for doing business at any National Junior JACL Convention shall consist of a majority of the chartered chapters.

ARTICLE XI COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Sec. 1—The Committee shall be responsible for determining the standings of each member chapter and its delegates and determine its eligibility to vote. In case of disagreements as to official delegates or standing of the chapter, the Credentials Committee shall meet with the delegations in question and determine the qualifications of said delegates.

Sec. 2—Decisions of the Credentials Committee may be appealed before the National Junior JACL Youth Council whose decision shall

be final and binding upon the Convention.

ARTICLE XII ADVISORY AND LIAISON

Sec. 1—The National JACL Youth Commission shall serve as the advisory Committee for the National Junior JACL.

Sec. 2—The Chairman of the National JACL Youth Commission shall serve as Advisor to the National Junior JACL Youth Council.

Sec. 3—Administrative assistance as required by the National Junior JACL shall be received from the National JACL Youth Director.

ARTICLE XIII AMENDMENTS

Sec. 1—Proposed amendments to this Constitution shall be received in writing by the Chairman ninety (90) days before its presentation to a National Convention. Such amendments must have the written endorsement of at least three chartered chapters.

Sec. 2—All proposed amendments to this Constitution shall be presented to a National Convention for adoption.

Sec. 3—Should the number of amendments to this Constitution exceed twenty (20), the Chairman shall appoint a committee to revise this Constitution to include those amendments.

ARTICLE XIV Parliamentary Rules

Sec. 1—Parliamentary situations not specifically covered by these By-laws shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order, Revised which shall be followed in all situations not in conflict with specific rules and regulations set forth in the Constitution and By-laws for the National Junior JACL.

Sec. 2—The Chairman shall appoint a Parliamentarian whenever the need for such an officer shall arise.

#



Youth leaders at head table at San Diego Convention are (from left) Paul Tamura (NIYC chairman), Alan Kumamoto, Martin Koba (PSWDYC chairman), Mike Masaoka (luncheon speaker, and Don Asakawa (toastmaster).

Our Third Generation -

(Continued from Page 3)

At this point, it would seem to be solely biological. They are simply American youngsters with dark hair and skin and the epicanthic fold ("slant eyes"). Not even their looks are any longer completely distinguishing: Nisei parents themselves can't tell young Japanese Americans from their Chinese counterparts. But there is one sure clue: if you hear young people speaking an Oriental language, they are Chinese.

Scarcely a single Sansei can speak any but a few words of Japanese (for which they feel guilty, although it was none of their own doing—and many now study the language at special schools or college). To all of them, Japan is a land more exotic than England or France. Their own "in" humor—since they have no trouble pronouncing the l's and r's of their native American—is of the "rots of ruck" variety, and they talk gaily of going to "Jaytown" to eat "Jay food."

