

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Mary Sanabe-Mao for the degree of Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies
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This was a generational study on Japanese American women that evaluated Hill's propositions regarding discontinuity in values and acceleration of achievement in occupational level across generations. The domains examined were 1) elder care, 2) family structure, and 3) employment & occupation. It was hypothesized that there will be differences between the second and third generations, that there will be a trend towards greater discontinuity in traditional Japanese values and rules across Japanese American generations in elder care, family structure, and employment. Further, it was hypothesized that there will be an advancement in occupational level across these generations.

A survey instrument incorporating both close and open-ended questions was used to explore these research statements and hypotheses. Participants for this study included 168 Japanese American women in Northwestern region, mainly Oregon (89 second generation and 79 third generation). Quantitative

methodologies were employed to analyze the data obtained from self-administered questionnaires.

Results revealed a mixed support to Hill's intergenerational propositions. For example, second generation women lean towards non-traditional attitudes with regard to elder care but were more traditional with regard to women's employment, particularly for mothers of small children. This could reflect a complicated process in which second generation women draw on the traditional value of sacrificial motherhood and extend it throughout the lifecourse by adjusting it through their own caregiving experiences to their elderly parents: an example of how a unique synthesis emerges out of the conflicting old and new ideas. Such finding gives an important indication that generational change is not of linear characteristics as Hill suggests but of non-linear one.

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Tradition and Change Across Generations of
Japanese American Women

by

Mary Sanabe-Mao

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Tradition and Change Across Generations of Japanese American Women

1. INTRODUCTION

Importance of Generational Studies

There have been countless research studies done on generational relationships looking at changes and continuous trends that occur across generations. Why are such studies of interest and of value to our society? Perhaps because it is asserted by economists that both poverty and success run in families (Hill, 1970). Or further, because occupational specialists have speculated about how much the success of the new generation is due to help in getting started by the older generation. Among sociologists, a debate has been continuous for a number of years about the issues of how much mutual aid persists among generations of the same family line and whether modern industrial society is not better served by a more autonomous nuclear family (Hill, 1970; Troll, 1986). Public welfare policy confronts the issue of filial obligations for the support of the elderly before public assistance can be given. Fiscal policy with respect to tax deductions for dependents enters into the formula of how much support must be given to one's married children or one's aged parents before a tax deduction may be taken.

From these facts, it becomes extremely important that researchers continue to study generations. In fact, Rheuben Hill, family sociologist and

Director of the Family Study Center of the University of Minnesota, has stated several propositions about discontinuity between generations. Among them, the notable two follow:

With respect to value orientations about child rearing and family behavior patterns over three generations, the phenomenon of discontinuity is more pronounced than continuity. There appears to be much innovating and creating of new patterns, especially between the first and second generations where the differences in educational achievements is also greatest for the three generations (Hill 1970:305).

When the achievements of the three generations for the first years of marriage and the achievements for the two older generations through the middle years are compared on several dimensions of performance the impression is one of acceleration of achievement from generation to generation (on measures of occupation level, income, labor force participation of wife, home ownership, housing amenities, durable goods acquisitions and the number of items in the financial portfolio of insurances and investments) (Hill, 1970:305).

Hill's intergenerational work regarding family development has been notable in sociology. Thus, this thesis will evaluate these two propositions by looking at Japanese Americans, who will be discussed in the following sections.

Specifically, I will be studying 168 Japanese American women in the second and the third generations living in the Northwestern region of the United States, mainly Oregon. These women are not necessarily generationally linked.

Quantitative data will be collected by mailing out survey questionnaires to them covering the three domains that will be looked at in this study: 1) elder care, 2) family structure, and 3) employment & occupational status. From the above propositions, it is assumed that there will be differences between the second

and the third generations, that there will be a trend to discontinuity of Japanese traditional values and behaviors across Japanese American generations in elder care, family structure, and employment. Further, that there will be advancement of occupational level across the generations.

The Need of Looking at Various Ethnic Groups

When doing generational study in the United States, one must consider the fact that pluralism continues to be a characteristic of American society. As Woehrer writes, studying American families is like looking into a kaleidoscope of continually changing forms, colors, and combinations. American family structures and values range over a wide spectrum due to their multicultural origins. Though traditional family relationships do change when families encounter a new society, families of different cultural origins do not become the same such as in the way families interact with one another. Rather, the pattern and degree of change is mediated by traditional family structures and values (Woehrer, 1982; Yanagisako, 1985). Thus, understanding American families, as Woehrer says, requires an appreciation of the rich mosaic of family patterns found in American society (Woehrer, 1982).

As of the 1990's, estimates indicate there were 20 million Italian Americans, 10 million Mexican Americans, 6.5 million Polish Americans, 921,782 Greek Americans, 2.6 million Puerto Rican Americans, 2.4 million Central and South Americans, 1 million Cuban Americans, 866,160 Japanese Americans, 1,648,696 Chinese Americans, and 1,419,711 Philippino Americans

(U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). In these groups of people and many other groups, older Americans are either immigrants or the children of immigrants and each of their cultures are distinct. Given this diversity, it becomes important for sociologists to explore how Hill's propositions about intergenerational discontinuity are experienced among different ethnic populations.

Looking at Japanese Americans

The research reported here focuses on the changes across generations of Japanese Americans in the Northwestern region, mainly Oregon. Many studies have been done on Japanese Americans because they are known to be one of the most successful minority groups in the United States. Studies based on theories such as assimilation and "middleman-minority", which emphasize Japanese American's high socio-economic status, have been done many times. Bonacich and Modell (1980) and Montero (1980) look at mainly the socioeconomic status differences between the first, the second, and the third generations, based on the data collected by J.A.R.P. (Japanese American Research Project) at U.C.L.A. in 1964-1966. They focus mostly on variables such as income, education, occupation, and exogamous marriage rates to conclude that there is remarkable socioeconomic advancement resulting from the emphasis on education, which leads to further assimilation. However, except for the topic of intermarriage, their studies mainly compare men, especially for the comparison of occupational status.

In the present study, instead of focusing on the popular realm concerning the socioeconomic status of the Japanese Americans, especially men, the main concern is with discontinuity in the following three domains across generations of Japanese American women as stated earlier: 1) elder care, 2) family structure, and 3) employment & occupational status. The questions posed are: **How does generation affect these domains?** *With regard to elder care, this research assesses how the third generation is different from the second generation with respect to how they care for the elderly and how they think about elder care. With regard to family structure, I explore how family structures differ across generations. More specifically, do more of the second generation live with non-nuclear members than the third generation? Finally, with regard to employment & occupational status, this research examines whether the third generation women have more liberal attitudes towards women's employment than second generation, and whether the third generation women have achieved higher occupational status than the second generation. And if the third generation shows a difference, what does this contrast mean?* These issues and questions are drawn from the propositions stated by Hill (1970) previously mentioned. His propositions state that there are changes made in the realm of child rearing and family behavior patterns across generations. Further, there is prestige in occupational level. Hence, two generations of Japanese American women will be used to test Hill's propositions in this research study. The first generation, the second generation, the third generation, and the fourth generation will be called respectively, the

"Issei," the "Nisei," the "Sansei," and the "Yonsei," as they are termed so in Japanese.

Hill's work refers to generations as three generationally linked nuclear families. The grandparent generation is concentrated in the ages sixty and over, with about two-thirds in the 71-80 years bracket. These couples have been married on the average fifty years or more. The parent generation is more varied with respect to age, ranging from forty one to seventy, but is concentrated in the ages 46-55 (with wives about five years younger than their husbands). Over two-thirds of this generation have been married long enough to celebrate their silver (25th) wedding anniversary. The married child generation is not young by teen-age marriage standards, with 85 percent of husbands and 82 percent of wives in the 21-30 age bracket. They have been married an average of five and a half years. The grandparent generation entered marriage just before World War I and was at the end of the child-rearing period before the Great Depression set in. The parent generation married in the midst of the depression and was well along in the child-rearing phase when World War II started. The married child generation was born in the aftermath of the depression and has been reared under conditions of war stress and warborn prosperity. Marriage for this third generation began under conditions of relative affluence in the period immediately following the Korean War.

In this study, unlike Hill's, I will refer to generations as consisting of two successive generations (Nisei and Sansei), not necessarily nuclear nor related

families. To explain what I mean by generations in this research, I must first make explicit the uniqueness of the Japanese Americans in having distinct generational cohorts due to restrictive immigration measures. In general, the study of Japanese Americans provides two major conveniences: 1) a generational perspective can be applied to analyze different stages of assimilation, and 2) a chronological perspective divides the group of Japanese Americans into four categories: the frontier or the immigration period (1890-1924), the stabilization or the prewar period (1925-1941), the evacuation period (1942-1945), and the dispersion or the post war period (1946 to present) (Glenn, 1986:29-37; Kitano, 1976:9). What is distinctive about the Japanese Americans is that immigration was blocked after the Issei came during a short and distinctive span of time. Due to this fact, the Nisei were born during a rather distinctive span of time. Even the Sansei can fairly well be defined by span of years of birth. The majority of the Issei were born between 1870 and 1900, Nisei mainly between 1915 and 1940, and Sansei between 1940 and 1970. Most of the Nisei sample and Sansei sample in this study follow the above Nisei and Sansei generational cohorts, but not all. Three Nisei women were born after 1940 and 9 Sansei women were born before 1940.

Why Japanese American Women?

In earlier research, before the 1960s, both gender and ethnicity have largely been ignored. While more recent research has begun to focus on gender, we still know relatively little about ethnic intergenerational relations,

especially among Japanese Americans. For example, as Levine and Rhodes (1981) write, the Japanese American Research Project at U.C.L.A. in the early 1960's had a sexist slant in the study design. Researchers favored interviews with the Issei and the Nisei men. The Issei women were interviewed only if their husbands were incapacitated or dead. The Nisei daughters were chosen if sons were not available or nonexistent. When the interview schedule was to be reduced in the Issei part of the inquiry in early 1966, many of the deletions related to the attitudes and the behavior of the Issei women (Levine & Rhodes, 1981). Levine and Rhodes write, "since sexist biases, however innocent and unwitting, had been built into the surveys, we are called upon to detect, generation by generation, differences between Japanese American men and women" (1981:149). Hence, the testing of Hill's propositions by looking at Japanese American women seems to be an appropriate topic for social research today.

To test the proposition about acceleration of achievement on measures of occupational status, it is appropriate to look at Japanese American women because women's roles and lifestyles are drastically changing in our society today. There is rapid rate of entry into the workforce by women, in general, in the United States. Evelyn Nakano (1986) reports the labor force participation of Japanese American women until the 1970's. There were 57.5% Japanese women in comparison to 49.1% white women in the labor force in 1970. She also compares the Issei and the Nisei women's occupational status in San Francisco and Seattle. This comparison, though, is dated 1940. There seemed

to be a great percentage of Japanese American women participating in the labor force then as well. Yet, aside from Nakano's writings, not many studies have focused on Japanese American women's occupational differences across generations.

To further test the proposition on generational changes in the child rearing and family behavior patterns, the domains of elder care and family structure will be examined. The topic of elder care cannot be discussed without considering women. As understood through reading other literatures on the entire American society, adult children, particularly daughters, provide the vast majority of services received by older people, including sharing their homes if necessary (Brody, Johnsen, & Fulcomer, 1984). Women have been giving disproportionate share of care to the kin, whether practical, maternal, or personal support (Gallagher & Gerstel, 1993). This is also evident in the Japanese American community where in fact, traditionally, daughters-in-law who marry the eldest sons were the ones who became the primary caretakers of their husbands' parents. If there was no son in the family, normally the daughters (preferably the eldest or the unmarried one) took care of the elderly parents (Yanagisako, 1985). The tradition of daughters-in-law taking care of the elderly seems to have ceased but according to Yanagisako, daughters still seem to be preferred over sons for appropriateness in caregiving (Yanagisako, 1975; 1985).

Objectives and Goals of My Study

Many generational studies have indicated that there has been considerable change across generations. In this research, Hill's propositions specifically regarding discontinuity in values and acceleration of achievement in occupational level will be tested among Japanese American women across generations in the Northwestern region of the United States, mainly Oregon. The major concerns raised in the Japanese American community reflecting Hill's propositions are: Have the Japanese values and rules of elder care been discontinued or at least weakened across generations? Are there changes in living arrangements and divorce rates? Have the traditional ways of living in extended households become diminished? Have there been acceleration of female occupational statuses across generations in the Japanese American community? Are the attitudes towards women in employment becoming more non-traditional?

2. UNDERSTANDING THE JAPANESE VALUES AND RULES

In order to understand the changes in values and norms which may be occurring across the Japanese American generations, one must first understand the traditional Japanese values and rules which the Issei brought with them to the United States. The purpose of this chapter is to inform the reader what it was like in the past in Japan so to understand what had shaped the Isseis' values and rules.

The Tokugawa Legacy in Japan

In order to understand the Japanese values and rules, one must first look at the Tokugawa regime which began in the early seventeenth century in Japan. The hierarchical outlook and behavior, the emphasis on class order and social cohesion, the demand for obedience and submissiveness that the Tokugawa rulers insisted upon- all of these forces molded the values and attitudes of the people of the time and, in fact, have persisted to the present day. Specifically, it was during the Tokugawa period that the Confucian and samurai (feudal warlords) values and ideals became ingrained in the society.

After nearly three centuries of intermittent civil war, Japan unified in the sixteenth century under the leadership of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi. The process of unification was completed in the early seventeenth century by Tokugawa Ieyasu, one of the most remarkable figures in Japanese history. Following the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, Ieyasu was named Shogun by the

emperor and initiated the Tokugawa period which was to last for some two-and-one-half centuries until the Meiji restoration of 1868. The guiding philosophy and chief object of the Tokugawa government was to stop political change. In order to accomplish this, Japan had to isolate itself from outside interference and preserve the feudal system for centuries after it had begun to disappear in Europe. The first steps were taken in the early seventeenth century when Christian missionaries were ordered to leave the country (Hane, 1986).

The peace and order so highly desired by the Tokugawa could be achieved only by creating a rigidly hierarchical social order, freezing the social system, and then preserving the status quo for centuries. This was accomplished by organizing the populace into four main classes: the samurai, the farmers, the artisans, and the merchants. The samurai, who were at the top of the social pyramid, constituted only 5 or 6 per cent of the population. As a privileged warrior class they alone were permitted to carry swords and had the right of "kirisute," the right to cut down and leave anyone who offered them an insult. They were not permitted to marry outside their class, and their code of conduct was cold, austere, and uncompromising. The samurai were expected to live spartan lives marked by frugality, enormous self discipline, and absolute obedience and loyalty to their lords. They were trained to a life of self-sacrifice and enormous dedication to the task at hand. In time, they became the administrators of the Tokugawa, and their code of ethics permeated the whole of Japanese society.

The economic base of the Tokugawa government was rice. Rice also formed the basis for establishing one's status as a "daimyo," or great lord. According to Tokugawa policy, Japan was divided into about 265 "han." A "han" by definition was the realm of a "daimyo." In order to be a "daimyo," a lord must have a "han" that produced at least 10,000 "koku" of rice, or about 50,000 bushels. Each "han" was an autonomous unit with its own local rules and government. The "daimyo," in turn, were divided into three main categories: the "shimpan," or related "han," that is, those who were related to the Tokugawa by blood or marriage; the "fudai," or "hereditary" "daimyo," whose ancestors had recognized Ieyasu as their lord before the battle of Sekigahara; and the "tozama," or outer lords, whose ancestors were enemies, allies, or neutrals before the battle of Sekigahara. Of the three categories, the greatest lords were the "tozama," but because they were under the most suspicion, they were treated harshly, and by the end of the Tokugawa period they were outnumbered by the "fudai."

A major problem in such a feudal system was the maintenance of control over the various "han." The Tokugawa government solved this by an ingenious arrangement which combined actual central control with theoretical local autonomy. To begin with, each "daimyo" was an autocrat in his own realm and could establish his own rules and laws. In practice, however, his government was only a miniature of the house rules of the Tokugawa, and he could not transgress the Tokugawa's laws, which were many. The "daimyo" paid no taxes to the Tokugawa, which had its own income of over 3 million "koku" of

rice; however, they were required to make ritual tribute and were responsible for the maintenance of roads and other facilities in the "han," and also its defense.

In order to prevent coalitions, the "fudai daimyo" were scattered among the "tozama" lords. There was to be no intermarriage between "daimyo" families without permission, and no "daimyo" could improve or repair their fortifications without approval. To enforce these rules, the Tokugawa employed a system of "metsuke," or spies who kept a close watch on the "daimyo." Another effective means of control was the "sankin kotai" system and the use of hostages.

