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Processes of Asian American identity development: a study of Japanese American women's perceptions of their struggle to achieve positive identities as Americans of Asian ancestry.

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PROCESSES OF ASIAN AMERICAN IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF JAPANESE AMERICAN WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE POSITIVE IDENTITIES AS AMERICANS OF ASIAN ANCESTRY

A Dissertation Presented

By

JEAN KIM

Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1981

EDUCATION
PROCESSES OF ASIAN AMERICAN IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF JAPANESE AMERICAN WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE POSITIVE IDENTITIES AS AMERICANS OF ASIAN ANCESTRY

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ABSTRACT

PROCESSES OF ASIAN AMERICAN IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF JAPANESE AMERICAN WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE POSITIVE IDENTITIES AS AMERICANS OF ASIAN ANCESTRY

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Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the process by which Asian Americans resolve their identity conflict around being Americans of Asian ancestry, living in a predominantly White society. The general goal was to find out how these identity conflicts around one's racial membership are resolved, and what the relationship is between identity conflict resolution and the development of Asian American identity. Since there were no known studies on the process of Asian American identity development (AAID), this study was considered to be an exploratory research in this area. Therefore, instead of specific hypothesis testing, the present study sought answers to a set of general research questions: What is the process by which Asian American identity conflicts are resolved and what are
its salient aspects? What does the identity conflict resolution lead to? What factors assist the individuals to resolve their identity conflict? What is the nature of critical incidences that precipitate change in perceptions of being Asian American? What is the relationship between the process of Asian American identity development and Erikson's theory of ego identity development? What meanings do subjects attribute to their Asian American identity?

Methodology

As an exploratory study with the desired goal of generating a theory on the process of Asian American identity development, a qualitative research method was used. The study utilized, as its methodological framework, the work of Glaser and Strauss (1968) on The Discovery of Grounded Theory. Specifically, the study utilized an unstructured, focused, individual interview method to gather the data.

Ten Sansei (third-generation Japanese American) women made up the sample. This sample was further delineated into two groups: those who spent their formative years in predominantly White (PW) ethnic neighborhoods and those who spent the same period in predominantly non-White (PNW) ethnic neighborhoods. The criterion used for making this separation was based on self-report. The purpose of creating this grouping was to further examine the influence of subjects' social environment on the process of AAID. Comparative analysis was made on the collected data. The results of this analysis
was also compared with stages 4 and 5 of Erikson's life cycle of identity (1963, 1968) and Black identity development theories of Hall and Cross (1970) and Jackson (1976).

**Results and Conclusion**

Analysis of the data indicated that the process of Asian American identity development involves five conceptually distinct stages that are sequential and progressive. These stages are: Ethnic awareness, White identification, Awakening to social political consciousness, Redirection to Asian American consciousness, and Incorporation. In all cases, the resolution of identity conflict around one's racial membership led to the development of a positive racial identity as Asian Americans.

In general, subjects' interaction with their social environment played a major role in affecting the quality of the process of AAID while the categories of experiences remained the same. This effect was most evident in the between-group differences of the PNW and PW neighborhood samples.

Several factors that facilitated subjects' movement from one stage to another were identified. These are: information (both ethnic and political), support system (individuals and groups), and interaction with social environment (general social political consciousness, social political movements involving other minorities, Asian American movement).
The comparison of stage 2 of AAID with Erikson's stages 4 and 5 revealed that while both groups shared in common the experience of the normative crisis of ego identity development, for the Japanese American women this experience was significantly and negatively affected by the existence and manifestation of White racism. Other similarities found between AAID and Erikson's theory on ego identity development were the saliency of interaction with social environment on this process, generally subconscious awareness of identity development process for the individual during it, and the role of critical incidences in facilitating identity development.

The comparison with existing theories of Black identity development revealed major similarities regarding some of the categories of experiences as well as the directionality of change. These similarities support the thesis that oppression has a major impact on the identity formation of the oppressed. The differences between the two were attributed to the historical differences of each group's experience in the U.S. Lastly, it is clear that much more research is needed in this general area of AAID. True to its exploratory nature, the results of the present study raised many more questions than it answered.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

One of the most critical psychological issues faced by Asian Americans today is identity conflict. Conflict in identity can be said to exist when an individual perceives certain aspects or attributes of him/herself which s/he rejects simultaneously. In the case of Asian Americans, it is the awareness of self as an Asian which one rejects in favor of the White models that are pervasive in our society. The issue here is not lack of awareness of one's ethnic self but how one feels about and values that aspect of oneself.*

This phenomenon of identity conflict is manifested in a number of ways, with varying degrees of severity. Asian Americans may experience identity conflict as a belief in one's own inferiority and those of other Asian Americans, deep-seated feelings of self-hatred, and alienation from his/her racial-self, from other Asian Americans, and/or the society at large. These experiences of denial and/or rejection of Asian Americans contribute toward their negative self-concepts and low self-esteem, i.e., negative identity. To the extent that a negative self-concept and low self-esteem are detrimental to one's mental

*Much research done in the area of ethnic identity concludes that a child between the ages of 3-6 becomes aware of different ethnic groups and begins to identify with the appropriate one. However, both the minority and majority children develop preferences for White ethnic stimuli (Clark, 1955; Brand et al., 1974).
health, identity conflicts, as experienced by Asian Americans, have a negative impact and lower the quality of mental health enjoyed by them.

This experience of identity conflict among Asian Americans is a direct result of their living in this society which is racist throughout its major institutions, culture, and value systems. Albeit racism experienced by Asian Americans today is more subtle than what they experienced in the past and racism directed against other racial minorities; nonetheless, its effects are equally devastating to Asian Americans' psychological well-being. Various manifestations of identity conflict are, then, the result of Asian Americans' attempts to make it in the White society, which for the most part, devalues its racial minorities and considers people of color to be aliens and foreigners even though many Asian Americans are/were born here. Identity conflict as experienced by Asian Americans seems inevitable as long as White racism operates in this society, where being different is synonymous with being less.

There are a number of researchable problems related to such an important and pervasive psychological issue as Asian American identity conflict. One of them is lack of a theory that focuses on the process of resolving this kind of identity conflict.* In other words, there is much more information available concerning the ways identity conflicts are manifested, but little data is available on how Asian Americans go about resolving their identity conflicts. We also know

*There are some non-process oriented works available which examine Asian American identity types. Derald and Stanley Sue's work on Chinese American personality (1973) and M. K. Maykovich's Japanese-American Identity Dilemma (1972) are good examples.
that identity conflicts have to be resolved in one way or another and that some Asian Americans are able to work through their identity conflicts in such a way as to achieve a positive self-concept and higher self-esteem as Asians in America. However, we do not know about the nature of the process(es) which led them to that position. Since there is no theoretical model available at this time on the process(es) of identity conflict resolution which may lead to the development of Asian American identity, there is a need to conduct a research whose goal would be to develop a model of Asian American identity development. Through such a theoretical model, one could examine the "how" as well as find out "where from" and "where to" Asian American identity develops.

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to examine the process(es) by which identity conflicts experienced by Asian Americans are resolved in such a way as to lead to the development of an Asian American identity. This study is to be considered an exploratory, descriptive research which may lead to the building of a theoretical model on the process(es) of Asian American identity development. As it is exploratory and descriptive in nature, the present study seeks answers to a set of research questions rather than to test out specific hypotheses. Those questions are as follows:

1. What is the process(es) by which Asian American identity conflicts are resolved?

2. What are the salient aspects of such process(es)?
3. Are there discernible patterns or stages in the development of an Asian American identity?

4. What consideration, circumstances, and relationships with others have facilitated their Asian American identity development?

5. More specifically, does a political consciousness as a minority person play a role in this process(es) of identity conflict resolution?

6. What impact does the cultural, political, social environment of the subjects have on this process(es)?

7. What is the nature of critical incidences which precipitated change in their perception and consciousness of being an Asian American?

8. Where are the subjects in terms of Erikson's psycho-social ego-development stages? What were their experiences like during adolescence?

9. What does the resolution of identity conflict lead to?

10. What are the contents of Asian American identity? What essential meaning do these elements have for the subjects?

These research questions will serve as a guidepost of focused interview questions to be formulated under the "Design of the Study" section. Lastly, the data analysis will be focused around these research questions and attempt to answer them in depth.

Significance of the Study

As stated in the "Problem" section, there are no existing theories that provide a dynamic framework in which we can examine how some Asian Americans resolve their identity conflicts which have arisen out of their racial status. This lack exists in spite of the fact that there is a general agreement among researchers and educators in the field that identity conflict is one of the major issues affecting Asian Americans
today (Suzuki, 1975; Sue & Sue, 1971; Yamamoto, 1968). The significance of the present study is that it will provide knowledge on the dynamic process(es) of identity conflict resolution of Asian Americans. Therefore, it can serve as a base from which to develop a discussonal theory of the dynamic process of Asian American identity development.

The development of such a model would increase our understanding of the Asian American experience in general and on identity conflict resolution in particular. In addition, it can provide information that can be used to develop specific facilitative strategies.

For example, data from the study can assist individual Asian Americans to make sense of his/her own struggles with identity which are often baffling and painful. The study may improve the service-delivery system of human services personnel working with the Asian American population by providing them with insight into what is involved in identity conflict resolution, and outlining potential facilitating elements which they can incorporate into their service delivery. Results may also encourage adoption of educational strategies in terms of either changing and modifying existing curricula or the creation of new curricula designed to facilitate Asian American identity development on all levels.

Lastly, the present study will contribute to the field of Asian American psychology, which is beginning to grow, by developing a model on the dynamic process of identity development of Asian Americans within the variables of race and gender, as well as stimulating further research in the area.
Meaning of the Terms

Asian American. In this study, Asian American is defined as an American whose ancestry is from the Asian countries of China, Japan, and Korea. This definition excludes recent immigrants and refugees from countries of Asia. It also excludes Pacific Islanders.

Identity and identity development. From a psychological perspective, an individual's identity is composed of ego identity and self-concept. Self-concept is that part of our identity which is made up of our own judgments and evaluations of ourselves within any given social role or category. It is a set of attitudes we hold about ourselves. Ego identity, on the other hand, is made up of meanings individuals attribute to themselves (Doshefsky & Shapiro, 1975, p. 5).

Both self-concept and ego identity are based on self-definities which are, in turn, influenced by others' definitions of ourselves. In the present study, it is identity in terms of these self-definities (what does it mean to me, to be who I am; and how do I feel and value who I am) that are of interest. More specifically, the present study is concerned with a limited aspect of identity development of Asian Americans, i.e., their racial identity. Quite obviously, an individual's total identity is made up of meanings and evaluations s/he attributes to self within a variety of social roles and categories of which race is but one.

Given the foregoing definition of identity, how does this present study conceptualize its development? Borrowing from Erikson,
identity formulation is conceptualized as not only developmental but also interactive. Identity formulation is developmental because it is not seen as resulting in an established product but always in the process of changing and developing. Further, this developmental nature of identity is considered to be influenced by the interaction between the individual and his/her social environment. In short, the present study conceptualizes identity development as psycho-social rather than purely a psychological phenomenon. According to Erikson (1968, pp. 22-23), identity formation is:

... a process of simultaneous reflection and observation, a process taking place on all levels of mental functioning, by which the individual judges himself in the light of what he perceives to be the way in which others judge him in comparison to themselves and to a typology significant to them; while he judges their way of judging him in the light of how he perceives himself in comparison to them and to types that have become relevant to him.

Identity thus formulated is an emerging entity of an ongoing developmental and interactive process which cannot be separated from personal growth and communal change, nor from contemporary crises in historical development. In other words, identity development has two temporal contexts, a development stage in the life of the individual and a period in history of the group, or the larger society (Erikson, 1968, p. 23). Erikson further believes that individuals are generally unconscious of this ongoing process of identity development except in situations where internal and external circumstances are combined to precipitate, either joyfully or painfully, "identity consciousness" (1968, p. 23).
In the case of Asian Americans, being people of color and therefore different from the White majority, they are perceived as "less than" the Whites and deemed "inferior" by members of the White society. In light of these perceptions, the nature of identity that emerges for an Asian American will depend on how s/he evaluates the validity of their judgment of him/her and on his/her evaluation of how s/he compares him/herself to White society and to others who may have also become significant referants. The content of such reflection and evaluation will be influenced by both the current stage of his/her ego identity development (internal, meaning attribution) and by the stage of historical development of the referant group (external). Therefore, the present study will examine the process(es) of Asian American identity development within both of these temporal contexts.

Self-concept. In the previous section, self-concept was defined as an evaluative component of an individual's psychological identity. Conceptually, self-concept can be seen as being composed of three subparts, identity self, behavioral self, and judging self (Fitts, 1979, pp. 12-15). There is a dynamic interaction between these three subparts leading to a coherent self-concept, just as there is a dynamic interaction between ego identity and self-concept leading to an individual's psychological identity. Briefly, identity self is a basic aspect of self-concept. It holds the labels and symbols assigned to the self by the individual in order to describe him/herself. These elements of identity self (self as objects) will continue to
expand as the individual grows older and will influence the way s/he perceives his/her world. Behavioral self is the functional aspect of self-concept. Although identity self is basic to self-concept, the judging self is its primary component. It acts as an observer and evaluator. People, objects, behavior of self, etc., are assigned values by this judging self. Accordingly, within self-concept, labels are not only descriptive but are value-laden. This evaluative tendency of the self is the primary element of self-concept and provides the material and sustenance of self-esteem (Fitts, 1079, p. 17). Self-esteem is related to both maintaining and enhancing self-concept. Consequently, any revision of self-concept which could entail a risk to their self-esteem is considered as a threat and therefore resisted.

To reiterate, the issue concerning Asian American identity conflict is not a question of Asian Americans not knowing who they are as members of a racial or an ethnic group (identity self as objects) but is primarily a question of how they feel, value, and evaluate themselves as Asians in America (total self-concept and self-esteem) and what meaning they attribute to being Asian Americans (ego identity).

Review of Literature

As a general theoretical framework the present study will use Life-Span Developmental Psychology which is an emerging field within developmental psychology. More specifically, the study will use
selected elements of Erikson's theory of psycho-social identity development. For these reasons, the following literature review includes a section which contains a cursory explanation of Life Span Developmental Psychology and relevant aspects of Erikson's theory of psycho-social identity development. Since the main focus of the present study is to articulate the process of racial identity development of an oppressed group, a review of literature that examines the relationship between oppression and its effects on identity of the oppressed is also included. Further, in order to inform the reader of the social status of Asian Americans in general, a brief review of their experience of racism is presented as well. This is followed by a review which examines the effects of living in an oppressive society on the quality of mental health of Asian Americans. This chapter ends with a review of existing Black identity development theories. Awareness of these theories is important to the present study since they examined the dynamic process of racial identity development of another oppressed group. As stated previously, there are no known, dynamic theories of Asian American identity development. In their absence, Black identity development theories provide a framework for the analysis of this study.

Life span developmental psychology. Prior to the 1940's, there was no life span developmental psychology of personality. Most studies done under the developmental psychology banner dealt primarily with infancy, childhood, adolescence, and hence were confined to a limited segment of an individual's life span (essentially the first 18-20
years). Since then, life span developmental psychology has been the focus of three West Virginia Conferences (1969, 1971, 1972).

This field of life span developmental psychology is broadly defined by Baltes and Goulet (1970) as being concerned with the description and explication of the course of development of an individual's behavior and attitude change from birth to death (Baltes & Goulet, 1970, p. 12). According to the Life Span view, development occurs at all ages. This view is based on the fact that behavior change is observable at all stages of the life span. The rate, directionality, and sequence of those changes are not seen to be dependent on the age of the individual but rather on relative degree of stability in the environmental context of the individual over given periods of time. Thus, Life Span perspective suggests attention to a joint description of the individual and the environment as mutually changing systems (Baltes & Schaie, 1973, p. 393). In other words, the causal variable of change is not chronological age but is the interaction between the individual and his/her environment.

The reader will note here that this view of individual change is closely related to Erikson's notion of identity formation as interactive and developmental and where personal growth and communal change cannot be separated. In terms of paradigms, the focus of life span developmental psychology is on change rather than on stability, on historical relationships and on the joint analysis of a person-environment system. Life Span perspective also emphasizes developmental theory constructions that are dynamic and that incorporate
notions about individual and societal interaction. Lastly, life span developmental psychology suggests the use of alternate methods of data collection that can capture subjects' perceptions of change in their lives.

**Erikson's psycho-social identity.** Erikson's eight stages of man based on the scheme of epigenesis of psycho-social identity is a renowned work in the area of psychological identity. However, rather than adopting the whole of his theory, the present study will use selected concepts from it as its theoretical framework.

The most important of these is the concept of identity formation. The essence of identity as a dynamic rather than static entity which is in a constant process of formation being influenced by the interaction between psychological (internal) and social (external) elements of the individual has already been discussed under the "Meaning of Terms" section. Also important to restate at this juncture is his conception that identity formation needs to be viewed within two temporal contexts: the ego identity development state of the individual and the developmental stage in the history of the community and/or the group.

In addition, identity formation is seen to begin not at birth, but where identification ends. In Erikson's conceptual scheme, introjection, identification, and identity formation are seen as necessary, sequential steps by which the ego grows in ever more maturing interplay (Erikson, 1968, p. 159). Introjection is defined as the incorporation of another's image and is said to occur during
infancy between the mothered child and mothering adult. Identification is seen to be occurring during childhood which depends on a child's satisfactory interaction with trustworthy representatives of the hierarchy of social roles. Identity formation comes out of a process of selective repudiations and mutual assimilations of childhood identifications and their incorporation in a new configuration.

Identity formation is in turn influenced by the process by which society identifies the young individual (Erikson, 1968, p. 159). In this conceptual scheme identity formation does not begin until stage five, during adolescence. Aptly enough, this stage is called identity vs. role confusion. This framework is important in selecting the time period in the life of the individual in which the present study will focus on during the data collection phase.

Albeit stage five is a period of normative identity crisis for all individuals, experiences of Asian Americans may be more difficult and qualitatively different. Erikson describes this stage as a period where individuals are primarily concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared to what they feel they are. For most adolescents the danger of stage five is role identity confusion which is defined as the inability to settle on an occupational identity which tends to disturb them. And as a defense, they tend to over-identify with heroes as well as manifest strong prejudicial behavior toward others that are foreign to them. Consequently during this stage, young people can be cruel in their exclusion of all those who are different in skin color or cultural background, and are
intolerant of out-groups as a defense against a sense of their own identity confusion (Erikson, 1963, pp. 261-262). Given this description, one can well imagine the kind of identity conflict Asian Americans may experience during this period, especially if they are in an environment that is mostly White. Results of the present study will shed more light on this.

Lastly, Erikson conceptualizes identity development as occurring through crisis, not catastrophes but of turning points representing increased vulnerability as well as heightened potential, which enable the individual to resolve and move on to the next stage (1968, p. 196). This notion of identity development through crisis will also guide the present study in terms of events to examine in subjects' lives.

Oppression and identity. It was stated in the "Problem" section that the existence of identity conflict among Asian Americans was due to pervasive White racism which operates in our society. Dominant manifestations of Asian American identity conflict such as feelings of inferiority, alienation, self-rejection and self-hatred suggest that it leads to a negative self-concept and low self-esteem, i.e., negative identity among many Asian Americans. Furthermore, this negative identity has a damaging impact on the quality of mental health enjoyed by Asian Americans.

This subsection and the following two subsections will briefly review: 1) how racism and its concomitant oppression influence the development of negative identity among Asian Americans, 2) historical
survey of ways in which White racism has been experienced by Asian Americans, 3) how this experience of White racism has impacted on the mental health of Asian Americans.

It is a fact that we live in a White racist society. Therefore, racial minorities such as Asian Americans experience oppression. It is also a fact that oppression has profound effects on all aspects of our lives, including identity.

Being the oppressor also exerts a high price for the majority race. The toll is exacted in both psychological and economic setbacks. However, these negative effects of being the oppressor are less acknowledged. What is better known are the "rewards" of engaging in racial oppression, not the least of which is the accumulation and exercise of power. In addition, through racial oppression, the majority receives psychological rewards, e.g., the feelings of superiority, goodness, purity, etc. These psychological gains are possible only if they can absolve themselves of common human frailties, fears, and negative impulses. Racial oppression has provided the means to achieve this through cathartic effects of projection and scapegoating of minority members. Erikson writes (2963, p. 243):

... no individual can escape this opposition of images, which is all pervasive in the men and in the women, in the majorities and in the minorities, and in all the classes of a given national or cultural unit. Psychoanalysis shows that the unconscious evil identity (the composite of everything which arouses negative identification, i.e., the wish not to resemble it) consists of the images of the violated (castrated) body, the ethnic out group, and the exploited minority.

Thus the majority race protects and distances itself from its own negative identifications by objectifying them onto racial minorities.
Furthermore, oppressors have a vested interest in the negative identities of the oppressed because these negative identities are projections of their own unconscious negative identities which allow them to feel superior and pure.

The unfortunate double whammy for racial minorities is that they are apt to fuse these negative images held up to them by the dominant majority with their own unconscious negative identities. Oppressed minorities not only do not have external things to project negative identities on, but they are also forced to take on the majority's negative identities as well. At least initially, the result of this kind of situation is that minority members hate and reject themselves; i.e., they become their own evil identities.

Racial minorities do not consciously choose to accept and to internalize these negative images. By and large it is an unconscious, subliminal process. As Freire (1970, p. 36) puts it, "functionally, oppression is domesticating." That is, oppressive reality absorbs those within it and in the process, acts to submerge one's consciousness. The flip side of self-hate and rejection, which results from absorption in oppressive reality, is often identification with the oppressors. In this state of existence, the oppressed person's capacity to see his/her oppression is impaired, which is similar to the adage, "can't see the forest for the trees." At some point in their lives, members of racial minorities are simultaneously themselves and the oppressor whose consciousness they have internalized. Asian Americans are not an exception to this reality.
Racial minorities' inevitable identification with the White race and the need of the White race to protect its own positive identity create a vicious cycle of identity conflict and negative self-concept for the oppressed. However, it is possible for members of oppressed groups to break out of this hold and begin a journey toward positively resolving their identity conflict. The nature of that process(es) is the object of the present study.

Experience of racism. By now the existence of racism* in this country is becoming an accepted fact in most quarters. Albeit there may be some hard-core individuals and groups who may still believe in America as the land of the free, the civil rights movement in the sixties and the most recent Black movement have all too painfully exposed for all to see, the evil effects of racism on Blacks in this country. What is less well known is the fact that historically and systematically racism has also affected other minority and Third World groups in this country. One such group is the Asian Americans.

The U.S. history by and large speaks of White (mostly men at that) Americans' achievements and their benevolent, big brother good

*Racism is defined as any activity engaged in by individuals or groups (usually from the majority population) which results in the unjust treatment of human beings (usually from the minority population) because of their race, color, or ethnicity; and where such treatment is justified by attributing to them undesirable biological, cultural, psychological, or social characteristics. In order for racism to occur, the majority must have access to the power structure in order to enforce its presumed superiority and prejudical beliefs in every aspect of their society. In the United States of America, racism manifests itself on the presumption of White superiority over non-White races. Our social institutions, culture, and value systems, are built on this premise of White superiority and concomitant inferiority of non-Whites.
deeds to its own people and to other countries. U.S. history does not reflect its racist tendencies and the ways in which it has exploited Asian Americans and other Third World people. History books omit or play down racist acts committed against Asian Americans and treat them as unfortunate instances of discrimination by some bigoted Whites (Hata & Hata, 1974).

The Chinese, as the first Asian immigrant group, were welcomed by more overt racism than the Japanese. The overabundance of Chinese men and the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 meant that the breakup of the normal family system would be the common lot for the Chinese immigrants. There were also laws prohibiting marriages between Chinese and Whites. The following is a partial listing of Anti-Chinese legislation. In 1850, a Foreign Miner's tax was passed which required foreign miners to pay a tax of $20 per month. In practice this was applied only to Chinese and often taxes were collected more than once a month. In 1854, the California Supreme Court ruled that Chinese (along with Blacks, Mulattoes, and Indians) were not allowed to testify in court against Whites. In 1860, California excluded Chinese from public schools. In 1867, the Federal District Court declared Chinese ineligible for citizenship. The Queue Ordinance was passed in 1873 which required every Chinese prisoner to have his hair cut to within one inch of his scalp. That same year the Laundry tax went into effect which charged the Chinese $15 every three months for not using horse-drawn vehicles. In 1878, the Second Constitution of California denied Chinese immigrants naturalization and made the
hiring of Chinese in corporations or public works illegal. In 1881, George C. Parkins, governor of California, proclaimed March 4th as a legal holiday for anti-Chinese demonstrations. In 1882, the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed, stopping Chinese immigration and subsequent legislation made the Chinese exclusion permanent, not to be repealed until 1943.

In the beginning, Japanese immigrants were not subjected to negative reactions. This was due partly to the fact that Whites were expending most of their energy in anti-Chinese activities. However, as the Japanese immigration increased in numbers, they began to be perceived by Whites more as a labor competition.

So it was in the 1900's that the docile, obedient stereotype of Japanese was replaced by overt racist stereotypes. Four major stereotypes directed against Japanese immigrants were that they were highly un-American, inferior citizens, sexually aggressive, and were a part of an international menace (Ogawa, 1973, p. 3).

Accompanying these stereotypes was the anti-Japanese legislation. For example, as it happened to Chinese in 1860, Japanese children, along with Koreans, were excluded from public schools in 1906. The Alien Land Act of 1913 in California, Oregon, and Washington prohibited aliens ineligible for citizenship from owning or leasing property. At that time both Chinese and Japanese were ineligible for citizenship. Finally, the National Origins Act of 1924 effectively excluded Asians from the U.S.

The anti-Asian movement was not confined to stereotype beliefs, racist attitudes and legislation. It also manifested itself through
acts of violence and atrocities directed against Asians. The full extent of such events is hard to decipher since many were not reported.

However, the most grave act of atrocity suffered by an Asian American group was the forced detention of 110,000 Japanese Americans in concentration camps during World War II. It also stands out as the most visible example of racism directed toward Asian Americans. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, anti-Japanese sentiments focused on Japanese Americans' supposed disloyalty to the U.S. The following quote was typical of that sentiment:

You can't draw a distinction between the alien enemy and a Nisei; they all look alike, and think alike. . . . We have got to make a drive to do something about the American born Japanese, not the alien Japanese but the American born. He is the danger.

On February 13, 1942, President Roosevelt was urged by a West Coast delegation of congressional leaders to evacuate all Japanese, both aliens and citizens. And on February 19, Executive Order No. 9066 was signed by President Roosevelt which in effect authorized the establishment of concentration camps for 110,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast. On March 2, orders were issued to evacuate all persons of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast by General John L. DeWitt, then head of the Western Defense Command. Often they were given only 48 hours' notice which meant that they were forced to sell their personal possessions in a hurry. Of the 110,000 Japanese Americans detained, 70,000 were American citizens by birth in this country; the majority were 18 years or younger; and the remaining were aliens not by choice but due to prohibitive naturalization laws
which did not change until 1952 (Ogawa, 1973, p. 13). These Japanese Americans were detained in concentration camps for almost three years, until January 1945.

In retrospect, there is a general agreement that the detention of 110,000 Japanese Americans was primarily the result of racism, economic opportunism, and for political expediency and not due to national security nor to military necessity (Daniels, 1972).

Since World War II, racism directed at Asian Americans changed from overt manifestations to one which is more subtle. What Asian Americans experience today are more likely to be stereotyped images in the mass media and subtle discourtesies and slights in face-to-face interactions, rather than in those forms experienced by their immigrant forefathers and -mothers. A widely promoted thesis of Asian Americans as model minority is a good example of this change.

This new stereotype depicts Asian Americans as a successful minority group who have made it in this country. One implication of this thesis is that other minorities, especially Blacks, can also make good within the American system if they only tried.* The effects of this new stereotype are to obscure the reality of continued oppression of Asian Americans, to create divisiveness among minority groups by pitting one minority against another, to ignore major social problems faced by Asian Americans, and to prevent necessary social reform and assistance which may alleviate these social problems (Kim, 1973).

*In evidence, consider the number of articles written during the mid- to late sixties praising Asian Americans as model minorities.
One related myth is that Asian American communities can take care of their own and face no serious social problems. A result of this myth is to make it difficult for Asian American communities to obtain help for much-needed social programs and to discredit legitimate protests and demands for social justice. Existence of Asian American ghettos belies the claim of success. For example, Chinatowns, behind the tourist attractions and the grandeur of Chinese objets d'art, are poverty-ridden, overcrowded slums. And as such, suffer from the usual conditions of exploited labor, unemployment, problems with the elderly, ill health, bad housing and educational impoverishment (Lyman, 1973, p. 40). For Asian Americans the substitution of a negative stereotype by a more favorable stereotype consisting of social propriety, communal self-help, familial solidarity, and low crime rates has maintained their status quo as second-class citizens. This substitution has protected the community social and political structures from excessive scrutiny and created a resistance on the part of this society to respond to legitimate needs for change.

Lastly, another item that belies this model minority thesis is the economic and social status of Asian Americans in this country. Research has shown that by and large Asian Americans occupy lower-echelon white-collar jobs, with little or no decision-making authority (Crowell, 1976), and that Asian American males are still earning less than their White counterparts with the same level of education (Suzuki, 1977). On the whole, Asian Americans receive lower income and experience higher unemployment in spite of the fact that they possess higher education levels than Caucasians (Gee, 1977).
Racism and Asian American mental health. The consequences of living in a racist society can be damaging to both the oppressor and the oppressed in terms of personal and moral development and mental health.* However, its effects are consistently far more damaging to the latter and Asian Americans are no exception to this rule.