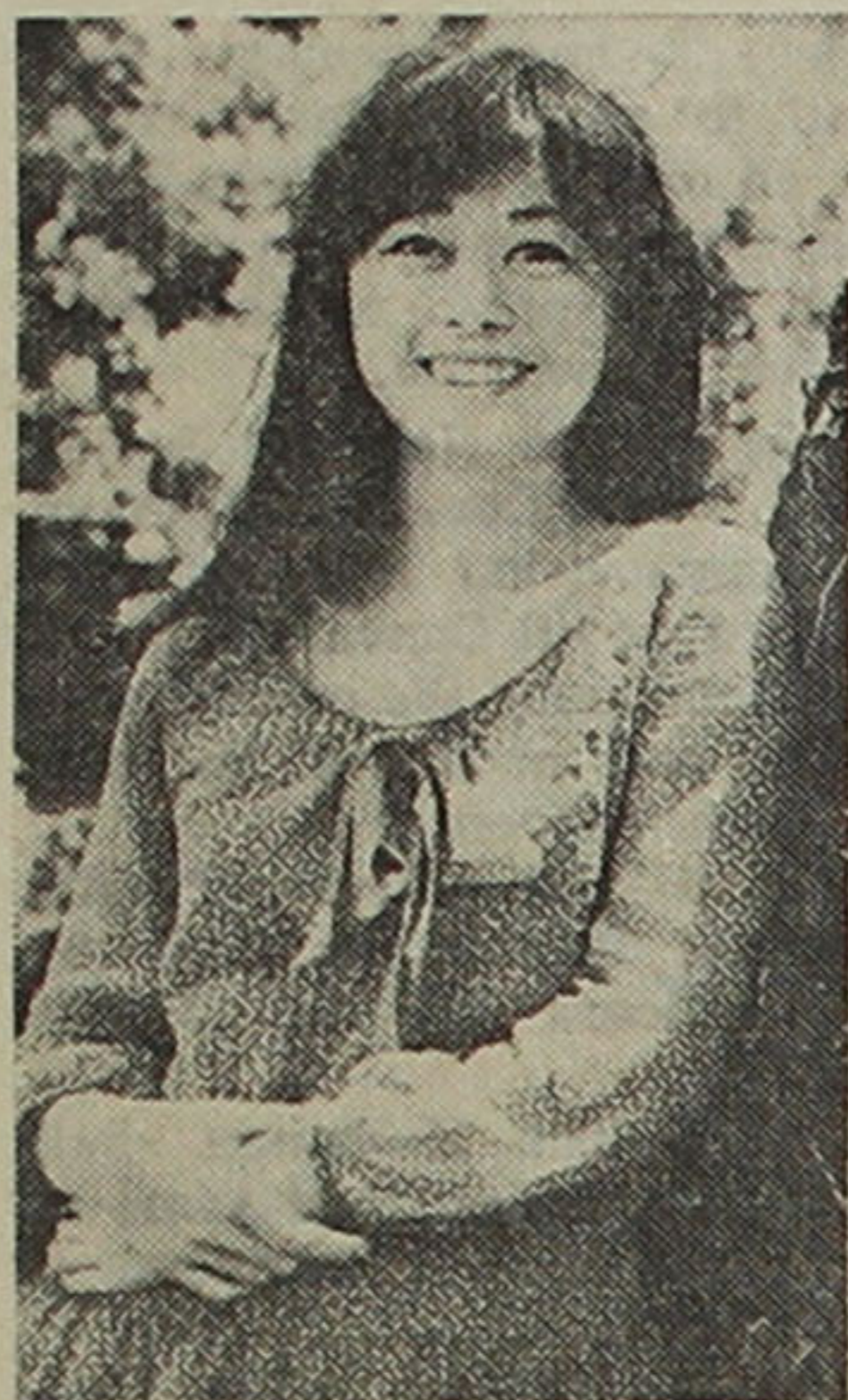
But even this apparent put-down of their ethnic background shows a preoccupation with it. And the truth is that the J-A youth—boys particularly—still tend to clan together in their social life. S.F. Boy Scout Troop 12, which Commissioner Kay Hori is now leading on a trip to Japan (they made their first visit in 1962) is 100 percent Japanese—although any of its members could join an integrated troop. Fred Hoshiyama, director of the three Outer City YMCA branches, says that the only Japanese who come to the Y (which is integrated) are the sons and daughters of consular or business Japanese, here for a few years only, who want to Americanize rapidly.

Senior Sansei

Probably the most senior of local Sansei are the children of the pioneer Hayashi family of Berkeley. Dr. Donald (eye specialist) and contractor Paul are twins, 37-years-old. Their sister, two years older, personifies a kind of acculturation rare to date among local Japanese—she is a divorced mother who works (as a medical secretary). Between them they have nine Yonsei children, the oldest the sister's 15-year-old son, who plays basketball in a Japanese church league (he's six feet two). Paul (MIT '51) lives in Orinda with his Sansei wife and three boys. They attend a Japanese Methodist congregation in Berkeley, and the two oldest boys are ferried back and forth to a Berkeley all-Japanese Little League. "I want my boys to know the Japanese people," Hayashi says, "but I do also take them to Indian Guides, a Y program in Orinda."

Even without the language link, this perpetuation of Japanese community can provide that peer-group incentive to excellence which has been strong in the J-A tradition.

But the tradition survives in other ways, too. Dental surgeon Peter Domoto, 28, a cousin of the Hayashis, is the first Sansei to have played varsity football at UC (guard, '57-'59). In high school, on his own, he joined the Presbyterian church. Now he's active in the Protestant Young Life movement, meets weekly with a group of 50 El Cerrito High youngsters, none of them Japanese. With Domoto, the ethical bent has taken the form of service in a totally inte-



—San Francisco Examiner Photo
Hiro Imamura, extraordinary Berkeley pianist, is the daughter of Buddhist leaders, applies Zen concepts to music but has no other Japanese ties.

grated society.

He and his Sansei wife have a boy and a girl. Does he hope they will find Yonsei mates? "We feel it's a very live option with them," he says — exhibiting adroitness with the young.

Intermarriage — particularly into the Caucasian majority — will probably prove to be the Great Leveler in the Americanization of the Sansei and Yonsei generations. So far it is not prevalent, and occurs mainly among the girls, who seem socially more mobile than the boys. (Even in Chinese-Japanese marriages here, it is usually the girl who is Japanese). And it takes place, too, among those in atypical occupations.

