PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF JAPANESE IMMIGRATION

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Historical Survey of Immigration

The first organized immigration of the Japanese to Hawaii dates back to 1868. The government of the Hawaiian monarchy recruited the migrants for plantation labor through its trading commissioner, who was stationed in Tokyo. The proposition attracted over 300 adventurous spirited youths, mostly of Tokyo, of whom 133 were accepted besides nine women and one child. These young men were between the ages of thirteen and twenty-seven years and coolies or palanquin bearers by occupation. They were mostly vagabonds, engaged in fighting, gambling or highway robbery. They had no idea of where Hawaii was but somehow concluded that it was as far as *Tenjiku* or "Heaven".[1] They all cut the top-knots of their hair at their departure as the sign of farewell to the gods of the old country. Then they entered into a convenant of brotherhood, promising each other that they would quarrel no more among themselves but help and protect each other in every way when they reached *Tenjiku*. This first group of immigrants is known among the Japanese in Hawaii as the *Gannen-mono*.[2] They came at the time when the government of Japan was changing from the Shogunate to the Meiji era. In order to avoid the complication which might be caused by the new governmental policy, their departure was almost that of stowaways, in such a hurried manner. They came on an English boat.

After landing at Honolulu, the immigrants were given two weeks' vacation. However, after the merry life of the big city of Yedo, Hawaii looked very primitive and they were extremely disappointed at the first sight of the islands. After two weeks in Honolulu, they were sent to different places: 113 went to the plantations, (eight to Kauai, forty-five to Maui, sixty-one to Oahu), twenty were placed in *haole* homes in Honolulu as domestic servants, and the women went with their husbands.

The *Gannen-mono* were on a three years' contract. They worked twenty-six days per month, from 6:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M. with thirty minutes for lunch daily and were paid $4.00 per month, besides food, lodging and medical expenses. Unaccustomed to farm work they found their life very strenuous and wrote to the Japanese government about their hardships. In 1869 three Japanese officials came to investigate their conditions.[3] Forty immigrants returned to Japan with those officials. In 1870 Mr. Pierce, an American minister to Hawaii, was appointed by the Japanese government to act as an official supervisor of all the Japanese immigrants.[4]

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1 Tenjiku indicates India and at the same time the sacred abode of Buddha which was believed to be the destination of man. Tenjiku thus meant the farthest distance a human being could go.

2 Gannen means the first year; Mono means persons. The year of their departure was the first year of the Meiji Emperor after the reigning power was restored from the Tokugawa Government.

3 R. Kihara, History of Japanese People in Hawaii (Hawaii Nihonjin Shi), p. 413. Those officials were the guests of the King.

4 Ibid. p. 418. Up to contract immigration American diplomatic ministers to Hawaii acted as the Honorary Japanese Consuls.

When the three years' contract ended seventeen returned to Japan.[5] Those who remained, married the native women or women of other races and settled in other trades. A few were quite successful financially. One married a Portuguese woman and became a devout Catholic.

Eventually all of the *Gannen-mono* were assimilated into the larger community and did not constitute a separate Japanese community. They were too small in number, and no organized type of immigration followed this for eighteen years.

The typical Japanese immigrant began to appear in 1885, when immigration under the auspices of the Japanese government occurred.[6] This time, in the effort to get hard-working plantation laborers, the Japanese government recruited the immigrants among the peasants in the prefectures of Hiroshima, Yamaguchi and Kumamoto in the south-west and in some north-eastern agricultural prefectures. In February 1885, 948 Japanese were brought on the S.S. City of Tokyo as the first contracted laborers.[7] This time they had with them Japanese supervisors and interpreters and Japanese physicians all of whom were employed by the Hawaiian government.[8]

This type of immigration continued until 1894. During this period twenty-six boats brought 29,032 Japanese to Hawaii. Their travelling expenses were paid by the plantations. Their wage was $15 per month of which they were to deposit 15 per cent to be drawn when they left Hawaii after three years.