The holding of hostages, which had long been practiced, became mandatory in 1634. The major provision of this rule was that the "daimyo" must leave their wives and children in Edo. The most important device, though, was the "sankin kotai" system, or attendance by turns, which became a requirement in 1642. Under this system each of the various categories of "daimyo" was divided into two groups which alternated annually. This requirement meant that periodically, usually every other year, each "daimyo" was expected to make the journey to Edo and remain in attendance. While at Edo the ceremonial and other duties of the "daimyo" were prescribed in great detail. This, together with the expense of travelling and maintaining separate residences, placed an enormous economic burden on the "daimyo." This burden was soon shifted to the already impoverished samurai retainers and the increasingly desperate farmers, who represented some 80 per cent of the population (Connor, 1977; Reischauer and Fairbank 1960).

Given the agrarian economic base, it is natural that local "daimyo" and the Tokugawa government would develop an active interest in agriculture and especially rice production. The Tokugawa government's policy was to encourage agriculture and increase the rice yields. New farming techniques were developed, new irrigation systems were established, and new land was brought under production.

Villages at this time became closed corporate units. Each village was an autonomous administrative and economic unit that was represented by a headman and administered by a village council. The village was self-sufficient and self-supporting and represented a fairly closed economic and political social unit. Each village was responsible for its own law and for the repair of its roads, bridges, and irrigation system. It could make contracts and be sued. Villagers were collectively responsible for tax payments and accountable for crimes committed by any village member (Connor, 1977; Beardsley, Hall, & Ward, 1959).

Land holdings were small, on the average about two and a half acres, and wet rice agriculture required a great deal of cooperative labor. At the time of rice transplanting, for example, a larger labor force was needed than could be mustered by any one household. Moreover, irrigation networks required a great deal of cooperative labor in order to keep them functioning, and such activities as roof rethatching, weeding, and road repair were also done on a cooperative basis.

Since such closed corporate communities persisted for several centuries, an enormous emphasis on the importance of the collectivity or group became natural in Japan. There has been no place for the individualist in this country. Given the closed corporate nature of community and the necessity for cooperative activity in order to survive, it is obvious that most social controls would be in the form of gossip, shaming, or ridicule. Given the absolute necessity for cooperation, it would also seem reasonable that one of the most effective sanctions would be the denial of all but emergency aid to individual and/or family. Such an extreme sanction was known as "mura hachibu," or "village eight-parts," which signified that with the exception of aid in the case of fire or funerals, all other interaction and aid would be discontinued. In extreme cases the village would practice "mura harai," or "village cleansing," in which case the offending party would be expelled from the village (Connor, 1977).

It can be seen, then, that for more than two-and-one-half centuries, life in Japan, in many respects, resembled life in a police state. The social order was authoritarian and rigidly hierarchical; one could not easily move from one class to another, or even from one occupation to another. Protocol and etiquette were highly formalized and were extended to such areas as language use and even to the style of clothing to be worn by members of the various classes. Aside from all these rules under the Tokugawa government, one must also look at the ideology which the Tokugawa rulers took to establish their regime to understand the still now prevalent Japanese values and rules.

Confucianism- the Philosophy of this Era

With the advent of Chinese civilization, Chinese classics, history, and poetry entered Japan. Confucianism, however, did not affect the cultural and intellectual life of Japan as quickly as Buddhism had done (Hane, 1986:26). Nevertheless, because the Tokugawa rulers encouraged the study and propagation of Confucian values, Confucianism became the predominant intellectual force in this era, even though the early Tokugawa rulers had used Shinto and Buddhist concepts as well to legitimize their hegemony. Tokugawa Ieyasu wanted his vassals not only to be well trained in the martial arts but also, like the Chinese scholar-officials, to be steeped in Confucianism as interpreted by the Sung Confucian, Chu Hsi (1130-1200). As the pursuit of Confucian studies continued for two-and-half centuries, the Japanese intellectual frame of reference came to be largely Confucian. Confucian values continued to be instilled in the society after the Meiji Restoration (1868) because they were incorporated in the school textbooks until the end of the Second World War (Hane, 1986).

Confucius and his followers were interested primarily in man's relationship with his fellowmen and in maintaining social and political order, stability, and harmony. They believed there are five basic human relationships: those between lord and subject, father and son, husband and wife, elder brother and younger brother, and friend and friend. Of these, the relationship between father and son was the most important, and filial piety was considered the cardinal virtue. Like their Chinese counterparts, the Japanese Confucians

emphasized filial piety; but the Tokugawa rulers made loyalty to the lord equally or more important than filial piety. The two were linked together as "chu-ko" (loyalty and filial piety). Social order was to be maintained by means of hierarchical order in which the relationship between superior and inferior persons was strictly preserved. The superior person was expected to be benevolent and to set a moral example to those below, while those below were to be respectful, deferential, and obedient toward the superior.

The Meiji Era and the Continuation of the Tokugawa Legacy

The Tokugawa legacy carried on in the next era, the Meiji regime, which began in 1868. The Tokugawa government ended as series of incidents occurred. After the invention of steam navigation, Western military powers sailed across the Pacific Ocean to look for resources and establish trade treaties with other nations. The use of the Japanese ports was extremely attractive to the western countries, and thus western warships surrounded the islands of Japan, overpowering the nation. Further, the Shogunate was forced by the American navy in 1853 to abolish the long time policy of national seclusion and he signed many treaties with the Western countries. This triggered young radical samurai bureaucrats to become active under the slogan of "Revere the emperor and oust the barbarians." They thought that pulling themselves around the emperor, the symbol of unity, they could strengthen their defenses against the foreigners. The Tokugawa regime ended when the

Shogunate, realizing the chaotic situation, finally accepted that he had to restore his government and the emperor system.

Still, the Tokugawa ethical system did not disappear with the modernization of Japan. While it is true that there was an initial wave of enthusiasm for all things Western, the enthusiasm was soon replaced by a return to the samurai virtues and Neo-Confucian doctrines of the Tokugawa period. In 1880, the Ministry of Education made the "shushin," or morals course a required part of the curriculum. Schools were forbidden to use texts that contained material that would be detrimental to the national peace or to public morals (Connor, 1977). The "shushin" course was highly moralistic and often frankly chauvinistic. In essence it marked a return to the Tokugawa heritage with its emphasis on superior-inferior relationships, an enormous feeling of duty and obligation, and a heightened sense of loyalty to one's superiors.

The samurai type of family system, with its hierarchical and authoritarian structure, was formally created as the key legal institution in the 1898 civil code (Connor, 1977). With such a family system as its base, the entire Japanese nation was thought of as being one large family with the emperor at its head. All loyalties, then, led up to the emperor, and the principal responsibility of the family was to develop loyal and obedient subjects. There was at this time a great emphasis placed on duties and obligations; there was little place for the concept of individual rights and privileges. The Tokugawa legacy, with its highly authoritarian and feudalistic ethical system, endured long after most such

systems had disappeared elsewhere simply because these very beliefs and values were most adaptive and useful in the creation of a modern state.

During the Meiji period, along with the Tokugawa legacy, the government also emphasized education. A conscious effort was made to replace the more libertarian, individualistic values that were taught in the schools with traditional virtues such as loyalty to Emperor, filial piety, and benevolence and righteousness. The teaching of "morals" was made compulsory and many of the textbooks then in use, like Fukuzawa Yukichi's (one of the strongest advocates of Western liberal learning in the early Meiji period) works and the translations of Western texts on moral science, were replaced by books that were Confucian or Shinto in orientation. Japanese history came to be emphasized in an effort to acquaint students with the virtues of their own country. This revival of moralism in education culminated in the issuance of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890.

Hence, with the Tokugawa legacy in combination with Meiji ideology, the Japanese today have come to be governed by values and rules of hierarchy, duty and obligation, and collectivity which are important in regards to the domains of elderly care, how family is structured, and how women think about work. This will be discussed later in detail. These values and rules were very much dominant when the Issei were born and raised in Japan. First, let us look at what actually promoted these values and rules in the Japanese people at the time of Tokugawa legacy and Meiji era (when the Issei were brought up) which is still prevalent today in Japan.

The "ie" (Household) System that inculcates the Values and Rules

The identification of the "ie," or household is very important as this is a social unit which actually serves to inculcate, maintain, and transmit the values and rules to the next generation (Connor, 1977; Caudill, 1952; Yanagisako, 1985). The "ie" is the primary unit of social organization in Japan. A number of observers have commented on the importance of the Japanese "ie" over the individual. Indeed, Beardsley, Hall, and Ward (1959) and Connor (1974) note that in rural Japan the household looms over the individual to such an extent that seldom does the individual think of himself or another apart from his role as a household member. Moreover, the importance of the household is reflected in the practice of filing all personal documents in the name of the household; no separate birth or death registers are kept for individuals. Furthermore, the importance of the household or "ie" over the individuals was recognized by law. Before World War II, the "ie" was legally responsible for its members, even while they were away from home (Connor, 1974). The "ie," then, is a corporate entity that exists through time. As Nakane notes, the "ie" is a continuum from past to future whose members include not only the present generation, but also the dead and those as yet unborn (Nakane, 1970).

Further, Nakane writes that the "ie" was "conceptualized in the time continuum from past to future(including those dead and those yet unborn), and "ie" is always conceived as persisting through time by the succession of the members." (1967:2). Each household, whether in village or town, formed a

discrete and independent unit of production, consumption, and property ownership. Thus, the household was both a kin group and an economic corporation. Within the rural community, the household represented by its head, was the minimal unit of social organization. Village size was figured on the number of constituent households rather than individuals. The composition of the household varied according to its stage in the domestic cycle of the family. Although the nucleus of the household was usually an elementary family, it often included other relatives. The principles of household succession were critical for the "ie" system because they had important consequences for the hierarchical structure of household relationships. The rights to the property, farm, or family business were attached to the household and were held exclusively by the head (father). The rule of succession in all of Japan was for one son, who is the eldest, to succeed to the household headship, take over the household occupation, and inherit the household property. As successor to the headship the heir was early singled out for special and favored treatment. Siblings were expected to show respect and be deferential to the heir. With his favored position, the heir was given a number of responsibilities. Upon the assumption of the headship it was his duty to provide for his retiring parents and worship the household ancestors. Normally, the parents continued to live with him, his wife, and their children, and the wife took care of the elderly parents.

Although nonsuccessor sons might inherit portions of the household's land or other property, the successor always got the main house and the

greater share of the household property. Whether or not a nonsuccessor son was given some of the property, he was expected to establish an independent household and a distinctive property unit. The sisters of the successor also left the household upon marriage to join their husbands' households, whether these were successor or nonsuccessor households. Consequently, married siblings rarely resided in the same household.

The successor was ideally the biological son so that the perpetuation of the family as both a corporate entity and a genetic entity was achieved. Yet, there was greater importance placed on the continuance of the corporate unit of the household. In this regard, succession to the family headship may be accomplished in a variety of ways other than primogeniture. Befu (1962) and Yanagisako (1975) note that there may be a number of reasons why the eldest son does not succeed to the headship. He may be physically too weak or incompetent, he may die before maturity, or he may decide to establish an independent family elsewhere. In these events, the headship would pass to another son. However, there are also those cases in which the eldest son is too young at the time of his father's death to succeed him and the mother may decide to adopt a male substitute, known as "mukoyoshi," who then marries a woman of his adopter's choice. Furthermore, he takes the name and Buddhist sect of his adopters and worships their ancestors. If the family has only a daughter and no male heir, it is likely she will become the bride of an adopted son.

Another aspect of the corporate identity of the "ie" is the inculcation of strong emotional bonds based on dependency needs in its members. For example, Caudill and Doi (1963) state:

In the early stages of infancy (in the traditional oral stage) there is a great deal of gratification given to the Japanese infant in almost all spheres of behavior. This would encourage the development of a very close attachment to the mother, and a sense of trust in others (Caudill and Doi, 1963:412).

Connor (1974) also writes that in Caudill and Plath's (1966) article, they showed that the Japanese family sleeping arrangements blurred the distinctions between generations and even between sexes, and therefore served to emphasize cohesion, strong family bonds, and the interdependence of family members.

On the whole, the above description of the "ie" shows that a great deal of emphasis on collectivity and hierarchy is initially established in the household. The household member is not thought of as an entity apart from his role of household member and, indeed, is thought to have no existence apart from the household. Further, the emphasis on collectivity in the household leads to an emphasis on dependence, since the household member is not a free agent but is dependent upon the household both for identity and support. In turn, one's position as a representative of the household leads to an emphasis on duty and obligation since one must cooperate with others and avoid bringing shame to the household. Moreover, the emphasis placed on succession leads to hierarchy. As can be seen, the "ie" system actually not

only promotes the values and rules established under the Tokugawa legacy, but also has established in itself sets of values and rules such as the rule that the eldest son or his equivalent becomes the successor.

Next arises the question of how these values and rules interact with care for the elderly, the family structure, and how women think about occupation. In the next section, the values and rules that influence these domains will be identified.

Duty and Obligation

The Japanese emphasis on duty and obligation has been remarked upon by a number of observers. Ruth Benedict, for example, attached great importance to concepts of "on," "gimu," and "giri." As defined by her, an "on" is an obligation that is passively incurred. A person receives an "on" from another. "on," then, is obligation from the standpoint of the passive recipient. A person receives an "on" from his parents, from his teachers, or from anyone who has done something for him (Benedict, 1946). There are also reciprocals of "on." These are debts or obligations that must be repaid. Benedict classifies these into two major groupings: "gimu," which are obligations that can never really be repaid and take the form of various duties, such as "chu,"- a duty to the Emperor, the law, Japan; "ko,"- duty to parents and ancestors; and "nimmu,"- duty to one's work. "Giri," on the other hand, are debts that must be

repaid with mathematical equivalence within a certain time. Thus one has duties to one's family, to those from whom one has received a favor, and so on (Benedict, 1946).

Reischauer (1965) comments on both the importance and pervasiveness of the sense of duty and obligation:

There are myriad obligations which must be meticulously fulfilled, if self-respect is to be maintained. Among the most burdensome is the obligation to one's family. The child inevitably becomes heavily indebted to his parents and his family in general, and a life of selfless service to family interests is not too much repayment. In feudal times there was also the primary obligation to one's lord, which necessitated unwavering and unquestioning loyalty at all times. This obligation has been transformed in modern times into unlimited loyalty to the Emperor, serving as the personification of the state. The individual, as the recipient of the heritage of a long civilization, is unendingly indebted to society, usually thought of as the state and symbolized by the Emperor. No sacrifice, however great, can be more than partial payment of this debt. Absolute fanatical devotion to the service of the state is thus built into the foundations of Japan's ethical code (Reischauer, 1965:148-149).

Reischauer goes on to say that the great emphasis placed on duty and obligation led to both a determination to repay a favor and to a great sense of loyalty:

Such obligations to family and state are unlimited, and the individual Japanese is willing to bear a very heavy burden in their name, but in addition there are many other specific obligations which differ from individual to individual. Any benefit received from another carries with it obligations which should, if possible, be repaid. One's teachers deserve unending loyalty. Once a disciple always a disciple, and the disciple never doubts or corrects his master. One's employer or supervisor is due his share of loyal service, if he in turn has lived up to his obligations...Between equals a careful balance of favors must be maintained. Gifts are not to be received with casual thanks. They

must be paid in kind if one is to maintain self-respect. A present for a present is the inflexible rule in Japan...Nowhere in the world are people more determined to repay casual favors as well as real indebtedness, and nowhere else are they more capable of devoted loyalty to those who have aided or befriended them (Reischauer, 1965:149).

From reading about this high indebtedness of the Japanese, one can probably expect that the Japanese care for their elderly naturally. Further, it can be expected that the elderly parents continue to live with the children who care for them. In fact, through the "ie" system, it is usually the eldest son's duty to live with his parents and his wife's duty to the family to mainly take care of the parents-in-laws.

Collectivity

The Japanese emphasis on relying upon the group is related to a strong group orientation or collectivity. The evidence for the great emphasis on collectivity as opposed to individualism is given by a number of authors. For example, Beardsley (1965) notes:

Social life throughout Japan is noted for the solidarity of group associations. To be Japanese is to be involved in close, complex, and enduring relationships with one's family, one's neighbors, and other specific associates. Even persons who, in recent terminology, are "dry," meaning that they have shed emotional attachments to past traditions cherished by the "wets," nevertheless accept close-knit group ties to family, office clique, schoolmates, or business and professional athletes...Tradition has stabilized such groups by expecting each member to subordinate his personal wants to the requirements of the group (Beardsley, 1965:361-365).

From this one can see the commitment the Japanese make to others. To note specifically, the Japanese tend to value their families the most. While law is the basic instrument for social integration for the mechanistic Americans, the comparable Japanese mechanism is authoritarian familism (Iga, 1986).

Familism, a form of groupism, refers to the supremacy of the family goal over individual goals and to the emphasis on close family ties. Familism therefore greatly influences their family structure. The Japanese tend to live in extended families and many times non-relatives may live in the same household. The Japanese also live close to their relatives.