George Nagata, young violinist with the S.F. Symphony, married the daughter of the art department chairman at University of Pacific, where he was a student. S.I. Hayakawa, the noted semanticist, is married to a Caucasian, has no contact with the Japanese community, advocates total assimilation.

Howard Imazeki, an editor of Hokubei Mainichi, local Japanese daily, also believes Japanese should merge "into the mainstream." He teaches Japanese at UC Extension, but none of his four adult children can speak the language. Neither of his two married daughters, however, chose a Caucasian, and certainly he himself is at the center of his ethnic community.

Mobility would also seem to be more common among those who are like the American majority in another way—those without professional qualifications. One filling station just off Fillmore employs three Sansei in their mid-twenties. All are married to Caucasian girls, and one of them has three sisters, all of whom also married Caucasians.

JACL's Task

Since anti-Japanese discrimination scarcely exists here now, the preservation of a sense of ethnic community is the main task of the JACL and its junior auxiliary. The organization is preparing a full history of the Japanese in America, in cooperation with UCLA, and it sponsors scholarships for which competition is keen. There are 1,600 local JACL members.

The Junior JACL convention this year was held at San Diego, with the theme "Youth and Its Identity." No subject could be more appropriate, or

On the Sansei: Kumamoto - Iga's Findings

(Continued from Page 2)

not religious conviction, but a code of behavior.

In addition, a majority of Japanese, 69 percent in 1963, for example, are largely unaffiliated. The comparable figure for the 20 to 29 age group is 84 percent.

Broom and Kitsuse point out that the greatly permissive orientation of the Japanese culture toward religion presents a favorable condition for assimilation. The permissive orientation to religion is indicated by Cain's finding that "at least half the male members of Christian churches marry Buddhist women in contrast with the tendency among Caucasian toward religious homogeneity."

The permissiveness suggests an easy change, but a difficulty in retaining and regaining traditional meaning of Japanese religion.

Second, a greater tendency towards religiosity among young Japanese may be simply a reflection of Americanization.

This assumption is substantiated by three facts:

1—About 50 percent of Japanese in the United States are assumed to be Buddhists, in comparison with 26 percent in Japan in 1963, the comparable figures for Christians are 30 percent in the United States and 1 percent in Japan, indicating a much more rapid increase in the latter;

2—Buddhist churches have great difficulties in recruiting members, as indicated by the fact that recruitment is almost always one of the major topics at Buddhist conferences; and

3—Although Buddhism provides, as Eugene Uyeki found in "Correlates of Ethnic Identification," strong resistance to assimilation, Buddhist churches in the United States have adopted the organization, activities, and even teachings of Christian churches to a great extent.

Third reason which would deny the third generation return theory with reference to Japanese Americans is that their religiosity does not

—for the Sansei—more poignant.

Unquestionably, their collective superiority has somehow been linked with their "Japaneseness." But should they try to hold on to it? and if so, How can they?

THE JAPANESE AMERICANS

"Sei" is a Japanese word-ending which means generations. These, then, are the categories of Americans of Japanese descent:

ISSEI: The immigrants—first-generation. After the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924, they could not be naturalized until it was rescinded in 1952. As aliens, there were some 500 kinds of urban jobs requiring a license they could not hold; neither were they permitted to own agricultural land here.

NISEI: The second-generation group, born here of Issei parents. They had to assume adult roles early in life, substituting legally for their parents. They bore the full brunt of wartime injustices, and at the same time they raised their achievement levels above those of native-born white Americans.

seem to be due to cultural interests nor to pride in traditional culture as the theory implies, but due to functions of religion from minority group members in the United States, especially the function of social association.

A review of Iga's findings in more detail is now provided:

A: Normative Ideal

1—Collectivity-Orientation

According to Ezra F. Vogel, who studied the Japanese new middle-class salaryman, and his family in suburban Tokyo, he felt that collectivity-orientation is the basic value of the Japanese culture. Individualism is interpreted not as the individual's responsibility for his thinking and actions, but as selfishness.

Caudill, in his 1953 study, pointed out the emphasis among Japanese Americans on duty to the family and parents together with a lack of self-assertion in comparison with middle-class Americans, despite the similarities of other personality traits.

In 1957, Abe noticed significantly stronger nurturance tendencies among Japanese Americans than among the American norm.

Nurturance was characterized in this case following Edwards, as the tendency to help friends in trouble, to do favor to others, etc." He explains to this difference in terms of an emphasis on obligation among Japanese Americans, which is characterized by collectivity-orientation.

However, in Iga's study, no significant difference between Japanese and Caucasians in the United States, in terms of collectivity-orientation was found. Both of them were found to be, at least on a more conscious level, more self-oriented than traditional Japanese.

