

The Socialization Process under Multicultural Situation(?): The Relationship between Japanese-Bolivian and Bolivian Junior High School Students

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THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS UNDER MULTICULTURAL SITUATION (I): THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JAPANESE-BOLIVIAN AND BOLIVIAN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

By

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In these papers about the socialization process (I , II) we will report on Japanese-Bolivians from a psychological standpoint. We will examine the influence of the host society (Bolivian society) and of their ancestral society (Japanese society) on the socialization process of Japanese-Bolivian children, using four patterns of cross-cultural adaptation: assimilation, acculturation, dissociation, and marginality. We will explore the social contexts which influence the socialization process under multicultural situation. In (I), we will refer to the relationship of Japanese-Bolivian and Bolivian junior high school students through two indexes: "Closest Friends" and "Language Usage". We administered questionnaire to 58 Japanese-Bolivian junior high school students and 34 Bolivian ones. We found that Japanese-Bolivian students maintain close ties with in-group members (Japanese-Bolivian students), but not with out-group ones (Bolivian students).

Key words: socialization, cross-cultural adaptation, immigrants, Japanese-Bolivians.

INTRODUCTION

About 920,000 Japanese immigrants and their offspring live in South America. 12,000 of them live in Bolivia. Most of Japanese-Bolivians immigrated from Japan after World War II. They constructed two Japanese settlements in Bolivia. "Colony Okinawa" is one of these, and has been composed by people who came from Okinawa².

In these papers, we will examine influences of Bolivian society (host society) and Japanese society (ancestral society) on the socialization process of Japanese-Bolivian children, using four patterns of cross-cultural adaptation. Moreover we will explore that the social contexts influence the socialization process. In (I), we will give an outline of our field, Colony Okinawa, and we will refer to the relationship of Japanese-Bolivian junior high school students and Bolivian ones in Colony Okinawa. In (II), we will report on the influence of the host society and the ancestral society through the extent of life-space; in addition we will discuss the socialization process under multicultural situations (I) and (II).

Through the socialization process, individual internalizes norms and values of his reference

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 2. Okinawa is southernmost islands in Japan.

group. Reference group is membership group for most people. It is considered that we are socialized by our reference group.

Nowadays, however, we can get much information from mass media, and reference group isn't membership group in some cases. Non-membership group could have a great influence on the socialization (Rose, 1960; Shibutani, 1955). In other words, non-membership group would become reference group. For example, Japanese ancestry in Bolivia would socialize under the influence of Japan. The second-generation of immigrants belongs to their host society. Although they live in host society, host society isn't always their reference group. They could refer to their ancestral society. The second generation of immigrants under the socialization is, in the fact, influenced from both the host society and the ancestral society. That is to say, the second generation of immigrants is socialized under two or more norms and values.

It is possible to grasp by using a frame of cross-cultural adaptation that the influence of two cultures on the socialization process of the second generation of immigrants. Cross-cultural-adaptation means a process in which immigrants adjust themselves to their cultural surroundings (Ebuchi, 1994). There are two models in cross-cultural adaptation: linear model and two-dimensional model. In the linear model, if the influence of the host society become greater, that of the ethnic group is fewer (Gordon, 1964). In the two-dimensional model, if the influence of the host society become greater, that of the ethnic group is not always fewer. These two influences are independent of each other (Ebuchi, 1994; Hutnik, 1986). Hutnik indicated that there were two levels in the group identification because "ethnic minority individual is a member not only of his own ethnic group but also of the larger majority group" (Hutnik, 1986). He adopted the two-dimensional model of the ethnic identification to outline four different strategies of the ethnic identity management: assimilation, acculturation, dissociation, and marginality. This model can be applied for our problem. We figure four patterns of cross-cultural adaptation (Fig. 1):

1. Assimilation: influence of the host society (=A) is greater, but that of the ancestral society (=B) is fewer.
2. Acculturation: A is great, and B is also great.
3. Dissociation: A is fewer, but B is greater.
4. Marginality: A is few, and B is also few.

The influence of the host society and that of the ancestral society on the socialization process are depend on the social contexts around immigrants. It is generally considered that immigrants get greater influence of the host society from one generation to next (Masuda, Matsumoto, & Meredith, 1970). However, not only differences between generations but the social contexts affect on cross-cultural adaptation of immigrants (Newton, Buck, Kunimura, Colfer, & Scholsberg, 1988). These social contexts, for example, consists of 1) statuses of the host society and of the ancestral society in the world, 2) economic power of these societies, 3) frequency of which they contact with ancestral society, 4) tolerance of host society toward social participation of immigrants, and 5) ethnic events. As for Japanese-Americans, for instance, ethnic identity and community spirit looked as if they had disappeared completely after World