Dependency

In recent years there have appeared a number of articles in reference to the strong dependency needs of the Japanese. In particular, Caudill and Doi (1963) have devoted much time in an attempt to explain the importance of dependency needs in understanding Japanese behavior. The Japanese psychiatrist, Doi, in an article, has related the permissiveness of Japanese child-rearing practices and the closeness of the mother-child bond to the widespread Japanese use of the word "amaeru," an intransitive verb which has no exact equivalent in English but means to depend and presume upon another's benevolence. It implies a desire to be pampered and has the same root as "amai," an adjective meaning "sweet." The verb "amaeru" is used to describe the relationship between a child and his mother or a very close relationship between two adults (Doi, 1962).

Hence, dependency, which is established in the "ie" system is normally instilled by the mother in the child. It is the mother's duty to discipline the child while father is busy working outside. It is, therefore, undesirable for the mother to be working outside the home as there would be no one to instill such value in the child. This is considered an important value to be inculcated because inculcation of dependency insures the offspring will have a strong emotional tie to the household. Therefore, the child will supply aid when needed and provide for the wants of the retired parents, if necessary. Further, the mother would also want especially the boy child dependent on her so that she can have access to power through her son. She, in her earlier years of marriage, can not have access to power in the household because there is the mother-in-law who is in control over her. After her mother-in-law passes away and/or when her son becomes the successor, the mother then becomes the powerful woman in the household.

As we have seen from the entire section above explaining about the traditional Japanese rules and values, Confucian ideology from Tokugawa legacy and the "ie" system in Japan influence much of the values and rules that the Japanese live by. It is said that rapid urbanization and industrialization in Japan have changed the values and rules (Campbell & Brody, 1985; Ogawa & Retherford,1993), and that evidence suggests that support of the elderly within families is increasingly based on needs and motives rather than blind conformity to traditional norms and values (Campbell & Brody, 1985; Ogawa & Retherford,1993). Nevertheless, matters like co-residence patterns and

supporting norms and values have changed slowly during the postwar period, compared with the rapidity of underlying socioeconomic and demographic change (Ogawa & Retherford, 1993). Comparisons with other developed countries support such a conclusion. Researchers have compared and contrasted norms and values of Japan with other countries through research materials.

3. TRANSITION FROM TRADITIONAL TO CONTEMPORARY VALUES

In this chapter, I would like to address the following questions: How much of the Japanese traditional values and rules did the Issei bring from Japan? Did they try to instill these values and rules in their children? If so, how successful were they? Were the Nisei able to transmit Japanese values and rules to their children? To answer these questions and to describe how Issei women behaved and thought when they first arrived in the United States, I would like to discuss what researchers have found out about Japanese Americans using generational studies. First there must be an explanation made about the background of Issei women.

Issei Women as Immigrants

Although the first Japanese arrived in the United States in the late 1860's, their numbers never amounted to more than a few hundred for the next decades. The 1890 census lists only 2,039 resident Japanese. The flow of immigrants grew in the decade between 1891 and 1900, when 27,440 entered, and reached a peak between 1901 and 1908, a period that saw 51,694 admitted. Up until 1908 the immigrants were overwhelmingly male. After that, women became a substantial portion of the inflow. Between 1909 and 1923, females accounted for nearly two-fifths of the Japanese admitted into the U.S. The resident population did not grow as rapidly as immigration figures might suggest, because many Japanese departed after a short stay. All immigration

ceased in 1924 with the passage of an Immigration Act that barred entry to Asians. Japanese American immigration was thus concentrated in a narrow period of roughly thirty years.

There were several reasons for the onset of immigration. There was demand of cheap labor force by the capitalists who controlled the dependent economies of the West to build the region's infrastructure. Cheap hands were also needed to clean house, cook, and launder, since there was a scarcity of women for such work (Glenn, 1986). Asians were the group of people the capitalists laid their eyes on as the U. S. presence as a power in Asia made that region a logical and attractive source. Hence, the Chinese were the first to be recruited, starting in the 1850's. However, in 1870, with the general economic recession and as a result, with unemployment, the Chinese became scapegoats. They were forced out of occupations and a federal law of 1882 excluded Chinese of the laboring class from entry. Still, the demand for workers was insatiable, especially in agriculture. Employers looked for new sources of "cheap hands" (Glenn, 1986). Eyes were laid on the Japanese. Many decided to come abroad to earn money because at that time the measures used under the Meiji regime to bring about rapid industrialization and to create a modern military had brought about serious economic and social dislocations. The burden fell most heavily on the small farmers, who were highly taxed to pay for modernization. The depression of the 1880's was so severe that many small farmers were unable to meet their tax obligations. The

government decided that it would be judicious to allow some of the impoverished to seek employment in foreign territories.

Women immigrants, most of whom arrived some years after the peak period for male entry, were drawn from the same range of social and economic backgrounds as the men, as described under the next subtopic. The circumstances of their entry differed, however, in that they were not independent immigrants. They came as members of family groups- as wives, brides, or daughters. The vast majority came as new brides of men who had resided for some years in the United States. Some were accompanied by husbands who had returned to have a marriage arranged; others made the trip alone as "picture brides," married by proxy in Japan.

Issei Women's Backgrounds

The backgrounds of Issei women, most of whom arrived between 1915 and 1924, were similar to those of earlier male immigrants. That is, they came from farming and small entrepreneurial families in southern Japan. Among the Meiji reforms affecting these women was the establishment of universal education in 1872. Females as well as males were enrolled in elementary school for four (later six) years, followed by an optional two or three years of middle school to learn domestic arts, such as sewing and cooking. A select few attended high schools, located only in the larger cities and stressing the Chinese classics. According to a later survey, the average educational level of Issei women equaled that of men- about eight years (Glenn, 1986). The typical

Issei woman was born in the last two decades of the nineteenth century or the opening decade of the twentieth. She was in her late teens to mid-twenties when she arrived, having recently married a man who had lived for some years in America, and who was employed as a wage laborer, small entrepreneur, or farmer. She was thus usually about 10 years younger than her husband.

These women who grew up in Japan in the latter part of the nineteenth century were taught, through the socialization process, formal schooling, increasingly skillful propaganda, and ultimately physical oppression, what their place in the Japan of the twentieth century was to be. Women were above all to be supportive and submissive and were always first and foremost to act in the interest of the family. The pursuit of "harmony" through cooperation, filial piety, and obedience was encouraged as a primary value, and the responsibility for the creation and maintenance of "harmony" in the family was placed on the women (Von Hassell, 1993).

The Issei women worked in the fruit orchards, fishing canneries, flower nurseries, domestic service, restaurants, and small shops and businesses of the 1920s and 1930s, while simultaneously carrying the full load of domestic work, bearing children, coping with an increasingly racially hostile environment, and dealing with frequent dislocations. Many immigrants became involved, in their early years, with small-scale hotels, boardinghouses and lodging houses. These establishments were frequently managed by the supposedly timid and passive Issei women, while their husbands worked in other occupations in order to supplement the family income. Many different strategies were employed by

Issei women, such as taking in laundry or selling beancakes, which often helped a little to overcome financial disaster. Opportunities for work in the labor market were limited. Simultaneously, the disapproval of the Japanese American community of women who tried to make a way for themselves by holding down a paying job was severe. The proper place of a woman was at home with their families. The only work approved of was that in the fields alongside their husbands, in the family businesses, and in all other work defined as supplementing the family income (which did not interfere with this image and related image of the husband as provider). To break out of those constraints meant facing potential economic, social, and emotional bankruptcy. Thus, for most Issei women to act meant to act from within the private realm of their families (Von Hassell, 1993; Yanagisako, 1985). Throughout, the image of the proper wife and proper marriage relationship which the Issei women had been taught in Japan was maintained. Submissiveness in demeanor, speech, and silences was carefully staged. The Issei women succeeded in maintaining a culturally acceptable image of themselves in the eyes of their families and community, and in their own eyes, while playing a critical and active role in keeping their families afloat.

Transmittance of Values and Rules of Elder Care and Family Structure to the Nisei

The majority of Issei women did not speak any English when they arrived in America. Furthermore, in the early years they were often isolated from other

women as a result of the continuing imbalance of women and men immigrants. This increased the pressure on Issei women to act as culture bearers and to live up to the requirements of the normative roles to which they had been socialized. Yanagisako (1985) points to the strong ties maintained over distance and time between Japanese American families and Japanese stem families. Marriages entered into by Issei women and men generally involved the approval of the bride's and groom's families in Japan. The prevalence of the stem family significantly curtailed Issei women's decision-making power and influence in family matters. Glenn writes that parents-in-law would come over from Japan in some cases and the women would be constantly watched over by the mothers-in-law, just as though they were back in Japan (1986:206). When children were born, the parents-in-law usually would go back and the Issei women were then, left in charge of the household. Further, the Issei women and their husbands did not forget their obligations to their parents back in Japan. They continued to send their savings to their parents and relatives there so that they could lead comfortable lives (Glenn, 1986:205). Women saved up earnings from menial jobs such as domestic services (i.e. housework for White families) in order to send money. The Issei women, those of whom remained in the United States, unable to go back to Japan as primarily planned (due to reasons such as financial difficulty from bearing too many children in the United States), did not have to take care of their elderly in-laws. Most of the times they were not married to the eldest sons because their husbands were usually "jisanans," or the youngest brothers in the family. The "chonans,"

or the eldest sons were back in Japan as successors to the headship of their households. Nonetheless, the Issei women and men brought with them the "ie" concept and hoped to preserve as much as possible of the "ie" ideal as they could in the United States. They did so especially because most of them were thinking about going back to their families once they have made enough here to live comfortably in Japan. In turn, their success in preserving the "ie" ideal would result at least in the inculcation of the Japanese characteristics in their offspring, the Nisei (Caudill, 1952; Connor, 1977). There is evidence in Connor's study that values and rules of duty and obligation to the elderly care had been effectively transmitted. In his study, over one-half of the 90 Issei (59 males/31 females) interviewed stated that they see their children and grandchildren daily (1974:161). Moreover, some 46 per cent of the Issei reported that they are living with their children. Of those that do live with their children, approximately 70 per cent live with their sons, while the rest live with the daughter's family. Modell also states in his survey of over 1000 Issei that approximately two-fifths of the Issei live with their offspring (1968:67-81). In Connor's study, 80 Nisei (40 males/40 females) were also interviewed and much of their responses reflected their retention of values such as respect to parents and elders (1974: 162).

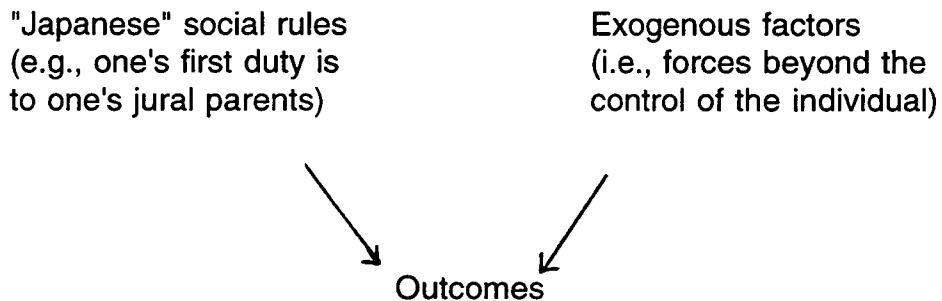
On the contrary, Von Hassell writes that both the Issei and the Nisei women said that the Issei women frequently chose to withhold aspects of Japanese culture from their American-born children (1993:560). They did not

want to burden their children in their efforts to succeed in the United States society. There were growing hostilities toward the Japanese in America in the decades before WWII, the climate in which the Issei were raising their children. Further, Von Hassell writes about the Issei's inability to fully teach the Japanese language to the Nisei leading to their difficulty in explaining the Japanese culture to the Nisei. Though many of the Nisei went to Japanese language school, they did not have sufficient exposure to Japanese to be able to learn the complexities of the language as an adult would speak it. Since the Issei were overworked and tired, they could not enforce proper Japanese to the children at home. Thus, the Nisei spoke a mixture of Japanese and English. This lack of understanding and usage of Japanese inhibited the Nisei from fully grasping the complexities of status and hierarchy in Japanese society. These complexities are expressed in the language and language distinguishes particularly between women and men, which cannot be completely transferred to English. When talking to their children in Japanese, the Issei parents expressed many aspects of a social structure their children did not share and to which they could not appropriately respond (Von Hassell, 1993). Von Hassell further comments that Japanese draws a nonnative speaker into a bewildering maze of different forms for practically every part of an utterance which indicates the precise status of the speaker with regard to the listener (Von Hassell, 1993:561). The hierarchical structure of the Japanese society is truly expressed and reaffirmed in the language. This is particularly important with regard to women's language. Women use humbler forms of expression,

especially when referring to themselves, and politer forms in addressing others. Women's entire bearing, physical movements, style of speaking, and language forms and expression are supposed to reflect their status as well as their special feminine qualities as shy, retiring, and graceful. Many of the Nisei could recognize the different forms of the language but could not respond correctly.

Sylvia Yanagisako (1985), who has done a study of kinship patterns among Japanese Americans in Seattle, uses two models of filial relations to illustrate the differences between the Issei and the Nisei interpretation of filial relations. For the Issei, her model is as follows:

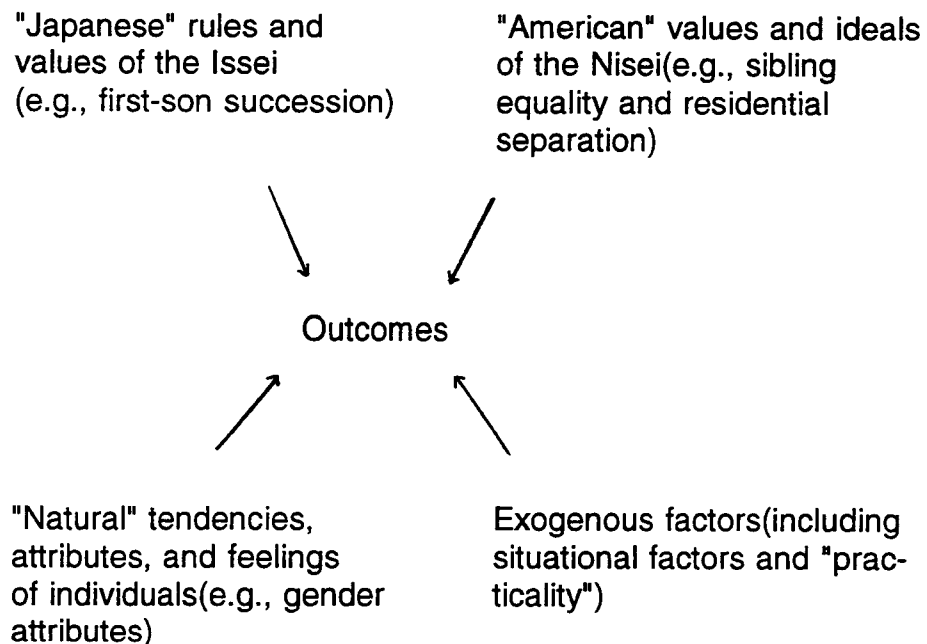
Fig. 3.1 Issei model of "Japanese" filial relations. (Yanagisako, 1985:167).



She writes that the Issei interpretation of their relations with parents is but one illustration of an interpretive model they employed in describing and interpreting Japanese social relationships in general and in marriage in particular. It can be represented as an ethnotheory of action according to which people's behaviors are the result of normative prescriptions (rules) constrained by exogenous factors beyond the control of individual actors, as seen in Figure 1 above. It is

a model of action in which forces, whether social rules or social events, 'outside' people prevail over the forces (feelings, motives, desires) 'inside' them. Moreover, though circumstances might require some adjustment in one's behavior, the rules themselves were not thereby adjusted (Yanagisako, 1985). For the Nisei, there is a more complicated model:

Fig. 3.2 Nisei model of Japanese American filial relations (Yanagisako, 1985:183).



The Nisei's interpretative model of their relations with parents is one in which an amalgam of elements combine to produce outcomes. There are the "Japanese" rules and expectations of the Issei, which still influence Nisei behavior, but there are also such "American" ideals and values of the Nisei as sibling equality and individual freedom, which often conflict with them. There are also the "natural" feelings and tendencies of people, including gender

attributes, and exogenous circumstances and "practicality." People's actions are therefore negotiated compromises between the two cultures, between Issei and Nisei, and between what is given in people and what they confront outside themselves.

Moreover, as Yanagisako states, the Nisei model (Figure 2) is one in which no fixed hierarchy of elements prevails. Instead, individuals must decide in each situation which actions are best given the universe of considerations. In some contexts, the Nisei feel the "Japanese" expectations of the Issei should be deferred to if circumstances permit and if they do not tread too heavily upon one's personal beliefs and feelings. So, at funerals or at an Issei wedding anniversary it is appropriate for the eldest son to represent the sibling group, because it is a "Japanese" context of importance to the Issei. In other situations, such as decisions about co-residence, the Issei's expectations must be overridden by Nisei desires for an independent family life or because of the "naturally closer" bond of mothers and daughters. In yet other situations, "practical" considerations may override all others, such as which daughter takes elderly parents into her home depends on practical factors such as spaces, people's schedules, and resources..