Also, an unexpected finding indicated a much-higher individualistic orientation of young

Must they inevitably melt into the pot and become like the rest of us—variously great and small, good and bad, but mostly that passable, fallible, likeable, middling creature beloved to his fellows as The Average American?

KIBEI: Nisei or Sansei who were sent back to Japan for a crucial part of their education—usually in their late teens. Not a large group, but important in the cultural tradition.

SANSEI: The third generation—born in the U.S. of U.S.-born parents. These are today's Japanese American youth. The challenge facing them: how to maintain the high standards of their "Japaneseness" while at the same time they extend their Americanization?

YONSEI (or Shisei): The children of the Sansei. A few hundred have been born. Their achievement levels will be the final evidence of the degree to which the Sansei succeeded. Their children—unless assimilation is by then total—will be called the Gosei.

#

Japanese than Caucasian Americans. This emphasis on self-orientation may be simply reaction formation. Young Japanese show "a break in their sense of connection with Japanese tradition and place a high emphasis on the establishment of Shutaisei (selfhood)", but Robert Lifton, in his work "Youth and History: Individual Change in Postwar Japan," noticed that the Japanese concept of selfhood has various dimensions.

For example, in addition to the Western sense of "holding and living by personal convictions", it may mean "having the capacity to act in a way that is effective in founding historical goals." This is simply a form of collectivity-orientation in Japan.

Other expressions of selfhood by young Japanese, according to Lifton, are their admiration for the heroes of American Western films. The heroes are regarded as having the most-complete individual freedom, and the tendency to confuse nihilism and giaku ("feigned evil") with individualism.

In these extremes and confusion, says Iga, the reaction-formation nature of the emphasis on self-orientation by young Japanese, seems to be evident. This interpretation was supported in the study by higher scores by young Japanese than Caucasian Americans and slightly higher scores than Japanese Americans.

Caudill and H.A. Scarr, who did a joint paper entitled, "Japanese Value Orientations and Culture Change," provide an explanation to the seemingly contradictory attitude of young Japanese toward the self and the collectivity in their conclusion that Japanese youth may be highly individualistic in political opinions, but are rather collectivity-oriented in economic and family matters, as well as in their philosophy of life.

2—Particularism and Paternalism

Again, according to a study by Vogel, loyalty to the group heads "remains the most-important attribute of the respected person in Japan." Particularistic concern with parents, family members, and teachers are still strong among Japanese. However, there is no significant difference between Japanese Americans and Caucasian Americans in their particularistic concern about the teacher of one's own child, the both of them are significantly different from all Japanese groups.

One of the expressions of particularism that was indicated is a lack of those religious teachings which supersede particularistic social relations. This is proved by (1) the absence of universalistic values in Japanese religious teachings, and (2) a lack of religious affiliation.

Although a higher percentage of Japanese Americans than Caucasian Americans have no church affiliation, in the study, they show a much-lower percentage than young Japanese 84 percent of whom have no church affiliation.

The Leonard Cain manuscript on "Japanese American Protestants, Acculturation and Assimilation," found in Northern California, about 30 percent of the Japanese Americans were uncommitted religiously.

Extension of familism and non-familism situations seems to be the characteristic of Japanese (Continued on Page 7)

Stereotypes Tarnished - 'Mean, Bad Jap'

(Continued from Page 3)

try to be a good neighbor and try to win their acceptance as an individual.

Question: How do you react when you see the stereotype of the "mean bad Jap" in the American war movies? Do you want to eliminate this type of presentation? Would you want the stereotype of the "quiet, wise and shy" Japanese changed?

Answer: The war movies really don't bother me. I usually laugh at the horrible example old war films give of the Japanese. I realize they are just movies.

If there could be a change, however, I would like the movies to portray both sides of the war. Few people really know of the suffering that the Japanese went through during relocation, for example.

In answer to the second question, I feel that any stereotype can be easily disproved by direct contact with people.

Question: Would you rather live in an Oriental or mixed neighborhood? Wouldn't you feel more secure in an Oriental area?

Answer: I would rather live in a mixed neighborhood because it gives a person a chance to learn and accept other races for what they are. When living together, people may learn to accept each other as individuals and not labels.

I suppose it would tend to be more secure in terms of help, friendship and moral support in an Oriental area, but I think my mind would grow narrow this way.

Question: How do Japanese parents feel about their sons and daughters dating Caucasians? Would you date a Caucasian?

Answer: As far as I know, most Nisei parents would not object to their children dating Caucasians. I am sure that most parents would prefer marriage within the race. I must admit that most Oriental parents object to Negro-Japanese dating.

My answer to the second question is "sure".