There are a number of mental health problems that affect Asian Americans such as emotional stress manifested mostly in somatic complaints (Sue & Sue, 1971), learned helplessness especially among the elderly (Chen, 1970), problems arising out of culture conflict (Sue & Sue, 1971; Sommer, 1960), inappropriate and inadequate mental health services (Seward, 1958; Caplan and Nelson, 1973; Kitano, 1973; Berk & Hirata, 1973), poverty, unemployment, and crowded ghettos (Chen, 1970; Allard, 1975), and others. However, for the purpose of the present study, this review will focus on specific manifestations of identity conflict and development of negative identity among Asian Americans.

A number of studies conducted in the early 70's support the thesis that White racism has a significantly negative impact on

*A distinction is made here between mental health and mental illness. As defined by Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, mental health refers to the total emotional and intellectual response of an individual to his/her environment. Mental illness, on the other hand, refers to being affected by a psychiatric disorder. The 1979 President's Commission on Mental Health further supports this distinction by stating that "a complete understanding of the dimensions of mental health problems must be based upon an understanding of the variety of social conditions and circumstances as well as the biological and psychological factors that affect the mental health of the individual." In this study, the focus is on mental health as defined and is specifically interested in the stresses that are caused by White racism on Asian Americans.
Asian Americans' mental health (Chin, 1971; Sue & Kitano, 1973, Sue & Sue, 1974). Institutional racism is also specifically mentioned in the report of the Asian Pacific sub-panel of the panel on specific populations of the President's Commission on Mental Health as being detrimental to the mental health of racial and cultural minorities (Cheung, 1980, pp. 3-4). Related issues of psychological isolation and alienation, especially for Asian Americans not living in ethnic enclaves but in smaller communities where they are the only ones, also have been found to have significant impact on Asian Americans' mental health (Nandi, 1980). Probably the most poignant example of alienation from one's Asian self is the practice among some Asian American women of using scotch tape to form double-folded eyelids or subjecting themselves to eye surgery to achieve the same end (Suzuki, 1975, p. 10).

Aside from isolation and alienation, another negative effect of living in a racist society is the heightened feeling of inferiority experienced by Asian Americans contributed largely by an educational curriculum which ignores information about their roots and contributions. In this type of situation, the Asian American person comes to see his/her ethnicity as a handicap and tries to reject the Asian part of him/herself in a vain effort to conform to the Western mold. For example, research has found that Chinese American females have more fully internalized the dominant, Caucasian dating values and consequently are better accepted by the Caucasian community as dating partners. This, however, is at the expense of denying Chinese males, which is an indirect denial of themselves. Chinese American
females are vehement in their demonstration and disapproval of Chinese
American males as dating partners. They judge Chinese American male
characteristics as inadequate and failing in comparison to their
perceptions of White males' confidence and success in dating relations
(Weiss, 1973).

Another example of the Asian Americans' effort to conform to
the Western mold, and in the process reject parts of themselves, is
the Chinese American beauty pageant. This is an annual event directed
and judged by Caucasians. The contestants are attractive and fit
Caucasian beauty standards whose walk, style, dress, and demeanor
are Asian facsimiles of their Caucasian counterparts in the Miss
America Pageant. In this case the standards of physical beauty used
are those of White Americans.

In the same vein, a large segment of the community considers
the pageant as evidence that the Chinese are taking their place in
American society. They consider it as a positive statement, and view
it as evidence of their structural assimilation into White America at
the secondary level (Weiss, 1973, p. 77). One of the problems with a
situation like this is that it supports standards and values that
result in degrading Asian Americans' personal and physical reality.
Another concern is that it increases the possibility of Asian Americans
being imprisoned in the images created for them by White society.

A related negative effect of racism on Asian Americans' mental
health is that sometimes that sense of isolation, inferiority, and
frustration turns into hostility. Often this hostility is directed
inward, toward oneself and/or one's racial group. This may be manifested in a variety of forms such as self-hatred, rejection of self and/or racial group leading to lowered self-esteem and further alienation (Sue & Sue, 1971; Sommers, 1960). An example of this is found in a comparison study of Japanese American and White American females regarding body image. Results indicated that Japanese females are more dissatisfied with their body image than White females (Arkoff and Weaver, 1966). More evidence of self-hatred is found in a set of essays written by Asian American students (both male and female) from California (Maruyama, 1971). In these essays the hatred for their "Asian-ness" is a common denominator as they encounter racial prejudice and rejection by both White and Black groups.

There is some evidence which seems to indicate that among Asian Americans, the Japanese Americans may suffer a greater degree of identity conflict (Yamamoto, 1968; Suzuki, 1977). The experience of forced detention has made most Japanese Americans, especially the Nisei, choose overt acculturation often accompanied by the rejection of their ethnicity. The fact that this detention of Japanese Americans was a direct consequence of their ethnicity has influenced many Japanese Americans to either consciously or subconsciously reject the Japanese culture and become "200 percent Americans." As a result of this, many Japanese Americans have recently undergone severe identity conflicts as they discover just how much they had rejected their cultural identities in this process of trying to gain the acceptance of White society.
Lastly, one more research worth noting is "Racial Preferences and Identification of Black, American-Chinese, and White Children" by Fox and Jordan. Their research design was a replication of Kenneth Clark's 1955 study. In the area of preference, their sample of native-born Chinese children from New York City identified with their own race less frequently than the Black or White children. This resembles the results of Clark's initial investigation where he found Black children making their own race preference less frequently than White children (1973, p. 257). In response to which doll (or child) was "bad," a larger percentage of Chinese children chose their own race than did the Black children (1973, p. 258). Both of these results indicate that Chinese American children expressed a greater amount of identity conflict and lowered self-concept. One bright note is the significant reversal in own-race preference obtained by Black children in this study. In a similar study by Springer, results indicated that when compared to non-Asian Americans, Asian American children chose their own race less frequently at the p < .001 level (1973, p. 243).

Black identity development theories. Although there is an absence of known studies or theories that examine the dynamic process(es) by which Asian Americans resolve their identity conflict positively, leading to the development of an Asian American identity, there are existing theories which describe the process of Black identity development. Presently, insufficient data is available by which one could determine to what extent these theories are applicable to the
experience of Asian Americans. One expectation of the present study is that it will be informative in this regard. In the meantime one could safely conjecture that there would be some similarities between the groups since both groups are non-White and therefore are similarly affected by White racism with regard to their mental health. With this assumption in mind, the following cursory review of Black identity development theories is included.

In examining the effects of the most recent Black movement on the emerging self-identity of Black Americans, Sherif and Sherif (1970) noted two prominent patterns. One was the dissociation from White standards, institutions and values which promote Black inferiority. The second was the turning toward other non-White people for a new frame of reference to replace the former. These two tendencies represent some aspects of the stages in Black identity formation.

Both theories (Hall & Cross, 1970; Jackson, 1976) of Black identity formation, to be reviewed here, share a common premise that Black identity is a transformation of one's consciousness from the oppressed mentality to the liberated mentality. This is so because only a few Blacks can claim that they have always been Black. As Thomas (1971) puts it, all Blacks have suffered from the "negromachy"--a period which is governed by confusion of self-worth and dependency on the White society for definitions of self. Both theories are process oriented and examine various stages involved in this transformation.

In 1970, Hall and Cross postulated that there are a series of well-defined stages through which Black Americans pass when they
The fourth and the last stage is "internalization." As implied in the label, here an individual takes in and owns his/her Black-ness. Being Black becomes a normal part of the rest of his/her existence. The focus at this stage is on things other than him/herself, or their own ethnic/racial group. Their concern is with all oppressed people.

The other theory is Jackson's Black Identity Development (BID, 1976) which also consists of four developmental stages. In general, the BID theory describes values, beliefs, a locus of control, and their influences on the behavior of individuals at various stages of development. The main difference of BID from Hall and Cross's theory is its intent to be used as a tool by various helping personnel.

Stage one of BID is "passive acceptance" where persons accept White social and cultural value standards and simultaneously reject and devalue all that is associated with being Black. Consequently, they rely on the White society for approval and a sense of worth. There is little or no sense of power or control.

Stage two is "active resistance." During this period persons attempt to gain resources and power by rejecting White, social, cultural value standards. In contrast to stage one, here personal energy is directed toward rejecting Whites and all that is White. This total separation may be overcompensated efforts to cleanse oneself from years of toxic assumptions that have been internalized within the person.

Stage three is "redirection." During this phase a Black person's goal is to gain inner resources, pride, self-esteem, etc.,
by developing unique Black values, definitions, etc. The significance of this stage is that it is no longer reactive to the White society either by embracing or rejecting. White people are irrelevant to the establishment of a new Black culture and pride. During this stage the individual achieves a positive sense of self as a Black American and feels a need to bring this new identity into the rest of his/her identities. This impetus leads to the last stage which is "internalization."

During this phase the individual seeks to gain a sense of wholeness by integrating a new positive Black identity with other aspects of his/her total identity. A Black person at this stage is able to interact with any White persons or groups without the sense of being compromised or violated. They tend to interact with people as people, and recognize and accept both strengths and weaknesses in all persons. A Black person's identity is not determined by either the quality or quantity of hatred for Whites and White institutions. She/he also has respect and an understanding of consciousness of Black people at all stages of development, and therefore is able to dialogue with Blacks at other stages without being condescending or paternalistic.

These two theories of Black identity formation are more similar to each other than not, with some differences in their emphasis of a specific stage and/or applications. By and large the process of Black identity formation moves from the acceptance of White-ness, its values and standards, to recognition of oppression and its effects on
them; to negative reactions and withdrawal from White society and immersion into Black culture, heritage, etc.; ending with a positive identity as a Black person and the development of greater concern for oppression in general.

The purpose of this chapter was to introduce the reader to the problem that the present study will examine and to present a theoretical framework from which it was derived. The problem was stated as the existence of experience of identity conflict among Asian Americans which tends to have negative psychological effects on them, at least during the period of identity conflict. The present lack of research focusing on the process of resolving this kind of identity conflict served as a motivator for the present study. Therefore, the stated purpose of the present study is to examine the process by which identity conflict experienced by Asian Americans is resolved in such a way as to lead to the development of an Asian American identity.

Since there are no known theories which examine the process of racial identity development of Asian Americans, the focus of the review of literature was mainly to introduce a theoretical framework regarding identity formation in general and the effects of one's racial minority membership on that identity formation. Indeed, the present study is based on several assumptions which are derived from tenets of the Life-span developmental psychology, especially the work of Erikson and effects of oppression on individuals' consciousness (Freire) which in turn affect their identity. Identity formation was
presented as a developmental, interactive process which is significantly influenced by the interaction with one's social environment. It was also stated that one of the major factors operating in our society is White racism whose manifestations oppress people of color, such as the Asian Americans. The review also included a brief history of racism experienced by Asian Americans and its effects on their psychological well-being. It was judged necessary to include this section since there are common myths which disregard the Asian Americans as a legitimate racial minority. Lastly, a review of the existing theories of Black identity development was included both to illustrate effects of racial oppression on racial minority group members' identity development, and to serve as the base for comparative analysis of the Asian American identity development at a later stage of the study. The succeeding two chapters will contain focused discussions on the situation of Asian American women and Japanese Americans.
CHAPTER II
ASIAN AMERICAN WOMEN

As indicated on the title page, the present research is a study of the process of Asian American identity development using a sample of Japanese American women. Since the target population for the study is Japanese American women, there is a need to provide more information for the reader about being an Asian American woman and the Japanese American culture. The purpose of this chapter is to present pertinent information on Asian American women.

As women of color living in a White society, Japanese American women share more experiences with other women of color than not, especially with their Yellow sisters. It is for this reason that this chapter contains relevant information pertaining to Asian American women in general and is not specifically focused on Japanese American women. Another reason for this general orientation is the lack of a wealth of information within social science literature on Asian American women as a group, let alone on Japanese American women.

This chapter is divided into two major sections. The first section on general background begins with a discussion of the social position of Asian American women. This is followed by a historical review of immigration of Asian women to this country. An examination of the impact of the transmission of traditional Asian culture on Asian American women is also included. The second section presents a
brief discussion of some of the consequences of their social position, i.e., a double minority (as women and persons of color). In this regard, three areas will be examined: education and employment, stereotypes and self-image, and stresses experienced.

General Background

Among visible minorities in the U.S., Asian American women are the most invisible group in terms of being taken seriously (Sumi, Asian Women, 1975). This is evidenced by the lack of attention paid to Asian American women by scholars in the fields of social sciences. This lack of attention exists in spite of the fact that information regarding Asian American women is generally limited to stereotypes and misinformation.

From the societal point of view, stereotypes of Asian American women may be either positive or negative depending on how favorably their particular ethnic group is being viewed by the White society. This connection between the general direction of stereotyping and White society's changing perspectives of various Asian ethnic groups is applicable to Asian American men as well. For example, during World War II Japanese Americans as a group suffered from negative stereotyping. During this time it was not uncommon to see government propaganda attempting to physically distinguish between Chinese Americans and Japanese Americans while attributing positive and negative evaluations to them, respectively. Similarly, stereotypes for Japanese American women changed in a positive direction after
World War II, and stereotypes of Chinese American women became more positive after Nixon's visit to China in the early 70's. Clearly, being subjected to stereotyping is not a positive experience for the recipient group, since the end result of such activity is the denial of their individuality. Therefore, the use of evaluative terms such as "positive and negative" in relation to stereotypes refers to the dominant group's point of view and not the recipient group.

Some of the stereotypes that have been applied to Asian American women are that they are submissive, subservient, ready to please, easy to get along with, quiet, nice, polite, passive, exotic, erotic, doll-like, cheap, etc. The important point here is that regardless of whether the stereotypes applied to Asian American women are seen as positive or negative from the dominant cultural perspective, they tend to reinforce differences and serve to depersonalize and thereby oppress Asian American women.

In addition to being stereotyped, an important part of the reality of being an Asian American woman is that she has to deal with a double oppression: of being a woman and a racial minority. Within this society, which values not only whiteness but also maleness, it comes as no surprise to find that Asian American women are negatively impacted by both White racism and sexism. This is a reality that Asian American women share in common with other women of color in the U.S. This in turn has a definite impact on Asian American women's struggle to liberate themselves from sexism and necessitates some separation from the women's movement of the 70's which is
predominantly a White middle-class movement. In addition, sexism that exists in the Asian ethnic culture also influences Asian American women's experiences of sexism. As Fujitomi & Wong stated in the "New Asian American Women" (1973, p. 252):

The Asian Women's struggle is a Third World struggle and is, therefore, distinctly different from the White women's liberation movement. The Asian woman is a minority individual, and within her own family, she is delegated at a lower status than the male; for these reasons, she is doubly oppressed. As the larger society continues to repress the Asian men, the Asian men find it necessary to oppress their own females. In order to redeem dignity in his maleness, the Asian man exerts his masculinity by keeping his woman in her place.

Specific aspects of Asian culture that have the potential to negatively affect Asian American women will be presented later under the subsection, "Asian Culture and its Impact on Women." In addition, information to be presented in the next chapter on Japanese Americans should shed further light on the sexist nature of traditional Asian religion and philosophy. It should also be noted here that not all Asian American women feel they are oppressed as women within their ethnic culture. This variation in belief depends on both their operational definition of oppression and their political-consciousness level. Suffice it to state that the general situation of Asian American women is that they are caught between a racist and sexist White society and a sexist Asian American society.

Immigration patterns. Let us now look briefly at how she came to be a part of Asian American society. Asian American women have been in the U.S. for over 130 years, beginning with the influx of Chinese immigration around 1850. During this early period, very few Chinese
women came to the U.S. With the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the National Origins Act of 1924 which set limits to Asian immigration, virtually no Chinese women immigrants came. It was not until the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 in 1943 and the passage of the War Brides Act of 1947 that a large number of Chinese women immigrated and helped to equalize the sex ratio within the Chinese American community.

The immigration of Japanese women was similar to that of Chinese women in that very few came during the late 1800's. However, unlike the Chinese, Japanese women came in a continuous line from 1900-1924. This was due to the fact that more Japanese men brought their wives initially. Aside from Japanese immigrant men bringing their wives, the most common method which enabled immigration of Japanese women was a practice known as "picture bride" marriages.

The practice of "picture brides" was a major means for single Japanese men to acquire wives, and was an extension of a Japanese tradition of arranged marriages. In Japan marriage was considered a family affair and not an individual affair. As a family affair, marriage was arranged by a mutually acceptable go-between who was responsible for carefully scrutinizing a potential spouse's family background and other relevant matters and ultimately setting up an acceptable match. Also, in Japan both parties did not have to be physically present for the wedding ceremony to take place. What was important was that the bride's name be entered officially in the husband's family register. Thus the practice of "picture bride"
marriages met all the necessary social conventions. To apply for a passport, a bride simply had to present a certified copy of her husband's family register with her name entered in it for at least six months. The overall impact of the "picture brides" was to enable a proliferation of Japanese American family units.

Another large influx of Japanese women immigrants occurred after World War II when many U.S. soldiers brought home their war brides. Some of the reasons for the attraction of war brides was due to the belief of U.S. soldiers that Japanese women made perfect wives because they were seen to be domestic and excellent homemakers. This impression was generalized to Japanese American women and other Asian women as well (e.g., Chinese, Koreans).

Asian culture and its impact on women. It has already been stated that Asian American women face the double burden of racism and sexism because they are women of color in this society. Some of the consequences of this dual status will be discussed further in the last section of this chapter. In the realm of sexism, however, Asian American women not only have to deal with sex-role stereotyping and discrimination found in the White society, but they also face sex-role stereotyping and discrimination which exist within their own Asian ethnic groups. Sexism found in the Asian American culture has its roots in traditional Asian values and norms which the immigrants brought with them.

Generally speaking, the traditional Asian culture is rooted in Confucianism which strictly reinforces the belief of women's
inferiority to men. It is said in the Confucian teachings that a woman has three masters in her life: father, husband, and son. The following is an example of this ethic taken from a Confucian Marriage manual: "The five worst infirmities that afflict the female are indocility, discontent, slander, jealousy, and silliness.... Such is the stupidity of a woman's character, that it is incumbent upon her, in every particular, to distrust herself and to obey her husband."

Accordingly, Asian cultural expectations of a woman are that she be obedient, loyal, modest, responsible, and most of all a self-sacrificing daughter, daughter-in-law, wife, and mother. The social status of women in Asia throughout most of her life is marginal. She is always made aware of the fact that her society prefers males over females. From an early age on, a girl is trained by her mother to serve others and to take over the running of a household. After she gets married, she has no status in her husband's family until she has borne a son.

By and large, the overall cultural values of passivity, submissiveness, and self-sacrifice have been passed on to Asian American women from their immigrant parents and grandparents. Maxine Hong Kingston's autobiography is a good example of what it is like to grow up with the concept of "useless girl" (The Woman Warrior, 1977). Another example of sexism in the Asian culture and its impact on Asian American women is a study by Fillmore and Cheong (1976) on "The Early Socialization of Asian American Female Children." The results
of their study indicated that 1) each women interviewed regarded herself as a competent person and capable of handling difficult situations resourcefully; 2) each longed for recognition and accomplishment, but did not feel she accomplished as much as she could have nor was she appreciated by people around her; 3) each revealed personal anxieties about the conflict between traditional goals for women imposed by the Asian culture and her felt need to be productive and independent; 4) despite the existence of these conflicts, women were reasonably adjusted but were not completely pleased nor contented with their lives (1976, p. 49).

They concluded that the socialization these Asian American women experienced was tied directly to roles that women are expected to play in the Asian culture which has a built-in success inhibitor. That is, the social process which provided these Asian American women with the skills and determination to do almost anything they set out to do, also equipped them with a built-in success inhibitor which was usually not activated until the person aspired to roles that were outside of those culturally acceptable (1976, p. 61).

Not surprisingly, as Asian American women became more aware of this type of sexism in their own ethnic group, they found it difficult to find comfortable ways to relate to Asian American men (Kiefer, 1974, pp. 224-228). Many have also found it necessary to reject their ethnic expectations of feminine behavior in order to free themselves of culturally imposed constraints. In the process some have lost more positive aspects of their culture (Fillmore & Cheong, 1976, p. 67).
In summary, contemporary concerns of Asian American women, in dealing with the impact of the Asian American culture which is rooted in traditional Asian values of Confucianism, can be grouped into three areas. One, Freedom from inhibitions: A desire to break out of the so-called inscrutability of Asian Americans which comes out of valuing constraint of the expression of emotions, and years of conditioning to be subservient to family members and elders.

Two, Development of a positive self-image: In following Confucianism, women are discouraged from any sense of self-esteem as an individual, where their worth is measured only by the "good" husband they catch. They have a need to develop a positive self-image apart from their role within the family as mother and wife.

Three, Exercising leadership: To strive to be effective leaders, Asian American women need to be assertive and aggressive which is contrary to Asian values of passivity and submissiveness. When they become effective leaders, they are often highly visible in public which is also contrary to traditional values of modesty and moderation. There is a desire to become a leader without alienating her own people (Fujitami & Wong, 1973; Nievera, 1976). These three concerns easily apply to Asian American men as well.

Consequences of Being a Double Minority

In the beginning of this chapter, the social status of Asian American women was presented as that of a double minority. That is, in this society Asian American women not only face discrimination and
other forms of sexism as women; but they also experience various effects of White racism because they are members of the Yellow race. Carrying this double burden of racism and sexism results in their experience being different not only from that of White men, but also from White women and Asian American men.

Specific examples of how Asian American women's experience is different from that of White men needs no documentation here since the power structure exists to protect the interests of White men in general. As a member of the female group, Asian American women share with White women the limiting consequences of sexism. However, this experience is qualified by the fact that White women are still members of the majority race. For example, since the latest women's movement, the conditions of labor have improved for White women in the U.S. However, Asian American women have lower status occupations and have less income than White women. In some incidences, Asian American women are hired in the service role of cleaning and cooking for White women so that they can be emancipated. The difference in experience between Asian American women and Asian American men centers around the fact that although Asian American men suffer the consequences of being Yellow, they do enjoy some of the benefits of a male-oriented society.

Another reality is that the consequences of being a double minority is greater for new immigrant women from Asia than for the native-born Asian women. Problems facing recent Asian immigrants are many and make up a significant segment of the Asian American
experience. And as such, legitimately deserves a full scholarly attention on its own. However, that lies outside the purview of the present study. Therefore, this section will focus mainly on the experience of native-born Asian American women rather than foreign-born Asian women in America.

Suffice it to state that many recent Asian women immigrants are unable to find jobs that are commensurate with their level of training, skill, and experience. Major problem areas for this group of Asian women are the licensing and certification procedures especially in the health service area, and a lower level of English communication skills. A related trend is that there is a wide discrepancy between foreign-born and U.S.-born Asian women in terms of their level of education and occupational advancement. In general, the U.S.-born are chiefly found in white-collar occupations albeit mainly in the clerical sector. The foreign-born Asian women are predominantly found in blue-collar jobs (Fong & Cabezas, 1976). Let us now examine one of the consequences of being a double minority.

Education and employment. Two major patterns emerge in the area of education and employment of Asian American women. One is that they have a higher level of education than White women. The other is that a high level of education obtained does not necessarily guarantee equally high earning power. Obviously, to the extent that the possibility of higher earnings is related to educational level, it is the educated Asian American women who have a chance, albeit small, to
achieve this. The same chance for uneducated women is negligible (Fong & Cabezas, 1976).

According to the 1970 Census, nationally the proportion of Asian American women with a college education exceeds the percentage for college-educated White women: 23.8%, Chinese American; 16.7%, Japanese American; 8.4% White. In general, Asian American women as a group are highly educated. For all Asian American groups, the median educational level is higher than that of White women. For instance, of women who are 16 years of age or over, the median years of schooling are: 12.6 for Pilipino Americans, 12.4 for Japanese Americans, 12.3 for Chinese Americans, 12.1 for White Americans, 10.4 for Black Americans. Within the San Francisco Oakland SMSA area, the percentage of Asian American women college graduates is again higher than that of White women: 28.3% for Japanese Americans, 23.0% for Chinese Americans, 36.5% for Pilipino Americans, 24.0% for White Americans. However, despite higher education levels, the percentage of Asian American women who earn over $10,000 a year is only 2-4% while the percentage for White women is 5-6%. On the other hand, these low percentages for both groups of women is striking when compared with 60% for White men and 38% for Chinese American men (Fong & Cabezas, 1976). It is probably safe to assume that similar comparison data exist in other parts of the country.

Perhaps a more significant pattern among Asian American women is that as their education level goes up, they tend to fall more behind in earning power to a comparable group of White women. The
reason for this phenomenon is not clear. However, it is speculated that as these women try for jobs commensurate with their education at higher levels of responsibility, they are more likely to experience racial discrimination, something that White women do not encounter. According to Fong and Cabezas (1976), in California there are more Chinese American women with a high-school level education earning over $10,000 a year than White women, while with college and postcollege education, their earning level is considerably lower than that of White women. While it is a fact that all women earn substantially less than men at each comparable educational level, this kind of trend found among Chinese American women speaks to a kind of impact one's dual minority status can have on her economic situation.

Focusing more on the employment scene, the overall pattern which emerges is that many Asian American women have occupations and incomes that are not commensurate with their education. There is also a serious trend toward downward mobility. Using the 1970 Census data, Fong and Cabezas (1976) put together the following scenario. Asian American women tend to be concentrated in white-collar job categories: 77.5% Japanese American, 66.4% Chinese American, 58.0% Pilipino American. Within this, similar to the situation of White women, they are mostly in clerical occupations. There are a few who are employed in the professional and technical field but occupy the lower end of these classifications. That is, they are mostly employed as accountants, nurses, and health technicians rather than as lawyers, judges, physicians, and engineers. There is also an
under-representation of Asian American women in positions which require substantial public contact or high language facility.

The next category of employment is in operative ranks, due primarily to their concentration in the garment industry. Many are also employed within the service industry (e.g., cooking and cleaning). Again, similar to patterns found among White women, a major withdrawal from the labor force among Asian American women occurs between the ages of 25-34, with a re-entry after age 35.

In every case, except for Japanese American families with young children, Asian American women continue to work in higher proportion than in White families. The 1970 Census data indicate that more than half of Asian American women over 16 are in the work force. A 1975 HEW study revealed that one out of two married Asian American women worked, compared with two out of five White women. From 1960-1970, the largest increase in the labor force for Asian American women was primarily among married women (1960--10%, 1970--50%). In general, then, the labor force participation rate of Asian American women is higher than for White women.

One reason for this higher percentage of working women among Asian Americans is due to economic necessity, i.e., to maintain family income. Due mainly to effects of White racism, the average income of Asian American families is considerably lower than White families even though on the whole they are more educated. The proportion of Asian American families and individuals living at or below the poverty level is considerably greater than Whites. This is
especially true for Chinese- and Pilipino Americans. Japanese Americans come closest to matching White levels of affluence (Fong & Cabezas, 1976). Another reason for the relatively low economic status of Asian American families is a higher percentage of self-employment. Often self-employment is strongly correlated with the practice of unpaid family workers.

To recap, the economic achievement of Asian American women must be seen in a relationship context between education level and employment opportunities. Too often, sociologists and other writers have focused solely on achievements in the education area. In doing so, they have concluded that Asian American women have been successful in achieving good socio-economic status (Brooks & Kinihiro, 1952; Wilber et al., 1975). The fact that the median income of Asian American women, with four years of college or more, is lower than that of White men and women and Asian American men with the same educational level, questions the validity of these claims.

There is also a common belief that the economic and occupational status of Asian American women will continue to improve with the passing of years. This is based on the assumption that we live in an open society where individuals have unlimited access to both educational and economic opportunities regardless of race, sex, religion, or creed. Unfortunately, our present system is open only for certain groups of people.

Stereotypes and self-image. Sexism acts as a barrier against women. It prevents them from entering and benefiting from various social
institutions. Thus sexism has a discriminatory effect on women. Sexism also stereotypes women as physically, psychologically, and intellectually inferior to men. They are seen as weak, helpless, childlike, dependent, and overly emotional.

Not all women are conscious of their oppression. They believe that they benefit from supposed "privileges" of being women (e.g., not having to lift heavy objects, being put on a pedestal, not having to serve in the military, etc.). They do not realize that in actuality these "privileges" tend to pacify and keep them under male control. These also act to mask the reality of being denied access to real power and privileges.

In addition to discrimination, sexism can lead to deep feelings of inferiority and helplessness. Asian American women, to varying degrees of consciousness, are affected by sexism in the larger society, as well as within the Asian American community.

As a double minority, it is often difficult for Asian American women to decipher whether they are more discriminated against because of their sex or race. Perhaps it is not important to be able to make this distinction. What is important is to know that both sexism and White racism interact to have negative effects on Asian American women. It seems in general that Asian American women are seen and treated as Asians first and as women second. The issue of racial minority membership may have saliency over being women.