Yanagisako's study seems to reinforce Hill's propositions that more discontinuity of value orientations regarding family behavior patterns occur across generations than continuity. The Nisei seem to have taken in American values and go by their feelings rather than solely by the Japanese values and rules which were accepted by the Issei. According to Yanagisako's study, the

Nisei have discontinued using only the traditional Japanese values and rules, which may mean that the Japanese American generations reflect Hill's proposition.

Both Glenn (1986) and Yanagisako (1975;1985) in fact claim that many of the Japanese values and rules, especially in regards to kinship, were not successfully transmitted to the Nisei. The major cause they give for this is the change of the Japanese American livelihood to a family wage economy in the United States, which broke the corporate unity of the traditional household. This shift primarily took place since the internment during WWII. Prior to WWII, the majority of the Issei were engaged in independent, family businesses or family farming. The events of WWII radically altered the economic character of the community. Besides undermining the Issei's political leadership, the relocation demolished the community's economic base. After the war, Issei males, who were by then in their late fifties or sixties, were never able to resurrect the community's former entrepreneurial character. As a result, after WWII, only a small percentage of Nisei could be employed within family businesses and the large majority were compelled to seek employment outside the community. By the middle of the 1950's, however, the post-war economic boom, along with the change in white society's acceptance of Japanese, brought the Nisei increased job opportunities, and the majority of them moved into middle-level salaried occupations. Hence, the availability of the non-kinship and non-community controlled resources to the Nisei altered the family system. The structure of kinship relationships significantly changed in several ways.

First, with the employment of Nisei in salaried occupations outside the family, the household lost its function as a unit of production. Neither the first son nor his siblings were dependent on the family for economic support. In addition, the loss of the Isseis' businesses left little for the first son to succeed to or inherit. Second, the increased access to nonfamily resources applied to all siblings equally rather than to the first son alone. Educational and occupational advancement were open to the Nisei, irrespective of their birth order. Because of rapidly improving opportunities, there was even a tendency for younger siblings, especially younger brothers, to attain greater educational and occupational success than first-born children. Second, third, and fourth sons were in a better position to take advantage of the occupational mobility offered by the postwar prosperity than were first sons, who had by then settled into less ambitious occupations. Finally, second sons were able to attain occupational mobility within the local area. They did not have to leave Seattle to seek satisfactory employment and residence. Consequently, daughters and second sons did not "marry out" of the area, and in any Issei-Nisei family, several siblings with resources were locally available to fulfill the functions traditionally assigned to the successor.

Thus Glenn (1986) and particularly Yanagisako (1975; 1985) state that the Nisei presently have come to interpret the once-fused successor status-role in their own ways. The interpretation Yanagisako mainly focuses on is in the parent-child relationship. Several components she writes about, relevant to elderly care and family structure, are 1) financial responsibility for parents, 2)

co-residence with parents, and 3) care-taking responsibility for parents. In the first component, Yanagisako writes that the Issei have transmitted to their children the Japanese value of family self-sufficiency, which excludes most forms of extra-familial economic support. Although the Issei initially expected their eldest son to provide for their economic support, the Nisei have adopted the ideal of equal responsibility among sons. If a son succeeds to the headship of his parents' business, like the prewar times, then it is this son who is still expected to assume all the traditional components of the successor status role. Nevertheless, economic support has become all of the sons responsibility due to many breakdowns of family businesses and farms after the war. For the co-residence matter as well, the eldest son and his wife and children no longer had the designated responsibility of living with his parents. The Nisei, as Yanagisako writes, express the desire to "live one's own life" and raise children without the interference of grandparents. Yet, if financial resources are inadequate to support parents in separate households, or if parents require physical care, the elderly parents are taken into the home. Few Nisei place their elderly parents in nursing homes if they can care for them at home, especially since those available are managed by whites and are considered "foreign" environments for their parents (Yanagisako, 1975). Therefore, the unmarried member in the Nisei sibling group, whether male or female, is considered the best candidate for co-residence with parents. If all children are married, there is a strong preference for the parents to reside with daughters as opposed to sons. Yanagisako further notes that both Issei and Nisei claim that

the closer emotional relationship between mother and daughter make it easier for them to get along on a daily basis. The friction between an Issei mother and her daughter-in-law is considered intolerable. As for the third component, care-taking responsibility for parents, it is also then preferred for the daughter rather than the daughter-in-law to fulfill care-taking functions. Yanagisako writes that the relationship with a daughter is viewed as being based on "natural feeling," while that with a daughter-in-law is seen to be based on "giri" (obligation). If this view represents most of the Nisei, then we can infer that the Nisei do not act and feel upon their traditional value of "giri" (obligation) anymore, at least in the elderly care realm.

Nevertheless, Yanagisako in her book (1985) also points out that the Nisei see their parents instilling in them the "Japanese way," in some cases so successfully that even today they cannot entirely free themselves of it. What Yanagisako wants to inform us about through her article and book is that the Nisei are integrating into the American way as well as trying to keep the Japanese way and exist in between the two cultures. There are further evidences from other studies that the Nisei still carry on much of the traditional values and rules. Christie Kiefer (1974), in his perspective ethnographic study of Japanese Americans in San Francisco, notes that the Nisei do not see their way of life as an attempt to conform to white pressures or demands, but as the satisfaction of their obligations to parents, society, and children. A study of Levine and Rhodes (1981) of 2,284 Nisei indicates a high level of retention of the value of familism. The authors note that the Japanese Americans have one

of the lowest rates of divorce of any group. Their study of 2,284 Nisei, similarly reveals that only 1 per cent of those ever married are divorced. Reasons for high marital stability among the Nisei are many. The great degree of peer and communal pressures hold together the Nisei marriages. The Japanese Americans share a generalized wish not to bring shame on the family, or on the community; divorce may be defined as a shameful act (Levine & Rhodes, 1981). Thus, social pressures and values, along with the self-consciousness of this small minority who come from a strong, extended family structure, work toward marital stability. Although their study has shown that the Nisei have produced small families relative to the Issei, the Nisei tend to live close to their relatives. Over half of the Nisei sample live within the same community as at least five of their relatives. Moreover, nearly one of four of the Nisei have a non-nuclear family member living within their household. The bulk of them are the Nisei's aging parents, the Issei. Four per cent represent relatives other than the Nisei's parents. Levine and Rhodes (1981), in another study state that the older cohort (those 50 years or older) of the Nisei show higher adherence to the Japanese values than the younger cohort (under 30 years old). This can be a result from WWII and the internment. Those who got married and settled down in the "ie" (household) system prior to the internment may have more firmly instilled values and rules than those who started their families after the corporate unity of the household was broken.

It seems then that the Issei have tried to an extent to instill the Japanese values and rules. The Nisei seemingly have responded to these values and

rules positively until the circumstances changed since WWII. Yet, the changes they began to make may not entirely be due to such external forces. It may be that the younger Nisei cohort began to adapt to the American ways. Yet, it also seems that even though the traditional style of the eldest son and his wife caring for the elderly is already disappearing in the Nisei, the Nisei still feel obligated and fulfill their duties to live with and care for their elderly parents. Now let us specifically look at the changes and continuity in the domain of work.

Transmittance of Values and Rules of Women and Work to the Nisei

As can be inferred from the previous section about the background of Issei women, their values and rules toward work were to work for the family and only for the family. Their place was at home and they worked in the fields to help their husbands. If the family needed money, which usually was the case when coming to the United States as immigrants, the Issei women would look for jobs that did not take them away from their family responsibilities. Thus the most common job they held was domestic service (Glenn, 1986). Domestic service was flexible and the Issei with heavy family responsibilities could work part-time or seasonally. During times of extra financial pressure, they could take on additional jobs or work more days or longer hours. There were also other reasons they had to settle in domestic service. The basic limiting condition was the structure of the labor market, in addition to inability to speak English and lack of marketable job skills.

The Nisei are subscribed, at least in theory, to the "women's place" (Glenn, 1986:221). Those whom Glenn interviewed, (both the older and the younger Nisei) agreed that women with small children should stay at home. They added that sometimes it is economically necessary for mothers to work. Plus the precedent set by the Issei made it natural for them to go out to work. Like the Issei, the Nisei adopted a variety of strategies for childcare. Some delayed working until their children started school, and then arranged their work schedules to correspond with school hours. Some left school-age children to fend for themselves and put them in charge of younger children. Also, unlike the Issei, the Nisei could also call upon extended kin networks. Several of those interviewed by Glenn reported that relatives- father, sister, or mother-in-law- helped with the care of pre-school children. Yanagisako (1985) also writes that the Nisei women consider women's domain is that of the "family" or "home." The Nisei women place great value on the experience of mothering and for them the greatest drawback of an income-earning job is that it takes them away from constant interaction with young children. Thus the reasons the Nisei women give for their employment are for income support and for their children's well-being (to clothe them, to educate them, etc.). Isolation, boredom, and even depression women experience during the periods when women are full-time housewives and mothers are not the reasons they offer to explain their reentry into the paid workforce (Yanagisako, 1985:113).

The kind of work the Nisei engaged in to provide family support was mainly domestic service as well (Glenn, 1986). Especially the older Nisei were

in domestic service. Many also helped alongside their husbands in family businesses or farming, but this was usually without income. Other alternatives were limited to farm work, picking produce, or packing it in the rural areas. In the urban areas, it was limited to sales, service, or clerical positions in ethnic enterprises. Despite its low status, many Nisei women chose domestic service due to advantages such as availability of part time jobs. Domestic services also saved women's money in that they did not have to spend on new clothes for the job and on food. They could wear a uniform and be fed at the houses they worked for.

Changes in the Sansei

Experiencing dramatically different childhood and adolescent years than those of the Nisei, the Sansei seem to have become quite different from their parents. Most of the Sansei were born soon after the concentration camp experience, thus from that time the majority of Japanese no longer lived in a socially and economically self-contained ethnic community. As described before, the evacuation and relocation had destroyed the Issei dominated, petit bourgeois ethnic enclaves, although they were to some degree recreated in several West Coast areas. Thus, the Sansei's parents were no longer trapped into working in the ethnic economy. The Sansei then were socialized in situations where their Nisei parents generally were economically mobile and substantially better off than they (the Nisei) had been as children. These

changes of situation probably initiated different behaviors and attitudes in many aspects of the Sansei's lives.

There are not many studies done in comparing the Sansei with the Nisei and the Issei in regards to kinship relations. Still, in Connor's (1974) study, he has shown that even the Sansei retain certain core Japanese traits, as reflected in a greater deference, less need to dominate, a greater tendency to affiliate, less aggressiveness, and a greater need for succor and order than other Americans. Moreover, compared with the general population they have closer family ties, a greater sense of duty and obligation, and a great fear of failure in social role performance. Finally, Caudill and Frost (1974) suggest that these traits will persist into the Yonsei (fourth generation), since Sansei mothers still use some traditional Japanese approaches to child-rearing. Yet, Connor's (1974) study also reveals the fact that the Sansei, when compared to the Nisei and the Issei, do not retain as many characteristics of the traditional Japanese family system.

Further, Fugita and O'Brien (1991) state that the Sansei are becoming dispersed away from the family, and their identity with the community has diminished. Their duty and obligation to the family are reported to be lost as well. Moreover, Fugita and O'Brien state that there is no longer a preference for three generations living together. However, in regards to extended family, Kamo and Zhou's (1994) study in the United States has indicated that, whether born in this country or not, elderly Japanese were more likely to live in their ever-married children's homes than the non-Hispanic whites in the study. This

may mean that some of the Sansei are still living in extended families, taking their U.S. born parents into their homes. Kiefer (1974) nevertheless writes about the Sansei developing individuation. What he means by individuation is the acquisition of the American belief in the moral rightness of individual autonomy and self-expression. He notes two factors which contribute to the process of individuation in the Sansei, setting them apart from their parents. First, the Nisei have adopted many child-rearing practices and attitudes from contemporary middle-class America, the Dr. Spock generation. They believe their own parents were too rigid, too demanding, too dictatorial. They favor a warmer, more egalitarian relationship with their own children. However, this attitude toward children fosters individuation, a point which is rarely understood by the Nisei (Kiefer, 1974). The practice of egalitarianism subtly communicates the idea to the child that he is important as a person, not merely as a member of the group. The lenient Nisei parent is often unwittingly undermining the very sense of familial responsibility that s/he is eager for his/her children to learn. Nisei parents probably have no alternative, except perhaps to be more conscious about what they are doing. The second factor contributing to Sansei individuation is the increased interaction with non-Japanese. Living in middle-class neighborhoods and attending middle-class schools, the typical Sansei naturally develops a sense of the family that differs radically from the traditional Japanese norms. Nisei parental behavior often appears to be a compromise between the two cultural extremes, and this forestalls open rebellion. For the Sansei, the family, like other social groups should be based on voluntary

cooperation, on shared feeling, and on the commitment of individuals to each other. There is an individualized point of view. It requires open communication channels and negotiated consensus. For the Nisei, the solidarity of the family is an imperative, a given. Therefore, many Nisei have profound doubts whether their own children will support them emotionally or materially as they have supported the Issei.

In the occupation realm, studies have shown that the Sansei have high aspirations. Many of the studies done on Sansei and their occupational status focus on their near future desires for what kind of jobs they desire to have. At the time of many of the studies, the Sansei were still students and thus their actual occupational status was immeasurable. Levine and Rhodes (1981), using the data collected in the late 1960s, write that only 5 per cent of the Issei (men only) were professionals, and a third of the Nisei (men only) were, but about three-fourths of the Sansei, men and women, alike, hope to become professionals. Nine of ten contemplate white-collar jobs. In these statistics, Levine and Rhodes did not consider Sansei women who plan to be housewives. They report only 15 per cent of the female sample (307) want to become housewives. Thus, most Sansei women hope to enter the labor market, primarily as professionals- teachers, nurses, and social welfare workers.

Although about half the Sansei were still students in 1967, the others (even if planning to return to school) had already entered the labor market. Among the 360 Sansei, half were already professionals; altogether, over three-

fourths were in white collar ranks. This is already a higher level of achievement than displayed by the Nisei generation. Whereas 38 per cent of the Nisei are self-employed, only 13 per cent of the Sansei expect to be so. Of those employed in 1967, only 8 per cent were self-employed. The Sansei, in large numbers, then, either expect to be or are salaried men and women. Thus, their occupations- as engineers, architects, and technicians, or as social workers and teachers, for example- would tend to take them out of the close world of the Japanese American community and into the more bureaucratically organized world of the larger society.

Summary

By comparing and contrasting the Issei, the Nisei, and the Sansei, we find that each generation has in itself distinct characteristics. The Issei uphold the most traditional style of living, which they tried, and did succeed to a certain extent, to inculcate into their children, the Nisei. The Nisei are unique in that they can be divided into the older cohort (born before the 1920's) and the younger cohort (born between 1920-1930). The older Nisei seem to have a closer resemblance to the Issei style of living than the younger Nisei. After the WWII internment camp, the Nisei in general tried to mix the American ways of living, while preserving their Japanese way of living, to make up for the loss of the "ie" ideal that had vanished after the destruction of the businesses and farms from internment. Perhaps not only due to this reason, but also because of their length of stay and more opportunities for immersion in the bureaucratic

organized world working in salaried jobs, the Nisei began to adopt American values and behaviors. These were then passed down to their children, the Sansei, who also have more opportunity to interact with the non-Japanese middle-class and working-class people. Thus, the Sansei are said to be very Americanized compared to the Issei and the Nisei.

4. METHODOLOGY

The previous chapter was devoted to what other researchers have found from generational studies on the Japanese American community. In general, findings from this research are consistent with Hill's propositions regarding intergenerational change. The present study expands upon previous research by explicitly examining generational discontinuity within the Japanese American community. Following Hill, it examines 3 specific domains: elder care, family structure, and employment & occupational status. For each domain, hypotheses were developed to specify expected differences across the Japanese American generations. The research statements and the hypotheses are as follows:

Research Statements and Hypotheses

The First Research Statement regarding Elder Care

There are changes in women's thinking towards elder care across the Japanese American generations.

Hypothesis drawn

Nisei women are more likely to hold traditional Japanese values and therefore have more Japanese attitudes towards elder care than are Sansei women.

The Second Research Statement regarding Family Structure

There are changes in women's family structure across the Japanese American generations.

Hypotheses drawn

- (a) Nisei women are more likely to live in extended household than are Sansei women.
- (b) Nisei women are less likely to be divorced than are Sansei women.

The Third Research Statement regarding Women's Employment & Occupation

There are changes in women's thinking towards work and women; and changes in their occupational statuses across the Japanese American generations.

Hypotheses drawn

- (a) Nisei women are more likely to hold traditional Japanese values and therefore more Japanese attitudes towards work and women than are Sansei women.
- (b) Nisei women are less likely to have advanced in their occupational status as compared to Sansei women.

The following methodology section describes the procedures used in this study to test the above hypotheses. It focuses in particular on the description of the sample, on the development of the survey in English and Japanese, sampling, mailing procedures, and the conceptualization and operationalization of the variables used in this study.