From 1894 a few private immigration companies, cooperating with the various plantations, took over the importation of laborers from Japan. Up to 1900 they brought about 40,208 immigrants to Hawaii. However, these firms were in such acute competition with one another that they developed unreasonable means of recruiting the immigrants among the ignorant peasants.[9] Besides, they were getting double profit—commissions from the plantation employers and from the immigrants. Finally they were severely attacked by the Japanese community and were forced to leave the Islands.[10]

Between 1900 and 1908 was the period of free immigration, when 68,326 Japanese came to Hawaii.[11] With annexation to the United States in 1898 the Immigration Law of the United States was applied to Hawaii, which resulted in the elimination of contract immigration as well as in the elimination of the contracts of those already working on the plantations.

This emancipation resulted in various social phenomena. One was the movement to the mainland, which started in a small

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5 Ibid, p. 422.

6 Between 1868 and 1885 there was no organized migration to Hawaii. Those who came were a small number who had been working on American whaling boats and were stranded here. They were more or less assimilated into the local life.

7 Ibid, p. 438.

8 Ibid, p. 517. Food was not provided at this figure, but they were provided free housing, medical attenion and exemption from taxes. In the case of women, the wage was $10 per month.

9 Ibid, p. 477. They sent agents to villages to recruit picture brides too. They charged about $100 per head, besides commission from plantations.

10 Ibid, p 479. The application of the Immigration Law of the United States became effective in 1900.

11 Ibid, p. 573.

way with twenty-one people in 1901 and increased yearly so that there were 57,000 Japanese on the Pacific Coast in 1905.[12] According to the Rev. Okumura, one-third of the immigrants from Japan during this period went to California. Sometimes the number was as high as 3000 per month.

As a consequence of this movement there was a shortage of labor on the Hawaiian plantations and a great deal of economic disturbance in the Japanese community in Hawaii. Efforts were made to stop the movement and finally in 1908 a law became effective prohibiting the migration of the Japanese in Hawaii to the mainland.[13] But such great numbers had already migrated as to create a feeling of threat to the labor situation on the Pacific Coast, and later an anti-Japanese movement developed there.

Anti-Japanese sentiment was consummated in the so-called Gentlemen's Agreement in 1908 and from this time positive immigration from Japan was stopped. However, the immigration of relatives and picture-brides was allowed to continue. According to the record, from that time until 1924, 62,277 Japanese came to Hawaii of which 26,503 were men, 30,633 women, and 5,151 children.[14] This period is commonly called among the Japanese the *Yobiyose-jidai*, the "period of summoning families."

Psychological Aspects of Immigration

The foregoing survey indicates that the type of Japanese immigrating has largely determined their resultant assimilation. The *Gannen-mono* were vagabonds in an urban community and were attracted for emigration as a form of adventure. They were already deviates from the conventions and mores of the old country while in Japan. They were of Buddhist background but religion had very little to do with their actual lives. They were deviates emotionally from the familial and conventional ties of the old country and found it easy to assimilate among the peoples of different cultures. Although they came under the three years' contract, eighty-six remained and were married to the native women or women of other races.

Circumstances in Hawaii were also favorable to assimilation. At the time they arrived, Japanese were very scarce. Therefore they were treated by the natives and other races as well as the government with more than ordinary kindness. The record shows that even on the plantations they were treated much better than other races.[15]

The fact that their friends were expecting them to return with a million dollars or at least with some conspicuous success also made them hesitant to return to Japan. The hardships and close supervision of plantation life also trained them to yield to circumstances and changed them into settlers. Language difficulties, differences of customs and numerous other requirements for their adjustment were an added unconscious strain and reduced their original vigor and rebelliousness. Age also changed

12 Ibid, p. 574.
13 Ibid, p. 575.
14 Ibid, p. 577.
15 Ibid, p. 409.

them from youthful vagabonds to settlers.

The group who came later were individuals from villages where they lived in closely knit units. Word of their behavior here had a serious effect on their families in the villages. They came to Hawaii to earn money in order to raise the status of their families in the villages, socially and financially. The center of their interest being their village home, they were not disposed to intermarry with women of other races. Almost all of them anticipated their return to their villages when they made money.[16] When they realized their inability to accumulate the money as soon as they dreamed, they began to postpone the time of their departure. According to some old timers here, the phrase "I haven't made money yet" became a standardized answer for their inability to return to Japan.

From the beginning all the immigrants, especially those under the contract, came for three years. They came to Hawaii for temporary employment, but not to settle. Therefore there was no interest in investment in local things. It was only about thirty-five years ago that a Japanese built and owned a house for the first time in Hawaii.