Question: Do you think that you will eventually lose the label "Japanese" American and become Americans such as the Italians and Irish?

Answer: Yes, I think Japanese Americans will eventually fuse into the American society completely. We must remember that the history of the Japanese in this country is relatively short. Also, whether we like it or not, we have neither white skin or the European background . . . this slows the process down a bit.

Still, Sansei are all-American except for their physical characteristics, which, someday, will make no difference.

Profitable Experience

My most profitable experience during the whole convention was gained through personal contact with my fellow panelists: Joe, Allen and Lynda. We had long talks about common problems and their possible solutions. During the conversations, I was ashamed to admit that I, too, was guilty of stereotyping people.

We four panelists were asked by Mrs. Esther Friedman to state personal grievances concerning human relations.

Friday, September 2, 1966

In talking with Lynda, I found that her problems were prejudice affected her emotionally. Although, she is a Mexican American, she has blond hair and no accent.

In other words, she was accepted by her peers on the physical level, but was rejected after her cultural background became known. The people she had contact with looked down on Mexican Americans. She also wanted to disassociate herself from the "cholos" or those Mexican Americans with strong Spanish accent and definite characteristics.

Her deepest wish was to be accepted simply as an American.

(Joe and I agreed that people have no trouble distinguishing our cultural background!)

Negro Unity

Joe Muldrew was an extremely brilliant fellow. He expressed his wish for complete Negro unity. Without this, he said that the Negro civil rights movement would be at a loss.

Some of the most dangerous gaps were not between the black and white, but between the black and black.

He praised the Jews and Japanese for their ability to band together and help each other.

I was surprised to learn that he did not expect handouts or pity from the Caucasians, but his aim was to gain respect. He means to gain this respect, primarily through education, and then strive to help Negroes who are less fortunate.

When I speak of Joe, I speak of a 19-year-old boy born in Dallas, Texas, and raised in Watts. A graduate of Fremont High School, he plans to attend the University of California at Los Angeles.

This very person shattered my idea that all the Negroes in Watts are illiterate, impoverished and void of ambition.

I came to realize that many Negroes are like Joe but receive very little recognition. It is only the bad element which is known by most of the public.

Certainly, I was one of the first to respect him.

Indian Girl's Desire

Carolyn Vivanco, an Indian girl, expressed her desire to be accepted on a social level also. I met her at the orientation meeting here in Los Angeles prior to the convention and she was originally scheduled to be one of the panelists but was unable to join us in Palm Springs.

She said the people of the reservations were not as illiterate and as poor as is the accepted myth.

She also denied that the Indian had "given up" in his struggle for equal rights and was living off the government.

Indians are free to leave the reservations but many fear rejection by the whole society.

Once, she was not served in a restaurant because she was Indian.

She informed us of the discrimination in housing, jobs as well as on the social level.

Positive Outlook

One can list incidents here of discrimination against the Japanese, Jews, etc., here al-

so, but instead we turned the conversation over to possible solutions.

First of all, we agreed that as young people, we cannot speak intelligently about discrimination in housing or employment, because we have not as yet experienced either.

The basis for our grievances was at the social level, actual day-to-day contacts with other people.

Secondly, we agreed that if the social barriers were overcome, the breakdown of discrimination in housing and employment would follow.

Lastly, we realized that a complete change cannot occur now or in ten years, but that time will be our chief asset.

We came to the conclusion that the best weapon to combat prejudice is education in its totality. This does not mean schooling, i.e. reading, writing and arithmetic.

By education in its totality, we mean teaching in the home, mass communications, school and personal contact. Prejudice stems from ignorance, fear and lack of understanding of something or someone.

For an example of mass communication: the appearance of more and more Negroes in television commercials and other media of advertisements is a step forward—not because of more jobs gained but because people are forced to realize that Negroes are as much a part of the American scene as the

Caucasian.

Personal contact remains to be the best way . . . one must break away from that comfortable shell of one's own race and mix. This does not mean that everyone will love each other, but they will understand and begin to tolerate one another.

Brotherhood, U.S.A. and other human relations workshops help to "spread the good word". On this note of hope for a brighter future, we four panelists went our separate ways . . . each of us a bit wiser (soon to have a reunion, of course.)

Faith in Future

I have tremendous faith and hope for our generation. Surely, I do not expect our "great" generation to solve all of the problems of human relations.

We realize that the generations before us have established a foundation for us upon which to build.

It is for us to take advantage of our opportunity and freedom of choice to build an atmosphere of better education, tolerance and understanding for the future.

Prejudice is a human failure we all possess and it will never be completely eliminated. Although equality for all men is an ideal; as long as this remains a free country, I believe that young Americans should strive for equal civil rights for all races.