Sample Description

The data in this study is the result of mail questionnaires returned by 168 respondents: 89 Nisei women and 79 Sansei women. These women could have been related to each other by chance, but the sample was not limited to generationally linked women. In the Sansei sample, there are 10 who have either a father or mother as Issei or Nisei. They were included because they

are all classified in the same historical cohort as the Sansei. I attempted to compare and contrast four generations but many of the Issei women were already deceased and those who were living were very old and were less likely to complete the questionnaire. This is unfortunate as significant differences are predicted to be seen across the Issei and the Nisei - representing the first and the second generations in which Hill argues change may be expected to be the greatest. (Hill, 1970). Yonsei women were less likely to reply because they were still too young to be listed in the directory which I used to pick out names for the sample. This directory will be explained under the sampling section. Furthermore, sample limitations also made it impossible to compare Nisei and Sansei on items assessing elder care. Most of the Nisei's parents and parents-in-law were deceased, thus there were no valid empirical data on the behavior section of the questionnaire for the Nisei.

Description of the Nisei Sample

Of the 89 Nisei women in this study, all reside in Oregon. Three women (3.4%) live in Salem, 13 women (14.6%) in Hood River, 1 woman (1.1%) in the Dalles, 1 woman (1.1%) in Mt. Hood, 1 woman (1.1%) in Newberg, and the rest, 70 (78.6%) in the Portland area including Tigard, Beaverton, Gresham, Hillsboro, Milwaukie, Lake Oswego, Wilsonville, West Linn, Oregon City, Boring, Sandy, and Tualatin.

The mean age was 70.4, with the youngest, age 34, and the oldest, age 83. Fifteen (16.8%) had living parents (either own or husbands'). The average

health condition was reported as "good," with the lowest, "poor," and the highest, "excellent." Most (87.64% or 78) of them were not currently employed. Only 12.36% or 11 replied that they were currently employed.

Of those who were married, most (85.37% or 70 out of 82) were married to Japanese Americans. Six or 7.32% were married to European Americans, 5 or 6.10% to Japanese (born in Japan) and 1.22% or 1 was categorized in "other". Of those who replied, 51.25% or 41 out of 80 said they were married to the eldest son. The Nisei women had an average of 2.59 children.

The highest number of Nisei landed in the educational level, "completed high school." The average family income was \$30,000 - \$39,999.

There were 38 (43.68%) who replied their first language was Japanese and 44 (50.57%) replied that both English and Japanese was their first language. Most Nisei (82.02% or 73 out of 89) in this sample replied that they spoke English very fluently. There were 14 (15.73%) who replied, "pretty well," and 2 (2.25%), "well enough to converse." Nobody replied to either "know a few words" or "don't speak at all." The average Japanese language ability, on the other hand, was "well enough to converse," with the lowest, "do not speak at all," and the highest, "very fluently." There were only 4 (4.49%) who replied in this way, though. On the language scale, which ranges from 5 to 50 (5 representing "use mostly Japanese," and 50 representing "use mostly English"), the Nisei averaged 47.2. This means that they seem to use more English in their daily lives. Yet, for the language scale for the language spoken at home during childhood, which ranges from 1 to 10 (1 representing "use mostly

Japanese," and 10 representing "use mostly English"), the Nisei averaged to 4.1. This may mean that they may have used more Japanese than English when small.

Description of the Sansei Sample

All the 79 Sansei women, except 1 Washington woman, reside in Oregon. Three (3.8%) live in Salem, 2 (2.5%) in Hood River, 1 (1.3%) in the Dalles, and the rest 72 (91.1%) in the Portland area in Tigard, Beaverton, Gresham, Hillsboro, Milwaukie, Lake Oswego, Wilsonville, and West Linn.

The mean age was 46.0, with the youngest, age 26, and the oldest, age 64. Seventy three (92.4%) had living parents (either own or husbands'). The average health condition was, "good," with the lowest, "fair," and the highest, "excellent." Most (76.62% or 59 out of 77) were currently employed. There were 23.38% or 18 of those who replied they were not currently employed.

Of those who were married, 47.14% or 33 out of 70 were married to Japanese Americans, 38.57% or 27 to European Americans, 5.71% or 4 to Japanese (born in Japan), and 4.29% or 3 to non-Japanese Orientals. Three or 4.29% were categorized in "other". Of those who replied, 44.78% or 30 out of 67 said they were married to the eldest son. The Sansei women had an average of 1.67 children.

The highest number of Sansei (32.47% or 25) were in the educational level, "completed college." The next highest (25.97% or 20) to this was, "one

or more graduate degrees." The lowest number (2.60% or 2) were in the "completed high school." The average family income was \$50,000 - \$59,999.

There were only 7 (9.21%) Sansei who replied their first language was Japanese. An overwhelming number of them replied that English was their first language learned to speak-- 50 (65.79%). There were 19 (25%) who replied that both English and Japanese were their first language. All of those who replied to the question of English ability said they spoke English "very fluently." Three respondents did not answer this question. On the other hand, the average language ability for Japanese was, "know a few words," with the lowest, "do not speak at all," and the highest, "very fluently." There was only 1 (1.27%) who replied, "very fluently," and 1 (1.27%) for "pretty well." On the language scale, the Sansei averaged 48.9 meaning that they seem to use more English in their daily lives. For the language scale for the language spoken at home during childhood, the Sansei averaged to 7.1, which means that they may have used more English then as well.

Development of Survey Questionnaires

Several sources were used to develop relevant questions to measure behavior and attitudes towards elderly care, family structure, occupational status and attitudes towards work and women.

Elder Care

Brody, Johnsen, & Fulcomer's research on "Women's Changing Roles and Help to Elderly Parents: attitudes of three generations of women," had 47 attitude statements primarily representing the domains of gender-appropriate roles and responsibility for care of the aged (1983:601). These 47 attitude statements were utilized to measure the attitudes of women in Japan in research comparing women's attitudes in the U.S. and in Japan (Campbell & Brody, 1985:589-592). From the 47 attitude statements six statements were selected for the present research which closely represented the traditional Japanese values of duty and obligation, familism, and dependency. Two original attitude statements were also included which represented the traditional Japanese "ie" (household) ideal of eldest son and his wife co-residing with his elderly parents and his wife taking care of them. Together, these statements assess the degree of change in attitudes towards elder care across generations. The statements reflect the traditional Japanese values and rules that influence the attitudes towards elder care (please refer to Appendix D- p.123-124, ques. 20-27). In addition to attitudes, respondents were also asked in a series of questions regarding kinds of assistance given to parents (please refer to Appendix D- p.117-123, ques. 12-19). These included items from the research by Gallagher & Gerstel (1993) and Horowitz (1985).

Family Structure

Additional questions were constructed to measure household composition. These questions comprised of items, "living alone", "spouse", "child", "parent", "sibling", "in-law", "other relative", and "non-relative"(please refer to appendix D- p.115, ques. 8 & 9). They are described in detail later in the section, "Variables in the Research Statement regarding Family Structure". An item measuring divorce, was adopted directly from Matsuo's questionnaire for her Master's thesis (Matsuo, 1989) (please refer to Appendix D- p.114, ques. 4).

Women's Employment & Occupation

To measure occupation, 4 items were included in the questionnaire on attitudes towards women's employment. One was selected from the 47 attitude statements of Brody, Johnsen, & Fulcomer's (1983). The remaining 3 items were newly constructed items more specifically focused on Japanese women's attitude towards women and work (please refer to Appendix D- p.126-127, ques. 43-46).

Open-ended questions (please refer to Appendix D- p.125-126. ques. 37-42) were asked about occupational status in order to classify the status of the respondents, using the Warner-Meeker-Eells' revised occupational rating scale. This method of classifying the statuses replicates that used in the generational study done on Japanese Americans by Matsuo (1989). Occupational status

classification is used to test hypothesis (b) of the third research statement that suggests Nisei women are less likely to have advanced in their occupational status than Sansei women.

Additional Measures

Most of the general questions on spouse's ethnicity, generation, income, education, and health status were constructed referring to J.A.R.P. (Japanese American Research Project), Matsuo's (1989), and Fujii's (1980) questionnaires used for generational studies of the Japanese Americans in the Portland area. The language scale was originally constructed referring to the questions used in a study on Mexican Americans (Hazuda, Stern, & Haffner, 1988).

The completed questionnaire was administered to two English speaking students to check its accuracy.

Establishing Japanese Language Equivalence

Initial conversations with Japanese Americans in Portland suggested that a Japanese version of the questionnaire would be recommended for Issei respondents, among whom a smaller population would be expected to read English.

Unfortunately, there were not enough (n=4) Issei respondents to allow for meaningful statistical comparisons. Therefore, none of the data from the Japanese version of the questionnaire were included in this analysis.

Sampling

The questionnaires were mailed out in two waves. In the first wave, every third woman's name was selected from the Japanese American Citizens' League (JACL-Portland Chapter) Directory for 1990. This directory includes the names of the members of this organization and the Japanese community in Portland, Salem, Vancouver, Hood River, and the Dalles. Four hundred names were selected at this time.

For the second wave, every third woman's name was again selected from the same directory. Two hundred fifty names were selected. This time, the cover letter asked specifically for the Nisei and the Sansei to fill out the questionnaire. If the recipient of the questionnaire was not in either generation, the cover letter was written in the way that asked the receiver to pass on the questionnaire to someone she knows in the either desired generations, living in Oregon or Washington. This was done so to increase the response rate of the second set. The mail questionnaires in the first set did not produce the number of responses considered necessary for this analysis.

Mailing Procedures

As discussed above, there were two separate mailing periods in this study. The first one was on March 25, 1995 and the second on May 11, 1995. On both occasions, the study data were obtained by the use of self administered questionnaires, accompanied by a letter of explanation and a

return envelope. The purpose of the study was described in the cover letter . A return address was typed on an adhesive sticker that was pasted on a stamped envelope.

There was a slightly different arrangement in the content of the second batch mailings. The receiver of the mail was asked to pass on the questionnaire to a Japanese American woman in either the second or the third generation if the receiver herself was in neither of the categories, and an extra stamped envelope was included. The receiver was asked to send the questionnaire and the self-addressed return envelope to an acquaintance using the stamped envelope.

All questionnaires were completed anonymously but code numbers were used to aid follow-up reminders. For the first 400 mailings, a follow-up mailing was sent to those who had not replied 10 days after the questionnaire were mailed out. Postcards were used for this mailing. Out of the 400 mailings, 68 mailings were returned due to incorrect addresses. Follow-up mailings were not sent to these addresses. The return rate was 33.4% or 111 out of 332. Out of the 332, the distribution was 1.2% or 4 Issei, 12.3% or 41 Nisei, 10.8% or 36 Sansei, 1.8% or 6 Kibei (those educated mostly in Japan who had returned to the United States), 4.5% or 15 new Issei (those recently immigrated), 2.1% or 7 other Japanese (those with either father or mother as Issei or Nisei), 0.6% or 2 mixed other (those with either father or mother as non-Asian). For the second period of 250 mailings, follow-up telephone calls were made to those who had not replied 10 days after the questionnaires were

mailed out. Again, there were 53 returned mailings and these people were excluded from the follow-up calls. I spent one week trying to reach all the people in the sample. Not everyone was successfully reached as some were temporarily away and many did not have their current phone numbers listed in the directory. Hence, follow-up postcards were sent to these people whom the writer could not reach. The return rate was 44.7% or 88 out of 197. Out of the 197, the distribution was 24.4% or 48 Nisei, 16.6% or 33 Sansei, 1.5% or 3 other Japanese, 1% or 2 Kibei, .5% or 1 Yonsei, and .5% or 1 Issei.

Because the mail questionnaire produced a smaller number than that considered necessary for this analysis as mentioned earlier, the response rate of the second set of mail questionnaire was increased by asking respondents who were not Nisei and Sansei to forward their questionnaire to an acquaintance who was. This modified snowball sampling represents approximately 8.3 % of the total number of respondents (14 out of 168) in the study. The final sample was comprised of 89 respondents in the Nisei sample and 79 in the Sansei sample.

Conceptualization and Operationalization of Variables

Variables in the Research Statement regarding Elder Care

In the hypothesis drawn from the first research statement, the term, "Japanese values," refers to the traditional Japanese values and rules described in the second and third chapters. In the case of elder care this

means to have values of duty and obligation, dependency, and familism towards filial relationships.

To measure the extent of value-internalization of the subjects regarding elder care, 8 attitude statements were included. The respondents answered on a 5-point scale with "1" being strongly agree, "2" agree, "3" do not care, "4" disagree, and "5" strongly disagree.

Variables in the Research Statement regarding Family Structure

The term, "family structure," is defined as a) a type of household in which the subject lives in-- alone, spouse only, nuclear, and extended and b) whether currently divorced or not.

To measure the type of household in which the subject lives, respondents were asked whether or not they currently lived with someone or alone. If the answer was "no," this was categorized as "living alone." If the answer was "yes," the respondent was further asked to specify the people currently living with her. Information such as sex, year of birth, and kind of relationship she holds with each person living with her was obtained. The items the respondent chose from were: [1]"spouse," [2]"child," [3]"parent," [4]"sibling," [5]"in-law," [6]"other relative," [7]"non-relative." These were recoded to get "spouse only," "nuclear," (which includes those who answered "spouse" and "child" or only "child") and "extended," (which includes those who answered "sibling," "in-law," "other relative," "non-relative," "parent," and/or married "child"). To determine whether the child with whom the respondent lives is

married or not, a separate section asked about each of the respondent's child's sex, year of birth, marital status, and, if married, spouse's ethnicity. Those living with unmarried child(ren) are not considered to be in an extended household.

To measure divorce, a question about the respondent's current marital status was asked.

Variables in the Research Statement regarding Women's Employment & Occupation

"Japanese values," refers to the traditional Japanese values and rules described in the second and the third chapters. To carry these traditional Japanese values towards work and women means to see women's place at home, taking care of the child(ren) and elderly parents, and not prioritizing career.

Four attitude statements were asked about this. The respondents replied on a 5-point scale with "1" being strongly agree, "2" agree, "3" do not know, "4" disagree, and "5" strongly disagree. They were asked to circle the appropriate responses in the way they think about the appropriateness of women in employment.

Occupational status was ranked from 1 to 7, where 1 represents highly ranked occupations including lawyers, doctors, chemists, or regional managers of large financial and industrial enterprises. The second rank includes such occupations as high school teachers, librarians (graduate), assistant managers,

and salesmen of real estate and insurance. The third rank includes occupations like social workers, grade school teachers, minor officials of businesses, bank clerks, and secretaries to executives. The fourth rank are such as book keepers, stenographers, sheriffs, and watchmakers (own business). From the fifth rank until the seventh rank, each rank mostly includes the manual and service workers.

The Nisei and the Sansei women were asked to indicate their primary occupation if they are currently employed. Those who were not currently employed were asked whether they had ever worked for pay for as long as a year in the past and, if so, they were asked to write down their primary occupation. They were also asked to write in detail what they actually do/did in their primary occupation. Overall occupational status is very hard to measure because one may hold a professional status for awhile but may lose the position due to numerous reasons such as war. Hence, the key word, "primary," is used in the question in order to obtain the occupation with which the subjects most identify. These responses were classified according to the Warner-Meeker-Eells' revised occupational rating scale from Handbook of Research Design and Social Measurement (Miller 1991:361-362). Both primary occupation for those currently employed, and past primary occupation for those currently not employed were classified.

Education

Education was used as control variable and measured by asking the respondents the highest level of education they had completed. The response categories were: [1] no formal schooling, [2] some grade school, [3] completed grade school, [4] some high school, [5] completed high school, [6] technical or vocational school, [7] some college, [8] completed junior college, [9] completed college, [10] post baccalaureate study, and [11] one or more graduate school. The scale for education, from 1 to 11, was divided so that 1 to 5 corresponded as "less than or high school", 6 to 9 as "greater than high school", and 10 to 11 as "greater than college". When education included as a control, the variable for occupation was recoded as "high status" (1 to 2), "mid status" (3 to 4), and "low status" (5 to 7).

5. FINDINGS

Findings of First Research Statement and Hypothesis regarding Elder Care

In this section, two analyses are presented. In the first stage of the analysis, the items (1-8 on Table 1), that represented the aspects of elder care, were compiled as a scale. A T-TEST procedure was run on that scale to determine whether or not there was a significant difference between the generations on the overall attitude towards elder care. In the second stage of analysis, the chi square, nonparametric measure was used to examine the significance of generational difference, for individual items in the scale. Differences are reported as significant at the .05 level or below. Findings for all of these analyses are presented in Table 5.1.

The First Research Statement regarding Elder Care

There are changes in women's thinking towards elder care across the Japanese American generations.

Hypothesis

Nisei women are more likely to hold traditional Japanese values and therefore have more Japanese attitudes towards elder care than are Sansei women.