This psychology of temporary residence was reinforced by the actual condition in which the immigrants worked and lived. Like immigrants from any other country, those from Japan idealized the conditions in a new country. But their life on the plantation was a disappointment and seemed to them like imprisonment or slavery compared with the freedom and informality of their village life. There the whole family worked from dark in the morning till late at night but on their own initiative and with a free spirit. Here, for the first time they had to work as an organized group under close supervision of a luna and according to fixed rules. Whereas custom and mores and mutual understanding defined the situation in the old country, on the plantation the situation was defined by the bell and the luna. There was no opportunity for mutual understanding and personal appreciation between the supervising people and the workers. The relationship was strictly that of a caste system.

These disappointing conditions developed a sense of failure, of being deceived, of animosity toward their fate. The strict supervision aroused rebellion and resulted in a chronic state of antagonism between the luna and the immigrants, in habitual running away, in the pretense of illness, and a dislike of the work. Drunkenness and gambling increased as a means of escape from reality and as emotional compensation. The early plantation life is described as one of drinking, gambling, and quarreling.

Although the immigrants were illiterate, their characteristic psychology was one of loyalty and obligation to their old country, and the effort not to disgrace their ancestral land strongly inhibited their behavior. However, the extremely unbalanced sex-ratio disturbed this traditional moral standard during the period of the governmental contract immigration. Scarcity of women caused a great deal of disturbance among almost all the immi-

16 3,000 yen was the goal of the majority of them.

grants during this early stage. On the plantation, the giving and selling of wives was openly practised, and among a few, wives were even exchanged for cows and horses. Along with this kind of vice came out middlemen who specialized in getting a monetary profit. Oral information indicates that crime among the Japanese was almost exclusively connected with women.

There were also organized gangs, mostly composed of the runaways from the plantations, which sponsored the vice-quarter between Nuuanu and River Streets. There were two major gangs in 1895—one with a membership of 150 and another with 200. They even had monthly publications to control their membership. They had more than 200 prostitutes working for them, earning an average of $200 monthly per person. Racketeering, intimidation, fraud were also the common practices in connection with this commercialized vice.[17]

Both the Japanese community and the community at large had long realized the menace of this vice-quarter and made a continuous effort to abolish it or move it out of the city. Finally, the fire which followed the pestilence in 1901 burned the whole district, and after that they were never able to reorganize themselves.[18]

Thus the unbalanced sex-ratio was one of the chief causes for the psychological instability of the Japanese immigrants of the earlier stage. Their needs were not met by intermarriage with members of other races or nationalities for two reasons: first, the unbalanced sex-ratio was the common problem of all the immigrants of all races and nationalities; and secondly, interracial marriage was not in the mores of their villages. In case a relationship developed, it was usually of a temporary nature rather than a permanent marriage. It was after a positive effort was made to get the women from their villages that they attained more stability.

Most of the first generation women came as picture-brides, although some of them came with their husbands or as members of the families of the earlier arrivals. The psychology of the picture-bride is an interesting and significant study in itself, which the limits of this paper do not permit us to include. These women, whose migration to Hawaii was arranged entirely through correspondence, were usually officially married in the parental home of their prospective husband in Japan. They were hopeful and enthusiastic when they left their villages, they dreamed that Hawaii was a prosperous country and that their husbands who had preceded them were successful financially and were living in luxury. The disappointments faced by the women after arriving in Hawaii were no less than those of the men. They discovered that they had to work as hard as they had worked in their old villages, or even harder in many instances. There were no traditional rituals and ceremonies to flavor their lives; and there was the gnawing loneliness of a strange existence among strangers, including even their own husbands. This emotional experience

17 Ibid, p. 506.
18 Ibid, p. 508.

tended to increase the longing for the life of their old villages and to exaggerate its good points and to minimize its weak points.

The traditional controls of the home land began to operate as soon as the families were established, and the community then became more stable. The authoritative role of the father and the traditional mores and ceremonies were introduced. With increased family control, delinquency and crime among the Japanese were comparatively low. However, the Japanese children were not only under the controls of parental authority and of the Japanese community, but were also subject to the influences of the larger community, and their adjustment to the requirements of two or more different cultures was difficult.