In addition to the general stereotypes applied to women, Asian American women are stereotyped as docile, submissive, exotic, sexy
dragon ladies. The problem with these stereotypes is not only that they exist, but that there is little else around. There are no broader, representative role models for the group. Another problem is that all too often, they are exclusively defined in terms of the group's defensive adjustments to the oppressive society. Likewise, the legitimate Asian American cultural differences are ignored. This leads to evaluation of certain behavior which has a valid base in the Asian American culture, as negative by the White society. For example, selflessness that is often found in older Asian American women is a response to their traditional values and dealing with hardship and oppression in America. This is generally interpreted by Whites as an innate subservience of Asian women. On the contrary, Asian American women are important members of their family. They have a strong character and often act as vessels of the parent culture. However, the overall impact of stereotyping and the simultaneous lack of true information on the history of Asian American groups, is a negative force in the lives of many Asian American women.

The institutions of education and media are two of the major vehicles which promote and maintain sexism and White racism. A 1976 study conducted by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded the existence of extensive stereotyping in major textbooks on Reading and Social Sciences. The most prevalent stereotype of Asian American women was the image of "China doll."
The exposure to this kind of educational system acts to shape both the perceptions and expectations of Whites regarding Asian Americans in general. It also acts to negatively shape Asian Americans' own perceptions and evaluations of who they are. As Asian Americans are exposed to the dominant culture, they come to view White Americans' personal character, values, and norms as more admirable. Simultaneously, they often find their own racial values and norms as less desirable. In doing so, many develop a kind of racial self-hatred leading to lowered self-esteem and a deep sense of conflict (Sommers, 1960; Sue & Sue, 1971; D. W. Sue, 1979).

Asian American women's perception of themselves as women is powerfully influenced by various messages found in the mass media. The media's images of desirable females are usually European, White, typically with blonde hair, long legs, and round eyes. Asian American women usually are flat-chested, short and have slanted eyes and black hair. These messages then act as a constant reminder of standards for beauty, by comparison to which they feel like a failure.

This sense of failure comes from Asian American women not realizing that it is based on White standards of acceptability. A study by Arkoff and Weaver (1968) has documented this effect. It is interesting to note that the physical focus of this sense of failure among Asian American women more often centers around the shape of their eyes. Similar to Black Americans' sense of alienation which was physically manifested around their hair, Asian American women
were, and some are still, obsessed with making their eyes appear more European. Many had eye surgery performed, or used scotch tape to develop double-folded eyelids, or wore false eyelashes. Although manifestations and the degree of severity may vary among them, most Asian American women, at one time or another, have embraced the White model and internalized the message that they were less than Whites.

**Stresses experienced.** Asian American women do face unique psychological stress. Some of their sources of stress are also applicable to Asian American men. C. Kiefer identifies three sources of stress which come out of the Asian American person-environment relationship. These are cultural alienation, cultural confusion, and cultural conflict (1974, p. 133-144). Cultural alienation refers to a loss of the sense of personal continuity through time which occurs in part as a result of the breaking up of cultural patterns. It is often associated with a state of weakened self-image. For all Asian Americans, the combination of a culturally discontinuous environment and the denial of individuality experienced through cultural and racial stereotyping often produces in them a severe cultural alienation.

Cultural confusion can occur when a person cannot associate a definite norm within an appropriate context. This inability can occur when there are multiple norms, i.e., more than one norm seems applicable, or when there is normlessness. Normlessness is a condition in which a person's experience contradicts his/her assumptions about what is expected of them. This can occur both
within the subculture as well as between cultures. For instance, among Japanese Americans, due to different acculturation rates affecting each generation along with individual variations within generations, both conditions of normlessness and multiple norms can occur. The uncomfortable question to resolve is "What am I supposed to do?"

Cultural conflict refers to a situation where values or beliefs held by participants in a given social interaction are perceived to be incompatible with what the situation demands. Under this condition, participants would either have to change their values or get out of the situation. Cultural conflict is an outcome of acculturation. It may be based on perceptions of conflicting norms and values espoused by significant persons in the individual's life or from perceptions of conflicting and culturally biased definitions of an intercultural situation.

To these three person-environment sources of stress, we may add identity conflict. In the present study, identity conflict is defined as existing when an individual perceives certain aspects or attributes of him/herself which s/he rejects simultaneously. For Asian Americans living in a racist society where there is predominance of White models and an absence of strong Asian American models, it is the awareness of oneself as an Asian which one rejects. The critical question here is not "What is my ethnic self?", but "How do I feel about and value that aspect of me?" Identity conflict as defined, exists in varying degrees in all Asian Americans. It
presents an ongoing psychological struggle. A number of studies have included discussions of Asian American identity conflict (Fugitomi & Wong, 1973; Fong, 1968; Yamamoto, 1968; Maykovich, 1973).

Lastly, there is some data available which suggest the presence of certain types of stresses unique to Asian American women. Clearly, one of these is due to the unsatisfactory employment opportunities discussed earlier. Another area is the increase in divorce rates among Asian American women. This increase is especially rapid among Japanese Americans. For example, their rate in 1960 was 1.6%, which has jumped to 6.3% in 1970. Not much is known about the nature of marital strain. And although we know from the cultural values of Asian Americans that they place greater investment in the family, we do not know how family break-ups impact upon its members, especially the women.

Another area of stress is interracial marriages. Asian American women marry out at a higher rate than men. Incidentally, the latest census figure indicates that a higher proportion of Japanese American women are involved in interracial marriages (Homma-True, 1976). This issue is important to look at since there has been a gradual increase in interracial marriages since World War II. This increase is boosted by the influx of war brides and servicemen's wives. Research indicates that the situation of servicemen's wives is pessimistic (Bok-Lim Kim, 1972). Other interracial marriages have also been found to be in discouraging states (Gordon, 1964). Further research is needed to examine the
specific impact of bicultural and biracial marriages on a couple's adjustment, nature of conflicts, and implications for identity development, etc.

There may be other sources of stress that arise out of Asian American women's particular status of being a dual minority. The purpose here was not to exhaust the issue, but to present a few illustrative examples. Suffice it to say that their situation leads to additional stresses in addition to those incurred as a racial minority. However, their racial minority status is considered to be a more salient factor in many of these stresses such as cultural alienation, cultural confusion, cultural conflict, and identity conflict. Of these, it is the area of identity conflict that is the focus of the present study. By analyzing experiences of Japanese American women, the present study hopes to present a picture of what the process of identity conflict resolution looks like, a better sense of what it feels like, and also hear what it sounds like from the participants' point of view.

This chapter presented a brief overview on Asian American women. Their history of immigration and potential effects of traditional Asian culture on their self-esteem as women were examined. Shifting the focus to their social-political situation, discussions around the effects of being a double minority were presented. Specifically, the discussion considered the effects of double minority status in the areas of educational achievement and employment opportunities, stereotypes and their effect on self-image,
and categories of stresses experienced by Asian American women. The contents of this chapter, then, should have informed the reader about the general situation of Asian American women. However, since the present study is based on the experiences of Japanese American women, specific information regarding the Japanese American culture and experiences will be presented in the following chapter.
CHAPTER III

JAPANESE AMERICANS

The purpose of this chapter is to present a brief history of the evolution of Japanese American culture and the experiences of Japanese Americans. In the area of culture, more information is available which traces the origin of the Japanese American culture to Japan, the mother country. The reader should keep in mind that although the specific historical nuances of Japan and the experiences of Japanese Americans are distinguishable from the histories of other Asian countries and the experiences of other Asian ethnic groups, there is a greater degree of similarity in both the traditional cultural values and norms among Asian countries and their impact on their offspring in America, than differences. In other words, a greater understanding of the evolution of the Japanese American culture should shed some informed light on other Asian ethnic cultures in the United States.

This chapter is divided into two sections. It begins with a section on the origins of the Japanese American culture which will examine traditional Japanese values, norms, and family organization, and how these have been adapted by Japanese Americans. This is followed by a developmental overview of Japanese Americans as a group. Three generations of Japanese Americans are presented, beginning with the first generation ("Bamboo") and ending with the third generation ("Bee").

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Origins of the Japanese American Culture

Characteristics that represent what is known as traditional Asian values are common knowledge to those who are familiar with Asian studies. These characteristics emphasize reserve and formality in interpersonal relations, restraint and inhibition of the expression of strong feelings, obedience to authority, obligation to the family, striving for high achievement in academic and occupational areas, and the use of shame and guilt as prime means of social control. These traditional Asian values are found in most Asian countries such as China, Japan, and Korea. Like other immigrant groups, Asian immigrants have brought these traditional values with them, and to a varying degree, they exist within the Asian American community today.

Therefore, to understand the experience of Asian Americans more fully, one needs to know what their ethnic culture is about and how it has evolved. That is the objective of this section, which focuses specifically on Japanese Americans.

The term culture, as used here, has a narrower definition than usual. Culture is defined here to include norms, values, and family institutions but excludes aspects such as economic, political, social, and religious structures and institutions. We will look at the institution of family since it is a keystone of Asian society and as such acts as the primary socializing and reinforcing agent of cultural values and norms.
Values refer to a cluster of attitudes that give a sense of direction to behavior. Norms, on the other hand, refer to a shared meaning system in a culture which serves as the common base for communication between its members. A primary function of social norms is to provide a guide for interpersonal communication enabling individual members to interact with other members in an acceptable way. Used in this way, social norms are the criteria by which members may judge each other's behavior as either appropriate or inappropriate (Kitano, 1971, pp. 101-102).

One of the outstanding characteristics of Japanese norms is their adaptiveness to fixed positions and external realities. Functionally, Japanese norms tend to follow the line of least resistance and emphasize duty and obligation. Similarly, they tend to value conformity and obedience.

Other characteristics of Japanese social norms are: highly depersonalized social interaction, existence of a definite hierarchy of status positions with varying importance attached to these positions, existence of a relatively permanent status system, existence of certain codified norms (e.g., "on"—ascribed obligation, "giri"—contractual obligation, "chu"—loyalty to one's superiors, "ninjo"—humane sensibility, "enryo"—modesty in the presence of one's superior) and a high regard for behavioral reserve and discipline (Kitano, 1971, p. 102). Although the present-day Japanese and Japanese Americans are not necessarily the same, the Japanese American culture does reflect some form of these traditional Japanese
values and norms. This is due to the fact that cultural values of an immigrant group can be traced to the nature of the parent culture during the period of their departure. In the case of Japanese Americans, that departure point was the Meiji era in which these norms and values have their roots.

Japan, pre-Meiji era. Prior to 1600, when the first Shōgunate was established, Japan, lacking a central leadership, was marked by chronic warfare among feudal lords. During this time the population was divided into vassals and lords where their relationship was mutually dependent and responsible. The lords (samurai class) looked to their vassals (peasants) for food and labor while the peasants depended on samurai to provide protection. In 1600, Ieyasu Tokugawa established himself as Shōgun after defeating the other lords. This Shōgunate system maintained peace until the Meiji restoration in 1868. Thus, during this Shōgunate ruling period, the society was frozen into an unchangeable, rigid, social structure benefiting the warrior class (Maykovitch, 1972, p. 26).

In such a system, where each individual was responsible to a particular individual higher than him/herself in the social hierarchy, individuals learned that if they stayed within their proper station in life, they would be safe and secure. It also meant that individuals had to exercise absolute obedience and service to the one above. The price of survival was constant vigilance and meticulous conformity to codes of conduct, and the cultivation of a "stone face" hiding real emotions. It is easy to see where Japanese Americans might have
learned behavior stances that prefer predictability and control rather than the Western ideal of initiative and spontaneity.

To help maintain control over the population, the Tokugawa Shogunate adopted the basic themes from Confucianism and Buddhism and developed a code of ethics for the ruling class. One of the Confucian themes adopted was the prescription of the rites so that harmony with the laws of the universe may be established.

Another was the notion of patriarchy and the family as the unit for social action, i.e., the head of the family was the eldest adult male who was the family patriarch. Within the family all members were tied to each other in a one-sided manner (e.g., son must obey the father unconditionally and had no rights of his own, wife had no rights and must unconditionally obey her husband, a younger brother must unconditionally obey the elder brother, etc.).

In this scheme, the state was simply an extension of the family with the link between the ruler and his subjects seen in the same way as the relation between a son to father. Finally, the emperor was seen as in the position of a son to the heavens, the father. A smooth functioning of this whole system was assured by everyone adhering precisely to rites governing every interaction.

The final Confucian theme adopted was an establishment of an ethical system centered around benevolence, propriety, wisdom, emphasis on obedience to parents, and social and family relations based on the premise of selflessness and obligation. It was taught that selfishness obscures one’s true self and keeps one from
obtaining the state of oneness with the universe. Therefore, a moral obligation of each individual was to combat selfishness and to de-emphasize the division between oneself and others for the goal of maintaining unity (Maykovich, 1972, pp. 27-28).

Similar to Confucianism, Buddhism also stressed selflessness and advocated the dissolution of self, i.e., destruction of ego in infinity. All things such as personal selves and material objects were considered to be transitory. Because all things were perceived to be transitory, it was considered inevitable for human beings to suffer and experience difficulty in obtaining peace of mind.

Their salvation from this suffering was to be found in Buddhism, where through meditation one can learn to loosen oneself from the social realities of pain and disengage from ego-centered social drives which only lead to more pain (Maykovich, 1972, pp. 28-29). This religion was seen as a way to avoid human misery. In this context self-resignation was not an acknowledgment of defeat but a sign of transcendence over a treacherous situation.

Buddhism also identified four debts, to parents, fellow beings, sovereign ruler, and the three holy treasures of Buddhism. These debts (due to blessings received) were so great that a person could never fully repay them although religious actions were considered to be repayments.

Therefore, the only solution was for each individual to devote his/her whole life to repayment, so that they may be saved from weakness and continue to enjoy the blessings. A person was always
indebted to these four beings (Maykovich, 1972, p. 29). One effect of this constant indebtedness, along with the Confucian ethic of loyalty and service to higher beings, was to create a desire among Japanese to strive for excellence which often led to high achievement.

Meiji values. No significant changes occurred in the Japanese cultural values and norms during the Meiji restoration era, which succeeded the Shogunate reign. The only change was that the code of ethics for the ruling class was applied more widely to include the general population. The bulk of it was translated into Meiji values influencing the whole population. It is these Meiji values that Japanese immigrants brought with them to America.

Meiji values may be classified into four concepts (Benedict, 1946; Kitano, 1971; Maykovich, 1972; Kiefer, 1974). The first is the concept of "shame." Shame was to be avoided at all cost, and certain behavioral norms were developed to reduce and avoid it. Every individual was responsible for making sure that they did not bring shame to their family. This led to the construction of many creative and innovative responses as well as the fostering of conformity. In Meiji society, an individual's sense of self-worth was derived from what others thought of the individual and was not internally focused.

The second concept, which is closely related to shame is "loss of face." Here the purpose was to help someone else from losing face. Extensive rituals and procedures were developed which gave the opponent a way out of potentially shameful situations, an evidence of the Japanese people's desire to avoid shame, especially in public
places. One consequence of this was that Japanese people had difficulty accepting charity or even gifts. One could usually witness a series of ceremonious rituals between the giver and the receiver before the gift was finally accepted. The same applied to giving and receiving compliments.

Similarly, there is a related concept called "haji," which is a way of devaluing oneself and family members. Norms precluded the praising of self or family in public and it was considered to be in very poor taste to do so. The emphasis here was not to brag or admit competence in order to avoid setting up a situation where the other party might lose face.

Relating these two concepts of "shame" and "loss of face" may provide at least a partial explanation for the relative under-use of social and mental health services by Asian Americans. There is clear evidence that these two concepts exist in other Asian countries under different labels (e.g., Haji--Japan, Hija--Phillipines, Menz--China, Chaem Yun--Korea).

The third concept is a complex system of obligations where little is taken for granted. The underlying belief was that people existed to repay an obligation. For example, a recipient of a favor must return in kind within an appropriate time span. The repayment must not exceed the original favor. This concept of obligations taught Japanese to be independent as much as possible in order to avoid unnecessary debt. Especially among family members, there was a limit as to how many favors could be performed. This was because
they believed that an individual could never fully repay his/her family. Therefore, spontaneous acts of kindness were not performed unless done anonymously.

The last concept is "gaman," the practice of emotional restraint in the face of hardship. High value was placed on repressing feelings of anger, rage, fear, and hopelessness and stoically facing one's responsibility. In the Meiji culture, conflict between role demands and inner feelings were considered to be regrettable human characteristics that need to be corrected by suppression of potentially disruptive feelings. Therefore, Japanese tended to avoid direct verbal references to their feelings. They were more likely to use poetic innuendos and subtle facial, postural, and gestural cues. This concept undoubtedly helped the first and second generations of Japanese Americans to survive many hardships experienced in the U.S., especially the camp experience. This tendency to use "gaman" has also led to the stereotyping of Asian Americans as "inscrutable" by European Americans. However, within the Asian American community, this practice is interpreted as exercising an appropriate amount of caution in dealing with outsiders and considered to be a sign of having self-respect, loyalty to the group, and good common sense.

These four Meiji concepts have left their traces within the Japanese American culture. There is some empirical evidence on values, which demonstrate that Japanese Americans express high degrees of obedience, manifest ethical behavior, show respect for
authority, manifest a low degree of acting out, show independence, exercise "gaman," and be competitive, especially with other Japanese Americans, which comes out of a desire to excel and be a good credit to the family (Kitano, 1971, p. 109). However, there is also some evidence which suggests that some of these values are slowly diminishing among Sansei (Kitano, 1971, p. 115).

In summary, there are some basic differences between Japanese American values and those of White European Americans. Whereas European Americans believe in the moral rightness of individual autonomy and self-expression, Japanese Americans tend to believe that the group and an individual's interests are one and the same. They also assume that an individual member has no legitimate interest that conflicts with the group's interest. For these reasons, Japanese Americans tend to be team players who believe that discipline and obedience are necessary; and self-control and hard work are important ingredients of building a strong character (Kitano, 1971, p. 107).

Traditional Asian family. Having presented an overview of Japanese cultural norms and values which are very similar to those found in other Asian countries, let us now look at the institution of family. Notwithstanding the fact that the Japanese American family structure has undergone some transition, it may be enlightening still to begin with a description of a traditional Asian family. As was implied in the preceding section, the family was the major social and economic unit and was located at the center of social order, operating out of the same Confucian code of ethics.
Consequently, the traditional Japanese family was a patriarchal, patrilineal, and patrilocal system where the father maintained a strong, authoritarian power over other family members. Within the family system, there was a clear-cut sexual division of labor, and males were delegated to the position of dominance and superiority over females. There were three expectations of a woman in the family system: As a daughter to obey and serve her father, as a wife to obey and serve her husband, and in old age to obey and serve her son. Reflective of the larger society, each member of the family was assigned a definite position in the hierarchy, and was bound by a network of moral duties and rules for proper conduct whose purpose was to minimize conflict and potentially disruptive feelings (D. Sue, 1979; Osako, 1976; Maykovich, 1972).

Contemporary Japanese American family. As time went on, it was inevitable that the Japanese American family structure would experience transitions from its roots in the Meiji value system. However, particular to Japanese Americans, no event had a greater effect on the family structure than the internment during World War II (Broom & Kitsuse, 1956, 1977). The experience was difficult for Japanese Americans in general, but the Nisei in particular have felt stigmatized by the experience. After their release, most Nisei have either consciously or unconsciously decided to acculturate as quickly as possible. This decision has influenced the subsequent development of familial patterns for contemporary Japanese Americans.
Aside from the Nisei's decision to speed up the acculturation process, the nature of camp experience itself has also played a role in changing the Japanese American family structure. Living in concentration camps meant normal family functions such as household routines were displaced by communal services. The evening meal which was the central activity of the family was now replaced by mess-hall eating where frequently members did not dine together.

In the camps each family member became a free agent which broke up the traditional hierarchical system. For example, children were detached from parental supervision and spent time with peers instead. For many women, it was their first opportunity to relax and not be bound by household duties and to interact with other women. The practice of the War Relocation Agency to appoint Nisei to leadership positions within the camps rather than Issei (due to their alien status) also worked to erode the hierarchical structure of the traditional Japanese family.

Like other American families, contemporary Japanese American families are residentially nuclear. However, for some Nisei families, co-residence with Issei parents is an obligation they must meet. During the early years of Nisei marriage, Issei parents chose with whom they would reside. By and large, their choice was based on Japanese tradition of the expectations regarding the first son. The presence of the mother-in-law often created a difficult situation for Nisei wives, a problem the Issei women did not have to contend with due to immigration. More recently, the Nisei have played a stronger
role in making the decision regarding three-generation households (Yanagisako, 1975).

Notwithstanding the Nisei value of respect and obligation for elderly parents, they unanimously agree that co-residence with one's parents after marriage is a burden to be avoided whenever possible. Presence of Issei parents is seen by married Nisei as a constricting force to establishing open and informal relationships between members of the nuclear family. However, they acknowledge that there are circumstances which require co-residence with parents (e.g., inadequate financial resources to maintain separate households, parent needing physical care, etc.). It is not a common practice among Nisei to place an elderly parent in a nursing home or in other types of institutional care (Yanagisako, 1975, p. 210).

In situations which require this type of co-residence, an unmarried Nisei sibling is considered to be the best choice for taking on the responsibility. If all children are married, there is a strong preference for parents to reside with daughters, especially the eldest daughter, as opposed to sons. This technically eliminates problems experienced by some Nisei women with their live-in mother-in-law. To recap, then, although there are some Nisei households that include elderly Issei parents), most Nisei families are residentially nuclear.

Functionally, Japanese American families tend to be extended. This is established by the use of kinship network. This is especially true for Japanese Americans residing in predominantly Japanese American
communities. The existence of many networks, both formal and informal, makes the Japanese American community a close-knit system (Kiefer, 1974). Such kinship network serves two functions. On the one hand, it preserves the ideology of autonomy of a nuclear family. Simultaneously, its existence meets the felt need for an informal support structure which links related households. The latter was available within the traditional Japanese family structure which was residentially extended. Therefore, the kinship network system among Japanese Americans is a solution that blends two seemingly divergent needs: individual nuclear family autonomy and benefits of support derived from extended family units.

More specifically, Japanese American kinship network is woman-centered. Nisei women play an important role in the kinship structure. They appear to be "kin keepers" who know the details of kin ties and facilitate communication among various households and other kin groupings (Yanagisako, 1977, p. 211). It is the women who plan and coordinate activities such as Japanese American holiday gatherings. Another evidence of female centrality of Japanese American kinship network is the existence of affective solidarity of women (sisters, mothers, daughters, etc.). It was found that pairs of female kin (mother-daughter, sister-sister) have more frequent contact than pairs of male kin (father-son, brother-brother). This unity among women seems to transcend differences in education and occupation levels, income, life styles, and personalities (Yanagisako, 1977, p. 210). The women rely on each other for emotional support and
services because they feel there is no restraint between them. Consequently, most Nisei women spend more time with their mothers and sisters than with friends. This affective solidarity of female units also includes single women. Women who have no primary female kin (mother, sister) may develop a close relationship with an aunt or female cousin or other female relations by marriage. Lastly, community networks that include kin who do not reside in the local area are also women-centered. Incidentally, Japanese Americans define kinship in terms of family units and persons and not just in terms of persons, which is frequent among European Americans. It also includes both affinally (through marriage) connected family units and consanguineal (related by blood) family units (Yanagisako, 1978, p. 20).

Unlike the traditional Japanese family which is a vertical, patriarchal system, husbands and wives in contemporary Japanese American families tend to play more complementary roles marked by cooperation. Especially in the areas such as finances, socializing, and child rearing, wives are usually the decision makers. Unlike the traditional family, these families are less dominated by the father-son relationship. The parent-child relationship is more egalitarian, and there is a lesser degree of preferred treatment for sons over daughters.

This is all a relative description because, when compared with White American families, Japanese American families still exercise a greater amount of constraint on their children and show a greater evidence of some of the traditional values coming through (Johnson,
1972). Certain traditional values such as filial piety and respect for the elderly have depreciated more than other traditional values. They no longer expect unquestioned obedience, and the experience of grandparents no longer carries as much weight as before. In fact, in many situations, Issei are less capable of coping with the larger society.

Despite these acculturation trends, many of the traditional values continue to exist to a lesser degree. The dominant perspective is still the importance of the family as a unit where the unit is more important than individual members. In Japanese American families, one need not feel guilty about one's discordant feelings and ideas. It is important only to keep these feelings from interfering with the business of being a member of the family. There is still a tendency to see individuals primarily as the very roles they play, and a belief that feelings are transient phenomena which must not be taken too seriously (Kiefer, 1974, pp. 114-115). Other traditional values such as respect for ethical behavior, respect for authority, modesty and politeness toward others still influence Japanese Americans today (Kitano, 1971; Kiefer, 1974).

For these reasons it is not unusual to see an absence of prolonged verbal exchanges within the family. Very few problems are resolved through open discussions between parents and children. The practice of talking out and mutually discussing discordant issues is actively discouraged. Due to the Japanese American preference for non-verbal orientation, many of the cultural roots and reasons for certain
behavior and customs are not readily shared among family members, which leads to confusion. The Sansei, much more removed from the traditional cultural roots than the Nisei, often experience greater degrees of confusion and incomprehension. This is further aggravated by the greater acculturation among Sansei leading to their expectation of verbal orientation. It is no wonder that many Sansei see their families as frustratingly non-communicative, especially around emotionally loaded issues. Unlike the Nisei, many Sansei believe that family relations should be based on voluntary cooperation, shared feelings, and commitment to individual members. The Nisei, on the other hand, believe that the solidarity of the family is an imperative which can be weakened by airing differences among its members (Kiefer, 1974, p. 125).

Lastly, the principle of social control is still the inculcation of guilt and shame. A given behavior is rewarded, punished, and shaped by emphasizing the child’s need for dependence (economic and emotional), appeal to obligations, and duty to the family.

From Bamboo to Bee

The adaptation of any immigrant group to the host country can be classified into three levels, acculturation, assimilation, and integration. Acculturation is defined as the ability of the immigrant group to share and follow the values, goals, behaviors, and expectations of the majority. Another definition of successful adaptation may be at the level of assimilation. Assimilation is defined as a
situation where there is a disappearance of outward behavioral traits, physical differences and cultural differences that distinguish a minority population from the host culture. This comes about through a disappearance of discriminatory practices by the members of the host culture toward the minority group, permitting the minority group to join that society. The third criteria for successful adaptation may be on the level of integration. Integration is defined as a situation where the minority group is scattered throughout the country and equally distributed at various levels of society and socio-economic class (Kitano, 1971, p. 3).

Using these three levels as the criteria for successful adaptation, Japanese Americans have succeeded in acculturating but not in assimilating nor integrating into the U.S. Mere observational data will confirm the fact that Japanese Americans, like other Asian Americans, have not been fully assimilated. It is possible to observe distinctions in their outward behaviors and physical, cultural differences between Japanese Americans and European Americans. Likewise, Japanese Americans have not been totally integrated into the social fabric of the U.S. As an example, since World War II, although there has been rapid progress, Japanese Americans are still not fully integrated into the occupational structure of this society. Except in all-Japanese American business firms, very few Japanese Americans are executives or administrators, nor in publicly visible positions. Equally few are found in the entertainment industry. The majority of Japanese Americans are still living on the West Coast,
especially in California. There is some evidence which suggests that Japanese Americans in other parts of the country are better distributed in terms of education, training, and occupational choices. However, in terms of major sources of employment, certain broad trends appear to hold for Japanese Americans in all geographical areas, in civil services, gardening, pharmaceuticals, and as engineers, dentists, doctors, nurses, and teachers (Kitano, 1971, p. 59).

On the other hand, if the criteria for successful adaptation is acculturation, Japanese Americans have been successful. For example, a study* on values by Sue and Kirk at the University of California at Berkeley found Japanese Americans to be more similar to the control group of White students than to the Chinese American students (D. W. Sue, 1979). Two possible explanations are given for Japanese Americans' seemingly higher acculturation rate. One is that there is a different rate of acculturation among Asian American groups, and that Japanese Americans have acculturated faster due to their particular historical experience in the U.S. Because they were interned in concentration camps during World War II, Japanese Americans as a group were more likely to fear their loyalty being questioned again. Therefore, since the war, Japanese Americans, especially the Nisei, have emphasized the need to appear as White as possible. The other explanation is the concept of value compatibility.

*Report on the study does not include information on whether the generational variable was controlled for.
The Japanese American reverence for hard work, achievement, self-control, dependability, manners, thrift, and diligence is congruent with the American middle-class values which originated from the Puritan work ethic. Both cultures value politeness, respect for authority, duty to the community, diligence, cleanliness, emphasis on achievement, and respect for parental wishes (Caudill, 1952). These shared values lead to their being compatible with each other. On the other hand, although there are shared values, they are not exercised at the same degree. Japanese Americans tend to place a higher significance on these values than the American middle class.

Specifically then, the acculturation of Japanese Americans is not due to their culture being the same as the American middle-class culture, but because there is a functional compatibility and interaction between the two (Kitano, 1971). For instance, the values of success aspiration and obligation are found in both cultures. However, they are exercised to a greater degree among Japanese Americans which leads to a more rapid socio-economic advancement experienced by Japanese Americans. Simultaneously, Japanese Americans are also found to be high on conformity and compromise. These combined with the Japanese American tendency to show deference helped to decrease potentially hostile reactions from the larger society (Kitano, 1971, pp. 112-113).