#

On the Sansei: Kumamoto - Social Structure

(Continued from Page 6)

panese social structure, according to James C. Abegglen, who studied aspects of the social organization of the Japanese factory. This implies,

1—Obligation of loyalty and sacrificial services on the part of inferiors and,

2—Obligation of the superior to protect his followers.

Regarding the preference for a paternalistic chief to work under there is no significant difference between Japanese and Caucasians in the United States. On the other hand, all Japanese groups showed much higher percentages. Contrary to common expectation, young Japanese showed a greater degree of preference for particularistic leaders than the older Japanese, which supports Caudill and Scarr's proposition in the preceding section on collectivity-orientation.

B: Virtues

1—Conformity to Custom

According to R. Dore, who wrote about city life in Japan before World War II tradition was "the most powerful force in Japan," and the ethnical thinking of Tokugawa, Japan was little questioned. Although young Japanese generally are emotional, against what they regard as "feudalistic virtues," conformity still seems to be the basic principle of Japanese social structure as indicated by the lack of individualism.

Abe, in 1957, found that Japanese Americans were significantly higher than the Caucasian norm in deference, which was defined as "the need to conform to custom and avoid the unconventional," along with "the need to get suggestions from others, to follow instructions,

and to do what is expected, etc."

Apparently, deference in this sense, includes many traits, such as conformance, deference, and dependency. Although Japanese Americans in the present study showed much lower scores than all Japanese groups in conformance, they also indicated a greater tendency to conform than Caucasians.

2—Moralism

An important characteristic of Japanese culture, is the co-existence of hedonism and moralism toward sex. Japanese hedonism is noticeable, according to Fernando Henrique, by the fact that (1) both prostitutes and mistresses were more or less normal and accepted members of traditional Japanese society, (2) that Japanese have no guilt feeling about self abuse, etc.

The study indicated that older Japanese are much more moralistic than Japanese Americans, Caucasians, and young Japanese. Although there is no significant difference between Japanese Americans and Caucasians and also between Japanese Americans and young Japanese in Japan, young Japanese show a significantly higher degree of moralism than Caucasian Americans.

3—Status Distinction

Ruth Benedict pointed out the basic characteristic of Japanese social structure—"taking the proper place." Regarding the approval of status distinction in language, there was no indicated difference between Japanese and Caucasians in the United States, while both of them show significantly lower scores than all

Japanese groups in Japan.

Emphasis on status distinction is also expressed in sex prejudice, which is still marked in the Japanese culture.

In respect to the exclusive emphasis on the domestic role of women, there is no difference between Japanese Americans and Caucasian counterparts, and both show much lower degrees of the emphasis than do all Japanese groups in Japan.

All Japanese groups believe in the inherent difference between the sexes in thinking ability to a much-greater degree than Japanese Americans and Caucasian Americans, but while there is no significant difference.

4—Discipline and Obedience

The major function of Japanese religion is to teach self-discipline, resignation and gratitude. In Japanese tradition, suffering and hard work were thought natural, inevitable and even character building.

In the emphasis on discipline, rather than freedom in child rearing, there is no significant difference found in this study among Japanese Americans, Caucasian Americans, and young Japanese in Japan.

5—Compromise

In writing about the Tokugawa religion which includes the values of pre-industrial Japan, Robert Bellah states "disputatiousness, contentiousness and other disruptive behavior is strongly disvalued". This is especially so for inferiors but the superior is also expected to a lesser extent to compromise lest the inferior should lose face and become resentful.

To lose face is a primary source of resentment but to compromise or even to yield to another's opinion is a virtue among Japanese.

In answering whether the subject would give up an idea when it is opposed by others despite his explanation, 12 percent of Japanese Americans agreed in contrast to no Caucasian. Figure on Japanese Americans was much smaller than that of any Japanese group.

6—Explanation for Success and Aggressive Competitiveness

An important personality trait of the Japanese is the co-existence of obedience and a strong desire of success. The authoritarian personality characterized by obedience is also characterized by the attitude to view the world as precarious and to view social climbing and competitiveness.

While Caudill and DeVos' study on power relations. This is a high aspiration for social achievement among Japanese Americans, Abe found a lower level of achievement drive in Japanese American males, while Japanese American females showed a higher achievement drive than Caucasian counterparts.

Iga's study showed that both male and female Japanese Americans exhibit a higher degree of achievement motive than do Caucasian Americans, but a lower degree than Japanese in Japan.

The difference among these findings seem to be partly due in differences in time, in areas of study, and

(Continued on Page 8)

On the Sansei: Kumamoto - Political Acumen

(Continued from Page 7)

in measuring tools but, also partly because of a lesser degree of authoritarianism among Japanese Americans in American society.