Elder Care Attitude Index

In regard to the hypothesized discontinuity in normative attitudes towards elder care between Nisei and Sansei women, it seemed that Nisei women were slightly, but not significantly, less traditional than were Sansei (mean score Nisei=23.57; Sansei=25.95). The scale ran from 5 to 40, the higher the

number, the more traditional the attitude. Though insignificant, this overall comparison indicates older women were less traditional than the younger women, which was opposite the hypothesized difference. Test (chi square, nonparametric measure) for significant differences between generations on individual items, however, show that significant differences do appear depending on the specific component of elder care being considered.

Table 5.1 Measures of Attitudinal Statements for Elder Care

Item No.	Item	% agreement ^c			
		Nisei	Sansei	Nisei	Sansei
	<u>Elder Care Attitude Index^a</u>	23.6	25.9		
	<u>Individual Items^b</u>				
1.	The eldest son and his wife should co-reside with his parents...	.33	.33	8.33 (n=84)	3.80 (n=79)
2.	It is better if a daughter takes care of her parents rather than having a daughter-in-law do so...	.23	.38*	77.01 (n=87)	62.34 (n=77)
3.	Once adult children have families of their own (married with or without children), they should not be expected to do the household tasks for their parents...	.01	.11**	48.81 (n=84)	15.19 (n=79)
4.	Friends and neighbors can't be expected to help older people the way their children do...	.20	.14	89.29 (n=84)	72.15 (n=79)

Table 5.1 (continued)

Item No.	Item	% agreement ^c			
		Nisei	Sansei	Nisei	Sansei
<u>Individual Items^b</u>					
5.	Older people should not expect much help from their grandchildren...	.00	.09**	55.95 (n=84)	17.72 (n=79)
6.	Once adult children start working on their own, they should not be expected to live close to their parents...	.38	.48	68.24 (n=85)	55.26 (n=76)
7.	Once adult children have families of their own (married w/ or w/o children) they should not be expected to be in close touch with their parents...	.16	.32*	8.14 (n=86)	0.00 (n=76)
8.	Professional service(e.g. care centers for old people) can usually take the place of family care...	.07	.16	30.59 (n=85)	21.33 (n=75)

^a Mean score of proc ttest is reported.

^b Nonparametric measure was used and points above median are reported. 5-point scale ranged from strongly agree(1) to strongly disagree(5). Higher number=more traditional.

^c Entries are the percentages who agreed or strongly agreed.

* Significant at the .05 level

** Significant at the .01 level.

Individual Items

Item 1. The eldest son and his wife should co-reside with his parents...

In this particular attitude statement, there was no significant generational difference (points above median Nisei=.33; Sansei=.33). Less than a third of

both generations either agreed or strongly agreed with this traditional value of elder care (Nisei=8.33%; Sansei=3.80%).

Item 2. It is better if a daughter takes care of their parents rather than having a daughter-in-law do so...

In terms of strength of agreement with the non-traditional value that a daughter should take care of the parents instead of daughter-in-law, Nisei women were significantly less traditional than were Sansei (points above median Nisei=.23; Sansei=.38). Interestingly, for both generations, agreement with this non-traditional value of elder care was surprisingly high. More than a half of both generations agreed or strongly agreed with this statement (Nisei=77.01%; Sansei=62.34%).

Item 3. Once adult children have families of their own (married with or without children), they should not be expected to do the household tasks for their parents...

In terms of strength of agreement with this statement, representing the non-traditional value, Nisei women were significantly less traditional than were Sansei (points above median Nisei=.01; Sansei=.11). In fact, for the Nisei, the agreement with this non-traditional value of elder care was surprisingly high compared to the Sansei women (Nisei=48.81%; Sansei=15.19%).

Item 4. Friends and neighbors can't be expected to help older people the way their children do...

For the strength of agreement with this statement showing the traditional value of elder care, Nisei women were slightly, but not significantly, more traditional than were the Sansei (points above the median Nisei=.20; Sansei=.14). In fact, for both generations, agreement with this statement was

high. More than 50% of each generation agreed or strongly agreed- (Nisei=89.29%; Sansei=72.15%).

Item 5. Older people should not expect much help from their grandchildren...

In terms of strength of agreement with this non-traditional value of elder care, Nisei women were significantly less traditional than were Sansei (points above median Nisei=.00; Sansei=.09). Actually, for Nisei women, agreement with this statement was quite high compared to Sansei women (Nisei=55.95%; Sansei=17.72%).

Item 6. Once adult children start working on their own, they should not be expected to live close to their parents...

In terms of strength of agreement with this statement representing the non-traditional value, Nisei women were slightly, but not significantly, less traditional than were Sansei (points above the median Nisei=.32; Sansei=.48). For both generations, agreement with this non-traditional value of elder care was relatively high. More than 50% of both generations agreed or strongly agreed with this statement- (Nisei=68.24%; Sansei=55.26%).

Item 7. Once adult children have families of their own (married with or without children), they should not be expected to be in close touch with their parents...

In terms of strength of agreement with this particular statement, representing the non-traditional value, Nisei women were significantly less traditional than were Sansei (points above median Nisei=.16; Sansei=.32). There were more Nisei women who either agreed or strongly agreed to this statement compared to Sansei women (Nisei=8.14%; Sansei=0.00%).

Item 8. Professional service (e.g. care centers for old people) can usually take the place of family care...

For strength of agreement with this statement, representing the non-traditional value of elder care, Nisei women were slightly, but not significantly, less traditional than were Sansei (points above median Nisei=.07; Sansei=.16). In fact, for both generations, agreement with this non-traditional value was relatively low. Less than a half of both generations agreed or strongly agreed with this statement (Nisei=30.59%; Sansei=21.33%).

Summary of Findings regarding Elder Care

These findings suggest that the hypothesis that Nisei women are more likely to hold traditional Japanese values and therefore have more Japanese attitudes towards elder care than are Sansei women should be rejected. In six of the eight items (items 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 8), Nisei women showed generational trends in the opposite direction from that predicted. The strongest of the trends were produced by items asking whether adult children should not be expected to do the household tasks for their parents once they have families of their own and whether older people should not expect much help from grandchildren. Contrary to my hypothesis, it was the Sansei women who leaned towards the traditional Japanese values of dependency, duty and obligation, and familism which are reflected from all of these items. This was also indicated by slightly higher mean scale among Sansei women on the overall scale, though not at a significant level.

Most surprisingly, for item 1 that reflected the traditional Japanese values and rules of successor status role of eldest son to take care of the elderly parents with his wife, both generations leaned toward following the non-traditional way.

On the whole, it seemed that what was expected using Hill's proposition about changes occurring across generations, was not supported by the elder care attitude statements. Significant differences occurred in an unpredicted direction.

Findings of Second Research Statement and Hypotheses regarding Family Structure

The chi square of the percentage table was used to look at whether there was significant generational differences or not as indicated in the above hypotheses. For hypothesis (a), the findings are reported in Table 5.2 and in Table 5.3 for hypothesis (b).

The Second Research Statement regarding Family Structure

There are changes in women's family structure across the Japanese American generations.

Hypotheses

- (a) Nisei women are more likely to live in extended household than are Sansei women.
 - (b) Nisei women are less likely to be divorced than are Sansei women.
- hypothesis (b).

Hypothesis (a):

Among both generations of women, the percent living in extended households was small. However, the comparison between the Nisei and the Sansei samples indicated that there was a significant difference in the household structure. In fact, the chi square of the percentage table indicated that this difference was highly significant at $\leq .001$ level. Consistent with my hypothesis (a) more women from the Nisei sample live in extended family arrangements than do Sansei women (Nisei=12.50%; Sansei= 2.63%).

Still, more than half of the women in each sample lived in non-extended family arrangements. More Nisei women live alone than Sansei women (Nisei=22.73%; Sansei=10.53%). This may be due to two factors. First it may be that the older Nisei women's spouses have already passed away. Second, most of the Nisei women sample's parents and parents-in-laws are deceased. Because the data are cross sectional, they do not capture those Nisei women who lived with their parents or parents-in-law at an earlier time. In comparing those living with spouse only, more Nisei women than Sansei women live with their spouses only (Nisei=51.14%; Sansei=32.89%). This may be due to the fact that the Nisei women's children have left the nest but the Sansei women's typically younger children have not. This is consistent with findings from a comparison of those who live in the nuclear household (either with spouse and unmarried child(ren) or with unmarried child(ren) only). An overwhelming percentage of the Sansei women live in nuclear households as compared to Nisei women (Nisei=13.64%; Sansei=53.95%).

In this particular comparison of family living arrangement, my hypothesis (a) is supported. Although a small number of people are in this category, Nisei women are more likely to live in extended household as compared to Sansei women.

Table 5.2 Family Structure as defined as Type of Household

Type of Household	Nisei (n=88)	Sansei (n=76)
Extended family arrangement		
Extended (with parent(s), married child(ren), sibling(s), in-law(s), other relative(s), & non-relative(s))	12.50%	2.63%
Non-extended family arrangements		
Living alone	22.73%	10.53%
Living with spouse only	51.14%	32.89%
Nuclear (with spouse & unmarried child(ren) or with unmarried child(ren) only)	13.64%	53.95%

Hypothesis (b):

Let us now move on to test hypothesis (b), that Nisei women are less likely to be divorced as compared to Sansei women. Percentages of women in each marital status category are presented in table 5.3. In contrast to my hypothesis, in this particular sample, more Nisei women than Sansei women were divorced (Nisei=5.62%; Sansei=3.80%). This finding suggests that perhaps generational difference has been greater across Issei and Nisei women

than across Nisei and Sansei women-- the percentage of divorce in Sansei women's sample is relatively high as well.

Table 5.3 Family Structure as defined as Divorce Rate

Marital Status	Nisei (n=89)	Sansei (n=79)
Married	65.17%	85.54%
Widowed	22.47%	1.27%
Divorced	5.62%	3.80%
Never Married	6.74%	11.39%

Summary of Findings regarding Family Structure

Overall, we find that there are differences in Nisei women's and Sansei women's family structures in terms of household composition. Although the percent difference is small, more of Nisei women than Sansei women, at least in this sample set, have kept the previously discussed "ie" (household) ideal, as was hypothesized. However, contrary to hypothesis (b), that Nisei women are less likely to be divorced than are Sansei women, this sample showed the opposite. While the small number of Issei in this sample make it impossible to test generational differences between Issei and Nisei women, this anomalous finding may indicate that cultural conflicts may be most acute among second generation women, contributing to greater risk of marital conflict and divorce.

Findings of Third Research Statement and Hypotheses regarding Women's Employment & Occupation

For hypothesis (a), two analyses were conducted as was the case for hypothesis under elder care. Items (1-4 on Table 5.4), that represented the attitudes towards the appropriateness of women in employment, were compiled into a scale. T-TEST procedure was run on the scale to test whether or not there were significant differences between the generations on the overall attitudes towards women's employment. Secondly, the chi square nonparametric measure was used to examine the significance of generational difference, for individual scale items. Differences are reported as significant at the .05 level or better. Findings for all of these analyses for hypothesis (a) are presented in Table 5.4.

For hypothesis (b), two analyses were also conducted. The percentage table was used to compare the occupational ranking differences between the generations. Ttest procedure was run on the occupational scale to assess the mean difference of occupational ranking between the generations. Differences are reported as significant at the .05 level or better. Findings for the analyses for hypothesis (b) are found in Table 5.5.

The Third Research Statement regarding Women's Employment & Occupation

There are changes in women's thinking towards work and women; and change in their occupational statuses across the Japanese American generations.

Hypotheses

(a) Nisei women are more likely to hold traditional Japanese values and therefore more traditional Japanese attitudes towards work and women than are Sansei women.

(b) Nisei women are less likely to have advanced in their occupational status as compared to Sansei women.

Hypothesis (a): Employment Attitude Index

In regard to the overall question of how much discontinuity there is in normative attitudes towards appropriateness of women in employment between Nisei and Sansei women, it seemed that Nisei women were slightly, but not significantly, more traditional than were Sansei (mean score Nisei=10.76; Sansei=9.85). The scale ran from 5 to 20, the higher the number, the more traditional the attitude. In contrast to my hypothesis, there was little generational difference in attitudes towards women's employment. Because the overall scale may obscure significant differences in individual items, a chi square test for significance is used to assess generational differences on each of the items included in the overall scale.

Hypothesis (a): Individual Items

Item 1. It is better for a woman to quit her job after she gets married...

In terms of strength of agreement with this statement, representing the

traditional value of work and women, Nisei women were significantly more traditional than were Sansei women (points above median Nisei=.23; Sansei=.05). Though not with a great percentage difference, more Nisei women either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement compared to Sansei women (Nisei=8.33%; Sansei=1.27%).

Item 2. It is better for a woman to quit her job when she has her first child and to never return to work from then on...

In terms of strength of agreement for this statement, representing the traditional value of work and women, Nisei women were significantly more traditional than were Sansei women (points above median Nisei=.28; Sansei=.14). In fact, a large percent of Nisei women either agreed or strongly agreed with this traditional value compared to Sansei women (Nisei=13.10%; Sansei=2.56%).

Item 3. If successful in her career, a woman should never quit her job in whatever circumstances...

In terms of strength of agreement with this statement, representing non-traditional value of work and women, Nisei women were significantly more non-traditional than were Sansei (points above median Nisei=.02; Sansei=.22). Still, for both generations, agreement with this non-traditional value was quite low. Less than a sixth of both generations agreed or strongly agreed with this statement (Nisei=15%; Sansei=7.69%).

Item 4. It is better for a working woman to pay someone to take care of her elderly mother than to leave her job to take care of her herself...

In this particular attitude statement, representing the non-traditional value of work and women, there was no significant generational difference (points

above median Nisei=.18; Sansei=.18). Nevertheless, there was a slightly higher percentage of Nisei women who either agreed or strongly agreed with this statement compared to Sansei (Nisei=40.51%; Sansei=29.49%).

Table 5.4 Measures of Attitudinal Statements for Women's Employment

Item No.	Item	%agreement ^c			
		Nisei	Sansei	Nisei	Sansei
	<u>Employment Attitude Index^a</u>	10.76	9.85		
	<u>Individual Items^b</u>				
1.	It is better for a woman to quit her job after she gets married...	.23	.05**	8.33 (n=84)	1.27 (n=79)
2.	It is better for a woman to quit her job when she has her first child and to never return to work from then on...	.29	.14*	13.10 (n=84)	2.57 (n=78)
3.	If successful in her career, a woman should never quit her job in whatever circumstances...	.03	.22**	15.00 (n=80)	7.69 (n=78)
4.	It is better for a working woman to pay someone to take care her elderly mother than to leave her job to take care of her herself...	.18	.18	40.51 (n=79)	29.49 (n=78)

^a Mean Score of proc ttest is reported.

^b Nonparametric measure was used and points above median are reported. 5-point scale ranged from strongly agree(1) to strongly disagree(5). Higher number=more traditional.

^c Entries are the percentages who agreed or strongly agreed.

* Significant at the .05 level

** Significant at the .01 level

Hypothesis(b):

Findings on the percentage table indicated fewer Nisei women belonged to the highest occupational rank than do Sansei women (Nisei=3.08%; Sansei=12.68%). In the second rank as well, there were fewer Nisei women than Sansei women (Nisei=13.85%; Sansei=32.39%). In the third rank though, there were approximately the same percentage of Nisei women and Sansei women (Nisei=44.62%; Sansei=47.89%). However, among low ranked occupation, there were more Nisei women compared to Sansei women (added percentages in 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th ranks Nisei=38.36%; Sansei=7.04%). In general, using a ttest to compare overall occupational scale status, we find Nisei women were significantly lower in overall occupational status than were Sansei women (mean Nisei=3.57; Sansei=2.51). In other words, Nisei women's occupational status was below the rank of the Sansei women's occupational status in the Warner-Meeker-Eells' scale.

Table 5.5 Occupational Status from high to low

Ranking	Nisei (n=65)	Sansei (n=71)
1	3.08%	12.68%
2	13.85%	32.39%
3	44.62%	47.89%
4	18.46%	5.63%
5	9.23%	1.41%
6	3.08%	0.00%
7	7.69%	0.00%
Mean	3.57	2.51**

^a Mean Score of proc ttest is reported

** Significant at .01 level

Summary of Findings regarding Women's Employment & Occupation

In the overall comparison of the attitude statements, there was a shift, but not significant drift between generations with regard to attitudes towards women's employment. Two of four specific items show strong trends towards greater acceptance of women's employment among younger Japanese American women, as was predicted. In terms of occupational status the findings support both the research statement and the hypothesis that Nisei women are less likely to have achieved high statuses in their occupational

status than are Sansei women. This finding suggests Hill's proposition regarding the acceleration of achievement from generation to generation on measures of occupational level does apply to the Japanese American women in this study.