Another reality to keep in mind is that there is a ceiling as to how much Japanese Americans can accomplish within this socio-economic structure (e.g., available economic statistics on Japanese
Americans not only show a lack of full integration in the job market but also a discrepancy between education and income level. As was true since the beginning of the Japanese American as well as other Asian American experience in America, as long as the Asian American groups do not represent labor and economic competition to the host society, they would be allowed some advancement. Another example of this ceiling effect is the present-day movement toward increased anti-Japanese feeling centered around the auto industry. Although the anti-movement is directed toward Japanese in Japan, which was also the case during World War II, this rekindling of negative stereotypes and anti-Japanese feeling may come to have a negative impact on Japanese Americans. There is ample evidence from the "real" history of the U.S. (see section on the experience of racism in chapter 1) which illustrates how these situations can be railroaded into a national crisis, demanding government action. The treatment of Japanese Americans as well as other Asian American groups have been closely tied to public sentiment and easily manipulated by government agencies and those in economic power to the detriment of Asian Americans.

Acculturation is the current status of the adaptation of Japanese Americans from the societal perspective. However, this does not inform the reader as to what the Japanese American strategy for adaptation to White American society is or has been. Here the descriptive term is accommodation. As Kitano puts it, "The Japanese themselves like to compare it to a small stream; like a stream they
have followed the contours of the land, followed the lines of least resistance, avoided direct confrontation and developed at their own pace, always shaped by the external realities of the larger society" (1971, pp. 2-3). While accommodation may have helped the Japanese Americans to acculturate at a faster rate than other Asian American groups, there are some problems that arise out of the use of this strategy. One is that it exacts a high psychological price. It can be at the expense of the individual's sense of self-worth and own satisfaction. This can and does lead to an identity conflict and a crisis that Japanese Americans experience around their racial identity. There is some conjecture that Japanese Americans may experience greater identity conflict than other Asian Americans (Suzuki, 1975). As yet there is no concrete, comparable data on this issue. Another problem is that accommodation tends to limit the range of one's behavior. Accommodation as the strategy for acceptance may lead to exaggerated emphasis on surface qualities like neat appearance and material wealth.

The use of accommodation and resulting acculturation is a dynamic process; and as such, will be experienced by various generations of Japanese Americans differently. It is, therefore, important to make these generational comparisons to show how Japanese Americans as a group have developed as a consequence of their particular historical perceptions. An assumption here is that just as an individual's identity is acquired through a developmental process involving interaction with his/her social environment, a group's
identity also evolves through a similar process. Indeed, one may question whether the development of an individual member's psychosocial identity around that membership is possible without the group's historical development since the group's development is a key external environment affecting its individual members. What would be interesting to see is what similarity may exist between the two processes (i.e., individual identity development, group identity development).

This kind of a generational comparison is especially relevant for Japanese Americans not only because they use generational reference for classification (Issei, Nisei, Sansei), but because they also use it to refer to character types and behavior. For Japanese Americans there were logical reasons for establishing distinct generations. Unlike the Chinese Americans, the bulk of Japanese immigration occurred between 1889-1924, with most of the women coming between 1907-1924. This compacted immigration period led to their being fairly homogeneous in age. There was also a tendency to have children after their arrival and settlement in the U.S. This led to an establishment of a large cohort of second-generation Japanese Americans who had a different cultural background from that of their parents. There was also a legal impetus for setting up distinct generations. Due to White racism, immigrants from Japan were excluded from U.S. citizenship by virtue of their race, while their native-born children were able to become citizens. Additional racist laws stipulated that aliens could not hold deeds to property. Therefore, many parents registered their property under names of their children.
Thus, the term Issei came to represent the first generation, immigrant-born in Japan; Nisei to refer to the second generation, born in the U.S. to Issei parents; and Sansei to refer to the third generation, born in the U.S. to Nisei parents. Another generational identification has been yellow peril, yellow pansy, and yellow power. Here yellow peril refers to stereotyped identification for Issei ascribed to them by Whites. Yellow pansy represents an image of Nisei held by some Sansei, characterized as wishy-washy, quiet Americans. Yellow power is the self-proclaimed Sansei identification who are in search of a new image. Sansei students also tend to classify the three generations by the three B's. Here Issei is represented by "bamboo" depicting their character of beauty and frailty but strength, easily bending whatever direction the wind is blowing yet springing back straight. The Nisei is represented by "banana" which is being yellow on the outside but white on the inside. Some Sansei perception of Nisei is that they are brainwashed and do not have any sense of identity. Sansei refer to themselves as "bee," which is seen as having yellow stripes and highly active with a sting. This is a spin-off from the "black is beautiful" movement that advocated ethnic identity, justice, and activism. However, these descriptions can be misleading because there is a significant amount of intra-generational variation (Maykovich, 1972, pp. 78-79). Although these last two generational classifications are demonstrative of how some Sansei perceive their history, each generation must be understood in light of its own history and experience. Let us now turn to a brief discussion of generations.
Issei: Bamboo. Although there is some evidence of Japanese presence in the U.S. prior to 1890, the bulk of immigration occurred after this date and continued steadily until 1924 when the passage of the National Origins Act effectively excluded Asians from the U.S. Many of the Issei were from the farming class, a poor but respectable class of people. Most of them were from the southern prefectures of Misoshima, Kumamoto, Fukuoka, and Yamaguchi. They came to the U.S. with the equivalent of an eighth-grade education.

At the time of their departure, Japan was in the Meiji restoration era where the cultural values remained similar to those which existed during the Tokugawa shogunate period. In addition, during the Meiji era, Japan had undergone social changes from a feudal system to an urban/industrial society with a national fiscal system like banking, savings plan, and compulsory education (Kitano, 1971, pp. 10-11). The significance of these developments is that these were similar to those which existed in the U.S. at the same time. This similarity may have contributed to their adjustment to the U.S.

Issei, then, spent their childhood in Meiji Japan and were raised with traditional values of self-control, diligence, frugality, and achievement. A good percentage of them went first to Hawaii and later came to the States. On the mainland of the U.S.A., the bulk of Japanese immigrants settled on the West Coast. Like other immigrant groups, early history of the Issei was characterized by hardship, poverty, and discrimination. Unfortunately, after a time, Issei inherited
the Chinese immigrants' stigma of the yellow peril which ascribed to them the qualities of immorality, treachery, unscrupulous competition and subversion. Much of this stereotype was promoted through the mass media, especially during the World War II era. However, they were willing to work hard without complaining and to improve their lot. Because of their ability to live through the difficult years of early immigration, the Issei generation came to be identified with "bamboo."

Unlike the other generations, Issei were not torn between two cultures. They were proud of being Japanese even in the face of White racism. They felt no shame and were self-confident. Their identities as Japanese were satisfied within the ethnic system of home and community. In addition, their significant reference group was still relatives and friends in Japan. This remained so because most Issei had planned to return to Japan in the near future (e.g., "Birds of Passage"). After the war the majority of them realized the impossibility of this dream and accepted the fact that they would be staying in the U.S. for the rest of their lives.

Issei divide their history into two distinct periods, prewar and postwar. Generally speaking, they view the postwar period as a great improvement over the prewar period. They believe that their children have done well, and feel that discrimination has all but disappeared. Frequently mentioned difficulties of the prewar period are a lack of understanding of the English language and culture, bad economic conditions and discrimination against Japanese. In spite of their view of the prewar period as harsh and hostile, Issei tend to
believe success or failure is a matter of personal ability and see themselves as active agents in the construction of their own history (Kiefer, 1974, p. 59).

Similarly, although Issei recognize that racism has played a role during prewar and wartime conditions of Japanese Americans, they show little bitterness and resentment toward the Whites. They are more concerned with affirming their own innocence than laying the blame on the White society. They tend to excuse oppression on the grounds of ignorance (Kiefer, 1974, pp. 69-60). The fact that the U.S. denied them citizenship and that their own rights were violated during World War II seems to have little bearing on their feelings that perhaps they had been somehow deficient in expressing loyalty to the U.S.

This kind of passive acceptance is easily understood when we consider cultural upbringing of Issei. Cultural tradition often provides a guide for historical interpretation that preserves self-esteem (Kiefer, 1974). The Issei, coming out of the Meiji value system, are required by their culture to accept responsibility for self and for the group, to place social harmony above self-consciousness, to accept tragedy as a normal ingredient of life, to respect authority, and to depend on other people's evaluation of their actions. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that the majority of Issei tend to de-emphasize the White society's responsibility but to emphasize their own personal responsibility for their experience of White racism and discrimination.
In addition to cultural factors influencing the Issei perception of history during the evacuation, most Issei probably did not fully understand the Western concept of constitutional rights. They therefore believed that the U.S. acted within its authority. Typically, many Issei are not inclined to judge the camp experience as unfair even in the face of the significant economic loss it has caused them (Kiefer, 1974, p. 65).

Lastly, Issei are the least united and the least consistent group with regard to their perceptions of other generations. They generally feel that Nisei are culturally similar enough so that they can understand each other. However, they consider Sansei to be too Americanized and, therefore, difficult to build rapport with. Apart from these generalizations, there is much disagreement among them concerning the other generations (Kiefer, 1974, p. 99).

The camps. The purpose of this section is not to present a detailed discussion of the 1942 evacuation and internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans, but to present a quick review of that historical event. Readers who are interested in a more detailed portrayal of the internment are directed to Years of Infamy by Michi Weglyn. The understanding of the camp experience is critical to Japanese American history because of its psychological and financial impact on the majority of Japanese Americans. It also stands as visible evidence of White racism in action, and its devastating effects on a racial minority. It is presented here, sandwiched between a discussion on
Issei and Nisei, because the camp experience affected these two generations more than the third.

Prior to World War II, anti-Japanese American sentiment had been brewing, especially on the West Coast where the majority of Japanese Americans were living. This campaign was primarily instigated by labor groups. The December 7, 1941, attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese provided a convenient impetus for the final victory for these forces who had been opposing Japanese Americans. After much lobbying by these anti-Japanese American forces, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. This executive order designated parts of the West Coast of the U.S. (e.g., western half of the three Pacific Coast states and the southern third of Arizona) as military areas under military command. The order also authorized the building of "relocation camps," a euphemism for concentration camps, to house those people who were excluded from these military areas. The reasons given for this order were to maintain national security and to safeguard the lives of those excluded individuals. People who were to be excluded were all persons of Japanese ancestry. A child with as little as 1/8 Japanese blood was included in this category. This order was carried out by General John De Witt on March 2, 1942. The internment lasted about three-and-one-half years. This evacuation affected 110,000 of the 126,000 Japanese Americans on the mainland. Two-thirds of them were U.S. citizens. Many were young children under the age of 18. It was deemed impractical to relocate en masse Japanese Americans in Hawaii due to their large number.
Evidence indicates that the primary cause for the internment of Japanese Americans was White racism. It was the first time that the U.S. used the concept of collective guilt and initiated group incarceration even though there was no evidence of any wrongdoing by Japanese Americans. In fact, a number of government agencies had been studying the Japanese American situation. Their results did not turn up any evidence of disloyalty. An important example is a study compiled by a special representative of the State Department, Curtis B. Munson. His responsibility was to obtain a precise picture of the degree of loyalty among Japanese Americans on the West Coast and in Hawaii. His twenty-five-page report served to corroborate data from the other studies and certified the existence of an extraordinary degree of loyalty among Japanese Americans. This report was available to the heads of the State, War, and Navy departments prior to the execution of Executive order 9066; but was kept a secret until after the war in 1946 (Weglyn, 1976, p. 34). It is significant to note that with the evidence to the contrary in their hands, the U.S. government treated all Japanese Americans as potential traitors.

Since the only criteria used for internment was an individual's racial heritage, it is not possible to assume that White racism did not play a role. This is especially evident when we consider the fact that the U.S. was at war with Italy and Germany as well as Japan, and neither one of these two groups in the U.S. experienced mass incarceration. The unspoken assumption was that there was something wrong with Japanese Americans simply because they were Japanese Americans.
These war relocation camps (eventually there were ten) were similar to concentration camps in that military police shot evacuees if they went beyond the fences. Each camp was fenced off by barbed wire and equipped with guard towers personed by armed military personnel. Their only difference was that there was a process of checking and clearing which allowed some of the internees to leave the camp grounds and either relocate in areas away from the western defense area or to attend colleges (Kitano, 1971, p. 35). But like concentration camps, these camps were flimsily built and overcrowded. The average size of living quarters for a family of five was a single room, 20 x 25 feet. Often smaller families shared living quarters with other families. In such a close living situation, auditory privacy was non-existent. There were also communal bathrooms, one for each sex, located at the end of each block of buildings. These had no stalls or doors. It was only after much protest from various church groups that stalls were built, only for the women's bathrooms and without doors (Weglyn, 1974).

As devastating as it was, the evacuation went smoothly due mainly to Japanese American cooperation. The reader may wonder why Japanese Americans, knowing their innocence, did not put up any resistance. There are a number of reasons why. One is a psychological reason which is not peculiar to Japanese American ethnicity but is to individuals who are under extreme stress. This is the phenomenon of a denial of reality. When some event becomes psychologically too painful and the individual is not equipped to deal with that situation,
the individual defends him/herself by denying the painful reality.

For Japanese Americans this phenomenon was compounded by the fact that their culture valued restraint of potentially disruptive feelings. Another cultural aspect which aided in this kind of denial was "mittomonai" or "shame on you." In the Japanese American culture, self-esteem was highly dependent on how others saw the individual, and to show weakness or inadequacy was to be avoided at all cost. Therefore, it was easier to deny harsh facts of encampment because they were too ashamed to admit that others perceived them as the enemy. Japanese Americans were unable to accept the reality of their situation where they were being rejected and humiliated.

Other aspects of the Japanese American culture which emphasized conformity, obedience to authority, and the belief that the fate of an individual was tied to forces beyond one's control ("shikataganai"—"it can't be helped") also helped to create non-resistance. Having been brought up in such a culture, Japanese Americans did not have any models for rebellion.

There was also the political reality of their being powerless on the mainland. Issei were denied citizenship rights; and therefore, had no political base. Most of the Nisei had not yet reached voting age. There was no prominent Japanese American public figure to rally around (Kitano, 1971, pp. 44-45).

Instead of protest, the Japanese American response to the encampment was to prove their loyalty to the U.S. by not resisting the order to evacuate. They also proved their loyalty by establishing
an all-Nisei regimental combat team in 1943, the famed 442nd Division. They became the most decorated regiment in Europe, and were known for their attitude of "Go for broke." Also during the war, through the Japanese military language school, some Nisei aided in the translation of the U.S. spying activities in Japan.

There are several ways in which this wartime encampment experience has influenced Japanese Americans. The psychological effects of this are not yet fully known. On a general level one can assume that it had damaging effects on their self-esteem and respect. What is easier to see is the financial loss. Many Japanese American families were economically ruined. Their property was either lost, stolen, confiscated, or sold at a great loss. The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco conservatively estimated loss to Japanese Americans at the time of the internment at $400 million. Of this amount, less than $40 million was returned. When the last claim was adjudicated in 1965, total restoration amounted to less than ten cents on the dollar value of 1942 (Weglyn, 1976; Kitano, 1971). Jobs they had in camp only paid $16-$19 a month. So there was a slim chance that they could make financial recovery from their earnings during internment.

Another result of the camp experience was the greater rate of acculturation of Japanese Americans. The evacuation broke up Japanese American communities by literally uprooting residents. After the war, many of them moved away from the West Coast and toward the Midwest and East Coast to start over again. Even today, the J-towns are not comparable to cohesive Chinatowns. This greater physical
dispersal of Japanese Americans led to an increased contact with members of the White society and aided in their faster rate of acculturation (Kitano, 1971; D. W. Sue, 1979). As was mentioned earlier, the evacuation also disrupted the traditional family structure and lines of authority, adding to the acculturation process.

Nisei: Banana. The Nisei generation was generally born between 1910-1940 and are now between the ages of 40-65 years old. Unlike the Issei, the Nisei, born in the U.S., spoke English fluently, and regarded the U.S. as their home. As the first generation of Japanese Americans to be born and raised in the U.S., Nisei were exposed to both the dominant White, European American culture and the modified Meiji culture of the Issei. Therefore, many of them held Japanese values and attitudes and simultaneously acquired American skills, taste, habits, and values that were, at times, culturally divergent (Kiefer, 1974, p. 97).

The transmission of the parents' Meiji values to their children occurred primarily through the institution of family and religious training. Most Nisei attended Japanese language schools and learned "Shu-Shin," moral training. They were also affected by the teachings of Japanese American churches.

As previously noted, these Japanese values which they have acquired helped the Nisei to establish themselves at the American middle-class, socio-economic level. Because of their parents' attitude toward education, the Nisei took full advantage of the American
educational system which helped them to move out of lower economic levels of the social strata. Their achievement was obviously curtailed by various manifestations of White racism by the larger society and continues to play a restrictive role today. As soon as the Nisei accumulated enough money, they moved out of the slums to predominantly White, lower-middle-class neighborhoods. However, the existence of restrictive housing practices before World War II limited their choice of neighborhoods.

In outer appearance, the Nisei lifestyle seems almost like a stereotype of the American middle class. So much so that Kitano once wrote, "Scratch a Japanese American and you find a WASP" (1971, p. 3). This is also the primary reason why Sansei label Nisei as "banana." In general, Nisei are oriented toward careers in white-collar work, or operating small businesses. They rarely aimed for social change by demanding assimilation, equality, or expansion of job opportunities. They have, instead, used accommodative processes such as obtaining education and training, working hard, not expecting too much, and waiting with patience (Kitano, 1971; Maykovich, 1972). This tendency to prefer accommodation over confrontation leads to Nisei also being labeled as "the quiet Americans."

Unfortunately, after the camp experience, some Nisei, in an effort to gain White acceptance, have made a point of rejecting their Japanese heritage and assert proudly that they speak no Japanese nor know anything about Japan (Maykovich, 1972, p. 60). This kind of behavior may be interpreted as a form of active White identification.
In many ways, the Nisei historical perspective is a graphic illustration of their experience of culture conflict. Having been exposed to two cultures, the Nisei had to separate the Japanese and American sides of themselves and learn to switch back and forth, leading to experiences of ambivalence. As Japanese, they see history through the eyes of a cohesive racial minority group. As Americans, they see it through the eyes of an individual who just happens to be of a different race. Therefore, although they are more outspoken than Issei about prewar discrimination, they are reluctant to lay the blame squarely on racism of the White society. It is not surprising, then, to find that the most common Nisei perception about the postwar period focuses on the decline of anti-Japanese prejudice and the growth of economic prosperity. On the other hand, they regard discrimination as a general social condition affecting the racial group as a whole, and express feelings of deprivation which stem from their exclusion from the main-stream of American life. Their ambivalence about their experience in the U.S. is a result of this dual cultural identity. It is inconsistent with their identity as loyal Americans to perceive discrimination as a manifestation of White racism in America; however, it is equally inconsistent with their Japanese identity to perceive their history in any other way (Kiefer, 1974, pp. 68-69).

Nisei perceive the Issei as strenuously devoted to work, having poor command of the English language, having a tendency to stay within the Issei community, having conservative morality, and
being physically hardy. The Nisei perception of themselves are that as a group they are more varied, are a true mixture of Japanese and American cultures; however, they do see themselves as culturally closer to the Issei than the Sansei, more affluent than the Issei, and competitive with each other. Sansei are perceived by the Nisei as cheerful, extroverted, thoroughly Americanized, better educated, intelligent, but lacking achievement motivation (Kiefer, 1974, p. 102).

In summary, the Nisei have a deep, pervasive pride in their Nisei identity. Contrary to the Sansei perception, this pride is not rooted in material success but in character (Maykovich, 1972, p. 58). They believe they possess a perfect balance of Japanese and American traits. However, many are also torn between the two. A partial reason for this conflict is that, unlike the Issei, the Nisei world is not defined entirely in the ethnic community. They went to White American schools and dealt with people outside the ethnic community. And although these experiences have been negative, many came to identify with American values. Typically, in schools the Nisei were taught to question and challenge, and encouraged to make their own decisions and to assert themselves as individuals. These learnings were in conflict with the traditional Meiji values of the ethnic community.

Sansei: Bee. The third generation is composed of Japanese Americans born since World War II, and are presently between the ages of 20-40 years old. They are predominantly young, well educated, urban, affluent,
and thoroughly acculturated and attuned to the American culture of the 1970's, perhaps even more so than the European Americans who are a generation older (Kiefer, 1974, p. 220). As the most "Americanized" generation of Japanese Americans, many Sansei are faced with a number of acculturative dilemmas.

One of these dilemmas is how to achieve a balance between autonomy and dependence. Although this was an issue for the Nisei as well, it is perceived by Sansei to be much more critical. The Nisei were indeed exposed to two cultures and experienced conflict; however, their overall value orientation was still closer to the Issei. For the Sansei, the gap between values of their parents and themselves is greater. Issues perceived to be important in this regard are: personal freedom vs. conformity and security, aggression vs. docility, sexual freedom vs. inhibition, etc. The Sansei, being less bound by parental control and less insulated by the ethnic community than the Nisei, are questioning the validity of traditional values and parental control on a larger scale.

Another issue of concern among the Sansei is racial identity conflict. More so than the Nisei, the Sansei must come to terms with their felt alienation as persons with Asian faces in an overwhelmingly non-Asian, White racist society. In her 1974 study, Kiefer concluded that many Sansei women interviewed expressed a real need for sympathy and understanding concerning identity conflict (p. 223). A brief discussion of manifestations of such identity conflict was presented in Chapter 1, under the "Statement of the Problem." Indeed, the
purpose of the present research is to elucidate on the dynamics of racial identity conflict and resolution.

Most Sansei have not experienced the wartime internment or other forms of extreme discrimination. However, they share much of the stigma of the internment. Projecting from their experience of subtler forms of discrimination today, they can imagine what their parents and grandparents must have suffered. Unlike the Issei and the Nisei, most Sansei are inclined to interpret the experience of internment as more degrading and unjust. They tend to disagree with their parents' interpretation of the war experience and are not bound by guilt or stoic values to minimize its tragedy (Kiefer, 1974, p. 54). Thus, there seems to be a basic trend where the Sansei want to remember what the Issei and Nisei want to forget with respect to anti-Japanese American discrimination.

Sansei interest in the history of the Japanese American experience has been influenced by the Asian American movement which seeks to establish racial and ethnic consciousness and self-determination for Asian Americans. The beginnings of the Asian American movement, in turn, was influenced by the civil rights movement of the 60's and the ensuing Black movement. The tenets of the civil rights movement appealed to the sense of betrayal felt by oppressed groups in this society in general and helped to diagnose the disease of our society, i.e., White racism. For the first time, there was a social context within which to understand the experience of racial minorities in this country and a political movement whose goal was to
liberate the oppressed from oppressors from within and without. Consequently, interest in the various Asian ethnic groups' experiences and cultural roots developed and increased among Asian Americans who were initiated into political activism. Many of these were Sansei. The coincidental rise of Japan as a major economic power in the world probably also helped to foster ethnic activism.

As there are always variations within a group, not all Sansei were equally affected by this social phenomenon. Just as involvement in this kind of political activism is one strategy to resolve identity conflict and other dilemmas of acculturation, explicit dissociation from one's ethnic/racial group is another strategy chosen by some Sansei (Kiefer, 1974, p. 79). In general, however, the Sansei, more so than their parents, tend to see the world in terms of minority vs. majority, Asian American vs. non-Asian American, middle class and poor vs. rich class, etc. In fact, many have contempt for what they perceive to be the complacency of the narrow ethnic politics of their elders and their unenlightened peers (Kiefer, 1974, p. 127).

In terms of the Sansei perception of the other generations, they see the first generation in a favorable light as signified by the "bamboo" label. They see the Issei as being generous, happy, self-sacrificing, tough, and long on endurance (Kiefer, 1974, p. 102). As indicated earlier, their perception of the Nisei is less favorable. Sansei criticize the Nisei for having what they consider to be love for status and material possessions, uncritical patriotism, and a yearning to be White. The two generations disagree in the meaning
each generation attaches to Nisei behavior. The Nisei do not see
t heir lifestyle as a response to White pressure but as a fulfillment
of personal obligations to their parents, community, and to their
children. Lastly, the Sansei view of their own generation tends to
be negative also. They are inclined to agree with their parents
about their own softness and ignorance of hardship. They describe
their generation on the whole as being mixed up, lost, highly
Americanized, and many among them to be conformist (see Table 1 for a
chart presentation of the three generations).

In order to better understand the cultural roots of Japanese
Americans, this chapter began with a section on the origins of Japanese
American culture. In it, the evolution of Japanese American culture
was traced back to Japan during the pre-Meiji period. Discussion of
cultural evolution also focused on the nature of both traditional and
contemporary family structures. The last half of the chapter included
a discussion on the three generations of Japanese Americans. Through
it the reader could have acquired a sense of development of Japanese
Americans as a group. A brief discussion of the camp experience was
also included since it had a major impact on Japanese Americans, both
psychologically and economically. It is hoped that this chapter and
the preceding chapter were sufficient in providing the reader with
background information on Japanese American women. Specific details
of the present study will be presented in the next chapter on
methods.
| TABLE I
Three Generations of Japanese Americans |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birth &amp; Childhood</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Issei (1st generation)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heiji Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nisei (2nd generation)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born and raised in U.S. mid-1900's</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sansei (3rd generation)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born since W.W. II in U.S. and raised in U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dominant Value orientation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Heiji values, (e.g., self control, diligence, frugality, achievement, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modified Heiji values of Issei parents and simultaneous adoption of American values, overall orientation closer to Issei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The most Americanized of the three generations, greater gap between own and parents' values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identification</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Japanese, &quot;Birds of Passage,&quot; no culture conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As Americans, &quot;Quiet Americans,&quot; experience culture conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixture, some as Asian Americans, others as White Americans, greater experiences of culture conflict than parents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Significant reference group</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends and relatives in Japan, ethnic community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family, White Americans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Again mixture, White Americans, Asian Americans, Third World</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Major goal/concern</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return to Japan, maintain Japanese culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation and assimilation in White society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achieving balance between autonomy and dependence, resolution of social identity conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Historical</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two distinct periods, pre-war and post-war, post-war improvement over pre-war era of hostility and harsh conditions, success or failure seen as personal responsibility, camp experience not seen as unfair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See it as Japanese and Americans leading to much ambivalence, tend to focus on post-war era of decline in Japanese-American prejudice, also consider discrimination as a general social condition, on camp--reluctant to blame White society, desire to avoid discussing it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share the stigma of internment though not directly involved, interpret camp experience as more degrading and unjust than the other two generations, some increase in interest in Japanese American experience and Asian American experience, though there is much variation, generally greater % of them see the world in terms of minority vs. majority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attitude toward White people and society in general</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little bitterness and resentment toward Whites, more concerned with affirming their innocence than laying blame on the White society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more outspoken than Issei but still reluctant to blame White racism or society, more concerned with assimilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varied, some are negative and blame the White society, depending on the level of their Asian American consciousness, others are still identifying strongly with White society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural upbringing affecting historical perspective</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heiji culture stressing; acceptance of responsibility for self and group, harmony above self-consciousness, respect for authority, acceptance of tragedy as normal part of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result of dual cultural identity, as loyal Americans, they have difficulty perceiving discrimination as manifestation of White racism, it is equally difficult to ignore discrimination as Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some are affected by the rise of Asian American movement which in turn was influenced by the civil rights movement of the 60's. Others are less affected by this and more motivated by accommodation and achievement orientation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Objectives of this chapter are to acquaint the reader with specific details of the present study and to provide the rationale for using a qualitative rather than quantitative research method. The chapter is divided into three major sections. The parameters of the present study and reasons for stated delimitations are included in the first section. This section will also include a summary listing of working assumptions that this study is based on. The rationale for using a qualitative research method is presented in the second section. To this end, the methodological framework used is that of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1968). The last section of the chapter contains information on how the sample will be chosen, selected method of gathering the data, and how the raw data will be analyzed.

Delimitations of the Study

This is a qualitative, exploratory study of ten Japanese American women who were born in the U.S., are Sansei (third-generation Japanese American), attended secondary schools in the U.S., are of full Japanese American parentage, either have attended or are attending a college or university, and who are from the ages of 20-40. Further, half the women spent their adolescence within predominantly non-White
ethnic communities, while the other half was living in predominantly White ethnic communities. The present study focuses on their experiences with identity conflict as Americans with Asian ancestry and how they resolved them to develop an identity as Asian Americans.

The researcher has chosen to work with Japanese American women as representing the Asian American experience with identity conflict in an effort to keep the sample as homogeneous as possible. Homogeneity is especially desirable in a qualitative study utilizing a small n. The decision to study women instead of men had to do with the researcher's own gender (female) and a longstanding academic and professional interest in working with women in general. Japanese Americans are chosen because of the existing contacts in that community.

The study focuses on experiences of Japanese American women who now reside on the East Coast not only out of practicality—the researcher lives and works on the East Coast—but also out of academic curiosity. Among existing studies done on Asian Americans in general, most have been conducted on the West Coast and in Hawaii where, understandably, the presence of Asian Americans is greater. Very few studies are done on Asian Americans who live on the East Coast. Therefore, less is known about the experiences of Asian Americans on the East Coast where they are more likely to be living among non-Asians.

Within the East Coast sample, an attempt is made to separate out those who have spent their adolescence within primarily non-White ethnic communities. The researcher is interested in finding out what
relationship is suggested between membership in non-White ethnic enclaves and both the kind and quality of their experiences with identity conflict. Ethnic enclaves are commonly considered to be significant providers of support.

The subjects' full Japanese American parentage is important in order to examine effects of Asian racial membership on identity development. The assumption here is that persons who are of mixed parentage (Asian and non-Asians) would have different experiences in their identity struggles since they have membership in not one but two racial groups.