The negative attitude of the Japanese immigrants toward the American community resulting from the psychology of temporary residence, their failure to participate actively in local affairs, or to invest in immovable property was intensified by the attitude of the so-called American community. They were labeled as "undesirables" and "unassimilable", and therefore "ineligible for naturalization." They were never invited to share responsibilities positively and were excluded from active participation in the affairs of the larger community. This might be inevitable in view of the caste system on the plantations and the fact that psychologically the various groups were not yet prepared to mix with one another as social equals. Difficulties of communication due to language and cultural differences increased the barrier, intensified further the sense of inferiority of the immigrants, making them more retiring and unapproachable. It was quite natural then, that their loyalty and service should be directed chiefly to Japan. Someone once commenting about the Japanese asked the writer, "Why don't the Japanese assimilate? Italians, Germans, and most other Europeans become Americans quickly." In addition to reasons of biological, economic, and cultural differences is the fact that while Europeans are urged to become Americans, and every effort is made to help them, the Japanese were labeled as alien and unassimilable and every effort was made to exclude them. It was only natural then that being excluded from American citizenship, immigrants from Japan should remain loyal to their native land.

The result of exclusion from out-group contacts was an intensification of in-group control and the development of a closely knit community life almost identical to their original village life in Japan. The distance between the in-group and out-group, and the rigidity of the in-group control were reinforced by the size of the Japanese population.

When individuals of the same racial or nationality type group together in a large number, their contrast to the other groups becomes obvious. They become race conscious and hesitate to mix with others. The out-groups, on the other hand, become fearful of their dominance, and this fear tends to identify the immigrants with the political behavior of their native land and increases their self-consciousness. Thus suspicion by the out-group increases in-group feeling, creating the so-called counter-

prejudices and the defense mechanism of the in-group, and discouraging willing effort and cooperation to become assimilated in the larger community. They remain psychologically as strangers.

The contrast between the economic and social positions of the members of the in-group and those of the members of the out-group intensifies the degree of distance socially and psychologically. If they were on the same economic basis, social contact would have been easier, despite differences in racial stocks, because they would have a similar standard of living enabling them financially to carry on the same kind of social activities. But the lower economic status of the immigrant group incapacitated them for mixing socially with those of higher economic position. This distance which is emphasized by the distinctive physical characteristics of the Japanese tended to identify them with economic and social inferiority. The resulting feeling of inferiority among the Japanese might be expressed in acceptance of their lower social status and in seeking refuge in something unique in their culture, or it might lead to an antagonistic attitude and an effort to find a superior or unique element in their culture, and to develop a counter or superiority complex. Where the result is acceptance, a kind of nativistic movement may develop. In this sense the *Bon* dance, tea ceremony, flower arrangement, jujitsu, and even the elaborate wedding ceremonies are not merely for recreation or accomplishment in certain arts or social customs but are the revival of the old culture in which they seek consciously and unconsciously some psychological compensation.

Where the result is rejection of the inferior classification the reaction is more positive. Because of the social distance, the immigrants have had no opportunities to be brought to the knowledge of a finer type of American culture—namely, culture of home and its moral and spiritual tradition. All they know of American culture is from the streets, plantations, beaches, workshops, stores, and theaters. There is nothing to correspond in moral value to filial piety, loyalty, reverence, and obedience to the elders, perseverance, humility, courtesy, sense of duty, benevolence, forgiveness, etc. Hence the first generation have sought the moral conservation of their children as well of themselves in the culture of their old country, and have made a conscious effort to keep themselves and their children from becoming Americanized.

Partly because of this effort to save the children from becoming Americanized by educating them in what they have believed to be a superior culture and partly due to their familial obligation or the need of being freed from care of the children, a great many immigrants have sent their children—usually their eldest—to Japan, mostly to their grandparents in their old villages. Most of the children were sent away at the age of two or three years or at least before the school age, and brought back at sixteen to twenty years of age when they were old enough to be of financial assistance in Hawaii. The tragedy is that these