6. SUMMARY

The First Research Statement regarding Elder Care

Under the first research statement, it was stated that there would be changes for the elder care attitude across the Nisei and the Sansei women. This was not verified. In fact, any significant differences were opposite that which was predicted. The Sansei women leaned towards the traditional view compared to the Nisei. There are several plausible explanations for this finding. On the one hand, non-traditional attitudes among Nisei may be the result of their generational position. Like many other women in America, Nisei are "women in the middle," (Brody, Johnsen, & Fulcomer, 1983; Brody, 1990). They were, and some in the sample still are, the primary caregivers to their elderly parents, the Issei. As such, they face the competing demands of work and family, as well as potentially conflicting values regarding women's employment and family care of elderly parents (in their case, of traditional Japanese values of elder care). Yet, as they age, (many of the women in the Nisei sample are in their late 60's and 70's) they are, themselves, increasingly recipients of care. Their surprisingly non-traditional views may reflect their positions as mothers, expressing the familiar wish of older people not to be a burden to their children, the Sansei. Knowing the hardship they faced themselves as caregivers, Nisei may not want to emphasize traditional Japanese values regarding caregiving (here because so much conflict existed when they carried out the traditional values). Sansei, in contrast, express

more traditional views. Not yet having experienced the generation squeeze or stresses associated with giving care, these women may hold a more nostalgic view of elder care-- one rooted in tradition. Sansei responses, then, may reflect their wishes to do as much as possible for their elderly. Nisei are those who are speaking from experience, while Sansei speak from ideals.

Although this study focused on the collection of quantitative data, a number of respondents also wrote open-ended responses and comments on the questionnaire. For example, one Nisei woman wrote from her experience, that "you cannot expect more than occasional phone calls and letters from the grandchildren due to their busy schedule today. " Although unsystematic and limited, these suggest a second explanation for the non-traditional attitudes of the Nisei. This actual experience as an older parent receiving limited care, may lower expectations for care among the Nisei. As a result, they respond less traditionally than the Sansei on items such as receiving help from grandchildren. This item, asking whether older people should not expect much help from their grandchildren, was agreed to significantly by the Nisei compared to the Sansei.

Attitudes, however, do not always predict behavior, nor are they unchanging over time. As the Sansei themselves begin to age, we might expect their attitudes to become more like those of the Nisei. This is the finding of Brody's work on intergenerational women in Philadelphia , where "women in the middle" were providing the bulk of care to their elderly despite the egalitarian attitudes they expressed (Brody, Johnsen, & Fulcomer, 1983).

Unfortunately, in this study Nisei attitudes could not be compared with behavior towards their own parents since only 15 Nisei had living parents. Nevertheless, living arrangements and family structure of the Nisei in general provide a clue as to what those patterns of behavior might be.

The Second Research Statement regarding Family Structure

This research statement, suggested that there would be differences between the Nisei and the Sansei with regard to women's family structure. As expected, Nisei women, were living in extended households more often than Sansei women. Of the 11 women living in the extended households, 3 were living with their spouse, children, and own parents. One was living with her spouse and his mother. Thus, 4 of the 15 Nisei who have living parents live with their parents. In contrast, only 1 Sansei woman was found to be living with her spouse and an older parent (73 Sansei women with living parents). The most probable explanation is that the parents of Sansei women are not old enough yet to be taken into their homes for care. Alternate explanations may be that the parents of Sansei women are not living in the same state or country, or are living with the siblings of the Sansei women in this study. Yet, this pattern might also suggest that living arrangements are changing and that the Sansei women are less likely than Nisei women to take in their in-laws and parents, as traditional Japanese behavior would require. Three informants wrote extended comments on the responsibilities Nisei had in having to look after in-laws, especially if they were married to the eldest sons or only sons.

One woman wrote that this behavior pattern was common in Oregon among Nisei who married in the 1930's and 40's. This woman wrote that in-laws had a great deal of influence in the home, including encouraging or even requiring the Nisei's children to speak Japanese at home. Five Sansei, in fact, wrote in the language section of questionnaire that they spoke Japanese at home when grandparents were living with them. The comments of these respondents suggest that it was common for Nisei women to care for their own parents, taking them into their homes after the in-laws had passed away. Thus, attitudes and behavior, in the case of Nisei women and elder care, are, on the surface, clearly not consistent. Even though the Nisei women had more egalitarian views toward elderly care than the younger Sansei generation, they appear to have acted in ways inconsistent with more traditional beliefs-- providing the bulk of care for the elderly. Given the time frame in which much of their caregiving is in the past, this disjuncture suggests that Nisei's more egalitarian attitudes may, in fact, spring from their experience as traditional caregivers to aging parents and in-laws-- experiences they would prefer not to have their children repeat.

Nor are attitudes and behavior seemingly inconsistent for the Nisei alone. Among Sansei women, findings suggest that adherence to more traditional attitudes regarding elder care does not extend to household structures which include older parents. In this sample, there were quite a number of the Nisei generation who lived alone(22.73%). Of this number, 80% were either divorced or widowed. It seems then, that Sansei women have come to favor

nuclear households over extended ones. Moreover, while almost two thirds of the Sansei women have either parents or parents-in-law who are widowed, less than 4% are currently living with their widowed mothers or mothers-in-law. Perhaps the other parents are living with other relatives. However, given the high percentage of Nisei who reported living alone, we might expect the parents of many of the Sansei in this sample to be living alone as well. Actually, household structure then, may reflect reluctance on the part of the Sansei to provide care, as well as a reticence on the part of the Nisei to be a "burden" to their children. This behavior reflects the complicated process in which traditional attitudes are modified by living in a new culture. On one hand, these women begin with traditional attitudes to sacrifice for their children (in the Japanese context, this creates reciprocal obligation in which mothers would depend on adult children when they age). This is modified by idealized American mothering which involves sacrifice throughout life span, and is made possible by the absorption of the American ideal of autonomy and individualism. The modification probably occurred because the Nisei women, knowing the conflicts they themselves faced when they cared for their older parents, did not want their children to suffer in the same way by having to take care of them. Clearly additional research is needed to assess the degree to which household structure among Nisei women prefer to live alone from independence, or is because the Sansei themselves prefer nuclear over extended households.

The Third Research Statement regarding Women's Employment & Occupation

Under this research statement, change was expected across Nisei and Sansei women in attitudes towards women's employment and occupational status. Interestingly, while Nisei were less traditional than Sansei with regard to elder care, the opposite was the case in terms of women's employment and child care. Here, Nisei were more traditional than Sansei in responding to items regarding whether a woman should quit work after she gets married and has her first child. This raises the question as to why the Nisei leaned towards non-traditionality compared to the Sansei in most of the elderly attitudes when they have leaned in the opposite direction regarding the appropriateness of women in employment. Findings from previous research suggest that this may be because Nisei have strong affection towards their own children. Glenn (1986) writes that Nisei would sacrifice for their children (p. 226). For example, they would eat only bread and water in order to help their children get ahead. This attitude toward maternal sacrifice helps to explain both the non-traditional attitude of Nisei with regarding elder care (not wanting to be a burden on their children in America where their traditional values do not fit) as well as the more traditional attitude regarding women's employment and child care (expecting their daughters, now mothers, to sacrifice for their children).

Finally, with regard to occupational advancement, these findings suggest Sansei women were much more likely than Nisei women to be employed in

higher status occupations. Significantly more Sansei women than Nisei women were employed in a higher ranked occupation.

Education clearly plays a role in these generational differences as seen on Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Occupational Status and Education

Occup. Status	< or highschool		> highschool		> college	
	Nisei (n=3)	Sansei (n=2)	Nisei (n=33)	Sansei (n=40)	Nisei (n=7)	Sansei (n=29)
High	2	1	5	16	4	15
Medium	11	1	26	23	3	14
Low	10	0	2	1	0	0

* Number of people in each education and employment category.

Those who have achieved more than high school education are more likely to be employed in mid and the high status occupations. Only 2 Sansei have less than or equal to high school education, compared to 23 Nisei women.

Educational opportunity, as well as changing attitude towards women's employment, have played a significant role in placing the Sansei women in the higher ranking occupation.

7. DISCUSSION

Conclusion and Implications

The findings of this research provided mixed support for Hill's propositions regarding intergenerational relations and change. As Hill suggests, this study finds intergenerational discontinuity in traditional household structure (in which Sansei are less likely to support, in behavior, living with older parents than are Nisei). As Hill would predict, this study also found generational discontinuity in traditional attitudes towards women's employment. Hill's propositions regarding acceleration in occupational level across generations was supported by this study as well (the Sansei women on average ranked higher in the occupational status than the Nisei women). In these three ways, the findings of this research support Hill's broad propositions regarding intergenerational change.

Other findings, however, do not support these general expectations. Contrary to my hypothesis, more Nisei were divorced than were Sansei women. On the surface, this counter intuitive findings might suggest that Nisei women have discontinued the traditional Japanese value and rules of marital stability, while Sansei women have become more traditional-- a phenomenon quite the contrary to Hill's proposition. A closer look at the data, however, suggests that movement away from traditional Japanese values and rules already exists among Nisei women. Both generations show a high percentage of divorce (5.62% of Nisei women and 3.80% of Sansei women). That changes in

attitudes and behavior should appear within the first and second generations is consistent with Hill's argument that, "there appears to be much innovating and creating of new patterns, especially between the first and the second generations.." (Hill, 1970). Although my hypothesis that Nisei women would be less likely to be divorced than the Sansei women was rejected, this may be because the transition with regard to marital stability was already occurring between Issei and Nisei generations. Although my sample of Issei was too small to test this proposition, such a change does help to explain the similarity in Nisei and Sansei divorce rate. Changes in divorce between the Issei and the Nisei generations may have simply carried over to the Sansei. If this is the case, the seemingly incongruent result of a higher percentage of divorced Nisei women relative to Sansei women would be consistent with Hill's proposition.

Implications for Assimilation

What do these changes in elder care, family structure, and occupational attitude and status imply with regard to theories of assimilation? According to Milton Gordon (1964), when an ethnic group entirely achieves the following, the group is completely assimilated to the culture and society of the host country.

- 1) Cultural or behavioral assimilation (Change of cultural patterns to those of the host society)
- 2) Structural assimilation (Large scale entrance into clubs and institutions of the host society, on primary group level)
- 3) Marital assimilation (Large scale intermarriage)

- 4) Identificational assimilation (Development of peoplehood exclusively on host society)
- 5) Attitude Receptional assimilation (Absence of prejudice)
- 6) Behavioral Receptional assimilation (Absence of discrimination)
- 7) Civic assimilation (Absence of value and power conflict)

Based on Gordon's outline of the process of assimilation, Sansei women's behavior towards elder care and their family structure resemble that of the dominant American society-- indicating that this generation is assimilating in these areas. Even though the elder care attitudes of the Sansei were more traditional than Nisei, most Sansei women disagreed to the question asking whether the eldest son and his wife should co-reside with his parents.

Moreover, in their actual living arrangements, the Sansei women seemed little inclined to live with their parents or in-laws, (although they seemed to want to help out as much as possible as inferred from their attitudes). In this way, the Sansei generation of Japanese American families is much like "the modified extended family". Here, there is an extensive interaction between nuclear family units within the kinship system, but not the geographic propinquity of the classic traditional extended family (Liu & Osako, 1986:132).

A second indication of assimilation is the significant difference in occupational level between generations. Education clearly contributes to the success of Sansei in obtaining higher status in occupations. However, given rapid technological development, and expectations for higher educational attainment, their level of occupational success could be even higher. Many of the Sansei women ranked in the second and third ranks than in the first rank on

the Warner-Meeker-Eells' scale though their educational attainment was high. Starting with the most of them attaining college degree (32.47%), 25.97% attained one or more graduate degree, and 11.69% post baccalaureate study. It may be an overstatement, then, to say that the Sansei are fully acculturated with regard to occupation. Matsuo writes that the Japanese Americans have to achieve more education than whites to acquire the same occupation and the same amount of income as whites (Matsuo, 1989:33). In fact, to compare women, there were 28.2% of Japanese American females who earned a bachelor's degree or higher in contrast to 18.4% of White females (U.S. Census Bureau, 1990). It seems, therefore, that discrimination in employment could be blocking the Japanese Americans from further assimilation in occupation.

Finally, it should be remembered that assimilation, to the degree that it is occurring, is not the adaptation of one culture to a stagnant other. Over the past two generations, there have been dramatic changes in the dominant American culture as well. Changes in occupational status for Sansei women, for example, cannot be understood outside the context of changes in women's employment in general. Nearly 77% of the Sansei in this sample were currently employed, compared to 66.4% for the U.S. population as a whole (Statistical Abstract, 1993). Clearly, Sansei women, like women in general, are being encouraged to participate in the labor force in order to generate more income to meet society's standards. Like many women, Sansei will also probably experience the strains of being "women in the middle", giving care to older parents. These strains may be particularly acute as the Sansei face the

contradictions between their traditional attitudes regarding elder care and their paid employment. We can expect these strains to be augmented, as traditional cultural supports within the Japanese American community are weakening. Alternatives for providing elder care through formal care providers is itself a difficult issue as it raises the question of whether elder care institutions can accommodate differences in food, caring styles, or language. Given the current lack of support for policies regarding elder care in general, there is little to suggest that these needs for culturally sensitive elder care will be met. The Sansei, especially women, who are most likely to be caregivers (Gerstel & Gallagher, 1993, 1994), will no doubt face, what at present seems difficult choices compounded by conflicting cultural expectations.

Thoughts for Future Study

While this sample of Japanese American women produced some intriguing findings, their generalizability is limited. Due to time and financial limitations, a genuinely random, stratified sample population was impossible to obtain. While every effort was made to obtain a representative sample across four generations, the majority of respondents were from the second and third generations. Were substantial numbers of Issei and Yonsei (fourth generation) women included, however, we might expect to find even greater generational differences than those presented here. In this way, limiting the analyses to second and third generations may actually underestimate generational changes that have actually occurred.

A second limitation of this analysis is that it is limited only to women. While it is true that the including of men would have provided a more generalized perspective on intergenerational cultural change, most of the dimensions analysed here have traditionally been women's domain. Because women are primary caregivers to the elderly, across race and culture, it seems reasonable to focus on women in this analysis.

Given both the limitations and the findings of this analysis, future research might consider extending this sample frame to include men, as well as women. The findings of such extended research would contribute to our understanding of changing gender ideals in the broader culture. Future research ought to extend this study in a second way as well. It would also be beneficial if future research could be conducted with the inclusion of Yonsei (the fourth generation), after they are older. This comparison of their attitude and behavior pattern of elder care with the Sansei could give us more detailed information regarding the intergenerational changes outlined here. Better, a trend study of the Nisei and the Sansei with the inclusion of Yonsei would help us understand the complexities of generational changes that seem to be occurring over various stages of people's lives, as this research analysis suggested. Extending this research in these ways would provide a wider perspective of what is occurring across generations in the larger community.

A final note is that we have seen this complexity of generational change about conflicting cultural values that occur in the U.S. just by studying two generations in the Japanese American community. The conflicts experienced

by Nisei women when caring for their elderly are examples not of a process in which one culture is gradually replaced by another; but an example of how a new synthesis emerges out of the conflict of old and new ideas. In this case, Nisei women draw on the traditional value of sacrificial motherhood, extending it throughout the lifecourse and tempering it through their own experiences as caregivers. In doing so, Nisei women's ideas are neither wholly Japanese nor wholly American, nor simply in between-- but are a unique synthesis of culture, ideas, and life experiences. Future research should, then, focus on the non-linear characteristics of generational change in the Japanese American community, as well as beyond in the broader American culture.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Cover Letter (1st Wave)

March 22, 1995

Dear Friend:

My name is Mary Sanabe-Mao, and I am a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies in Sociology at Oregon State University. I am conducting a survey of family relations among Japanese American women. The purpose of this survey is to learn about how family structure, care for their elderly, and women's roles change over time.

You and your family may have experienced some of these changes yourselves. Since each person's experience is unique, it is important that I survey a wide variety of people, including yourself.

This survey is the basis of my Master's thesis and it is **not** funded by tax dollars. It is also **not** for marketing purposes. All personal information will be kept confidential and your identity will remain anonymous. In order to complete this study, your participation in completing of the attached questionnaire is essential. Before you fill out the questionnaire, please read and sign the informed consent on the next page. I have enclosed both English and Japanese version of the questionnaire. If you prefer to respond in Japanese, please turn the questionnaire packet over and begin. Both versions of questionnaire are the same. Your participation will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

Yours Sincerely,

Mary Sanabe-Mao

P.S. Please use the enclosed stamped and addressed envelope to return your questionnaire within 10 days of your receipt of this mail. Thank you again for your participation.

APPENDIX B

Cover Letter (2nd Wave)

April 30, 1995

Dear Friend:

My name is Mary Sanabe-Mao, and I am a candidate for the degree of Master of Arts in Interdisciplinary Studies in Sociology at Oregon State University. I am conducting a survey of family relations among Japanese American women. The purpose of this survey is to learn about how family structure, care for their elderly, and women's roles change over time.

You and your family may have experienced some of these changes yourselves. Since each person's experience is unique, it is important that I survey a wide variety of people. At this stage of my research, I am looking for second and third generation Japanese American women. During sampling, your name was chosen from the JACL directory. If you are not in one of the categories mentioned, it will be very helpful if you can pass the questionnaire on to someone you know in Oregon or Washington, who is either second or third generation. Please use the provided stamped envelope to send the questionnaire and the self-addressed return envelope to that person. If **you** are either second or third generation, it will be great if **you** can participate by filling out the questionnaire and sending it back to me using the self-addressed envelope.