College education is included both as a homogenizing variable and because of its potential role in Asian American identity development. One assumption is that a college education would be important not only as a means of information acquisition but also because for most people it requires living away from home, from parents, and their community for the first time.

The minimum age of subjects is 20 because that is the end of adolescence and the beginning of adulthood according to the Eriksonian model of ego-identity development. The assumption here is that the subject's understanding of her experiences with identity conflict is likely to be more comprehensible after she has experienced some form of it. People who are 20-40 years of age are considered to be in the same ego-identity development stage, the sixth in Erikson's model.

All subjects are Sansei to control for the generation variable. Japanese Americans have a clear generation category, and Sansei
represents the third generation of Americans but second generation to be born in this country. Some of their parents may have been in the concentration camps. Although it will be recorded as to whether their parents were in camps, no control is placed on this variable. By definition all the subjects are American citizens and this therefore excludes recent immigrants and foreign students.

Lastly it is important to reiterate here, working assumptions of the present study. What will follow is a listing of the assumptions which were initially presented in Chapter 1.

1. There is White racism in the U.S. which is pervasive throughout its institutions and culture.

2. No Asian American is immune to the effects of White racism, albeit in varying forms and degrees.

3. The psycho-social identity development of Asian Americans is strongly influenced by this inherent racism in American society. While recognizing that an individual's total identity is composed of complex, ongoing interaction between her/himself and the social environment in numerous dimensions, special emphasis is placed on effects that membership in a racial category have on the individual's social/psychological identity. In other words, race becomes the most salient variable when membership in it places the individual in a minority status.

4. Asian Americans as a racial group share in common the experience of identity conflict regardless of their sex and membership in a specific Asian ethnic group. Therefore, any subgroup from
the Asian American community can be considered to represent the experience of Asian American identity conflict although there may be some variation in the quality of such experience between subgroups.

5. Identity development occurs through process(es) of resolution of crisis, i.e., critical incidences.

6. The concept of development is defined as one of progression, increasing complexity, and expansion.

7. The interaction between the individual and her environment is considered to be an important variable affecting the identity development of Asian Americans.

8. In lieu of a longitudinal study, a self-report method such as intensive, individual interviewing is a viable and an acceptable method of data collection in social scientific inquiry.

**On Grounded Theory**

It has been stated in Chapter 1 that the present study is an exploratory research whose goal is to examine the process(es) by which identity conflict experienced by Asian Americans is resolved, and whose results may contribute to the development of a theory of Asian American identity development. In other words, the purpose of the present study is to discover a theory of Asian American identity development using the actual experience of selected subjects, in this case ten Japanese American women. Given this objective, a proper methodological framework is found in what Glaser & Strauss define as the grounded theory (1968). Since we seem to be living in an era where there seems to be an over-emphasis on verification of theory and
simultaneous de-emphasis on generation of theory within the field of social research (Glaser & Strauss, 1968), a brief explanation of grounded theory is presented below.

In their book, The Discovery of Grounded Theory, Glaser and Strauss define grounded theory as a discovery of theory from data and illustrated by characteristic examples from the same data. It is a way of generating data-based theory which is suitable to its supposed uses. Grounded theory emerges out of collected data that are available in the phenomenal world. This is in contrast to theories that are arrived at by the use of logical deductions guided by a priori assumptions (e.g., experimental or theory verification approaches). Hence, the theoretical positions derived from grounded theory are not logical but are phenomenological (1968, pp. 1-3).

Glaser and Strauss also believe that focusing on verification (testing) can easily block the generation of a more rounded theory. Therefore, without denying that both kinds of endeavors are necessary to the scientific enterprise, the emphasis of grounded theory is on generating rather than verifying theories. Since there are no existing theories on the process of Asian American identity development and given the purpose of the present study, the use of the principles of grounded theory is rather appropriate. That is, the present study will generate a discussional theory of Asian American identity development by analyzing what emerges from collected data (e.g., experiences of the subjects) and illustrating it with examples taken from the same data.
In addition to what seems to be a perfect fit, there are distinct advantages to developing grounded theory. First, a theory based on data cannot be completely refuted by simply introducing more data or replaced by another theory because it is intimately linked to the data. It is destined to last although it may be modified and reformulated (Glaser & Strauss, 1968, p. 4).

Second, because accurate evidence is not so critical for generating theory, the number of cases studied as well as the kind of evidence obtained is also less crucial. Even a single case can indicate a general conceptual category and attendant property; a few more cases can only confirm the indications found in a single case. In other words, the role of the researcher is not to "know the whole field" nor to have all the data "from a carefully chosen random sample" so that s/he can provide a perfect description of the area under study; but to develop a theory that accounts for much of the relevant behavior and phenomenon under study (Glaser & Strauss, 1968, p. 30). Because the present study aims for the generation of grounded theory and is exploratory in nature, the sample size of ten who were not selected through a randomized sampling technique is acceptable.

Given preceding definition and advantages of grounded theory, the reader may now wonder what the elements of grounded theory are. In general, a theory is a strategy for handling data that is collected in research. As a strategy it can provide a mode of conceptualization enabling one to describe and explain observed social phenomenon. It can also provide clear categories and hypotheses so that important ones can be verified in future research.
There are, then, two elements of theory. One element is conceptual categories and their attendant properties. The other element is hypotheses. In grounded theory, both the categories and their properties are indicated by the data and are conceptual. That is, a category is a conceptual aspect of the theory and a property is a conceptual aspect of a category. On the other hand, hypotheses speak to suggested, but not tested, relations among emerging categories and their properties. In grounded theory, the only requirement for generating hypotheses is enough evidence to establish a suggestion and not an excessive amount of evidence to establish proof. The focus is on establishing suggestion and not proof (Glaser & Strauss, 1968, pp. 35-36). Therefore, the analysis of the data from the present study will result in conceptual categories (e.g., various stages, facilitating factors). In turn, each category will be accompanied by a description of its properties. These will be presented in Chapter 5, "Analysis of the Data". The last chapter on "Discussion, Summary and Implications" will include a presentation of suggested relationships between emerging categories and their properties, i.e., hypotheses.

Lastly, theory can be classified into two types, substantive and formal. Substantive refers to theories developed for one particular substantive, empirical area of study (e.g., patient care, racial identity development, race relations, juvenile delinquency, mental health, etc.). Formal refers to theories that are developed for a conceptual area of inquiry (e.g., socialization, identity
formation, status congruency, mobility, etc.). The main distinction between a substantive and formal theory is in different levels of generality in terms of degrees. In general, a formal theory tends to be more abstract and have greater generalizability. Although formal theories can be generated directly from data, most often it is necessary and desirable to start the development of a formal theory from substantive theories (Glaser & Strauss, 1968, pp. 32-33, 80). Therefore, a substantive theory can be seen as a link in the formulation of grounded theory to a formal theory. In this regard, a goal of the present study is to generate a grounded theory on the development of an Asian American identity, which may eventually lead to a substantive theory on racial identity development.

**Design of the Study**

**Sampling.** The sample size of the present study will be ten individuals who will be selected based on their ability to meet all of the following criteria:

-- Japanese-American women
-- born in the U.S.
-- citizen of U.S.
-- Sansei (third generation)
-- parents are both Japanese American
-- presently attending a college/university or have earned a bachelor's degree
-- are between the ages of 20-40
-- either have lived in a predominantly non-White ethnic community during a large part of their
adolescence (especially during secondary-school years) or in predominantly White ethnic community during the same period (five subjects from each situation)

-- are willing to be interviewed regarding their experiences with identity conflicts as Asian Americans.

Potential subjects will be identified through existing contacts the researcher has within the Asian American community in the Amherst, Massachusetts, area; through the staff at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, who work closely with Asian Americans; through existing Asian American women's associations (e.g., Asian Women United); through existing Asian American student associations within the Five-College area which includes Amherst College, Hampshire College, Mount Holyoke College, and Smith College; and through referrals from participating subjects themselves. Once potential subjects have been identified through any one of these means, they will be contacted on the phone by the researcher to obtain their cooperation as well as to make sure they fit the criteria as stated.

Data collection method. There is a general agreement among researchers that qualitative methods are better suited for studies that are explorative in nature which focus on theory generation, whereas quantitative methods are preferred in studies where the emphasis is on theory verification (Glaser & Strauss, 1968; Innaccone, 1975). In addition, qualitative studies aimed at generating theory especially facilitate the development of theories on the process, sequence, and change pertaining to a social/ psychological phenomenon under study. That is, the process leads to the creation of a developmental, as
opposed to static, theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1968, p. 114). Since
the present study is explorative in nature, whose goal is to generate
a developmental, process-oriented theory on the Asian American identity
development, it will utilize a qualitative research method. More
specifically, data collection will result from in-depth, unstructured,
focused, individual interviews. Let us now turn to a brief discussion
of interview methods.

The existing interview methods can be divided into two cate-
gories, structured and unstructured. And as is true with qualitative
vs. quantitative methodology, structured vs. unstructured interviews
have a different suitability depending on the nature of the study in
question. Generally speaking, the structured interview is more
suitable to large-scale surveys and to the formal testing of hypotheses
while the unstructured interview is most useful for discovering the
existence of potential social/psychological patterns (rather than the
formal testing of propositions concerning the existence of given
patterns) and establishing new theories and models (Sjoberg, 1986,
p. 195).

The term "unstructured" is somewhat misleading since this type
of interview is not lacking in structure; however, the difference
between structured and unstructured is mainly in the manner in which
interviews are conducted and their attendant goals. Unlike the
structured interview, the unstructured interview exercises considerable
freedom during the interview process to the point that these sessions
approach the informality of ordinary conversation with the researcher
skillfully guiding that conversation. In other words, questions are
formalized but the question-asking process is unstructured. In
addition, the goal of the unstructured interview is to obtain a
better understanding of the subjects' world of meaning and to utilize
their categories rather than to impose meanings and categories of the
researcher onto the subjects. This is an important point of difference between structured and unstructured interview and an apt rationale
for using the unstructured interview method in the present study.

Albeit the unstructured interview can assume a variety of forms, the present study will utilize the focused interview guide which will set forth major areas of inquiry designed to obtain answers
to a number of research questions outlined in the "Purpose of the Study" section. These interviews will also be focused on the subjective experiences of the subjects with regard to their encounter with their Asian-ness in an effort to ascertain their definitions and meanings of the situation. The focused interview presupposes the subjects' involvement in the social situation being investigated (Sjoberg & Nett, 1968, p. 213). Likewise, the present study does assume that the subjects have experienced identity conflict over being Americans with Asian ancestry (assumption #4 under the "Delimitations of the Study" section). These unstructured, focused, individual interviews will last anywhere between one and one half hours to three hours. Interviews will be taped and transcribed fully for data analysis.
The following are the sample questions.

-- Demographic characteristics:
   When were you born, where? Where were your parents born, mother? father? What generation of American are
you? How many siblings are in your family? Where do you live now? What is the racial and ethnic composition of your present community? What is your occupation? What is your level of education?

-- Community characteristics during childhood and adolescence:
Where did you attend school (elementary, junior high, high school)? What was the racial and ethnic composition of these schools? your neighborhood? How would you describe the area where you grew up?

-- Experience during adolescence:
How would you characterize your adolescent years? What were some of the significant events or crises as you recall during this period? How did you resolve them? Who were the significant people in your life at that time? What was your relationship to them? What was your perception of their feelings and expectations of you? How did you react to these? What did you do? What beliefs and/or feelings did you have about these people who were important to you? What beliefs and/or feelings did you have about yourself? your peers? What ethnicity were the majority of your friends? What were your goals during this period?

-- Experience of identity conflict:
Did you ever consider yourself as "different" from the other kids? How? When did you first realize you were different from other people? How did you feel? What did you think? What did you do? What effect did this event have in your life, your feelings about yourself, you family? Were there other critical events that you recall in terms of your encounter with your Asian-ness? What were your goals during this period? What did you think of Asian Americans? How did you feel about being an Asian American during this time? In what ways did these feelings translate into behavior? How would you characterize your behavior toward Whites, members of other racial minorities, with other Asian Americans? When did these change? What was the event? What did you think, feel, do? Who were your role-models and significant people in your life? In what ways did these people impact on your attitude and behavior about yourself? Did you ever wish that you were not an Asian American? How come? Do you believe that you have had to adopt any White values in order to make it in this society? Do you feel that you have had to reject any of your family's values in order to make it in this society? What were they? Did your parents ever convey to you how they felt about being Asian Americans? What did you feel? How was this conveyed? In what ways would you say these events, behaviors, attitudes
of yours represent identity conflict over being an Asian American? How were you able to resolve these identity conflicts? What did you do?

-- Political consciousness:
Were you ever aware of any of your family members having encountered discrimination because of their ethnicity/race? How did they deal with them? Do you believe that you have ever experienced discrimination because of your race? When did you first begin to see yourself as a racial minority? Who or what were the person(s) or event(s) that helped you to gain this perspective? What political movements have you been involved with? How did that happen? What has been your relationship to the civil rights and the Black movement of the 60's? What was happening to you at this time? What was happening to your community and society at large? Do you consider yourself a feminist? In what ways? What do you know about the Asian American movement? What do you think about the Asian American movement? What effect do you think your involvement in other political movements has had on your attitudes about being an Asian American woman?

-- Asian American identity:
Do you identify yourself as an Asian American? What does it mean to you to have an identity as an Asian American? Has this meaning changed over the years? How? What do you think are the contents of an Asian American identity? How are they expressed behaviorally and attitudinally? Would you say there is a relationship between resolution of identity conflict as an Asian American and acquiring Asian American identity? What is the relationship? What do you view to be significantly different about your background and experience which allowed you to develop an identity as an Asian American woman? What do you like and appreciate about yourself? How do you feel about yourself in general? Could you describe what it is about you personally which has made it possible for you to develop a positive self-concept as an Asian American woman? In looking back, are there one or more significant events that you feel played a crucial role in your achievement of an Asian American identity? How would you characterize your overall experience in achieving an Asian American identity? What would have been helpful to you in this process?

After arrangements for a personal interview have been made and prior to the day of the interview, subjects will receive by mail a
pre-interview form (see Appendix A). There are three reasons for using a pre-interview form. One is to confirm and remind the subjects of the upcoming meeting and place. Two is to obtain in writing most of the demographical data for file as well as to use it as a launching-off point for the interview. Clarifications and elaborations of this information provide an easy and a more natural beginning to the interview for both the interviewer and interviewee. Three is to begin to get the subjects thinking about their past experiences in a more focused way by filling out the form before the interview.

Data analysis. There are two basic approaches to the analysis of qualitative data. First is to convert qualitative data into crudely quantifiable form so that hypothesis testing can occur. In this case, the researcher initially makes every effort to code all relevant data and then systematically assemble, assess, and analyze data in a way that will constitute proof of a given proposition. A second approach, which is used if the goal is to generate theories (e.g., developing new categories and properties, hypotheses), is not confined to the practice of systematically coding first followed by proof-directed analysis. The reason for this is that in generating a theory, the researcher is constantly reintegrating theoretical notions as s/he reviews the material in an on-going way. Analyses after coding operations would not only delay and interfere with theory generation, but the explicit coding itself is often an unnecessary, burdensome task. Therefore, the researcher merely inspects the data
for new properties of theoretical categories and makes notations on these categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1968, pp. 101-102). Because of the exploratory nature and stated goal of theory generation regarding Asian American identity development, the analyses of the present study will take the second approach.

The analyses of the present study will involve the generation of various categories and their properties. These categories may be built around experiences of identity conflict, modes of identity conflict resolution, environmental support systems, evaluation of ethnic group membership, etc. It will also include the generation of hypotheses of potential relationships between various categories and their properties. However, the analyses will not involve systematic coding nor testing of propositions.

Specific steps in the analysis which will transform the raw data into various categories and their properties will be as follows. The first step will be to compile a description of the sample. This will be done by summarizing demographic information obtained through pre-interview forms. The second step will be to examine the experiences of each subject separately to see what categories emerge. To this end, each transcript will be read separately and extensive notations made on emerging categories of experiences, their properties, and changes. Criteria to be used for noting significant changes in categories of experiences are reported changes in: components of identity, i.e., changes in self-concept vis-à-vis evaluations and behavior, and ego identity (meaning attribution); reference group;
social environment and general political milieu; and both the occurrences and effects of critical incidences. During this reading of separate transcripts, initial judgments regarding passages for potential illustration will also be noted. The same procedure will be performed on all transcripts.

The third step will be to draw a diagram of emerging pattern from each subject's experience, using notes taken in the previous step as the reference. In this diagram, critical points of change both in terms of age and year will be noted. The fourth step will be to examine individual patterns in a group to see if a summary pattern will emerge. Therefore, individual diagram of patterns of experience will be compared with each other. Relevant questions to ask at this point are: What are the common categories of experience? Is there a similarity in terms of the ordering (progression) of categories of experience? What categories lend themselves to ordering and what categories do not? If there are similarities in the categories of experience, what is a sensible term to name that category? If there are differences, are these in terms of categories of experience, the nature of their properties, ordering, or the time lines? At the end of this procedure, if applicable, a summary of categories of experience that are germane to experiences of all subjects should have emerged, as well as the proper ordering of some of these categories.

The fifth step is to read through the individual notes taken from respective transcripts again. This time, specific focus will be on the nature of properties of common themes and variations using the categories that have emerged in the preceding steps. The sixth step
in the analysis will be done to read the transcripts again to determine what passages from them may be useful to illustrate the categories and their properties that have emerged. Prior notations made regarding potential excerpts during the initial reading will also be evaluated. The last step will be to make specific comparative analysis between the results of the predominantly White neighborhood sample and the predominantly non-White neighborhood sample. Focus here will be on emerging differences between them.

In regard to qualitative studies which utilize only interviews, Glaser and Strauss state that a researcher can study comparison groups composed of respondents chosen in accordance with his/her emergent analytical framework, historical documents and/or other library materials, all of which lend themselves perfectly to the comparative method (1968, p. 53). For the present study, the contents of the interviews will be analyzed to see what patterns exist among the subjects' experiences with identity conflict as Asian Americans and their resolutions, what elements have played a facilitating role in establishing an Asian American identity, and what kind of interaction exists between their social environment and their Asian American identity development. That is, one object of the comparative method will be the experiences of each subject as compared to the experiences of other subjects in terms of similarities and differences.

In addition, comparative analyses will be made between the two groups within the sample: experiences of subjects who spent their adolescence in predominantly White ethnic communities and those
subjects who spent it in predominantly non-White ethnic communities. Relevant questions are, are their experiences similar to each other? If different, is it in terms of categories of experience or just in properties? The emerging patterns of Asian American identity development found in the present study will also be compared with those found in Black identity development theories of Hall and Cross (1970) and Jackson (1976). Given a lack of existing theory which specifically focuses on Asian American identity development, comparative discussion with Black identity development theories is important as well as applicable. Both the present study and existing theories of Black identity development are concerned with the process of identity development along the racial dimension. Racial minority status of both groups is another relevant factor which begs for this comparison, especially since one of the working assumptions (#3) of the present study is that one's racial minority membership is a salient variable affecting his/her identity development. The last comparison will be between some of the emerging categories and properties of Asian American identity development and selected states (4 & 5) of Erikson's ego-identity development. The purpose of this comparison is to see what similarities and/or differences may exist between the process of Asian American identity development and normative crises of ego identity development of individuals in general. These comparative analyses will result in a discusssional theory, which is sufficient at the exploratory stage of a theory development, the intended status of the present study.
Lastly, the idea of using an objective reader to go over the interview data had been seriously considered and then rejected. The decision not to use an objective reader was based on two major considerations. One, since the purpose of the present study is not to verify an existing theory nor to generate a propositional theory but to generate a discussoinal theory on Asian American identity development, an objective reader's ratings are not necessary. Furthermore, the emphasis of the study is not on replicability where there would be a need to check out a theory simultaneously as it emerges. Two, there are literally hundreds of pages of transcripts to be read through which makes it logistically difficult to obtain a reader's service even if it were desired. A related issue has to do with a need to maintain confidentiality of participants which becomes more problematic as more individuals get involved in reading the transcripts. Therefore, this researcher plans to convey credibility of analyses through presenting data as evidence for conclusions drawn, indicating how theory was derived from the data by providing characteristic illustrations and quotations from the interview material, and describing events where relevant. In addition, the use of multiple comparison analyses stated earlier should increase the credibility of the resulting discussions.
CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The purpose of this chapter is to present the results of the data gathered during the research phase of the present study. It will begin with a demographic description of the actual sample. This will be followed by a discussion of one of the major components of a theory, i.e., categories and their properties. In this chapter, the relevant categories that will be presented are the "stages" of Asian American identity development.

A "stage" represents at least a conceptually distinct period in subjects' racial identity development as Asian Americans. Each stage is characterized by a coherent set of the components of identity, i.e., self-concept (includes evaluation and behavior) and meaning attribution (ego identity). The contents of these, in turn, lead to specific behavioral manifestations and social consciousness around being an Asian American. These stages then describe the changes in these components of identity that are involved in the development of Asian American identity. Included in the description of each stage are the critical factors which enable the subjects to move from one stage to another.

Specifically, the analysis will be presented in two segments. In the first section, the overall stages of Asian American Identity Development will be presented. Each stage will be outlined with
attendant properties, common themes and variations. The second section will examine apparent differences between the predominantly White adolescent neighborhood sample and the predominantly non-White adolescent neighborhood sample in terms of their experience. Again, it is important to point out that while in reality the boundaries of these stages are not rigidly defined, there exist enough distinctions among them to establish separate categories. Also, there is a sufficient data base to decipher a general directionality of change. It is, then, for the purpose of analysis that they are presented here as distinct stages in a progressive manner.

Where appropriate, direct quotations taken from transcripts will be presented to further illustrate a given point. However, in order to insure anonymity of subjects, proper names of individuals have been changed when they appear in the text.

The Sample

Although ten interviews were conducted, two of these interviews were eliminated at the point of analysis. One was not included when I found out after the fact that the subject was a fourth-generation Japanese American rather than third. The other was excluded due to a malfunctioning of the tapes during the transcription process. Still, the analyses involved working through nearly 300 pages of transcripts.

Unfortunately, two interviews that had to be ruled out were of those who had spent their adolescent years in predominantly non-White
neighborhoods. Therefore, of the remaining sample, five are from predominantly White adolescent neighborhoods and three are from predominantly non-White neighborhoods (see Table 2). Within the predominantly White neighborhood sample, three subjects spent their adolescence on the East Coast of the U.S. and two in the Midwest. Of the predominantly non-White sample, two were on the East Coast and one was on the West Coast of the U.S.

The total sample ranged in age from 20 to 37 years. The mean age of the sample is 29.6 years. All subjects came from families where there was at least one other child. The mean number of siblings among them is 3. With one exception, all subjects’ parents were incarcerated in relocation camps during World War II. In terms of their own family situation, four are single, one is married without children, one married with two children, and two are single parents of one child each.

With the exception of the youngest subject, who is a junior in college, all have earned bachelor's degrees. Two out of these have advanced degrees. One has a Master of Art degree and the other, a doctor of medicine in psychiatry. Two of the subjects from predominantly White neighborhoods have completed their bachelor's degree at a university on the West Coast. Coincidentally, both attended Stanford University. Again with the one exception of the undergraduate, all are employed in some form of white-collar work or in professional situations.
### TABLE 2. Demographic Profile of the Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.C. location</th>
<th>Adolescent Community (A.C.)</th>
<th>Predominantly White</th>
<th>Predominantly Non-White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>East</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age M=29.6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td># of siblings M=3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents in camp</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own family*</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College degree location</td>
<td>Process</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>BA East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation**</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* S = Single   M = Married   () = Number of children   S.P. = Single parent
** S = Student  P = Professional  C = Clerical white collar
Stages of Asian American Identity Development

It was stated in Chapter 1 that an individual's total psychological identity is made up of meanings and evaluations one holds about oneself within a variety of social roles and categories. Among these, ethnicity and race are salient categories of the present study. The analysis at hand examines the process of psychosocial identity development of Japanese American women along these dimensions of ethnicity and race, i.e., Asian American identity.

The result of the analysis revealed that the process of acquiring an Asian American identity and its incorporation with the rest of other identities can be described in five distinct stages. Furthermore, these stages are temporal and progressive in nature. There are however some variations in terms of the length of time each subject spent in a given stage as well as some of the meanings attributed to their experiences. The five stages of Asian American identity development are, in order: Ethnic awareness, White identification, Awakening to social-political consciousness, Redirection to an Asian American consciousness, and Incorporation. The following is a discussion of the properties of these five stages.

Ethnic awareness (EA). This is the first stage in the process and occurs prior to entering elementary school. All subjects knew from early on (around 3-4 years old) that they were of Japanese descent. Their awareness came primarily from interactions with family members and relatives. All subjects described their family relationships as
very close. For all subjects, their reference group at this point was the family. Five out of eight families had belonged to either a Buddhist or Japanese church and/or other all-Japanese groups.

Subjects' attitudes and evaluations regarding their awareness of being Japanese Americans varied from neutral to positive. All five subjects whose families had membership in all Japanese groups and participated in various ethnic activities had positive reactions to their Japanese heritage. They experienced much ethnic pride and had knowledge of Japanese culture and traditions. The remaining subjects, who were not exposed to similar opportunities, felt neutral about being Japanese Americans. They did not have much understanding of Japanese customs, traditions, etc. Likewise, they were not sure what it meant to be Japanese Americans.

There seems to be, then, a direct relationship between exposure and participation in Japanese ethnic activities and subjects' self-concepts and ego identities as Japanese Americans. At this stage, greater exposure to Japanese ethnicity is related to a positive self-concept and more clear ego identity while less exposure is related to a neutral self-concept and confused ego identity as Japanese Americans. Despite this, all subjects recalled this period of their lives as being pleasant, fun, and secure.

For most subjects, this stage lasted until they entered school systems, either kindergarten or elementary. By beginning school, their social environment changed from one of protective, secure home settings to a more public arena which turned out to be less than
hospitable. More significantly, this change in their social environment heralded a period of increased contact with the White society. This increased contact with the White society is a critical factor precipitating change in subjects' perceptions of themselves; and consequently, led them from this stage to the next stage. An important point is that regardless of whether their previous ethnic awareness was generally positive or neutral, all were negatively affected by their increased contact with the White society and concomitant exposure to racial prejudices of other people.

White identification (WI). This, then, is the second stage in the Asian American identity development; and is a direct consequence of the increase in significant contact with the White society. The beginning phase of the "White identification" stage is marked by a strong sense of being different from one's peers. This sense of being different was gained mostly through painful encounters with the other children's repeated racial prejudices, e.g., being the object of name calling, being made fun of, etc. None of the subjects were prepared for this kind of reaction to them. They did not understand why it was happening. None knew how to handle it. Most responded by trying to get away from the situation and not fighting back.

When I was in kindergarten there was this little boy and he used to come out and machine gun my sister and I [sic] all the time. He used to say, "Kill the Japs," and then he'd machine gun us down. My sister and I used to run away from him and run home crying and that's when we were first told, that I can remember, to ignore that type of thing or anybody saying anything to you or doing anything to you.
It was not only in schools that they were exposed to prejudices, but also in other public settings. Some subjects responded physiologically, especially when they were not able to flee from the uncomfortable situation.

There were a number of times we would go to this restaurant my family liked, and somebody would invariably say something about Pearl Harbor. It was another that came up frequently. Then my father would get angry and there was sort of a scene. At the time it seemed like a major thing to me. Those moments I recall my stomach tensing up. My father thought I had a stomach problem when I was young. He would say something back and there would be an exchange and we'd be uncomfortable for the rest of the dinner. That happened a number of times and it was particularly negative and it was more at the beginning. Junior high school maybe, certainly high school on it was a very different thing. I think going along with the general social trend of more acceptance.

All subjects suffered through these experiences alone and in silence. They did not share them with other people. Some tried in vain to figure out what was going on without much success. However they tried to cope, the most common response was to personalize their situation. This led them to believe that somehow it was their own fault. It is easy to understand how this can occur since there was no proper context in which to interpret their experiences.

J. In terms of that period, did you talk to anybody about what you were going through?

I. Nobody. I talked to my mom about it years later. I think I should have, but I felt that it was a syndrome very much centered around the individual. I really at that time didn't have consciousness to think that it had anything to do with society or race relations. I just thought there was something really wrong with me.
I. No, not during that time at all. My reaction is to somewhat isolate that reaction, that response. I would tend to withdraw when somebody said something like that, rather than respond to them verbally, I would just try to get away, or just stop talking.

□ □ □ □

It was a combination of a number of things. Kids at that age, in fact by the time I got to college there was a tremendous difference, even in Denver in terms of the way that Japanese Americans were treated. When I was in elementary school there were inevitable comments. Part of that is the age group, because they're so honest. Partially the climate gradually changed over the period of time. At that time the kids would inevitably say things like, "You look like you were run over by a truck, what happened to your nose, slant eyes?", and a lot of other things. I don't think it was a constant experience, but they're the most vivid experiences I remember in elementary school. It was constant enough so that I remember sometime during elementary school, specifically thinking about what it was that made me different. And I couldn't figure it out. At the time I decided just having black hair, because nobody else had black hair. Then one time we were playing in a junk yard and this older-class girl said something about you, Chinaman and I suddenly broke out in tears. I can't remember if I ran home, or if I waited and then went home and told my mother about it. She eventually told the principal. And then the principal hauled this girl in and I was called into the office too. I remember feeling guilty about that, that she had to be hauled in. So I felt that at the time it had to be my fault.

Since none of the subjects understood how and why they were different, often this new realization made them feel alone and isolated.