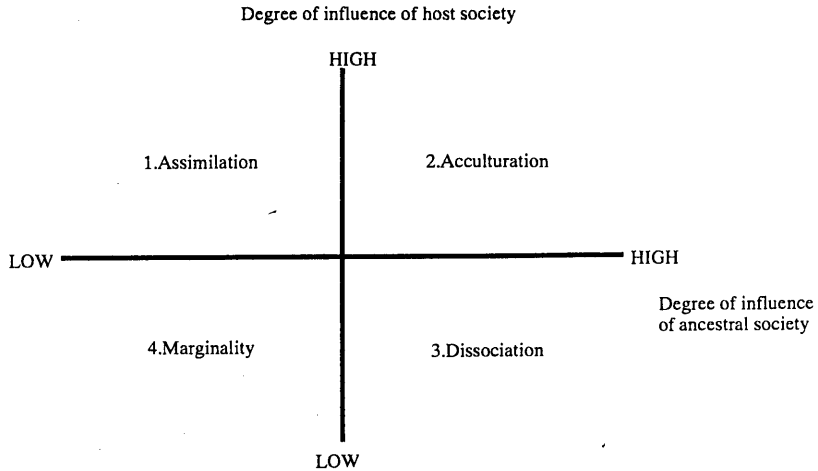


Fig. 1. Four patterns of cross-cultural adaptation.

War II. In recent years, Japanese-Americans campaign to quest for redress for compulsory evacuation and relocation in camps under World War II against the Federal Government of the United States. Through this campaign, their ethnic identity and community spirit have been activated (Takezawa, 1994). Japan, their ancestral country, defeated in World War II. But now Japan has great economic power on the world. Japanese ancestry could take pride in their descent from Japan because of Japan's status; and, more practically, speaking, reading, and writing Japanese brings some benefits: getting a good job with a Japanese firm or working in Japan with good wages. If social contexts affect the influence of two societies on the socialization, it is hypothesized that the social situation which Japanese descendants can have some benefits influences on the socialization process of Japanese ancestry second generation.

We have mentioned the problem of our papers (I , II). In (I) we will refer to the relationship of Japanese-Bolivian and Bolivian junior high school students in Colony Okinawa by using two indexes: "Closest Friends" and "Language Usage". Reitz (1980) conducted a sample survey in ten ethnic groups in five Canadian cities to explore the social meaning of the survival of ethnic groups. In his study, social interaction with other members of the group was used as one of the indexes of group membership. He asked participants to think of their three closest friends, then to answer how many of these three were in their ethnic group. He classified responses from this question on "three closest friends" into three groups: completely embedded in ethnic group social networks, completely outside such networks and straddles the first two groups. He thought this third (intermediate) group maintains ties across ethnic group boundaries. So it is considered that if there were few members of intermediate group, these ties are weak.

Another index to measure the ethnic group relationship is "Language Usage". Reitz (1980) mentioned that various ways of participating in ethnic community life reflect actual in-

group social ties, and that ethnic cohesion is related to ethnic language retention. If ethnic language was maintained, it could be considered that ethnic cohesion was strong. There are two indexes for measure language retention: knowledge of the ethnic language and frequency of it's usage. If most of members had knowledge of their language, it is possible to a degree that we put frequency of usage of ethnic language as a index to measure ethnic cohesion. Japanese-Bolivian children, our participants, could respond to our questionnaire in Japanese, so we will adopt language usage as a index of in-group cohesion.

FIELD

The outline of the Republic of Bolivia, the state of Santa Cruz and Colony Okinawa

The Republic of Bolivia is located on the central of South America (Fig. 2). The chief industries are mining and agriculture. They use Spanish in Bolivia as a common language.

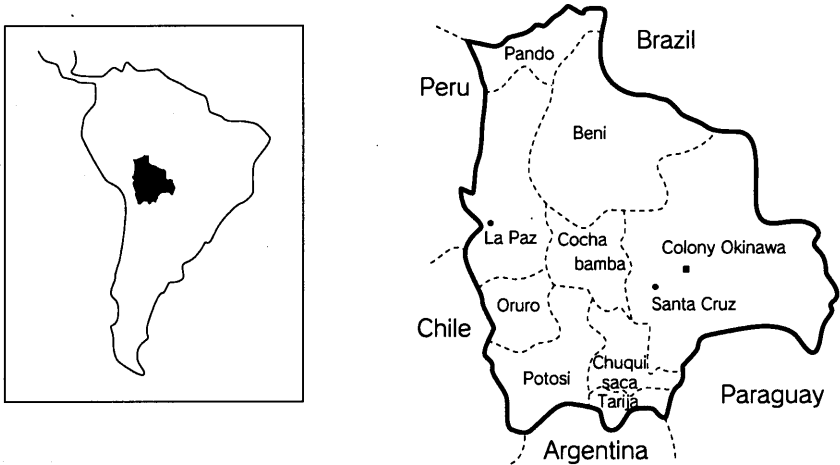


Fig. 2. Bolivia and its states.