This survey is the basis of my Master's thesis and it is **not** funded by tax dollars. It is also **not** for marketing purposes. All personal information will be kept confidential and your identity will remain anonymous. In order to complete this study, your participation in completing of the attached questionnaire or your participation by passing the questionnaire on to someone else is essential. Before you fill out the questionnaire, please read and sign the informed consent on the next page. I have enclosed both English and Japanese version of the questionnaire. If you prefer to respond in Japanese, please turn the questionnaire packet over and begin. Both versions of questionnaire are the same. Your participation will be greatly appreciated.

Thank you very much for your cooperation!

Yours Sincerely,

Mary Sanabe-Mao

P.S. Please use the enclosed stamped and addressed envelope to return your questionnaire within 10 days of your receipt of this mail. Thank you again for your participation.

APPENDIX C

Explanation and Informed Consent Document

Explanations and Instructions

1. There are no right or wrong answers to any questions. The only appropriate answer to each question is the one that best applies to you.
2. Before you begin, please read and sign the consent form below. This is required by the university as a safeguard for participation in any university affiliated study.
3. If you have any questions regarding this study, call or write to

Mary Sanabe-Mao
5217 SE 30th Ave. #216
Portland, OR 97202

Tel. (503) 753-9018
4. Please use the enclosed stamped and addressed envelope to return your questionnaire within 10 days of receipt of this mail.

Informed Consent

I have agreed to participate in a study of intergenerational relations within the Japanese American community in Northwestern region.

I understand that the study involves a written questionnaire and that my participation is entirely voluntary.

I have been informed that the purpose of this study is to learn about family structure, elderly care, and employment across generations in the Japanese American community.

I have been assured that all information I give will be kept confidential and that the identity of all subjects will remain anonymous. I have also been assured that I may refuse to answer specific questions, if I so choose.

I have read and understand the foregoing information.

Date _____

Signature _____

APPENDIX D

Survey Questionnaire

General questions: Please circle the number which best describes yourself and fill in the blanks whenever appropriate.

1. What is your sex?

Male.....0

Female..1

2. What is your generation?

Issei (first generation, immigrant from Japan) 1

Nisei (second generation, born in America) 2

Sansei (third generation of Japanese Ancestry) 3

Yonsei (fourth generation of Japanese Ancestry) 4

Kibei (had mostly Japanese education in Japan) 5

Other Japanese (e.g. Father- Issei, Mother-Nisei) 6

Mixed Marriage, Asian (e.g. Father- Nisei
Mother- Chinese American) 7

Mixed Marriage, Other (e.g. Father- Euro-American
Mother- Nisei) 8

3. Please tell me your birth date and place of birth.

Date _____, Place (city) _____,
(State)_____

4. Are you currently...

Married 1
Widowed 2
Separated 3
Divorced 4
Never married 5 [skip to #8]

5. Is/Was your spouse...

European American 1
Japanese American 2
Japanese (born in Japan) 3
Non-Japanese Oriental 4
Other 5

6. If he is Japanese American, in what generation does he belong to...

Issei (first generation) 1

Nisei (second generation) 2

Sansei (third generation) 3

Yonsei (fourth generation) 4

Kibei (had mostly Japanese education in Japan) 5

Other Japanese (e.g. Father- Issei, Mother-Nisei) 6

7. Are/Were you married to the eldest son?

No 0
Yes 1

8. Does anyone currently live with you?

No 0 [skip to question #10]
Yes 1

9. Please tell me about the people currently living with you, beginning with the oldest. Circle or write in the appropriate responses.

Sex	Year of Birth	What is _____'s relationship to you
1. male....0 female..1	19__ __	Spouse.....1 In-law.....5 Child.....2 Other relative...6 Parent.....3 Non-relative.....7 Sibling.....4
2. male....0 female..1	19__ __	Spouse.....1 In-law.....5 Child.....2 Other relative...6 Parent.....3 Non-relative.....7 Sibling.....4
3. male....0 female..1	19__ __	Spouse.....1 In-law.....5 Child.....2 Other relative...6 Parent.....3 Non-relative.....7 Sibling.....4
4. male....0 female..1	19__ __	Spouse.....1 In-law.....5 Child.....2 Other relative...6 Parent.....3 Non-relative.....7 Sibling.....4
5. male....0 female..1	19__ __	Spouse.....1 In-law.....5 Child.....2 Other relative...6 Parent.....3 Non-relative.....7 Sibling.....4
6. male....0 female..1	19__ __	Spouse.....1 In-law.....5 Child.....2 Other relative...6 Parent.....3 Non-relative.....7 Sibling.....4

9.(Continued...)

Sex	Year of Birth	What is ____'s relationship to you
7. male...0 female..1	19__ __	Spouse.....1 In-law.....5 Child.....2 Other relative...6 Parent.....3 Non-relative.....7 Sibling.....4
8. male...0 female..1	19__ __	Spouse.....1 In-law.....5 Child.....2 Other relative...6 Parent.....3 Non-relative.....7 Sibling.....4

10. Do you have any children?

No 0 [skip to #12]
Yes 1

11. Please tell me something about your children, starting with the oldest. Circle or write in the appropriate responses.

Sex	Year of Birth	Marital Status	Spouse's Ethnicity
1. male...0 female.1	19__ __	Married.....1 Widowed.....2 Separated.....3 Divorced.....4 Never married..5	European American..1 Japanese American..2 Japanese.....3 Other Oriental.....4 Other.....5
2. male...0 female.1	19__ __	Married.....1 Widowed.....2 Separated.....3 Divorced.....4 Never married..5	European American..1 Japanese American..2 Japanese.....3 Other Oriental.....4 Other.....5
3. male...0 female.1	19__ __	Married.....1 Widowed.....2 Separated.....3 Divorced.....4 Never married..5	European American..1 Japanese American..2 Japanese.....3 Other Oriental.....4 Other.....5

11.(Continued...)

Sex	Year of Birth	Marital Status	Spouse's Ethnicity
4. male...0 female.1	19__ __	Married.....1	European American..1
		Widowed.....2	Japanese American..2
		Separated.....3	Japanese.....3
		Divorced.....4	Other Oriental.....4
		Never married..5	Other.....5
5. male...0 female.1	19__ __	Married.....1	European American..1
		Widowed.....2	Japanese American..2
		Separated.....3	Japanese.....3
		Divorced.....4	Other Oriental.....4
		Never married..5	Other.....5
6. male...0 female.1	19__ __	Married.....1	European American..1
		Widowed.....2	Japanese American..2
		Separated.....3	Japanese.....3
		Divorced.....4	Other Oriental.....4
		Never married..5	Other.....5
7. male...0 female.1	19__ __	Married.....1	European American..1
		Widowed.....2	Japanese American..2
		Separated.....3	Japanese.....3
		Divorced.....4	Other Oriental.....4
		Never married..5	Other.....5

Families vary in the way they help each other. Please tell me something about your parents, and the help you may have given them.

12. Is your mother still living?

No 0 [skip to #14]
Yes 1

b) How far away does she live from you? (example: 2 hour drive away or in another state) _____

13. Think about your mother. In the past month, have you given the following kinds of help or any other kinds of help, either major or minor, to your mother?

		Circle	
a)	helping with housework	yes	no
	prepare meals	yes	no
	giving a ride	yes	no
	done laundry	yes	no
	taking care when she is sick	yes	no
	helping with personal care (e.g. washing her hair giving her bath)	yes	no
	helping with finances (e.g. mailing bill balancing checkbook)	yes	no
	giving advice	yes	no
	talking about personal problems and concerns	yes	no
	giving money (either a gift or a loan)	yes	no
	giving goods	yes	no
	Other (What was that?) _____		

b) How much time would you say you spent overall in last month doing all these tasks combined? Would you say...

< 1 hour	1
1-2 hours	2
3-5 hours	3
6-10 hours	4
11-20 hours	5
21-40 hours	6
41-75 hours	7
76-100 hours	8
100+	9

c) In general, would you say your mother's health is...

Excellent	1
Good	2
Fair	3
Poor	4
Very poor	5

14. Is your father still living?

No	0 [skip to #16]
Yes	1

b) How far away does he live from you? _____

15. Think about your father. In the past month, have you given the following kinds of help or any other kinds of help, either major or minor, to your father?

Circle

a) helping with housework	yes	no
prepare meals	yes	no
giving a ride	yes	no
done laundry	yes	no
taking care when he is sick	yes	no
helping with personal care (e.g. washing his hair giving him bath)	yes	no
helping with finances (e.g. mailing bills balancing checkbook)	yes	no
giving advice	yes	no
talking about personal problems and concerns	yes	no
giving money (either a gift or a loan)	yes	no
giving goods	yes	no

Other (What was that?) _____

b) How much time would you say you spent overall in last month doing all these tasks combined? Would you say...

< 1 hour	1
1-2 hours	2
3-5 hours	3
6-10 hours	4
11-20 hours	5
21-40 hours	6
41-75 hours	7
76-100 hours	8
100+	9

c.) In general, would you say your father's health is...

Excellent	1
Good	2
Fair	3
Poor	4
Very poor	5

16. Is your mother-in-law still living?

No	0 [skip to #18]
Yes	1

b) How far away does she live from you? _____

17. Think about your mother-in-law. In the past month, have you given the following kinds of help or any other kinds of help, either major or minor, to your mother-in-law?

	Circle	
	yes	no
a) helping with housework	yes	no
prepare meals	yes	no
giving a ride	yes	no
done laundry	yes	no
taking care when she is sick	yes	no
helping with personal care (e.g. washing her hair giving her bath)	yes	no

17.(Continued...)

a)	helping with finances (e.g. mailing bills balancing checkbook)	yes	no
	giving advice	yes	no
	talking about personal problems and concerns	yes	no
	giving money (either a gift or a loan)	yes	no
	giving goods	yes	no

Other (What was that?) _____

b) How much time would you say you spent overall in last month doing all these tasks combined? Would you say...

< 1 hour	1
1-2 hours	2
3-5 hours	3
6-10 hours	4
11-20 hours	5
21-40 hours	6
41-75 hours	7
76-100 hours	8
100+	9

c.) In general, would you say your mother-in-law's health is...

Excellent	1
Good	2
Fair	3
Poor	4
Very poor	5

18. Is your father-in-law still living?

No	0 [skip to #20]
Yes	1

b)How far away does he live from you? _____

19. Think about your father-in-law. In the past month have you given the following kinds of help or any other kinds of help, either major or minor, to your father-in-law?

		Circle	
a)	helping with housework	yes	no
	prepare meals	yes	no
	giving a ride	yes	no
	doing laundry	yes	no
	taking care when he is sick	yes	no
	helping with personal care (e.g. washing his hair giving him bath)	yes	no
	helping with finances (e.g. mailing bills balancing checkbook)	yes	no
	giving advice	yes	no
	talking about personal problems and concerns	yes	no
	giving money (either a gift or a loan)	yes	no
	giving goods	yes	no

Other (What was that?) _____

b) How much time would you say you spent overall in last month doing all these tasks combined? Would you say...

< 1 hour	1
1-2 hours	2
3-5 hours	3
6-10 hours	4
11-20 hours	5
21-40 hours	6
41-75 hours	7
76-100 hours	8
100+	9

c) In general, would you say your father-in-law's health is...

Excellent	1
Good	2
Fair	3
Poor	4
Very poor	5

We all have different opinions towards caring for our elderly. How strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements. Please circle the appropriate response.

20. The eldest son and his wife should co-reside with his parents...

strongly agree	1
agree	2
do not care	3
disagree	4
strongly disagree	5

21. It is better if a daughter takes care of her parents rather than having a daughter-in-law do so...

strongly agree	1
agree	2
do not care	3
disagree	4
strongly disagree	5

22. Once adult children have families of their own (married with or without children), they should **not** be expected to do the household tasks for their parents...

strongly agree	1
agree	2
do not care	3
disagree	4
strongly disagree	5

23. Friends and neighbors **can't** be expected to help older people the way their children do...

strongly agree	1
agree	2
do not care	3
disagree	4
strongly disagree	5

24. Older people should **not** expect much help from their grandchildren...

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| strongly agree | 1 |
| agree | 2 |
| do not care | 3 |
| disagree | 4 |
| strongly disagree | 5 |

25. Once adult children start working on their own, they should **not** be expected to live close to their parents...

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| strongly agree | 1 |
| agree | 2 |
| do not care | 3 |
| disagree | 4 |
| strongly disagree | 5 |

26. Once adult children have families of their own(married with or without children), they should **not** be expected to be in close touch with their parents...

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| strongly agree | 1 |
| agree | 2 |
| do not care | 3 |
| disagree | 4 |
| strongly disagree | 5 |

27. Professional service (e.g. care centers for old people) can usually take the place of family care...

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| strongly agree | 1 |
| agree | 2 |
| do not care | 3 |
| disagree | 4 |
| strongly disagree | 5 |

Please think about the language you used during childhood and the language you use today with your family and in your community. Circle the appropriate response.

28. What was the first language you learned to speak?

- | | |
|---------------|---|
| only Japanese | 1 |
| only English | 2 |
| Both | 3 |

29. How well do you speak English? Would you say...

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| very fluently | 5 |
| pretty well | 4 |
| well enough to have conversation | 3 |
| know a few words | 2 |
| don't speak at all | 1 |

30. How well do you speak Japanese? Would you say...
- | | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| very fluently | 5 |
| pretty well | 4 |
| well enough to have conversation | 3 |
| know a few words | 2 |
| don't speak at all | 1 |

On a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being **only Japanese** and 10 being **only English**...
Please circle the closest number that describes your language usage.

31. What language was spoken in your home when you were a child?...
- only Japanese* _____ *only English*
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

32. What language would you say you usually use at home now...
- only Japanese* _____ *only English*
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

33. What language would you say you usually use with your family outside the household...
- only Japanese* _____ *only English*
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

34. What language would you say you usually use in your community (with friends, people at work, neighbors, etc.)...
- only Japanese* _____ *only English*
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

35. In what language do you usually read your books and magazines...
- only Japanese* _____ *only English*
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

36. In what language do you usually watch your video...
- only Japanese* _____ *only English*
- 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Now, please think about your own employment status and history. Circle and write in the appropriate responses.

37. Are you currently employed?
- | | |
|-----|-----------------|
| No | 0 [skip to #40] |
| Yes | 1 |

38. What is your primary occupation? Please write the title of this job.

39. What do you actually do in that job. Tell me, what are some of your main duties.

_____ [skip to #43]

40. Did you ever work for pay for as long as a year in the past?

No	0 [skip to #43]
Yes	1

41. What was your primary occupation then? Please write the title of the job.

42. What did you actually do in that job. Tell me, what were some of your main duties.

People differ in the way they think about the appropriateness of women in employment. How strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements. Please circle the appropriate response.

43. It is better for a woman to quit her job after she gets married...

strongly agree	1
agree	2
do not know	3
disagree	4
strongly disagree	5

44. It is better for a woman to quit her job when she has her first child and to never return to work from then on...

strongly agree	1
agree	2
do not know	3
disagree	4
strongly disagree	5

45. If successful in her career, a woman should never quit her job in whatever circumstances...

strongly agree	1
agree	2
do not know	3
disagree	4
strongly disagree	5

46. It is better for a working woman to pay someone to take care of her elderly mother than to leave her job to take care of her herself...

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| strongly agree | 1 |
| agree | 2 |
| do not know | 3 |
| disagree | 4 |
| strongly disagree | 5 |

Now some general questions about you and your family. Please circle the appropriate responses.

47. In which of the following groups did your total **personal** income from your employment last year before taxes fall?

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| none (not working) | 0 |
| under \$9,999 | 1 |
| \$10,000 - 19,999 | 2 |
| \$20,000 - 29,999 | 3 |
| \$30,000 - 39,999 | 4 |
| \$40,000 - 49,999 | 5 |
| \$50,000 - 59,999 | 6 |
| \$60,000 or over | 7 |

48. In which of the following groups did your total **family** or **household** income of last year before taxes fall?

- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| under \$9,999 | 1 |
| \$10,000 - 19,999 | 2 |
| \$20,000 - 29,999 | 3 |
| \$30,000 - 39,999 | 4 |
| \$40,000 - 49,999 | 5 |
| \$50,000 - 59,999 | 6 |
| \$60,000 or over | 7 |

49. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

No formal schooling	1
Some grade school	2
Completed grade school	3
Some highschool	4
Completed highschool	5
Technical or Vocational school	6
Some college	7
Completed Junior college	8
Completed college	9
Post baccalaureate study	10
one or more graduate degree	11

50. In general, would you say your physical health is...

Excellent	1
Good	2
Fair	3
Poor	4
Very poor	5

Thank you very much for your cooperation! Please send back the complete questionnaire using the enclosed self-addressed envelope.