J. So you didn't hang out much with your peers or friends?

I. No, I didn't. If I did go to some clubs or organizations I felt like an outsider. I tried to get involved into a church, and I would become a member of a church. But again, thinking back now, that resolved some of my loneliness. I embraced it heartily, but I still felt like an outsider. So even with the group activities there, I did not feel like I belonged.
This sense of feeling different from other people and not belonging anywhere is a dominant theme experienced by subjects for the greater part of their struggle with Asian American identity.

I. I think personally the satisfaction probably came, again in retrospect, in terms of student office. Again I felt sort of different. There were other people who were there because they were in this social popular group, and I was there because I was probably good at organizing. There was always this feeling of difference.

J. How did you feel about that difference?

I. That's something that I actively tried to work out because I feel that it's been sort of a theme throughout my life. Part of it is having been the youngest in a family with two older brothers and no sisters and how much of it was this trusting feeling, even if there was a positive stereotype being used, which at the time probably added to my being wanted in student office. Even if it was a positive stereotype, it was that I was different.

I went to this national equity women's conference, the first Asian Pacific women's conference, and we had a workshop about solidarity. It was all with close to the same age Asian Pacific women, and it was such a tremendous relief not to stick out in any way. There was no reason for anybody to look at me versus anybody else. It had so much emotional impact I realized the extent to which I had felt different.

This period is remembered by most subjects as being a painful time. It was a period when their self-concept began to change from positive or neutral to negative. The sense of differentness carried a negative evaluation. Being different was bad. Consequently, their ego identities were centered around being inferior and being at fault and responsible for things they did not fully understand. Perhaps because it was a painful period, a few subjects defended themselves by denying differences between themselves and their peers. In addition, they repressed negative feelings. The following two
quotations from the same subject is particularly illustrative of this phenomenon.

J. Did you see yourself as being different from the other kids, from your peers?

I. I don't think I ever really did. I didn't think I was different as a person. I wasn't different and that's how I dealt with it all the way up through high school. People are just people, some people are fine, some people are mixed up, and that was cool, and some people are this way and some people are that way. Some people liked me and some people didn't.

□ □ □ □

My mother made a comment that when I was in kindergarten it had something to do with crayons. I was one of the few people in class who would take the flesh-colored crayon and color my faces in and the teacher called in my mother to discuss this, because all her kids are doing the same kind of pictures but me. I'm there coloring all this flesh. I used to wear it down to a nub, I don't remember that, but this is what she told me.

Being treated as different and inferior eventually led the subjects to identify with White people. That is, subjects gradually internalized the White societal values and standards and saw themselves through the eyes of the White society. Hence, after the initial phase of the realization of being different, the hallmark of the "White identification" stage is alienation from self and other Asian Americans. At the same time, subjects also experience social alienation from White peers. During this stage all subjects have subconsciously internalized overt, positive, White images, especially regarding standards of physical beauty and attractiveness. Hence, alienation from oneself is experienced primarily as a negative self-image focused around physical attributes.
All subjects recalled their junior high and high school periods, when their peers in general were beginning to take an interest in
dating and using make-up, as one of the more difficult times. Being
swept up in a general atmosphere of heightened heterosexual interests, these Japanese American women made the inevitable comparisons with
prevailing White models and found themselves lacking. This led to at
least a brief period of acute negative self-image as Japanese Americans.

It was really horrible. At school they used to make this thing they called the "list" every week. And they would rate the
top ten girls and the top ten guys. I remember that at that time it was very prescribed. What kinds of guys were supposed to be
cute or what kinds of girls were supposed to be cute. I remember that the girls were all blonde-haired, blue-eyed, surfer types.
Every once and a while there would be an oriental woman on the list, but she was so white-washed you knew you couldn't be like her. The guys were all surfer types. Every once in a while there would be a chicano on the list and there was one black guy who was on the list. . . . That's the age where people start having parties, playing spin the bottle. I was a big kid more than anything. Here I was working at the stable after school. I'd just talk to my horse. I remember going through a real painful period where I really hated the fact that I was Japanese. I felt that it was the last thing on earth one should be, if you wanted to be liked by a guy. I used to go in the bath-
room and go in front of the mirror and say, I could change every-
thing so I could look the way I want to look. I'd start at the top of my head and I'd go all the way to the bottom of my feet. I
would say I'll do this and that, and everything was basically saying that I wanted to be White. It was an awful time in terms of that.

Now, of course, I'm proud to be Asian. I think before I had an inferior feeling to other people. I felt that being really small was an Asian characteristic, being embarrassed to be Asian. It seemed that we didn't meet the standards of this culture.

I think as a teenager I had wishful thinking. Like wishful feelings of wanting to be like White, be more beautiful, be more whatever. I think I had those feelings
during high school. But after attempting to try to be more like that, I at one point just told myself this is ridiculous. You know, you try to get the hair in a certain way and try certain make-up. But it doesn't work, the same way. You try to put eye make-up on and it doesn't work. It just doesn't seem to fit. Or it used to be that I never liked my nose. It's too puggish. I don't know. I guess I used to put a clothespin on my nose, stuff like that. And needed a bridge, of course. But after all these kinds of experiments, I just decided this is ridiculous, and that I better learn to accept myself.

Thus, critical factors in precipitating this sense of alienation from onself were acceptance of White values and standards, the social practice of dating, and an increased attention paid to the physical presentation of oneself. In addition, these experiences of not making the mark and the attendant negative self-image perpetuated already existing sense of differentness.

J. Where do you think that your feeling not physically attractive came from?

I. There were certain roots back in elementary school. I remember spending time with this and thinking, I have two eyes, I have a nose, why do I look so different? I really think that's where it came from. Also I realized that I stood out. My father is a general practitioner and he would go some place, wherever, and somebody would inevitably recognize him because he stood out. It was always a family joke that he could never rob a bank because someone would recognize him. I now recall, my mother used to say "stick out like a sore thumb" with a negative tone to it. Speaking out, being different, not being more attractive. I felt that was a factor in my getting elected. Being liked was the positive thing, but it was looking different, it wasn't looking good.

Their belief of being unattractive was often confirmed by the fact that they were not asked out on dates. In fact, many did not date during this period or did so infrequently. Although their reference group was White, often they felt socially isolated and, in general, enjoyed little closeness or meaningful friendships with them. This,
then, led many to feel socially alienated from their White peers. Most subjects compensated for this by becoming involved in formal, organizational roles and responsibilities within the school as class presidents, class officers, club leaders, editors of year books, etc.

I think being involved in that student office and that sort of thing served many purposes. That allowed me to feel involved, even though socially I wasn't. I remember some big social, at that time there were certain sororities and so on. In tenth grade I was elected to class office, but then when I went to the party for the sorority I had no social contact. They were all members of the country club and that sort of thing. I didn't get into the sorority, and I felt much ill-at-ease with that group. In fact, I don't know if it's still true, but my father, an upwardly directed, mobile sort of person, because he started out with so little had to earlier try to get into the country club and they wouldn't take orientals--that's what they told him. So I never went there again, I remember feeling uncomfortable about that. At least I was in student activities, and also academics. There were the special groups, the advanced placement groups.

In addition, all subjects directed most of their energy toward academic achievement which became an important goal to strive for. Achievements in areas other than social did play a significant role in balancing out their negative self-concept during this stage. Still, the dominant self-concept as Japanese Americans was a negative one. Subjects recalled other experiences that fueled their sense of inferiority.

Well it was charged. There was something there. It's like a collage that comes to me. My parents saying to me, you're not Japanese. If someone asks you if you're Japanese you're supposed to say no, I'm Japanese American or of Japanese descent. You're not to say yes, you're Japanese, because you aren't. You were born here. . . .

I knew about camp. And then when I was in eighth grade the teacher said, were your parents in camp and I said yes. So he explained to the rest of the class what the camp was. I remember that I almost felt like crying. I didn't know what the feeling was. I really didn't know what the feeling was. But I
got all red, and I felt upset, and I didn't want to talk about it. I think I was ashamed. Not that my parents had done anything wrong. But that something really shameful, really awful had happened to them. Because they weren't really clear with me about their own feelings, it's obviously really charged for them too.

□ □ □ □

There was a guy who was the captain of the basketball team, very popular, Bruce Ryan. He was very cute, and all the girls had crushes on him and I had one on him too. For some reason this guy decided to have a crush on me too. Wow, the captain of the basketball team! He'd walk me home everyday. . . . We'd talk every day on the phone and I guess we were an item, it elevated my social status tremendously. Besides being Miss Smarty, all of a sudden I was Bruce Ryan's girl friend. Then one day we were talking and he told me, you know something, Ann, one of the things I really like about you, is you remind me of my mother. I said, why is that? He said, my mother's Chinese. Everybody had always thought he was White. All of a sudden it blew everything for, all of a sudden I realized he wasn't real. God darn it, I thought, I'd got a White one. I was crushed, I couldn't believe it. I wouldn't even speak to him after that. . . . Nobody knew that his mother was Chinese. I was so mad. Because I felt like either he should have . . . for some reason it made me feel ashamed of myself. This was something that he had to wait for like two months to tell me, then how did he feel about it. I just never wanted to speak to him ever again. Nobody knew what had happened. It was really wild. In a way, it made me feel worse about being an Asian woman. I felt like it was something that this guy had to hide. He wanted his American side to show through.

White identification during this stage was experienced differently by each individual woman. The major variation was around the degree and the extent of identifying with White people, and can be seen as either passive or active identification. In active identification, subjects considered themselves as being very similar to their White peers. Apparent differences between themselves and Whites were not acknowledged, at least not on the conscious level. They saw themselves as White and acted as if they were. They also did not want to be seen as Asian in any way.
My girl friend, she's Chinese and she really didn't associate with the Chinese. Like me, she associated more with Caucasians. I never thought anything about that. That we were both Asian but yet we were both the same in that we only associated with Caucasians except for ourselves.

This Black guy asked her out and he said, well, why don't we double date and he brought his friend. So we went out to a function and... his friend was Black, too. This guy I was with, his name is Alhaja. He got into this big trip about the Third World. That I was Third World and all the Whites were going to be killed, let's get rid of all of them. I'm supposed to join this whole movement and if I don't I'll be killed along with the Whites and all this. We had a long discussion covering a variety of different topics and I was getting very upset because everytime I said to him, well can't you just see me as me, as just a person, and he always said no... He said you're a Japanese woman and I was so frustrated at that point I said, well get out of here. If that's all you can see me, if that's all I'm worth at this point in time where we've talked all night and you don't see any other things coming out of me, I said fine, I said that's you and I realized by the end of the evening that that was going to be his attitude.

I got upset just because he was assuming too much when I didn't intend to give that impression. The idea that I fit the mold because I think that I had always assumed, first of all, all my cousins that are married are all married to Caucasians and one to a Mexican. I just assumed that when it came time for me to get married that I would end up marrying a Caucasian because that's all I really knew. Especially after that experience and even during it, I guess I always figured I'm not going to marry any Asian, I'm going to marry a Caucasian. I had had crushes on guys and they were all Caucasians. It was very upsetting in that respect because I felt that it discouraged any interest in any Asian guys, even though there weren't any to begin with, but I mean any that might come up. I thought they would say, look she's Asian, she's going to fit in great. That's just what I look like on the outside, but I'm not like that on the inside.

It was an Asian party. After that, all the guys looked alike to me and I couldn't remember anybody's name. I told that to my mother and she said, that's not supposed to happen to you. I said, but Mom, I've hardly had any interaction with Asians, so that's obviously going to happen.
Active White identification often led to repression of negative feelings and experiences. Subjects in this category had greater difficulty recalling their experiences during this period.

I question myself a lot on it because it's a part that upsets me tremendously so that I can't remember or that I do not want to remember. I'm blocking it in some form or manner in that I do not want to know that. I do not want to deal with that. Maybe I wanted to be White. I don't know. Maybe it wasn't something I was willing to accept of myself, something I hated so much that I was just blocking it out. It was not a happy period of life. I didn't feel that anything would really contribute to anything I did later on in life. It was a time when I felt college was going to be it. I had already been told by my mother that dating was going to be college. It was like waiting for college because that is where I was going to experience what everybody was talking about.

Interestingly, all three subjects who experienced the stage of "ethnic awareness" as neutral rather than positive, actively identified with Whites. Just as greater exposure to the Japanese community and ethnic activity led to a positive ethnic awareness and less exposure to neutral ethnic awareness, subjects with neutral ethnic awareness actively identified with Whites, while subjects with positive ethnic awareness experienced only passive White identification at this stage. Although none of the subjects were protected from experiencing identity conflict vis-à-vis "White identification," positive ethnic awareness acquired early on seems to have lessened the severity of it.

In passive White identification, subjects did not consider themselves to be White. They may have experienced periods of wishful thinking and fantasizing about looking like White people. They did, however, share in common with the actively identifying group, the
acceptance of White values, beliefs, standards, and Whites as a reference group.

My identification from high school, not so much earlier, was more White. I never denied or forgot that I was Japanese American but I know that I didn't emphasize it to my friends. I remember feeling quite hurt, other people would come over to my house and be surprised that my parents were Japanese. They had only seen me so they had got accustomed to how I looked and forgot about my background. They would come in and be shocked, and I remember feeling very badly about that. I felt that I didn't push any aspect of it but I never forgot it. I would accommodate to situations around me. I'm now looking back on things from this standpoint, and seeing that that's really been a pattern.

I don't feel that I ever tried actively to be White, as such, but I did try to achieve and I did try to be liked. I know I never tried to be White, to use make-up to look certain ways. I always had the sense of being different, that I was fitting into somebody else's world. But I fit in quite well, and I liked that environment, but it wasn't like trying to be someone else. . . . I didn't think I was White at any point but just that Whites were my reference groups, I did everything with them.

Regardless of how subjects experienced their identification with White people, they all had internalized stereotypes about Asian Americans in general. None of the subjects were either willing or able to deal with being Japanese Americans during this stage.

J. So during this time you didn't see yourself as an Asian?

I. No. Nancy, Susan, and I used to walk around campus and when we saw Asian guys we used to say, oh there's a snowflake, if it was snowflake season, if it was rainy season it was raindrops . . .

J. Why was that?

I. I don't know how they felt, but I don't think I attached a sex on to them. You know they are guys but it's like you're not going to go out with any of them.

J. So you were not interested in other Asian men.
I. No.

J. They were asexual?

I. Yeah. It's like you wouldn't even contemplate it, the thought never even crossed your mind that anybody would even ask you out that was Asian. Besides, the only ones you knew, that were you age, were your cousins. You know, and they were cousins, so you never really saw them as a dating situation.

Through White identification all subjects experienced, in varying degrees, alienation from themselves and other Asian Americans, as well as social alienation from White peers. These experiences of feeling separated and isolated, even while being with a lot of people, and a sense of not quite fitting in anywhere were a common bond among all subjects.

I think I felt that I wanted to be part of the group but I guess I never felt confident of people accepting me, whether it was Blacks or Whites. At the time we would attend Asian functions, the Buddhist church, and I didn't know the other Japanese because the Japanese community was so spread out. As far as kids our age we didn't know too many Japanese. So we weren't really a part of them either.

J. What was so difficult about being in Japan?

I. Just a carry-over of everything I felt in America except worse. Being a misfit. I should have had the feeling that I belonged there. People expected me to belong, and if I didn't do things
the right Japanese way I wasn't a very good person. I was afraid of the judgments people would make of me. I wanted to be a good Japanese person and I couldn't be because I didn't know the rules there. I didn't know the language. So that was a struggle. Again it wasn't anything I could verbalize. I wanted some kind of anchor, I felt insecure, that I didn't belong there.

To recap, this stage is marked by negative attitudes and evaluations of self as Americans of Japanese ancestry, and behaviors which tended to turn one's back on other Asian Americans; and to some extent, other minorities as well. Subjects' ego identities were of being different, separated, isolated, inferior, and misfits who did not really belong anywhere. This is accompanied by a lack of political understanding, a context which could enable them to make sense of their experiences. And without it, none of the subjects were ready to question what it really meant to be Asian American in this society. Nor were any of them able to make a connection between their difficult experiences and being a racial minority. In fact, it is the opportunity to acquire a political understanding of their social status which enables the subjects to move out of this stage of "White identification" and into the next stage.

*Awakening to social political consciousness (ATSPC)*. Of all five stages of Asian American identity development, this is the most important one in terms of changing subjects' social-political consciousness. It is during this stage they acquire a different perspective on who they are in this society. This new perspective is that they are a minority in this society, and that they are not personally
responsible for their situation. Although there is some variation as to how this political consciousness of being a minority is acquired, it is a critical factor in facilitating change in their self-concept.

Particularly in the case of the predominantly White adolescent neighborhood sample, a significant event was to change their social environment in such a way as to increase their potential exposure to the Asian American population. This change can vary in form from going out to the West Coast to attend college where there is a greater number of Asian Americans to taking courses whose student clientele is predominantly Asian American. Motivations behind making these changes were not always obvious to subjects. In addition, their initial exposure to a group of Asian Americans often was confusing and uncomfortable. These reactions came partly from the subjects' own sense of insecurity around their social identity, and once again feeling like outsiders, this time, among people who share at least a common physical appearance.

J. What was disturbing to you about the class?

I. I think it was the fact that I was uncomfortable in it. There were all these people who looked just like me and they all seemed to know each other. Everyone seemed like they were friendly. And meanwhile, no one ever said hello to me and I really felt left out. People would make these dynamite statements in class about their ethnicity or background and I just sat there going "oh wow," I didn't know this stuff. I felt very lost. I had nothing to say about my parents. I didn't know where they were from. I didn't know what my grandparents had done for a living. Why didn't I know? How come my parents didn't tell me this? Everybody else knows. I was very, very upset, and I went back to the dorm and every week I'd say a little bit to John and Nancy; John is Japanese. I would talk to them about the class because I was getting more and more upset about it. It finally got to the point where it upset them so much they refused to talk about it.
I wasn't comfortable with it politically and I couldn't relate to them socially. My last year there, I was in a class with a Sansei woman and we were sort of friends. She was from L.A. and again, boy, I felt the cultural difference. It was just amazing. She grew up in a Japanese community and she learned. She's been sent to live at Buddhist temple. It was very different. She was living with a Japanese man, and she's very beautiful, and very nice, and wanted to do things. Wanted to work with war brides, and do community work. I remember her telling me that her lover wanted to do the whole Japanese thing. He wanted her to cook, scrub his back. I was mixed up. I was really identifying with the woman's movement at that time. So who I hung out with again ended up being a small group of people. All of them were White except one really good friend who was Black, she was my really good friend.

However, these exposures to other Asian Americans at least influenced them to begin questioning some of their orientation. But significant changes in perspective did not occur until they got involved in political movements.

For all subjects, becoming involved in political movements were affected by events occurring in their social environment. Some were initiated into political involvement by either their family members or a close male friend's interest and commitment in a social-political issue.

I was in that junior high school two years, the year that I was graduating, it was in the early 60's, and our family started to become involved in the civil rights movement. My mother took us to our first demonstration. Then we started to attend a freedom school in our community to learn about Black history. It was the civil rights movement and our involvement at that time was probably the most profound change, it probably affected our lives the most.

The other subjects were influenced by campus politics of the late 60's and early 70's. They were attending college at a time when student activism was high and centered around the issues of the war, Black studies, and women's rights.
There is also a variation among the sample in terms of their level of political involvement. As used here, the range of political involvement includes reading and taking courses on racism and the Asian American experience; being a member of political discussion groups and women's support groups; attending demonstrations, helping out on the strike line; working with community groups on special projects; attending meetings, etc. There is no one prescribed way to be involved. What was important was that subjects learned about the plights of oppressed people wherever there was an opportunity.

Before I returned to college, I was working at the New York public library, in a clerical-type position. I had felt that even though I wasn't involved in the movement directly, that I was around people, working people, who were the kinds of people the movement would be concerned about, supposed to be making changes for. I felt my working with just regular people was more important. A lot of time when you're involved in a movement, you're involved with a class of people who are very educated, who have more means and who have the time to do those kinds of activities. They're more privileged in a way because their perspective is different. Working with, particularly, a lot of women who had to support their families, who had to work. Being sensitive to their needs, and I felt like I really tried to listen to their everyday concerns and how did they respond to things. I thought that was a lesson to me. I didn't feel that I was missing too much by not going to the meetings, that I was learning in a different way.

A significant theme among subjects' experiences is that of gaining initial political consciousness by involvement in at least one of the social-political movements of the 60's and the 70's, other than Asian American movement. In other words, most subjects' consciousness of being a minority came first before their consciousness about being an Asian American. Their initial involvements were often in either the civil rights, anti-war, Black Studies, or women's movements.
J. What were a couple of events that happened after high school that influenced your feelings about or that directed you toward identifying more as an Asian American?

I. The general political consciousness about race and ethnic background. First I think it was the anti-war movement, the Black studies movement, and the women's movement. Just general consciousness. With the demands for Black studies, this Asian American student group evolved, but it was more being led in that sense.

J. So your identification with political movements per se, the woman part of you came before the Japanese American part of you?

I. Yes, that happened pretty soon after I moved to Stanford. It happened right away when I was living with these people. I lived with them the first quarter I was there. The Japanese part of me waking up and getting blood sent to it was gradually over three years.

J. Do you think there is any connection between those two? Do you think that your getting involved in women's movement somehow facilitated your ability to get involved in, or awareness about being Japanese American?

I. Yes. I wouldn't have thought that, but now that you mention it, it seems like yes. It's been very hard and I felt very alone with it and I haven't been able to see it very well.

J. The Japanese American part?

I. Yes. And knowing that I felt numb and knowing that there was a whole thing that I hadn't dealt with, and not having anybody to talk about it. So I think having that community of people had a big influence on me. Gradually, actually after I graduated I became close with my cousins from college. I could talk with them about it, we've talked a lot about it.

In a few cases, the lack of initial political involvement with an Asian American group was due to a perceived lag in the political consciousness of the Asian American community as compared to other oppressed groups. They found greater support for their fledgling consciousness of who they are within other minority groups.
My work mainly was in the Chicano community. I felt strong
about that. I felt that I knew that community more than
other communities. I felt in a lot of ways I didn't like
the Asian community. A lot of things about, in particular,
about the Japanese American community. I'd always felt rejected
by them. I felt that first of all they're a really prejudiced
group. I knew that just within my own family, we were like the
black sheep of the family, the poorest relations. I saw a lot
of these attitudes in the way my relatives treated Chicano
friends, or things that were said in church. We had a horrible
minister at the time. He was a real bigot in a lot of ways.
Like White people but nobody else, just Japanese and Whites.
A lot of contradictions. I saw people saying things like, the
Chicanos and Blacks have to pull themselves up by the boot
strings like we did. You know, just a lot of shit. And this
I saw also in high school, aside from the one Japanese woman
friend that I had, all the other J.A.'s were into a tight
social clique. They dealt only with, "I'm going to USC and
drive a Capri or a Datsun 280Z" or whatever. Not politically
aware, not spiritually aware, you know, nothing. They're just
aspiring to be Whiter than White and very bourgeois, and I
really rejected that. Consequently I wasn't that involved
with the Asian community.

Irrespective of the variety of levels and sources of acquiring
political consciousness as a minority, this is the stage where subjects
shed many of their previously held values and attitudes. Consequently,
they reassess the merits of White values and standards. This sometimes
led to political alienation from White people and the larger society.

J. How would you characterize your behavior toward White
people at this point?

I. At this point, I didn't have too many White friends. Most
of our friends were Black, so there were a lot of anti-
White feelings. I don't think our family ever experienced
a really negative relationship with Whites in general. It
was the political atmosphere that made us feel alienated
from Whites. We would say anti-White things because we were
looking at White people in relationship to other people and
in terms of the society. They were responsible for the
oppression of other people and for the things that were
happening in the world. At that time I put Whites in a
general grouping and they were more the "enemy." Of
course, we always had a number of White friends. The
group that we were involved with was very integrated. I
guess I saw them as exceptions. These people also shared the same political and social philosophies that we did. All the Whites that we were around, especially for their age, were really extraordinary. Their sensitivity to other people and just their analysis of the situation. So we did have White friends, not so much at school. It was more in the context of our political involvement. Still a lot of when I was with my friends, there was a lot of anti-White sentiment.

Through these political involvements, subjects found meaningful support systems and at last, a context which enabled them to reinterpret their past experiences.

I had a context for the first time to think about it. In racism and stereotypes, I had a whole context. We did talk about it that much. It was a really nice opening time for me in a lot of ways. I had friends. I felt like I had friends for the first time in ages. . . . I felt safer to deal with things like racism. Then the last year I had to take some class and I found that I enjoyed it. So I studied with a Japanese professor and enjoyed it immensely.

Significant changes occurred during this stage in terms of the subjects' reference group, self-concept, and ego identity. Unlike the preceding two stages, their criteria for the reference group is the political and social philosophy of individuals rather than racial membership. Subjects' reference groups are made up of individuals who are committed to working on a similar social issue and share the same political philosophy. Although not by design, often these memberships consisted of other minorities. Their self-concept changed from negative to positive. They felt good about their new awareness of themselves as a minority, and involvement in a social-political movement. They no longer blamed themselves for their experience of prejudice. Their ego identity is centered around being a minority,
being oppressed, not being inferior, and feeling connected to
to experiences of other minorities.

We felt we had experienced racism, and it wasn't from this
society alone or the system. But also we felt racism even from
other minorities, on a daily basis. Because we had experienced
that personally, we can relate to that on a larger level about
what Blacks in this country might have gone through, or other
minorities, it's even more damaging sometimes. Being with other
Blacks, with my boyfriend, who is Black, and seeing how other
people would treat him, particularly Whites. I was really
sensitive to that, because I know how that feels.

Clearly, gaining awareness about racism through their political
involvement helped them to get over their White identification and
no longer view it as a viable option.

Redirection to Asian American consciousness (RTAAC). Although in
the preceding stage subjects had changed their identification from
White to minorities, they had not yet identified with Asian
Americans. That last hurdle is reached at this stage. Their in-
volvement in political consciousness raising resulted in their
feeling better about themselves, boosting self-confidence and
enhancing self-esteem. These, in turn, became a fertile ground for
the development of an Asian American identity. With the support
and encouragement from friends, some of the subjects felt secure
enough to look at their own experience.

J. The stereotypes, you didn't encounter them prior to going
to California?

I. I'm sure I did. I didn't register it. After I was there
I really registered these stereotypes. Sometimes it would
take me three days to realize that something had happened
that made me unhappy. My reaction when I'm upset for a long
time has been to be numb. I just go somewhere else and I
don't feel anything. Gradually I learned that those things
really upset me. And then, living with this Black woman, a really good friend of mine. Maybe she was the one that said to me, "You are so Japanese." I think she might have been the one that said that to me, when I'd say I'm not Japanese, I'm of Japanese descent. She'd say, well you are Japanese. I mean, it's true. I am Japanese. My face is Japanese. If you ask me if I'm Korean, no I'm not, I'm Japanese, right? I understand why my parents told me that. I really understand it. I went through a period of being angry and the whole bit.

J. Why do you think your parents told you that?

I. Because of the war. Because it was such a difficult and terrible experience to be branded as a traitor because they were Japanese, when they aren't Japanese. They're Japanese American in that sense of nationality and culture.

J. Isn't that true of you? Aren't you really Japanese American?

I. Yes, I'm Japanese American but if someone is asking me a racial question—am I Japanese or am I Korean, I am Japanese. They wanted to always make sure that the people would not be able to say that I was Japanese, just plain Japanese. It was important to say that I was American. I understand that. At Stanford, that whole time, a lot of things happened that I really started to feel. I dealt with my feelings more. I guess I consciously turned toward looking for that part of myself that was Japanese. It was like looking for an arm that has been gone forever, and I just didn't even know where to find it. But I did look.

Others were motivated to redirect their energy toward Asian Americans by observing what was going on in other movements.

The movement was the vehicle to express our concern. That's when I became concerned with Asian identity. We were involved in the Black Nationalist movement and people would talk a lot about Africa, or about culture, and returning to your tradition. Because most of our friends were Black and changing their names to African names, at that point everyone in our family started to think more about being Asian and what that meant. It made us think for the first time about being Asian. At that time we had learned the language, but we didn't pursue it, so we never did learn. Then I started to feel for the first time proud to be an Asian. That was because of the civil rights movement.

When we were around our Black friends at the time, we identified a lot with their feelings of nationalism, almost to
the point where we were thinking that we were Black. We felt a little more comfortable. We knew more about Black culture and Black history. We used the same terminology, reference points, and yet we knew very little about our own. It felt good when we discovered that there was an Asian movement. There was a relationship between the Asian movement, the Black movement, and the Latin movement. Then I felt that we could be in that setting of Black nationalism and still have our own identity and a connection or reference about how that all connects.

One critical step taken, after the decision to refocus toward Asian Americans, is immersion in Asian American experience. The form in which this occurs can vary from spending a period of time in the Asian American community to doing a lot of reading on Asian American history, culture, etc. However it occurs, it is in an effort to better understand themselves and their people. The goal is to figure out what parts of themselves are Asian and what parts are American. The following is a quote taken from a subject who has recently begun the immersion phase.

J. In looking back, do you feel like you've gone through an identity conflict as an Asian American?

I. Absolutely. I think at this point it's a little muddled because I went through my own identity conflict psychologically, separation from parents, becoming a more independent, autonomous adult. This whole sense of being different was very much fueled by being a Japanese American within a largely White community. Then with political consciousness, going through trying to figure out who I was and where.