grown-up children are chronologically old enough to earn money for their parents but they have no English language and no knowledge of American life and customs. They are foreigners here, except that they were born here sixteen or twenty years earlier. According to the principal of an English language school for the returned Hawaiian-born Japanese, they take at least two years to master enough English so that they are able to get some gainful employment. However, because they are so handicapped, they are able to qualify only as waiters or waitresses, dish-washers, barbers, or barberettes, household employees, etc. But the real tragedy is deeper than this. Long absence from their parents, especially during the period of emotional dependence and growth, has made a psychological distance between them and their parents. While the parents were originally Japanese, their ways of living and thinking have been modified during their residence in Hawaii, and their Americanized younger children seem more natural to them than those who have been in Japan. "We don't do that in Hawaii" the parents say in correcting their returned children. Real antagonism develops between the two generations. The parents more or less unconsciously realize that their children are emotionally attached to their grandmother or aunt or uncle in Japan—a painful reality which is hard to accept. The children on the other hand not only feel handicapped for the competitive life of America, but are permanently affected by the conflict with their parents, even if its expression is not overt. Such emotional experience, if continued, may produce personality maladjustments in the children, further affecting relationships.

Dual citizenship is another factor causing suffering to the second generation. The eagerness of the first generation immigrants to maintain their relationship with the old country through their offspring is perfectly natural, in the first place because they must remain alien forever and therefore will always be Japanese, and second because of their tradition of loyalty and obligation to their ancestral heritage even if it is only to the name. Having their children registered as Japanese subjects satisfies their sense of loyalty to Japan, and they feel that their Hawaiian-born children have not been entirely lost to the old country.

In contrast with the negative factors thus far mentioned, there have been forces which promote Japanese participation in the larger community and the permanent settlement of the immigrants in Hawaii.

The elimination of the contract labor system meant that the Japanese were free men, free not only to act but free to think and to establish their dignity as independent individuals. They began to think of themselves in terms of human rights rather than accepting their humble lot as inevitable. This resulted in their first widespread movement to demand higher wages, known as the first Oahu General Strike of 1909.[19] This large scale strike

19 In contrast with the eighteen dollars per month received by the Japanese plantation laborers, Portuguese and Puerto Ricans were getting $22.50 per month. Japanese laborers resented this racial discrimination.

was one of the evidences of the change taking place from the psychology of caste to class consciousness.

In 1920 the Second Oahu General Strike was undertaken to demand higher wages to meet the rising cost of living of the post-war boom.[20] This strike was not merely the result of the emancipation of the contract laborers but the result of the formation of a labor union among plantation workers stimulated by world labor trends. It transcended racial or nationality barriers, but because the large number of the strikers were Japanese, it stimulated anti-Japanese sentiment, especially because it was just after the World War, when the 100 per cent Americanization movement was at its peak. The strike itself ended without results.

This emergence of class consciousness was a sign of a process toward asimilation in a larger community. They were on strike not because they were Japanese but because they were laborers. The demands were not confined to the Japanese but applied to the whole labor class.

After the 1920 strike, many of the Japanese left the plantation to start independent careers in agriculture or trade. Some who wanted to return to Japan, did so; and those who remained established themselves more securely in Hawaii. With increase in children arose the needs of educational and occupational opportunities for them, which stimulated the upward effort of the Japanese community in general. Increase in the number of local-born Japanese was an important factor determining psychological tendencies in the Japanese community and it meant gradually more extensive participation of the Japanese in the larger community.[21]

Buddhism met the religious needs of the Japanese at the point of their initial disorganization. It gave them inner comfort; it taught them to abandon self-pity and dissatisfaction and established in them a new and peaceful state of mind. It taught them to look forward to salvation in life after death; it taught that this material world was illusion and only preparatory for the real world hereafter. Thus it met the emotional needs of the people but in turn it developed their psychological dependence upon the temples.

Buddhist temples also served to re-establish village sentiment and custom and festivals. It linked them with the village in the old country. In so doing, it gave them spiritual contacts with their ancestors, bound individuals and families together, and helped establish solidarity among the Japanese. Buddhism played a dual role in fact—helped them to be contented with their

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20 The demands included a raise of wages from 77c per day to $1.25 for men and to 95c for women; reduction of working hours to eight hours per day; six weeks' rest for women for child-birth. Six thousand plantation laborers including their families and two thousand Filipinos participated. It lasted six months.

21 In 1885 there were 2,039 Japanese in Hawaii. In 1925, just after the prohibition of Japanese immigration, there were 128,068 Japanese, of whom 57,208 were born in Japan and 70,860 were of local birth. In 1939 there were 155,042 of whom 35,681 were of Japanese birth and 119,361 locally born. The number of Japanese children attending the American public schools was 39 in 1890 but 45,880 in 1936. The number of voters was only 2 in 1905. It increased to 114 in 1915; to 1,711 in 1925; to 23,777 in 1938.

present lot and to settle down, and at the same time it created a strong attachment to their old village and Japan.