The state of Santa Cruz, in which Colony Okinawa is located, is the biggest state in Bolivia. The state of Santa Cruz is granary. The capital of the state, *Santa Cruz de la Sierra* (Santa Cruz), is the center city of this region. Around of Santa Cruz, there are many fields of soybean, wheat, sugar cane and so on. There are many ranches, too. Many villages are located there. Most of the roads which connect these villages aren't paved. In the suburb of Santa Cruz, there is an international airport called Viru-Viru. From Viru-Viru international airport they can go to Japan directly in about thirty hours.

Colony Okinawa is located on northeast of Santa Cruz. It takes one or two hours to go from Colony Okinawa to Santa Cruz by car. As of 1995, about 800 Japanese-Bolivians live

in Colony Okinawa. And 3,000 Bolivians live there, too. The chief industry of Colony Okinawa is agriculture. About 90% of Japanese-Bolivian of Colony Okinawa are farmers by occupation. They manage mechanized agriculture on a large scale.

The relationship between Japanese-Bolivians and Bolivians in Colony Okinawa

In Colony Okinawa, Japanese-Bolivians and Bolivians have little interaction each other except the relationship between employer and employee, although they live in the same settlement (Mori & Ohashi, 1996). Japanese-Bolivians living there are employers. Most of Bolivians are employed by Japanese-Bolivians as farm labors. Japanese-Bolivians and Bolivians belong to different economical classes. In addition, we can find segregated niches in Colony Okinawa. In Colony Okinawa, there are Bolivian residence areas. Most Japanese-Bolivians seldom go there. Various events are held separately by Japanese-Bolivians and Bolivians.

Familiarity with Japan

Japanese-Bolivians in Colony Okinawa go to Japan easily as if they went to neighbor countries. When they immigrated to Bolivia, it took about two months to go by ship from Japan to Bolivia. Now, however, they can go to Japan by airplane in about thirty hours.

Most of the second generation who are graduated from high school have been to Japan. Since 1980s, it has become popular among Japanese-Bolivian youth to go to Japan to work, called "*dekasegui*". There are many good jobs in Japan, but there are few in Bolivia. In Bolivia, if they get a job, they will have to work at low wages. *Dekasegui* generally involves movement of people to earn money, but all of Japanese-Bolivians aren't pressed for money. On the other side, they go to Japan to enjoy an affluent life. Moreover their parents want them to learn Japanese customs and manners in their ancestral country (The commission of editing of the history of 40 years of Colony Okinawa, 1995).

By the movement of people through *dekasegui*, a lot of things Japanese have flown into Colony Okinawa. They can get the information and amusements of Japan very quickly by the medium of video cassette tapes, books, magazines, etc. Japanese-Bolivian children are interested in the Japanese amusements, e.g., TV programs, comic books and novels. Before the movement of *dekasegui* occurred, they often asked teachers why they had to learn Japanese. Now they don't ask so because they enjoy these amusements in Japanese. It seems that they feel Japan close to themselves.

Junior high schools in Colony Okinawa

There are four junior high schools in Colony Okinawa. Japanese-Bolivian students go to two of them: Private school of Okinawa 1 for Japanese-Bolivian (*Colegio particular mixto centro boliviano japones Okinawa 1*) and Nueva Esperanza public school (*Colegio mixto Nueva Esperanza*).

Japanese-Bolivian students have five classes in the morning with their Bolivian classmates. In the afternoon, only Japanese-Bolivian students have three classes of Japanese in the same school. Almost of them are good at speaking everyday Japanese before they enter elementary school. They learn mainly reading and writing of Japanese in the school. At the same time their parents expect that their children learn Japanese customs and manners there.

The outline of Japanese-Bolivians in Santa Cruz

There are many stores, companies and schools in Santa Cruz. They often go there from Colony Okinawa for business or shopping. Many Japanese-Bolivian children go to high school or university in Santa Cruz from Colony Okinawa. Japanese-Bolivians in Colony Okinawa often go to Santa Cruz, but seldom go to other part of Bolivia. Their sphere of activity is limited to Santa Cruz.

More than about 550 Japanese-Bolivians reside in Santa Cruz. The life of Japanese-Bolivian children in Santa Cruz are different from that of Japanese-Bolivian children in Colony Okinawa. They go to school in which there are few Japanese-Bolivian in the class. Japanese-Bolivians learn with Bolivian classmates around them from Monday to Friday. On Saturday, many of them go to the language school of Japanese. It is said that the language school is the place where they see other Japanese-Bolivian and play with them.