J. Where are you? Do you feel like you've resolved that conflict?

I. No, I'm still working on it. I feel that I would eventually like to work in Japan. I would like to spend more time interacting. I was quite gratified at that Asian women's meeting. Some of the other women there, first of all had described some sort of difficulty communicating with their grandmother and some sort of difficulty in having a White boyfriend, and I thought I was the only one! Then there was this one woman who said for some reason she got along better with Blacks than Whites and she couldn't understand that.
I thought, this is amazing, somebody else feels that way.
I look forward to more of that kind of interaction in trying
to figure out how I fit with other Asian women. And also
I promised my grandmother I'd learn Japanese. At this point
in time since this personal identity is also evolving I
decided now, I'd somewhat leaned toward developing that more
politically and more professionally.

In this phase, many subjects experience going to the other extreme
before discovering what really fits.

I think at the time that I thought more consciously about
being an Asian American, when I was in high school, that it made
me feel better about myself. It didn't matter so much whether
people accepted you or not. I knew who I was. I have just as
much a right to be here. I wanted people to see me as an Asian
American. There was a point where my sister and I just
fantasized about being just Japanese.

Seeing ourselves that we evolved from this Japanese culture,
Samurai, and the tradition. We wanted to see ourselves more
Japanese even though we had not been exposed to that. It was
about the time when a lot of Blacks were talking about Africa.
At that point you're looking at all those positive developments
from that culture. There was a period in the 60's where there
was a lot of cultural nationalism. After that period I think I
realized that we were more affected by the American experience
than being Japanese, because we hardly had any of that in our
home. Our whole outlook on life was much more American than
Japanese. At that point we realized, if anything, it's a
combination. That was more realistic. We had to confront the
crisis of not knowing who we were.


I had swung a pendulum, I was literally so Asian American in
thinking that my White friends that I had were accusing me of
being ethnocentric. I think they were correct at that point
because I wasn't totally happy with that either. I didn't like
the way Asians talked about other people either. I didn't feel
quite comfortable with that either. You can't hate everybody.
I needed to swing that whole thing because I didn't know what I
was, what I was doing, or where I would go at that point. So I
swung that pendulum all the way to the other end in trying to
figure that out. Trying to grasp on to things and understanding
me. Hawaii was good, it allowed me to go all that way but to
also see Japanese Americans, my relatives. . . .

One subject symbolized this phase by changing her name.
I guess things just sort of turned around for me slowly. One thing that happened, I think it was my second year there. I must have had this in me anyway, but it was precipitated by my friend. She was really similar to me, she couldn't relate to most of the Black people because she wasn't raised in a Black community itself. So she had a lot of troubles just like me. And at one point she said she didn't want to have her last name. She wanted to be called "X". Well, she just flipped off. And then she said to me, and I don't want to call you Mary, that was my name. I want to call you a Japanese name because you're Japanese. I wanted, too. So I spent several days thinking about it. I talked to my friends and we were all laughing and joking.

Then I chose a Japanese name and I started to use it. I wanted to identify with the Japanese part of myself. It was a conscious choice.

Included in this phase is anger and outrage directed toward White society. This occurs when they discover and allow themselves to feel some of the historical incidences of racism directed against Asian Americans. Eventually they are able to work out of this reactionary phase and into a realistic appraisal of both themselves and other Asian Americans. The following excerpt is a good illustration of these phases.

J. What were turning points in terms of your identifying as an Asian American person?

I. It happened in stages. One little part was saying okay, I'm Asian American, I want to be with people that are like me, so that was being on the West Coast. Another part was I am an Asian American and I want to identify myself or that part of myself, which was the name. In that same time period was, I am Asian American and I'm not those stereotypes. I am Asian American, and it did happen that my parents were put in camp, and I'm mad. And that was a very dreadful thing that happened. Another part was saying to myself, I really wish I can meet a man who is Japanese, that I could fall in love with, or be really good friends with and not feel so alienated from them.

What I also discovered was, I guess my needs got less driving. I had a need to have friends and be a part of something. When I was in that dance troupe, it was exciting to be around Asian Americans. What I discovered is that that is a relatively small thing to have in common. That I had a
lot more in common with people who were Caucasians in some cases. My friends, who are not Asian Americans, but who had Quakerism in common with me or just a lot of other things. It was good. I accepted that. That just because we're Asian American it doesn't mean we're going to be kindred spirits. I kind of got it out of my system. I could talk about it as much as I wanted to.

So the name, and recognizing that I wanted it. I'd say that writing that book was a commitment to seeing it through to really try to get some blood flowing in that part of myself and find that missing limb, that missing corner of my heart and spirit. And then letting myself live it out. I started to live it out.

Self-concept, during this stage, is positive. Subjects feel good about who they are and feel proud to be an Asian American. They also feel comfortable with both parts of themselves (Asian and American). At last, they feel at home with themselves. One indicator of this shift in attitude about being Asian American is a desire to relate to other Asian Americans.

I guess I know in myself that I had felt, after I got out of college, that I really wanted to be friend or lover with an Asian. I said a Japanese, but really I think an Asian. I thought it would be so incredible to love someone and look in his face and have his face look like mine. . . . You know, to be able to say, when my parents were in camp they had to eat a lot of this and so my father doesn't like it. Some little anecdote like that, and have the person respond "Oh, yes," instead of having them say, "Oh were your parents in camp?" Of course they were in camp, if they were in California, they were in camp. You have to go through that every time with every Caucasian. I really wanted that. Just to feel like looking at someone who looked like me would be an extraordinary experience.

Their ego identity is centered around being an Asian American. Each subject has her own definition of what Asian American identity means to her. However, common themes among these meaning attributions are: knowing they belong here and having a clear political understanding of what it means to be Asian Americans in this society, and no longer
seeing themselves as misfits. Lastly, it means having a very rich past, cultural, political, and social history as a group of people that is unique from other groups.

Asian American to me is a very political word and it means having two parts of me. A part of me that is Asian and a part of me that is American, and there is no hyphen in there. I'm not a hyphenated American, I am both and I'm very proud of both. I cannot change myself. I cannot be Japanese-Japanese. I cannot be American-American, because I am not seen in this country as just an American. That's just a given fact that I have to deal with and that's why I am Asian American.

In the context of America that it's a good feeling to have an Asian American identity, finally. Until we got to that point, we didn't know where we fit. We weren't Black, we weren't White, we weren't Japanese. Having an Asian American identity means that you share an experience that other Asians experience. It's a positive side to your make-up.

J. What does it mean to you to have an identity as an Asian American?

I. It's important for everybody to have an identity, to know who they are. I think you have a conflict between being Asian and being American. It takes a long while to resolve it. I think part of it is that it made it difficult for me to grow up. I think I swung from one extreme to the other. And finally you consider yourself both. That's where you feel most comfortable.

J. What were the extreme poles between, where you changed from?

I. I think growing up through elementary school and high school you felt that you had to accept the White values, very difficult to do. You always felt apart from it. And yet during college when I was exposed to more Japanese, you are not Japanese either. You feel apart from that. So after you've seen both sides and seen the messages that both societies are saying, you resolve some of the conflicting messages. After awhile you realize maybe they weren't conflicting once you knew the situation. The problem with me was that I grew up in a White society, and I only got one message.
Incorporation (I). This is a stage where subjects are able to relate to lots of different groups of people without losing their own identity as Asian Americans. Probably the critical factor in this stage is confidence in one's Asian American identity which comes out of having gone through phases within their "redirection to an Asian American consciousness" stage. Because they have a clear sense of who they are in this society, their identity is not threatened by prevailing White values. They have a realistic appraisal of all people, White, Asian American, and other minorities. Subjects at this stage do not experience the driving need to either identify with or against White people.

I'm finding that Quaker meeting is important to me these days. I grew up in this meeting and I've been home for almost a year now. I've been going more and more, making my own friends there. I feel like I'm all the way there. I'm all the way my own person. But I can't talk about Asian American things with those people so easily. They might understand, but they'd understand from the outside, if they understood. Some of them I wouldn't even want to try talking to about it. I don't have that driving need anymore. I don't need to put all my eggs in that one basket. I don't have to find all my comfort in one place. I don't have to say to myself, I have to be comfortable as an Asian American, as a woman who identifies with feminism, as Quaker, as an East Coaster versus a West Coaster, in this one place right now. But I feel comfortable in all these areas with different people.

They realize that being an Asian American is an important but not their only identity. Their reference group varies depending on the particular role they are in at a given time. The hallmark of this stage is the Asian American identity blending in with the rest of the individual's identities.
Overview  
In Chapter 1, identity conflict was defined as a situation where an individual perceives certain aspects of him/herself which he rejects simultaneously. It was also stated that in the case of Asian Americans, it is the awareness of oneself as Asian which one rejects in favor of prevailing White models. Data from the present study supports this general definition. As speculated, there are, however, important variations as to the degree, length, and manifestations of identity conflict. The following is a listing of some of these manifestations of identity conflict as experienced by the sample: considering oneself as White, wanting to look like White people, disliking one's physical appearance (e.g., eyes, nose, etc.), shunning other Asian Americans, believing in Asian American stereotypes, especially regarding Asian American men, seeing oneself as unattractive and not datable, experiencing shame and embarrassment over being Japanese American, refusing to deal with being Japanese American or perceiving oneself as being such, having low self-image, seeing oneself as a misfit, and not wanting to associate with Japanese food, culture and relatives.

The present data also suggests that the process of resolving the identity conflict occurs over a period of time, in progressive identifiable stages, and results in acquisition of an Asian American identity. Furthermore, the nature of the subjects' social environment and the availability of certain information plays an important role in this process of identity conflict resolution.

*See Table 3 for a chart on stages of Asian American identity development.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Ethnic Awareness</th>
<th>White Identification</th>
<th>Awakening to Social political consciousness</th>
<th>Redirection to A.A. consciousness</th>
<th>Incorporation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social environment</td>
<td>home, family, Japanese groups</td>
<td>Public arena, school systems, heightened heterosexual activity and interest</td>
<td>social political movements, campus politics</td>
<td>Asian American community</td>
<td></td>
<td>general</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Critical factor</td>
<td>Exposure and participation in Japanese ethnic activities</td>
<td>increased contact with White society, acceptance of White values and standards</td>
<td>gaining political consciousness on being minority</td>
<td>immersion in Asian American experience</td>
<td></td>
<td>firm A.A. identity, need to be whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-concept</td>
<td>&lt; positive</td>
<td>negative self image, particularly body image</td>
<td>positive as minority</td>
<td>positive as Asian American</td>
<td></td>
<td>positive as a person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; neutral</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ego identity</td>
<td>&lt; clear as person of Japanese heritage</td>
<td>being different, misfits, inferior, isolated, personally responsible</td>
<td>minority, oppressed, not inferior, not personally responsible</td>
<td>Asian American, sense of belonging, proud</td>
<td></td>
<td>whole person with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&gt; less clear of of meaning</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Asian American as important but not the sole identity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>family</td>
<td>White people society in general</td>
<td>individuals with similar social political philosophy</td>
<td>Asian Americans especially those at similar levels of identity development</td>
<td></td>
<td>people in general, may vary with role situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallmark of the stage</td>
<td>discovery of ethnic awareness</td>
<td>realization of differentness, alienation from self and other Asian Americans, and social alienation from Whites</td>
<td>gaining new political perspective, sociological imagination (change from personal to social perspective)</td>
<td>personal and cultural exploration, appreciation of A.A. experience</td>
<td></td>
<td>blending of Asian American identity with the rest of individuals' identities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 3. Stages of AAID
It is important to clarify here that the subjects' conscious awareness of identity conflict is often vague and fleeting in nature. It is not experienced as a constant, sharp sensation. This is partly due to the proper workings of the individual's normal psychological defense mechanisms, which often submerged more painful periods and events. In addition, at the beginning of the identity conflict period, the awareness which causes conflict is more a generalized sense of being different from peers and not specifically linked to being Asian. Obviously, the reason for their being singled out is racially based. However, the subjects do not make a clear link initially.

The cause of identity conflict is not from a specific aversion to aspects or attributes of one's Asian self. It is rather a reaction to being exposed to, and an internalizing of, White racism while not understanding its dynamics. Therefore, the experience of identity conflict ends when subjects acquire new information which leads to a different perspective on their situation. For the purpose of analysis, the period of identity conflict was considered to be during the "White identification" stage.

All subjects reported having gone through some period of identity conflict. The duration of this varied and will be presented in the following section on "Between group differences." Subjects also varied in terms of how they perceived the process of identity conflict resolution. For some, it was a very painful process over a long period of time. For others, it was less painful. But all perceived the process as involving progressive steps.
J. How would you describe your overall experience in achieving Asian American identity?

I. I'm not sure. Elementary and high school was a very sad experience. I don't know how much I can attribute to my own personality, my family's personality, my own problems of society, of being a minority, whatever. It was only after I started feeling good about myself in college and being with other minorities. When you start feeling better about yourself, then you can start sorting out some of the different issues. One of the issues at that time was being a minority. It goes in steps. It takes a long time. . . . My identity problems were resolved when I was about twenty-eight or thirty, my identity as a person and that included being Japanese American.

The painful time was not knowing what was causing the pain and why I was in so much pain. I don't think it was painful after that. I think it helped having a support system, getting the reinforcement from other people. When I saw that, then it wasn't painful.

It was over a period of time, of seeing that most of these people who were surfers and things like that were really not that interesting intellectually to me. Being really bored, that's one thing I despise in life in general, because I don't think there's any reason for it. I remember being bored and hating it. Starting to read things, I read everything about Vietnam and would read the Asian newspapers. I'd read these identity poems and it was a slow process. Then there was this guy that was from our neighborhood who was Chinese, who I'd liked for a long time. It was through a process of all that. . . . This was the first boyfriend I kissed, everything felt all right to do. I felt really happy about it. It was funny, because everything about him felt really familiar. The way he talked, the things that were different too were different because he was Chinese and not because he was American.

However difficult these experiences might have been, they unanimously believe that results of their struggle have been rewarding, enriching, and empowering.

It took a long time. Painful. But in the end it was worthwhile. I feel like, that, if I didn't get all the way through, and I don't know that I'm all the way through to the other end, but more and more knots are coming undone. And the more knots that come undone, that are off, because I feel like a person with an amputated limb, when I think back to that time.
And I knew it. There was a whole part of me that was numb, that I couldn't find. It's like being a cripple or something. It didn't feel good. So I'm really glad.

Lastly, all subjects felt that there was a direct relationship between resolving their identity conflict and acquiring an Asian American identity.

J. Do you feel that there is a relationship of at least having resolved the crisis phase of the conflict and your identifying as an Asian American?

I. Oh yes, I think so. That's sort of like a natural progression in a way. I do feel it's an identity, a total identity kind of issue. My fundamental identity I don't think was ever in question, it was reinforced in a lot of different ways. I never had any question about being Japanese American.

J. That was in terms of your ethnic identity?

I. Yes. The social identity, I guess was in question, I do feel that it's been helpful. I'm glad that this whole Asian American consciousness and in general, women's consciousness, that all this has come up now. Would probably even been better if it had come up earlier. A lot of us are grateful that it has surfaced. I was so pleased to hear that you were doing this kind of study . . .

I feel now, that I'm past the crisis stage, I feel quite excited because I feel that from here on out it's only a matter of finding more who I am. Just as I've opened up myself I think more honestly to emotions than before. I used to isolate or deny. It's been like a family style and probably a cultural style. I'm opening up to a broader sense of myself so that I find that very exciting.

J. Would you say that there is a relationship between your resolving your identity conflict and acquiring an identity as an Asian American? Are the two related?

I. Very definitely. Being a minority in a White society is very difficult for a lot of reasons. Once you understand those messages, I think it helps in gaining your own identity. Part of the conflict is the messages that my mother and my father would send to me. They spoke in Japanese and they weren't home that much because my parents worked all the time. Some of these rules were to be on your best behavior and be showing
yourself well. I think these were rules that occurred in their society. Transferred over to this society it imposed more restrictions on me, and I think they did too, because I was the only minority. You feel angry at them, you feel angry at yourself. Once you find out the true meaning of the message, then you can attack it or accept. I think I've accepted it. The White society says we are all equal, but you find out. Suddenly and subtly they tell you that you're not. Once you realize what's happened there, you can either fight it or accept it. I think you fight what you think you should and accept what you think you can. . . . I think what helps is the change in time. I think the attitudes after the war were very anti-Japanese. You felt it in everything. Nowadays you may see a little bit of the anti-Japanese. You don't have to take it so personally now. I think I took it personally when I was younger, now I realize, I know where they're coming from and I can fight it.

**Between Group Differences**

The two groups to be compared are subjects who grew up during their adolescent years (up to entering college) in predominantly White ethnic neighborhoods with subjects who grew up, during the same period, in predominantly non-White ethnic neighborhoods. A neighborhood is considered to be predominantly White (henceforth referred to as PW) if there are none or one other Asian American family and very few of other racial minorities in the neighborhood. Predominantly non-White (henceforth referred to as PNW) neighborhoods are those that are racially mixed (Blacks, Asians, Chicanos, Whites, etc.), or practically all Asian American. Within the present PNW sample, one subject grew up in Seabrook, New Jersey, which is predominantly a Japanese American community. The other two were raised in racially mixed neighborhoods. In general, the ethnic makeup of the subjects' schools' student population mirrored the ethnic makeup of their neighborhoods.
The analysis does reveal that there are some important differences between these two samples. These differences are not in terms of the categories of experiences encountered during the process of Asian American identity development. Both sample groups experienced five stages as previously presented. The differences are in terms of when they happened and the quality of their experiences as well as how long they have spent in some of these stages. Let us begin the comparison with stage one.

All subjects from PNW group belonged to at least one all-Japanese American group during this stage. Through their exposure, all acquired positive ethnic awareness. There were at least two benefits from such membership. One, they had opportunities to learn about some of the traditions and customs of Japanese culture. Two, for specified periods, they were in a majority situation. That is, they were in a Japanese American community. Both combined to provide the subjects with a sense of security.

Within the PW sample, two subjects from the Midwest did enjoy similar experiences as the above. The remaining three were on the East Coast and were pretty much isolated from ethnic group experiences. Thus, the PW group was mixed in terms of the overall evaluation they attached to ethnic awareness, positive and neutral.

Generally speaking, all subjects from the PW group experienced "White identification" around elementary school. Among the PNW sample, with one exception who experienced it around elementary school, the others did not experience it until junior high school.
It was stated earlier that one of the critical factors during stage two seems to be increased contact with the White world. Keeping this in mind, the PNW sample, probably because of their neighborhood makeup, seemed to have been able to delay its inevitable contact with the White world.

In addition, during the "White identification" stage, all subjects from the PNW group experienced passive White identification, while within the PW sample it was mixed, three active and two passive. To reiterate here, the main factor seems to be the nature of subjects' experience of the "ethnic awareness" stage. Those subjects with a positive ethnic awareness came to identify with Whites passively. And those with a neutral ethnic awareness ended up actively identifying with Whites.

Another qualitative difference between the two groups is repression of their negative feelings and experiences during the "White identification" stage. While it is reasonable to assume that some degree of repression of negative experiences exists in both groups, its presence is noticeably greater among the PW sample. Indicators of this kind of repression are: subjects' inability to recall their experiences, being troubled by blocked memories, reported vague awareness of having shelved negative experiences, and use of metaphors such as "dead period," "felt numb," "missing limb" to describe their experiences. In addition, when the perceptions of subjects' overall experiences of identity conflict resolutions are compared, the PW sample tends to describe it as being more painful
than the PNW sample. It may be that there is a positive correlation between the degree of negative experiences and the degree of repression of those experiences.

In terms of time, the PW sample experience a longer period of identity conflict. Again, the identity conflict period is seen to begin with the onset of "White identification" and ends with the onset of "Awakening to social political consciousness." The PW sample began earlier, mostly during elementary school; and ended later, about in the middle of college years. The mean number of years of identity conflict for the PW sample is 15.7 years, compared with 4.7 years for the PNW sample.

The difference is again apparent as to when subjects awakened to social political consciousness. All subjects in the PW sample became involved in it around college years. They were affected by the larger social environment of campus political activism. Subjects in the PNW sample began much earlier at the beginning of high school. One exception is the subject who does not become involved until junior year in college, 1963, which is still near the beginning of the civil rights movement. Unlike the PW sample, the PNW sample was influenced by the involvement of their immediate family and male friends. All were initiated into the civil rights movement.

The mean age at which Asian American identity was initially acquired is 22.6 for the PNW group and 25.2 for the PW group. At the time of the interview, all subjects from the PNW group seemed to be at the "incorporation" stage, while the PW sample was mixed. See Table 4 for a chart on Between Group Differences.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of identity conflict</th>
<th>Predominantly White</th>
<th>Predominantly Non-White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12½</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M = 15.7 years</td>
<td>M = 4.7 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning of ATSPC³ Year</td>
<td>Col.2⁴</td>
<td>Col.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximate age of initial A.A.I.⁵</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M = 25.2 years old</td>
<td>M = 22.6 years old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age present</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M = 29 years old</td>
<td>M = 30.6 years old</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Ele. = Elementary school  
²J.H.S. = Junior high school  
³ATSPC = Awakening to Social Political Consciousness  
⁴Col. = College  ² = Sophomore  ⁴ = senior  ³ = junior  
⁵A.A.I. = Asian American identification  
⁶H.S. = High School, ² = Second year in High School, ¹ = First year in High School
In summary, the PNW sample's experience with identity conflict resolution seems, in general, to have been easier, less painful, and less lengthy. The PNW sample was protected longer from exposure to the negative effects of White society. They experienced identity conflict for a shorter period of time. Their awakening to social political consciousness was sooner, and they acquired Asian American identity at a slightly younger age as a group.

Clearly, this area of Between Group Differences is one of the areas that deserves future research. While being mindful of the exploratory nature of the present study, still, the analysis of data does suggest the importance of a supportive, adolescent, social environment (vis-à-vis neighborhoods); and relative isolation from both their own ethnic group and relevant societal information, in affecting the quality of an individual's experience with identity conflict and its resolution.
Chapter VI
Discussion, Summary, and Implications

The purpose of this chapter is to present a discussional theory of Asian American identity development. To this end, it will begin with the relationship between the results of the present study and Erikson's theory of Life Cycle of identity. This will be followed by a section on "Facilitating Factors and Implications." The primary focus of this section is to examine the interaction between the subjects' social environment and the process of Asian American identity development (AAID). The purpose of such examination is to discover what factors in subjects' social environment have enabled them to move from one stage of identity development to the next. Implications will be presented both in the form of relevant hypotheses for further research and suggested programmatic directions where applicable. Following this is a section in which a comparative discussion of theories of Black identity development and the process of AAID is presented. Both similarities and differences between these two processes will be noted. The final section contains research questions for future studies in the area of AAID.

Asian American Identity Development and Erikson

A proper context to consider a discussional theory of Asian American identity development is in the psychosocial realm. From the
beginning, the present study has conceptualized Asian American identity as psychosocial along the dimensions of ethnicity and race. This conceptualization of identity as psychosocial is based on Erikson's theory of identity. Asian American identity is thus perceived to be developed through an interactive process between psychological and social forces. Therefore, the preceding analysis included two temporal contexts, the life of the individual (psychological) and salient interactions with their society (social).

From a psychological perspective, identity is composed of two types of self-definitions, self-concept and ego identity (Fitts, 1979, pp. 14-15). Analytically, self-concept can be further delineated into the object self, judging self, and behavior self. In the case of Asian American identity development, the object self remains clear throughout. That is, subjects were aware of their ethnicity as Japanese Americans. However, the evaluation or judgment ascribed to that object self, as well as their behavior in relation to it, changes throughout the developmental process. Previously noted manifestations of identity conflict are illustrative of these changes in self-concept. Similarly, the ego identity, which is the meaning attribution of being Japanese American, also changes throughout the stages of Asian American identity development (see Table 3).

A specific discussion around the interactive aspects of the social environment will be presented in the next section on "Facilitating Factors and Implications." For now, let us compare the stages of Asian American identity development to Erikson's The Life Cycle of Identity.
Of the eight stages in Erikson's The Life Cycle of Identity (1963, 1968), only his stages four and five will be compared with stage two of AAID. The reason for limiting the scope of this comparison is that they represent the same period in ego development. That is, both Erikson's stages four and five and stage two of AAID cover the experience of individuals from early school age up to adolescence. Erikson's stage four examines identity issues of school-age individuals where the primary goal is said to be task identification. This fourth stage begins in the life of the individual when s/he enters some form of formal education (nursery school, elementary school, etc.), and there is danger of falling into feelings of inferiority. Erikson believes this stage to be socially the most decisive (1968, pp. 134-126). This is the period of industry which involves working beside and with other people. It is also a time of first learning about the division of labor, contents of the larger culture, and how to manipulate it. In short, this is the period when the larger society comes to have a significant impact on an individual's life. In addition, Erikson (1968, p. 124) writes:

Where he finds out immediately, however, that the color of his skin or the background of his parents rather than his wish and will to learn are factors that decide his worth as a pupil or apprentice, the human propensity for feeling unworthy may be fatefully aggravated as a determinant of character development.

Indeed, the analysis of the data generally corroborates this impact of larger society on individual subjects. This is evident in the initial phase of stage two of Asian American identity development, "White identification." One critical factor in this phase was increased
contact with the White society as the subjects entered school systems. Their experiences of being at the receiving end of others' prejudices are painful evidences of Erikson's quote, although none was consciously aware of this dynamic. Thus, for most subjects, the danger of inferiority potentially experienced by individuals during this stage became a reality. And this sense of inferiority was based not on their inability to identify with task and industry; but rather on treatments they received from others because of the color of their skin and their ethnic background.

Erikson's stage 5 (1968, pp. 128-132) covers the period of adolescence and also shares some similarity with "White identification," which is the second stage of Asian American identity development. According to Erikson, the danger of this stage is identity and/or role confusion. Individuals experience the pressure to decide on a future career and direction which is aggravated by the tumultuous tides of puberty. Their primary concern during adolescence is what they appear to be in the eyes of others much more than what they feel inside themselves.

Certainly, subjects in the present study seemed to have experienced similar pressures during the "White identification" stage. All subjects expressed academic achievement as important goals during this period of junior high and high school. However, they also experienced painful periods of negative self-image, derived primarily from comparisons of themselves to prevailing White models, suggesting a greater concern for their appearance.
Erikson believes the universal danger of role/identity confusion during this stage often leads to defensive reactions of "over"-identification with heroes. He further states that it is not unusual for this over-identification to be compounded by previous strong doubts of one's ethnic identity. A period of White identification experienced by all subjects can be seen as a result of this kind of "over"-identification with heroes. In our society, where manifestations of White racism are pervasive, heroes and role models are White people. It causes little wonder to discover that these Asian Americans experienced a general over-identification with White people. Similarly, the difference in terms of severity of White identification does seem to be related to a previous evaluation of one's ethnic awareness. Analysis confirmed that subjects with previous positive ethnic awareness were passive in their White identification, while those with neutral ethnic awareness actively identified with Whites. Once again, the potential danger of identity confusion was a reality for these subjects.

Erikson states that a related defensive reaction to role/identity confusion is an extreme in-group/out-group behavior of adolescents. In their effort to protect themselves against identity loss, individuals can be cruel in their exclusion of others who are different from themselves and manifest a great amount of prejudice. An analysis of subjects' experience during the "White identification" stage also revealed a common theme of social alienation from their peers. This theme of felt social alienation may be derived from
being on the receiving end of the others' defensive reactions against identity loss.

What is evident in this cursory comparison between Erikson's stages 4 and 5 of the life cycle of identity and stage 2 of Asian American identity development is that, at least during the period of school age and adolescence, categories of identity problems of the present sample are similar to those of the general population. However, their experiences of these categories seem to be significantly influenced by the existence of White racism in our society. More importantly, a primary reason for their negative experiences seems to be due to their racial minority status.

In addition to being psychosocial, Asian American identity is acquired through progressive developmental stages. This ongoing process of identity development is generally not in the conscious state of individuals except in situations where the internal and external forces happened to precipitate conscious attention to it. The nature of such identity consciousness can be either positive or negative. The following two excerpts are examples of this kind of identity consciousness.

The first time I really became aware of the Asian as opposed to White culture, because at that time everything just existed together in a very positive sense, was I guess when Johnson and Goldwater were running against each other for President. That was '64 or something like that, so I was eight years old. I remember I had this babysitter who was a real staunch Republican White American, a pioneer-woman type. She was telling me why Johnson was so bad, and if we had a good President like Goldwater he would escalate and all this stuff. So I went to school, and I was like a little ringleader at that time. Everyone would listen to me on the playground. I'd get on my little soapbox. Everyone's arguing about who their parents are going to vote for. I said that everyone should vote for
Goldwater because this Johnson won't win the war, and if we're going to be in a war we should drop the big one on them, kill them, kill those commies. All the kids were like, yeah, that makes sense. I gave this real rousing political speech. I went home and my mother said while we were at the dinner table, what exciting things happened to you kids at school today? I said, Mom, Mom, I told all the kids, everybody was going to vote for Johnson, but I told them to vote for Goldwater. I told the reason why, we should just kill all those Vietnamese. My mother was just staring at me with her mouth open. Then she said, do you know what a Vietnamese is? I said, they're commies and bad. My mother went and got this Life magazine that had photographs by that war correspondent, Larry Burroughs, they were really incredible. One of these showed a Vietnamese woman weeping over a plastic bag that was her husband's remains. I couldn't believe it. Every picture looked like my mother's face. My mother explained how they looked just like us, and that they couldn't be our enemies. I remember it was really traumatic. I was very confused. I started thinking about a lot of things, like on T.V., "McHale's Navy," you know, Fuji. I never understood what that character was and all of a sudden I realized he was a prisoner of war, he was an enemy. I felt really lousy. I had to go back to school and tell everybody that I'd made a mistake. It was not a convincing speech either.