The language school was another factor influencing settlement. In the early period of residence, the concern of the Japanese, as of other immigrant groups, was to transmit their own culture effectively to their children. Many sent their children to Japan to be educated; others hastened to return themselves. The lack of educational facility in their own language was a source of instability, and in 1896 a Japanese school was established through the efforts of the Reverend Okumura, a pioneer Christian minister from Japan. Thus the original purpose of the Japanese school was to make good Japanese of the children. All the fundamentals of a Japanese education were given, including the teaching of supreme loyalty to the Emperor. Buddhist temples, having the majority of the Japanese immigrants as their parishioners, established a great many Japanese schools. After the annexation of Hawaii to America, however, all the native-born children of the alien parents became Americans and the policy of the schools had to be changed. Citizenship required allegiance and obligation to the government of America, and education must be in accordance with this new order. Any educational policy which would divert or discourage the children from becoming Americans had to be eliminated. In view of this, the original committee for the Japanese schools proposed a change in the content of their curriculum. Thus the schools became language schools in which the children should be taught the language of their parents and the culture of their parental background.

There has been discussion as to whether the language schools exert too much Japanese influence and thereby direct loyalty to Japan rather than to America. But this question is based upon a superficial understanding. The Japanese taught at the language school is a standard language and very different from that used in the Japanese homes in Hawaii, which is a mixture of the dialects of Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, etc. It is difficult to learn, and those who do master it do not use it at home; they continue to speak the Hiroshima or Kumamoto dialect with their parents and first generation acquaintances, and English or pidgin among their brothers and sisters. The Japanese language is regarded like such other cultural accomplishments as music or dancing. It is essentially for cultural refinement and for use only in occupations where ability to speak and write Japanese in addition to English is required.

The language school in itself, therefore, does not hinder the assimilation of the Japanese in the American culture. Any resistance to assimilation comes through the development of an "in group" feeling as over against the larger American community which is regarded as the "out-group."

The language school may, however, retard assimilation if it has a function beyond language instruction. For instance, if the school is under the sponsorship of a Buddhist temple, part of the objective of the school becomes teaching Buddhism, and since

the Buddhist sects originated in Japan, and all the Buddhist priests and their language teachers are from Japan, the teachings are identified with the national principles of Japan. When they have to compete with the larger community which is non-Buddhistic they have to find something superior and "more attractive" in their teaching.

The "in-group" feeling may be stimulated through the glorification of the "Yamato spirit" which emphasizes the supreme loyalty to the Emperor and sacrifice of individuals for that cause as contrasted with the free choice and independence of children. They may take the attitude "we are different from others; we have something superior to others." This attitude is reinforced by such factors as racial discrimination in the vocational field or limitation of work which tend to develop an attitude of antagonism toward the out-group or the larger community and an attempt at compensation in the in-group. They seek value in things Japanese and thereby make a conscious and unconscious effort to become Japanese. Such a process may satisfy the parents, but it does not permanently affect the second generation. It is a psychology of escape and a negative definition of themselves, and an organization of life values cannot be effectively developed on such a basis. The center of the objective is self and not Japan or the ancestor, in the last analysis. They have never seen Japan, and they have never known the concept of ancestral spirits in a true Japanese sense. The word "Japan" or "ancestor" is just a concept for them; it is not a reality. The so-called loyalty to Japan or filial piety of the Hawaiian-born Japanese is very different from that of the Japanese in Japan. It is in fact almost impossible to make a "real Japanese" out of the Hawaiian-born. Unfortunately, however, any effort in this direction not only deters their possible assimilation, but tends to divide loyalties and disorganize personality.