METHOD

Participants: We conducted questionnaire to 58 Japanese-Bolivian junior high school students and 34 Bolivian junior high school students in 1994. They attend Private school of Okinawa 1 for Japanese-Bolivian, Nueva Esperanza public school, and Language school of Japanese association in Santa Cruz (Table 1).

Table 1. Participants.

| School | Japanese | | Bolivian | | Total |
|---|----------|--------|----------|--------|-------|
| | male | female | male | female | |
| Private school of Okinawa 1 for Japanese-Bolivian | 8 | 11 | 3 | 5 | 27 |
| Nueva Esperanza public school | 8 | 11 | 15 | 11 | 45 |
| Language school of Japanese association in Santa Cruz | 11 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 20 |
| Total | 27 | 31 | 18 | 16 | 92 |

Method: The questions were "closest friends" and "language usage". We used questionnaire in Japanese for Japanese-Bolivians and that in Spanish for Bolivians. The questionnaire for Bolivians was mainly the same as that for Japanese, but we adjusted some items to Bolivians. The "language usage" were only to Japanese-Bolivians.

RESULTS

Closest friends

The responses were classified into two groups: completely embedded in ethnic group and straddles two ethnic groups³. There was no response that was completely outside ethnic group. The result that was shown at Table 2 was examined by Fisher's exact test, and the result was significant ($p < .01$). Japanese-Bolivian students felt that only Japanese-Bolivians as their closest friends. But Bolivian students felt both Bolivians and Japanese-Bolivians as their closest friends.

Table 2. Closest friends.

| | Japanese | Bolivian |
|-------------------------------------|----------|----------|
| Completely embedded in ethnic group | 37 | 16 |
| Straddles two ethnic groups | 2 | 18 |

Language usage

The responses were classified according to language (Japanese or Spanish) and situations (with their friends or with their parents) (Table 3). Tabulated data shown at Table 3 was examined by Fisher's, and the result was significant ($p < .05$). They usually talked with their parents in Japanese. When they talked with their friends, they used both Japanese and Spanish.

Table 3. Language usage.

| | Japanese | Spanish |
|--------------|----------|---------|
| With friends | 26 | 12 |
| With parents | 35 | 3 |

To compare Japanese-Bolivian students in Colony Okinawa with those of in Santa Cruz in usage of languages with their friends, the contents of responses were analyzed (Table 4). Tabulated data shown at Table 4 was examined by Fisher's, and the result was significant ($p < .01$). As to which language they used with their parents, we analyzed in the same way (Table 5). Tabulated data shown at Table 4 was examined by Fisher's, and the result was

3. The responses from Japanese-Bolivian junior high school students in Santa Cruz couldn't be classified into those groups. So we excluded their responses from analysis.

significant ($p < .05$). Japanese-Bolivian students in Colony Okinawa used Japanese more frequently than those in Santa Cruz.

Table 4. Language usage with friends.

| | Japanese | Spanish |
|------------|----------|---------|
| Colonia | 26 | 12 |
| Santa Cruz | 2 | 18 |

Table 5. Language usage with parents.

| | Japanese | Spanish |
|------------|----------|---------|
| Colonia | 35 | 3 |
| Santa Cruz | 13 | 7 |

DISCUSSION

Japanese-Bolivian junior high school students talked in Japanese at home with their parents (Table 3). But there was difference between Colony Okinawa and Santa Cruz when they talked with their friends. Japanese-Bolivian students in Colony Okinawa used Japanese more frequently than those in Santa Cruz when they talked with their friends (Table 4). If ethnic language was frequently used, it could be considered that ethnic cohesion was strong. Thus ethnic cohesion of Japanese-Bolivians in Colony Okinawa is stronger than that of Santa Cruz.

There were few members of intermediate group that maintained ties across ethnic group boundaries in Japanese-Bolivian students, but about the half of Bolivian students were classified into the intermediate group (Table 2). As Reitz (1980) showed, it is considered that if there were few members of intermediate group, these ties are weak. From the result of Japanese-Bolivians, ties across two ethnic groups were weak, but Bolivians seemed unconscious of the boundary between ethnic groups.

We found that Japanese-Bolivian students in Colony Okinawa had weak ties with Bolivian students, and in-group cohesion of Japanese-Bolivian students was strong. As we showed in the outline of field, there are the social contexts which segregate Japanese-Bolivians and Bolivians in Colony Okinawa. The relationship between Japanese-Bolivian students and Bolivian students in the school in Colony Okinawa is also affected by these social contexts. In the next paper (II), we will discuss both the socialization process under multicultural situations (I) and (II).

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