Regarding the philosophy that man must conquer nature to be happy, Japanese and Caucasians in the United States are very similar, for both of them have much lower scores than do all Japanese groups. This is assumed to be related to the degrees of suppressed aggressiveness and competitiveness.

C: Sources of Strain

There are three major sources of strain in Japan that were indicated in the study:

- 1—Obligation.
- 2—Dependency.
- 3—Fear of power and basic insecurity.

To a considerable extent, Japanese Americans seem to retain these characteristic, although to a much lesser extent than do those Japanese in Japan.

1—Obligation

"From the moment a Japanese comes into this world," D. Dore holds in his *City Life in Japan*, "he is the recipient of On (favor to be repaid) from Emperor, parents, teach-

ers, and fellow men; therefore, he should be grateful for what he receives, and is obliged to repay for On by devoted service them".

Japanese Americans, according to Caudill, feel an "extreme obligation to conform to parents' wishes and the internalization of parental demands results in a stricter & often more punishing superego."

One of the important aspects of Japanese obligation is a particularistic concept of repaying On by doing favors for the benefactor's family members. In this respect, Japanese Americans show significantly lower scores than to all Japanese groups, but at the same time show significantly high scores than the Caucasian counterparts. Apparently, the emphasis on On and obligation is still at least an ideal value for Japanese Americans.

2—Dependency

When a person with dependency need is placed in an insecure situation, he tends to make efforts to "present to the self and to others qualities or achievements for which there is no adequate foundation", so says Karen Horney in "New Ways in Psychoanalysis".

Gene Stotzel in "Without

the Chrysanthemum Come the Sword" (a study of the attitudes of youth in postwar Japan), states the result is a greater degree of insecurity, intellectual dependency exhibited by the need to seek advice and is widespread in Japan.

Political dependency and indifference to political affairs were pointed as Japanese characteristics by Tsuneo Muramatsu, a Japanese sociologist. Dependency is not only a personality trait, but also a value in the society where individualism is "offensive" and "bumptious" in the eyes of authoritarian superiors and "dangerous" from the viewpoint of social integration.

Abe found that while Nisei females are not different from Caucasian Americans in autonomy, Nisei males are significantly lower in it than the American norm.

In the research conducted, most Japanese American females favored the reliance on "good" political leaders without public participation; Japanese Americans in general, however, indicated equal degrees of political dependency as young Japanese in Japan; higher than Caucasians, but lower than older Japanese.

Also, a much-higher percentage of Japanese Americans have "no opinion about social problems," or "have opinions, but do not talk about them," than Caucasian Americans although the percentage is much lower

than that of the Japanese in Japan.

On the other hand, in answer to the question concerning scientists working without political regard, both Japanese and Caucasians in the United States show a much-higher degree of negative answers than those of Japanese groups; there is no significant difference between them.

These three questions seem to indicate that Japanese Americans retain a considerable amount of dependency on political leaders, but also a greater acceptance of the democratic ideal that politics is everybody's business.

3—Fear of Power and Basic Insecurity

Louis Fischer, in writing about the Japanese intellectuals characterizes their personality as exhibiting fear of power, together with "soft edge" and cliquishness of which reveal basic insecurity.

H. Quigley and J. Turner state that Japanese acquired

the habit of obedience because "they were helpless against official displeasure."

Abe found a greater degree of abasement among Nisei than in the American norm, and this category was defined as the tendency "to feel inferior, to feel timid, and to withdraw from unpleasant situations" along with the tendency "to feel guilty when one does something wrong." This apparently indicates basic insecurity among Japanese Americans.

However, in Iga's questions, which is assumed to reveal the fear of authority and basic insecurity, there is no difference between Japanese Americans and Caucasian Americans and also between Japanese Americans and young Japanese in Japan.

Probably the question only reveals the opinion level ("I should do") rather than the overt level ("I do") or the implicit level ("I wish to do") of responses.