When I came up against this thing, this Third World and kill all the Whites, and revolution, my whole attitude was why do they think this way? Why do they have to be so hateful? Should I be thinking this way? Why did he feel so strongly that I should be thinking this way? And I really didn't sit there and heavily think about it, but I feel it disturbed me.

Erikson believes that identity development occurs through crisis, not catastrophes, but of turning points. These turning points represent both increased vulnerability and heightened potential which enables individuals to resolve the crisis and move onto the next stage (1968, p. 196). Similarly, Asian American identity is also developed through crisis and its resolution. Indicators of these turning points are the subjects' recall of critical incidences relating to their perceptions of being Asian American. In
a simplified outline form, the following is representative of crises and resolutions of some of the stages in Asian American identity development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Crisis</th>
<th>Resolution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WI</td>
<td>realization of differentness but not knowing &quot;why&quot;</td>
<td>acceptance of the situation, self-blame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alienation from self and other Asian Americans, social alienation from Whites</td>
<td>White identification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATSPC</td>
<td>realization of White racism, understanding of minority status</td>
<td>reassessment and rejection of White models, minority identification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTAAC</td>
<td>not knowing enough about Asian Americans, realization of not White, not Black, what then?</td>
<td>immersion in Asian American experience, Asian American identification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>need to be whole, need to be connected with people</td>
<td>blending of Asian American identity with the rest of one's identities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Facilitating Factors and Implications**

The concern of this subsection is to examine factors that assist subjects to move from one crisis and its resolution to another throughout the process of Asian American identity development. Because these factors enable subjects to move forward in a progressive fashion, they are seen as facilitating. Specifically, a discussion on three categories of facilitating factors will be presented. They are: information regarding ethnic awareness as well as political
understanding, support systems which primarily focus on people as resources, and the interactive influence of one's social environment. The discussion will also include where, during the process of Asian American identity development, these factors have played important roles.

These facilitating factors enable the subjects to move forward generally by influencing their self-concept. Especially with the onset of the "White identification" stage, the subjects' self-concept is negative. This is also the beginning of the identity conflict period. During this time subjects were not able nor willing to deal with their racial identity. The presence of too many painful experiences and the simultaneous lack of personal resources, support systems, or alternative points of view contributed to their inability to move out of their oppressive reality. Facilitating factors act to provide some of these resources that had been lacking. These in turn come to have a positive effect on the subjects' self-concepts. Their being able to feel secure and better about themselves leads to their ability, as well as willingness, to examine more painful and difficult issues. Therefore, some degree of positive self-concept as a racial minority is imperative for the development of Asian American identity. Facilitating factors help to change their self-concept from negative to positive.

There are three categories of facilitating factors in Asian American identity development. They are presented below in no special order of importance. In reality, these facilitating factors
do not occur in isolation. They are related to each other and as a group enable the individual to develop their Asian American identity. Therefore, ranking among them is inappropriate. Where applicable, discussions of these facilitating factors will also include possible implications.

**Information.** There are two types of information, ethnic and political. Ethnic information includes exposure to the Japanese American community, culture, tradition, and the Asian American experience in the U.S. In the beginning, ethnic information influences both the evaluation and the clarity of one's ethnic identity. This was evident in stage one of Asian American identity development, where the amount of exposure to Japanese American ethnic information determined how subjects would feel and value their ethnicity. Subjects who had greater exposure to ethnic information felt positive about their ethnicity, while subjects with little or no exposure were neutral about their ethnic background. Given this suggested relationship, a potential hypothesis for future studies is: the greater the exposure to and information about the ethnic heritage, the more positive one's ethnic identification during the first stage of Asian American identity development.

Evidently, the amount of information in terms of cultural heritage and background is important in helping to establish a base of positive ethnic awareness. Therefore, the first stage of Asian American identity development can be seen as the foundation stage, which influences the quality of the individual's experience through-
out the process. This relationship between the nature of ethnic awareness (neutral or positive) and the experiences of other stages of Asian American identity development is poignantly illustrated by the second stage, "White identification." Individuals with positive ethnic awareness experienced the "White identification" stage less severely. This is illustrated by their passive involvement. On the other hand, individuals with neutral ethnic awareness were actively involved in White identification. It seems that individuals with a neutral ethnic awareness lacked a strong commitment to their ethnic heritage and were more susceptible to strongly identifying with Whites. This relationship confirms the availability of ethnic information as one of the facilitating factors. It also suggests a future hypothesis: the greater the exposure to ethnic heritage and information, the less the degree of White identification during stage two of AAID.

The reader will recall that ethnic information again plays an important facilitating role during the later stages of AAID. The immersion phase is an example of this and is a necessary step in the development of Asian American identity. Pertinent to these later stages of AAID is ethnic information, not only in the form of a specific cultural heritage but also in the form of the general history of the Asian American experience in the U.S.

As used here, the nature of political information is the awareness of the dynamics of White racism. It is this kind of political awareness that enabled subjects to move out of the "White
identification" stage. Prior to gaining political information and consequent alternate perspectives, all subjects were affected by the effects of White racism. This was especially visible around the experience of negative body images. These negative images were the result of the subjects' unconscious internalization of society's oppressive messages regarding non-White people. Clearly subjects did not consciously choose to feel bad about themselves. Rather, it was due to the functionally domesticating effect of oppressive reality (Freire, 1974). That is, oppressive reality absorbs those within it and thereby acts to submerge one's consciousness. And as long as one is a captive within this oppressive reality, no changes are possible. This is why the acquisition of relevant political information is a necessity. In the present study, the relevant political information is about White racism.

How then does the awareness of White racism bring about change? It facilitates change from "White identification" through two major means. First, the new awareness leads to a realistic assessment of one's social position. It leads to a clear realization of the existence of societal blocks and the futility of trying to "pass" or to strive for acceptance within the White world. It is a realization of being stuck. A parallel of this in a counseling situation is the facilitating effect of a client's realization that s/he is stuck, and accepting that reality.

Secondly, the political awareness of White racism provides alternative perspectives. This alternative perspective is both in
terms of the reinterpretation of one's experience, as well as the belief that things could be different. Prior to the "Awakening to social political consciousness" stage, subjects blamed themselves for their negative experiences. They were unanimously seen as resulting from personal failings. An alternative perspective here, then, is to know that these negative experiences were societally based rather than personal. This realization releases the individual from unnecessary guilt and feelings of inferiority. Likewise, by providing a different analysis of the past and present situation, political awareness also facilitates the generation of new solutions to old problems. This leads to a belief that changes are possible.

Another alternative perspective gained is the discovery of a different reference group other than White people in general. Individuals begin to realize there are other people from whom s/he can receive support and gain acceptance. This new reference group tends to be of a group of people who share the common concern of dealing with White racism and other forms of oppression. More often than not, they are members of other minority groups.

Political information thus facilitates a change from White identification by enabling the subjects to name and to understand their world as they have experienced it. Friere (1974, pp. 100-101) considers this as a first step toward freedom. He goes on to say:

Only as this situation ceased to present itself as a dense, enveloping reality or a tormenting blind alley and men can come to perceive it as an objective problematic situation--only then can commitment exist. Men emerge from their submission and acquire the ability to intervene in reality as it is unveiled. Intervention in reality--historical awareness itself--thus
represents a step forward from emergence, and results from the conscientization of the situation.

In terms of future studies, one hypothesis suggested by the facilitating role of political information is: Exposure to a political perspective on White racism leads to a change in consciousness from White to minority, while no exposure leads to the continuation of White consciousness among Asian Americans. With regard to other implications, information as a facilitating factor points primarily toward educational systems. It supports the position which believes that ethnic studies are important in promoting a positive self-concept among racial minorities. In addition to courses on cultural heritage, our educational opportunities should include courses on minority group experiences in America and on White racism awareness. Another implication is the timing of these necessary educational opportunities. The best time to offer these courses would be to begin ethnic studies from elementary school onward. Courses on basic racism awareness and minority group experiences should be offered in junior high and high school as an integral part of American history.

Support systems. This category of facilitating factors refers to both individuals and groups of people. It was previously noted that during stage one, "Ethnic awareness," subjects' access to information about cultural heritage helped them to develop positive feelings about their background. Access to this ethnic information was gained through participating in group activities (church or social). This
meant not only were subjects acquiring ethnic information, but they also had opportunities to be in all-Japanese American group situations. It is assumed that this kind of contact with the Japanese American community provided a kind of support system. This support system, in turn, has contributed to the subjects' positive ethnic awareness. Therefore, another suggested relationship is between the amount of participation in all-Japanese American group experiences and the quality of ethnic awareness evaluation. A potential hypothesis for future studies may be: The greater the participation in all Japanese American (or some ethnic) group experience, the more positive are subjects' evaluations regarding their ethnic heritage.

After the first stage, there were significant differences between the PNW and PW sample in terms of the quality of their experiences. One of the factors in this between-group difference is the availability of support systems. The majority of PW sample, aside from lacking exposure to and information about their cultural heritage, were also isolated away from Asian Americans and other racial minorities. They did not have the benefit of relating to others who were like them. Rather, their sense of being different was accentuated at a time when that difference meant inferiority and isolation. Especially early in the developmental process (i.e., pre-elementary and elementary school), it was important for subjects to have been in a situation where they were not "one of a kind." Those subjects who were in situations where the felt difference was minimal fared better.

Another kind of support system is found during the third stage, "Awakening to social political consciousness." Again, in addition to
gaining political information which led to alternative perspectives on their situations, subjects also discovered a new support system. They realized that they were not alone in being oppressed, and found that there are people who will accept them as they are. For many subjects, this was for the first time. Their sense of isolation and being painfully different ceased. Thus, political consciousness provides both support and information.

This kind of support system is different than the previous one in that it is not composed of all Japanese Americans or other Asian American people. Rather, it is made up of individuals who share in common some form of oppression and a commitment to overcome it. Eventually, it is this combined effect of both political information and support systems that enables subjects to examine some of their experiences realistically and refocus on Asian American consciousness. Most subjects first gained minority consciousness, although how they came to that understanding differed. Their Asian American consciousness came after their minority consciousness. This leads to another suggested relationship, this time between a minority consciousness and Asian American consciousness. During this later stage, "Redirection to Asian American consciousness," their need for support is from other Asian Americans who are at a similar stage of AAID.

The facilitating role played by support systems changes throughout the process of AAID. Initially they help to provide a positive foundation on ethnic evaluation. This positive foundation,
in turn, helps to protect individuals from the negative effects of White racism although not to the degree of being able to block it out all together. Later on, support systems assist individuals to get freed from submersion in the oppressive reality, and to establish a new political consciousness and identification. The same can be said of the role of information. Particularly in terms of the later role played by support systems, there are some programmatic implications. Generally, it validates the worth of various support groups in combating an oppressive mentality. Such groups can offer both necessary information and ongoing support. Support groups provide arenas in which individuals can test out fledgling ideas and receive feedback on individual progress. Another programmatic implication is networking. Networking activities can establish supportive encounters and connections between various groups and individuals. The end result of networking is to enlarge the base of support systems.

The interactive influence of environment. It was stated earlier that identity is conceived of as psychosocial. This section will present a brief discussion of the social component, i.e., interaction with the environment. The kind of interaction individuals have with their social environment is a causal variable in bringing about change in individuals' attitudes and behavior, i.e., major components of self-concept. Such change can either be positive or negative and plays either a facilitating or blocking role during the process of AAID. What is important to underscore here is the important role of inter-
action with the social environment in the general process of identity development.

The Life span developmental psychology perceives the interaction between an individual and his/her environment as the causal variable, rather than chronological age in producing behavior and attitudinal changes in individuals (Baltes and Schaie, 1973, p. 393). This position is supported by the results of the present study. All subjects experienced the stages of AAID, and concomitant changes in their self-concept. However, they did not all experience these stages in concert. The fact that there is a significant variation between the PNW and PW sample is most illustrative of the influence of interaction with one's environment. The critical difference between the groups seems to be their interaction with their environment and not their age.

The interactive influence of the subjects' environment is not only critical during the early stages of AAID but is important throughout the process. The relationship between exposure to an all-Japanese group and ethnic information and the quality of ethnic awareness has already been stated. A related point is that all subjects from the PNW sample had opportunities for the above exposure while within the PW sample, it was less than half. Therefore, it is safe to suggest another relationship, between the type of neighborhood and the potential exposure to ethnic group and information. That is, potential exposure to ethnic group and participation in ethnic activities may be greater in racially mixed neighborhoods.
With regard to the second stage, it was discovered that the majority of subjects in the PNW sample encountered this stage later on in their lives. Since White racism is pervasive in this society, it would be unrealistic to say that they did not experience any effects of White racism prior to this stage. It may be the case that because of their racially mixed social environment, they encountered less prejudice during the early part of their lives. However, it is more likely that because of their racially mixed neighborhood, they were able to find enough support within their environment which helped to minimize the negative effects of White racism. This changed as the balance tipped toward increased contact with White society later on. In all cases, the onset of the stage of "White identification" is brought on by an increase in significant contact with White society. This is another evidence of the interactive influence of one's environment on identity development. There seems to be, then, a direct relationship between type of neighborhoods and the time of significant contact with the negative effects of White racism.

In general, the PW sample experienced a longer period of identity conflict and consequently entered the stage of "Awakening to social political consciousness" at a later period in their lives than the PNW sample. Because they were in the White environment these subjects experienced a greater degree of the negative effects of White racism and lacked supportive encounters with their environment. This led to a longer period of identity conflict.
Related to this, the subjects' overall perception of their experience with identity conflict differed between the PW and PNW sample. The PNW sample's experience tended to be less painful than the PW sample. This suggests a potential relationship between the types of neighborhood and the overall experience of identity conflict.

Another illustration of the effects of interaction with one's environment is found in "Awakening to social political consciousness" stage. As noted previously, subjects were initiated into the stage by what was happening in their environment, whether it was their immediate family or the larger social scene. It is doubtful that without the larger societal phenomenon of social and political consciousness raising of the 60's and early 70's, these subjects would have been able to move beyond the "White identification" stage. Particularly in terms of the "Redirection to Asian American consciousness" stage, the subjects' interaction with other Asian Americans who are at a similar stage of development is important. This suggests, then, a relationship between an individual's AAID and the identity development of Asian Americans as a group. Without Asian Americans as a group also experiencing changes in their self-concept and identification, individual members may not find the necessary supportive interaction with the larger Asian American community which is vital in developing Asian American consciousness. After all, Asian American identity is a psychosocial entity whose development is not possible solely through intrapsychic means.
Theories of Racial Identity Development

The purpose of this section is to compare existing theories of Black identity development (Hall & Cross, 1970; Jackson, 1976) with the process of Asian American identity development (AAID). The essential aspects of the two theories of Black identity development were presented in chapter 1 under the review of the literature section. However, to facilitate the present discussion, this section will begin with an outline of the two theories of Black identity development followed by a comparative discussion with AAID.

The two theories of Black identity development share a few common premises. Both theories perceive Black identity as involving a transformation of one's consciousness from the oppressed mentality to the liberated mentality. Both conceptualize this process as consisting of a series of well-defined stages through which individuals must pass if they are to ultimately define themselves as Black and non-inferior. Therefore, both theories are process-oriented and examine various stages involved in this transformation.

Specifically, Hall and Cross (1970) conceptualized the process of Black identity development as composed of four stages, pre-encounter, encounter, immersion, and internalization. Preencounter refers to a stage where individuals have not encountered Blackness in themselves. During this period, they see the world as if they are not Black or as anti-Black. Individuals at this stage accept White logic, values, standards, etc. They believe in the White superiority
and Black inferiority scheme. Therefore, their goal is to integrate and assimilate within the White society.

This is followed by the encounter stage. Some experiences manage to shatter the individuals' current beliefs and feelings about being Black. They feel a need to validate themselves as a Black person. Hence, they begin an almost obsessive search for Black identity. They fully experience the oppressive reality of being Black in this society, and recognize strengths of Black people. This leads them to develop new beliefs around being Black.

The next stage is immersion. In this period, individuals believe that everything of value must be relevant to their Blackness. They react aggressively against White standards and values. Individuals no longer accept but confront the system. Similar to everything of value being related to Blackness, Whiteness is equated with being evil at this stage. This is a period of separation from White society and turning inward toward the Black community. They immerse themselves in the Black culture and experiment with various forms of being Black. As a consequence, individuals develop a positive self-identity as a Black person.

The last stage is internalization. Here individuals consider being Black as a normal part of their existence. They focus on people other than themselves or their own ethnic group. That is, they are concerned with all forms of oppression.

The major difference between Hall and Cross's theory and Jackson's theory (BID, 1976) seems to be in the application of their theory. Jackson's is intended as a counseling tool to be used by
personnel in the helping field. As such, it further emphasizes changing concepts of values, attitudes, beliefs, loci of control, and behavior. The potential interactive stresses of individuals in a given stage with people in different stages are also included.

Jackson's BID begins with the passive acceptance stage. Individuals in this stage accept White social/cultural values and standards. Because they rely on the White society for approval, individuals do not experience a sense of power or control over their lives. Consequently, they reject or devalue associations with other Black people. This is followed by active resistance. During this stage, individuals attempt to gain resource and power by rejecting previously held White values and standards. Therefore, much of their energy is directed toward this kind of negative, reactionary behavior.

After having cleansed their mind and soul of negative messages prevalent in the White society, individuals move toward the next stage, redirection. The goal of this stage is for individuals to gain inner strength, pride, self-esteem around being Black. This is accomplished by developing unique Black values and definitions. Consequently they acquire a positive Black identity. They are no longer reactive to White society by either embracing or rejecting it.

The last stage is internalization. The individual's goal at this point is to gain a sense of wholeness. This is done by integrating a positive Black identity with other aspects of one's total identity. They tend to perceive people as people and not by a narrowly defined criteria. They recognize and accept strengths and
weaknesses in all groups of people. They also have a clearer understanding of Black people who are at various stages of identity development. Because of their awareness, they are able to interact with them without being condescending, angry or paternalistic.

In general, the directionality of both theories of Black identity development is from acceptance of White values and standards to their rejection. The period of acceptance is followed by a period of realization of the existence of oppression and its effects on the self and other Black people. This leads to a negative reaction and rejection of White society. Subsequently, individuals immerse themselves in the Black culture, heritage, values, etc., in an effort to redefine who they are in this society. Through these stages, the individual's social identity is transformed from negative to positive. In the end, their positive social identity is internalized and becomes a natural part of their total identity. They also develop a greater understanding of the dynamics of oppression in general and express a concern for other forms of oppression.

The comparison of theories of Black identity development with the results of the present study on the process of AAID reveals major similarities as well as some differences. Primarily, the similarities center around both groups' racial minority status and its impact on their identity development. Black Americans and Asian Americans share the common factor of being a racial minority (numerically and sociologically) in a predominantly White-controlled society. What is apparent from theories of Black identity development and the results
of the present study is that this minority status has a critical impact on an individual's identity development. In both groups, members' self-concept was negatively affected by the manifestations of White racism. The process of identity development necessarily includes a period of negative self-concept and a sense of inferiority.

One similarity, then, is a stage of White identification where the values, beliefs, and standards of White society are accepted without question or resistance. Both groups share this experience of being trapped within the oppressive reality and the simultaneous inability to name that reality. Consequently, there exists a shared experience with varying degrees of identity-conflict manifestations around one's racial membership. What is generally found in the "White identification" stage of AAID is also evident in the pre-encounter stage of Hall and Cross and the passive acceptance stage of Jackson.

The reality of being a prisoner of oppression also necessitates a stage of liberation if the racial identity development is to continue. This is the other similarity between theories of Black identity development and the process of AAID. In the case of Blacks, this turning point is experienced during stages of encounter (Hall & Cross) and active resistance (Jackson). The "Awakening to social political consciousness" stage in AAID serves as a parallel period of departure from White identification and the realization of oppressive reality.
The similarities between the two groups continue into the last two stages. In immersion (Hall & Cross), redirection (Jackson) and redirection to Asian American consciousness (AAID) the major goal is to submerge oneself into one's own ethnic community, history, culture, heritage, etc. The end result in both cases is a positive self-concept around being a member of that specific racial group. In both cases, there was a necessary stage of focusing in, toward their own specific ethnic and racial group experience, and redefining values and standards that are in line with the particular reality of their own existence. The last stage in both cases is the period of becoming a whole person. An individual's racial identity, which is important but only a part of their total identity, is blended in with the rest of one's identities. The somewhat obsessive quality of the previous stages is no longer evident during this period.

In summation, there is a major similarity between theories of Black identity development and process of AAID. They are: the presence of definable, progressive stages; the general directionality from a negative to positive self-concept; a general orientation from White identification to one's own racial identification; a submersion in the oppressive reality to a liberation from it; a period of immersion in one's own ethnic, racial group experience; and the integration of the racial identity with the rest of one's total identity.

The difference between the theories of Black identity development and process of AAID is the effect of the historical differences between Black Americans and Asian Americans on the process. The process of AAID begins with a stage of "Ethnic awareness" while Black
identity development theories do not. The "Ethnic awareness" stage is significant in the process of AAID because historically Asian Americans came to this country as immigrants. As immigrants they have a past heritage that is not American. There is a sense of connection between themselves and the mother country. Like other immigrant groups, their ethnic subculture survived and remains a vital part of their overall experience in America. Evidence of this was revealed in the analysis. The reader will recall that the quality of ethnic awareness had a significant influence on the overall severity of the experience of identity conflict. Therefore, ethnic awareness is an important stage in the development of Asian American identity. In addition, historically, Asian Americans have been treated as foreigners by the larger society regardless of what generation of Americans they were. For these reasons ethnic identification has been an important reality of the Asian American experience.

The majority of Black Americans, on the other hand, did not come to America as immigrants but as slaves. Through the institution of slavery, much of the ethnic culture of Black people has been destroyed. This may have prevented them from feeling a sense of connection to countries other than the U.S. Possibly because of this historical difference, the issue of the importance of ethnic awareness seems to emerge at a different point in the identity development process (e.g., immersion). Although as a racial minority, Blacks were treated as if they were inferior by the larger society, they were rarely treated as foreigners. This probably also adds to the reason
why ethnic awareness does not seem to be a significant factor at the beginning of the identity development process.

Lastly, the other difference is in the context of the "Awakening to social political consciousness" stage of AAID and Encounter (Hall & Cross) and Active resistance (Jackson) stage of BID. The focus of Encounter or Active resistance is a realization of racism and the oppressive reality of being Black in this society. In other words, there was a direct link made between oppression and the Black experience. During the "Awakening to social political consciousness" stage, instead of a specific connection of oppressive reality with being Asian, the level of awareness is more general. For example, subjects' political awareness was influenced by consciousness-raising activities of other oppressed groups. In general, the consciousness of being a member of an oppressed group came before consciousness of being Asian American. Whereas in the Black experience, the consciousness of being a member of an oppressed group and Black consciousness seem to have occurred simultaneously. So there is an extra step in the AAID process which leads to examining and naming the reality of being Asian American in this society.

**Summary of AAID**

At the outset of the present study, several research questions were formulated and presented under the purpose of study section. It seems fitting now, at the conclusion of the study, to refer back to the same questions and see what answers have been found. Since the
purpose of this section is to summarize rather than rediscuss what has already been presented, answers to these research questions will be stated briefly.

The first set of questions (Nos. 1, 2, 3) asks what the general process is by which Asian American identity conflicts are resolved and what that process includes. The study indicates that it is a developmental, progressive, sequential process involving five discernible stages. Further, the general direction of the process is from a negative to positive self-concept, from identity conflict over being Asian American to an acceptance and positive identification with Asian Americans, and from ignorance of the political reality of being a racial minority to the realization of the dynamics of oppression and its specific impact on Asian Americans.

The second set of questions (Nos. 4, 5, 6) refer to facilitating factors involved in the process. Results of the study suggest the presence of several facilitating factors. One is information about the ethnic group experience and heritage and the political situation. In the latter, the political consciousness of being a racial minority is a critical factor that enabled subjects to move away from White identification and the consequent experience of identity conflict. What facilitated this acquisition of a political perspective was the general social and political climate of our society. Social political happenings on the societal level created a situation where there was a greater possibility of encountering new political perspectives. Evidence of this phenomenon is that among
the subjects, the earliest time of "Awakening to social political consciousness" stage was in 1963. Prior to the civil rights movement of the early 60's, large-scale political consciousness around issues of oppression probably did not exist. This points to the other facilitating factor, the type of interaction with social environment. The critical role of interaction with environment was demonstrated by noticeable differences in the subjects' experience between the PNW and PW neighborhood sample. Although all subjects experienced identity conflict and the five stages of AAID, they varied in the quality of these experiences and length of time in each stage. Generally speaking, those subjects from PNW neighborhoods experienced identity conflict less severely and for a shorter length of time. The last facilitating factor is access to support systems, be they individuals or groups.

Question 7 asks about the nature of critical incidences that precipitate change in perceptions of being Asian American. Generally, the change to negative perception is precipitated by increased amount of significant contact with White society and its manifestations of racism. Critical incidences that turn this around are exposure to political consciousness of being a minority and interaction with others who share the same political consciousness.

Question 8 asks about the general relationship between the process of AAID and Erikson's theory on identity development. What is evident from the study is that normative crises of identity development as presented by Erikson are reflected in the stages of AAID. However, these normative crises have been significantly influenced by
subjects' minority status and the existence of White racism. A result of this was the intensification of identity crises to the detriment of the psychological well-being of the subjects for given periods of time. As is true for identity development in general, AAID was facilitated by specific interactions with the social environment. However, unlike the Erikson model where the evidence of one's identity is formed at stage 5 (adolescence), at least in terms of the subjects' racial identity, did not get formed until they were in his stage 6 (early adulthood).

Question 9 asks what the resolution of identity conflict leads to. All subjects perceived a direct relationship between their resolving identity conflict over being Asian American and acquiring an Asian American identity. The meanings and contents of Asian American identity which is asked in question 10 varies to some degree. But in general, identifying as an Asian American means having pride in being Asian American, feeling comfortable with the dual aspects of their existence (Asian and American), and having a political consciousness of their status in this society. All subjects considered the end result of identity conflict resolution as a positive, strengthening experience.

**Future Studies**

As an exploratory research, it seems that the present study has been successful in its goal of generating categories and properties. It has also been able to generate a number of hypotheses for
potential future studies. These hypotheses were presented in the form of suggested relationships between given categories and properties in AAID.

Appropriately, however, the present study leaves more questions unanswered. Such as, will the process of AAID be the same for other Asian ethnic groups, or even other generations of Japanese Americans. What about the sex difference? That is, do Asian American men experience the same process of identity development? Do the effects of White racism affect the identity development process of Asian Americans similarly regardless of their gender? During the process of interviewing, some tangential information about male siblings of subjects did emerge which indicates that Asian American men's experience may be different, if not in kind than at least in quality.

If the effect of White racism is a primary factor negatively influencing the normative identity development crises of Asian American individuals, how long does it take for an Asian American to be thusly affected by racism? That is, will the experience of AAID be the same for all generations of Asian Americans? Or will there be differences between foreign-born and native-born Asian Americans?

What kinds of identity conflict issues arise for Asian Americans who are from interracial marriages? How do they resolve them? And what is the product of that resolution? Another promising area of restudy seems to be the effect of the social environment on AAID, vis-à-vis the effect of different types of neighborhoods during the formative years.
All these questions are potential topics for future studies in the area of Asian American identity. What is evident is that beyond autobiographical essays and poems, not much information is available on the process of AAID. The present study should be considered only as a very beginning point. Its purpose was to open up inquiry and dialogue around the issue of AAID, rather than present many answers. It is the hope of the present study that its results will stimulate other research in the area.
Allard, W. A. "Chinatown, the Gilded Ghetto." National Geographic, 1975.


Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1968.


APPENDIX A

Pre-Interview Form

This is to confirm our upcoming interview on ________________________ at ________________________. I sincerely appreciate your willingness to be interviewed for this research project.

As I stated to you on the phone, this interview will center around your personal experiences of growing up in the U.S. as a member of a racial minority group in general and specifically around your experiences of identity conflict and its resolution.

In order to facilitate our upcoming interview, I am requesting you to fill out the following information prior to our scheduled meeting.

Where and when were you born?______________________________

Where were your parents born?  Mother_____________________

                                   Father_____________________

How many brothers and sisters do you have?  Brothers_______

                                   Sisters________

Where do you live now?______________________________

What is your occupation?____________________________________

What level of education have you received?____________________

Do you have a family of your own?___________________________

If yes, how many are in your current family?_________________

Where did you attend school (specific names are not necessary, but city or town is important)?

Elementary__________________  Years____

Junior High__________________  Years____

High School__________________  Years____

College/University______________  Years____
In addition to answering these questions, you may want to think about some of the events and people that have played an important role in your life, and how they have influenced the way you saw yourself. Lastly, I want to reassure you that both the information you give me on this sheet and the contents of our interview will remain CONFIDENTIAL. I will take careful measures to protect your anonymity throughout this research project.

I very much look forward to talking with you in person and once again, am grateful for your sharing your valuable time and experience with me.

Sincerely,

/s/ Jean Kim