In spite of extensive efforts through Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines to maintain the Japanese sentiments of their people, the Buddhist leaders themselves admit that the second generation have a different attitude from the leaders. Much has been borrowed in the Buddhist services from the ritual of the Christian Church. "We use an organ in place of the drum; we have singing of Buddhist hymns instead of chanting. In our wedding ceremony we use the ring in addition to the rosary. We bow before the altar in burning the incense." The typically Buddhist ceremonies have not the same meaning to the younger people. "At the time of the *Bon* season we have a *Bon Odori* night for the young people. They dance as skillfully as those in Japan but in their very manner of dancing they have an entirely different feeling. They cannot understand the mystical meaning of Buddhism. They live in a different mental world from ours, and we cannot change them. We are beginning to realize that not only the outward expression of Buddhism but the content of Buddhism is changing. It has to be interpreted differently to make it understandable to the second generation. In

this sense we are witnessing the creation of a new Buddhism in Hawaii."

It is not, however, the institutions, the temples or schools which are striving most to Japanize the younger generation, but the first generation parents of these children. For occupational success and social status they recognize the values of an education and the use of English; but emotionally many of the immigrants cannot reconcile themselves to their children becoming Americans and not Japanese.

This parental attitude, however, in most cases results in reaction on the part of the children. Wide acquaintance by the writer with both generations indicates clearly that those whose parents are extremely pro-Japan are very open in their loyalty to America; while those whose parents encourage them to become Americans do not show such an acute attitude in contrast to their parents' because their Americanization proceeds more naturally and they appreciate Japanese things too. But those whose parents are extremely pro-Japanese often become very antagonistic toward Japan. The active effort to Japanize the children is therefore not really destructive to the purpose of American assimilation, but it does produce serious conflicts for the children. In spite of their loyalties to their native land and the conflicts sometimes resulting, the first generation are making a gradual accommodation to American life. Most of those who returned to Japan expecting to stay have come back to Hawaii within a year or so. They have recognized a change in themselves as well as in the people of their old villages in Japan and they have returned with a feeling of stronger attachment to Hawaii. They found themselves strangers in their old villages, different from and not accepted by those whom they knew twenty to forty years ago. They realized at last that only with those from Hawaii did they have common interests and attitudes; that Hawaii was their home and that "Japan is a place to visit but not to live." It was their friends in Hawaii who had shared their common experiences and who could understand them. All their children had been born here and family ties were stronger in Hawaii. Differences in climate and in living made them uncomfortable in their old villages. Of course this discovery that they belonged to Hawaii does not mean that they have become thoroughly Americanized. They can live in Hawaii permanently without losing too much of their old culture or old attitude as long as they make a conscious effort to keep it. But at least this constitutes a first step toward positive assimilation.

When they decide to settle down, they begin to discover the superior points in the Hawaiian life. They recognize the necessity of their children becoming Americanized if they are to compete in the larger community, and they begin to yield to circumstances and to accept what has formerly been unacceptable to their mores.

In the case of marriage, the adjustment practised is that the children choose their own marriage mates but the parents choose their friends or relatives to act as go-between at the time of the

wedding ceremony and thereby meet the traditional requirement of the Japanese community. But it is publicly understood and accepted that the go-between is artificial. The parents maintain outwardly their traditional authority while accepting changes in the situation as inevitable. "This is America, we must admit it," "I don't approve of it but I let my children do it, because they do it anyway," the parents say. Through this gradual "giving in", though reluctantly, the first generation is already becoming assimilated though very slowly. As the Japanese community becomes chiefly composed of the second generation, it will become increasingly integrated with the larger community and the more positive process of assimilation will take place.

ABSTRACT: "ASSIMILATION IN RURAL HAWAII." The isolated district of Kona on the island of Hawaii offers an interesting laboratory of assimilation, particularly in the case of the Japanese who have resided there for forty years as coffee farmers. At first there were few women, and the moral influence of the Japanese family was lacking. Breaches of Japanese and Hawaiian laws were frequent. The use of Hawaiian and American foods, clothing, and housing were forced by the limitations of the environment itself and did not necessarily imply any changes in tastes or attitudes. After 1900 the normalizing of the sex ratio led to more conservative Japanese practices through the formation of an opinion-forming community and greater contacts with the homeland. For a period of twenty years, Kona merited the description of "Little Japan." Old country customs and attitudes prevailed. A third phase in the assimilative process has appeared with the coming-of-age of the population. Japanese influence has declined, owing largely to the public school. Assimilation as measured by a shifting of tastes, a declining influence of Japanese institutions, and a reorganization of personality in terms of American standards and ideals has occurred with increasing frequency among the generation born since 1915.—Andrew W. Lind (American Journal of Sociology) XLV (1939), pp.200-14.