#

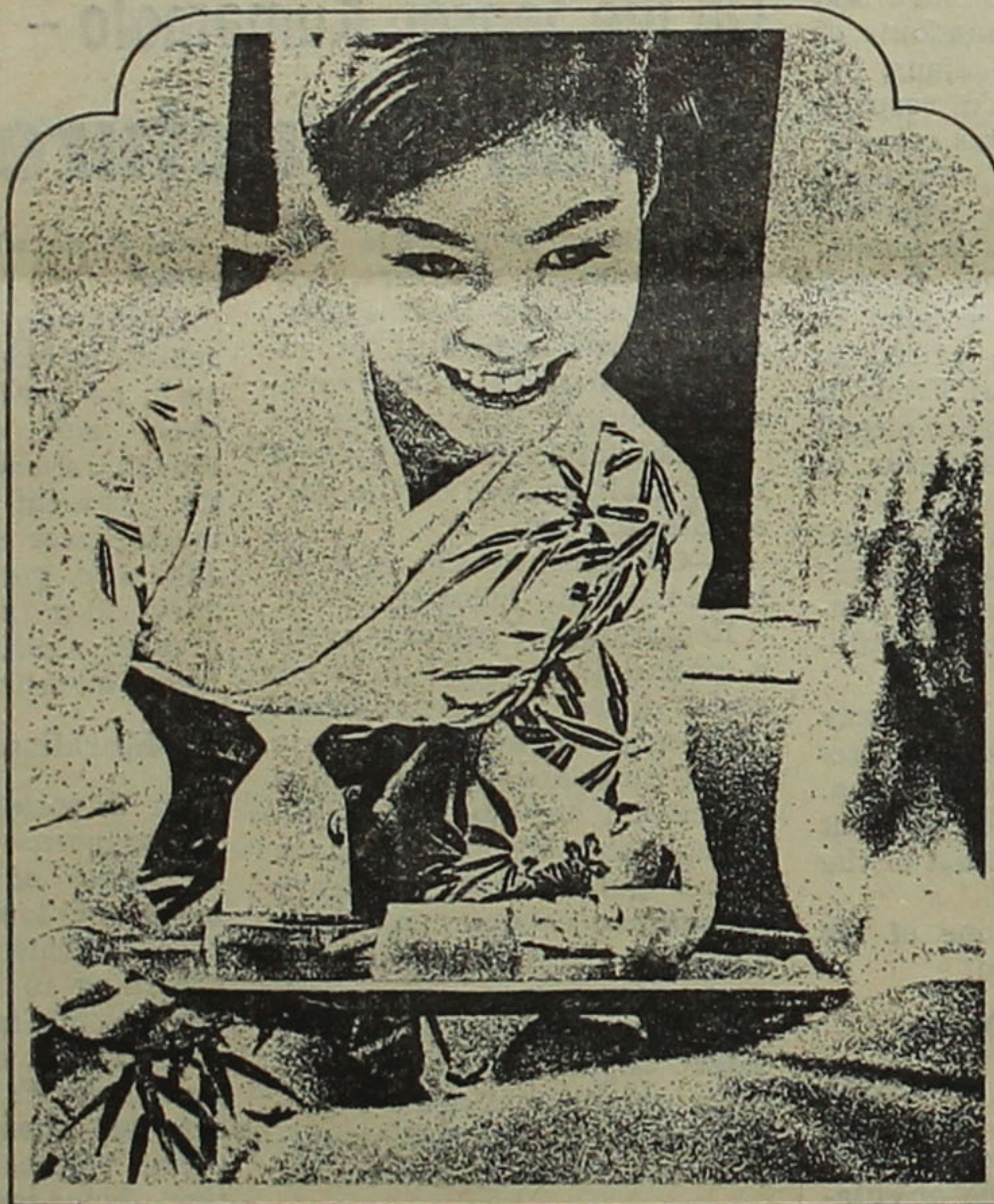
AUTHOR'S NOTE

Permission was obtained from Dr. Mamoru Iga in this special edition of the Pacific Citizen devoted to the Sansei.

Findings as cited in the Iga study and reported in this lengthy article are properly accredited to the authors and it is hoped that

their interpretations were correctly conveyed.

With respect to the questionnaires circulated at the JAACL National Convention in San Diego, these results will be compiled if and when sample returns are sufficient for a basis of comparison against samples used in the original study.



Japan Air Lines makes it easier than ever to fly to Japan

with a new schedule of 20 weekly flights

From April 1, you can have your choice of any one of JAL's 20 weekly jets to Tokyo. Every week 13 depart from San Francisco, and one every day from Los Angeles. All flights offer the advantage of stopping off for a visit in Hawaii with friends and relatives at no extra fare. You can enjoy Japanese hospitality plus JAL's greater flexibility for making good connections and planning extra stopovers.

The moment you step aboard your luxurious DC-8 Jet Courier, you

feel as if you're already in Japan. A lovely kimono-clad hostess serves you in the gracious Japanese manner... offers the finest delicacies of Japan and the Continent. From her first bow of welcome until your journey is complete, you'll be treated as an honored guest.

Only Japan Air Lines makes your trip to Japan a travel experience unique in all the world. See your travel agent soon. Ask him to make your next reservations to Tokyo on JAL, the worldwide airline of Japan.



JAPAN AIR LINES