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A STUDY OF THE INTERMARRIED JAPANESE FAMILIES IN U. S. A.

BY

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I. Prefatory Note.

A. The motive of the study :

This is the brief outline of my field study about the intermarried Japanese families in the Eastern States of U.S.A., which was done during the Christmas vacation period of 1933.

The motive of the study was to find out the extent of the cultural impact upon personality of the family members as well as upon the type and nature of the intermarried Japanese families, which is expected more or less as a natural result of the intermarriage between the two different culture carriers, since the family is a social organization consciously and cooperatively constructed by the two opposite sexes. This is a highly attractive problem to the student of the impact of culture upon personality, although it is too complicated to draw a complete picture in detail from this brief survey.

B. The Scopes of the study :

My original plan was to find out the behavior patterns and the behavior traits of the intermarried people according to a systematic scheme. But the definite limitation, both in time and expenses, made me drop it for a somewhat subjective interpretation of the various aspects of the intermarried families. The scopes of this study thus finally delimited are :

1. The number of the intermarried Japanese families
2. The socio-economic status of the parents of the intermarried people
3. The socio-economic status of the intermarried people at their marriage

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4. The motivations and the circumstances of the intermarriage
5. The mode of family life of the intermarried people
6. The social relations of the intermarried people

In this study the focus of attention was directed upon the last two items, namely, the mode of family life and the social relations of the intermarried people, and the other four, mentioned first, were studied so that I could get a better insight into the last two aspects.

C. The methods of the study and the materials :

The first step was to get in touch with the intermarried people. For this purpose I received helpful introductions from the Japanese General Consulate of New York, the Japanese Association, the Japanese-New York Times, several Japanese Churches, several boarding houses, the Japanese employment agencies, the New York Life Insurance Company, and also from my friends and acquaintances.

In the direct interviews with the intermarried people, I used the free conversational method instead of questionnaires in order to avoid the harmful suspicions as to my inquisitive attitude. As to the details of the family life, such as sex, I received the data mostly from the Japanese husbands who were, as a whole, very frank.

The materials were gathered from the three following sources ;

1. The governmental and the private institutions for the statistical data
2. The intermarried people themselves, and their mixed blood children for their own life history
3. The friends of the intermarried people and the leaders of the different institutions for the evaluation of the above intermarried families, as well as the opinions about the intermarriage in general

From the first group I had only disappointment. From the second group I had sufficient materials to justify my attempt for the time limitation : I had 53 different intermarried cases as a result. From the third group I had also very good suggestions and indirect data.

D. The limitation of the study :

Taking these points altogether into consideration, I would like to

characterize this study as a preliminary survey to the systematic research, and by no means can it be a scientific datum. If we can formulate some problems for a further scientific research from this study, I consider its success. No definite generalizations can be drawn out of it except in the hypothetical nature which we can use later for the research.

II. The Extent of the Japanese Inter-marriage in the Eastern States.

This is the statistical study as to what extent intermarriage has taken place between the Japanese and the non-Japanese people in the Eastern States, comparing it to the total Japanese population, and also as to which sex of the Japanese people intermarries and with what kind of nationalities.

A. The extent of the Japanese intermarriage :

According to the census report from the Japanese General Consulate of New York, the total number of the Japanese population in the Eastern thirteen States was 3,892 at the end of 1931, including the younger generation born in America. There were 643 families ; 432 Japanese-Japanese, 211 Japanese-non-Japanese, with the ratio of about 2 to 1. The dependability of the figures is doubted by the leaders of the Japanese community because of the large number of the illegitimate residents who were afraid to report their identity to the government, and according to these leaders, the intermarriage has more frequently taken place among them and therefore the ratio between the Japanese-Japanese and the Japanese-non-Japanese marriages is probably as high as 1 to 1.

If we take the official report as the basis of study, the ratio of the intermarriage is exceedingly high, so that even those who are well acquainted with the Japanese people in America express their surprise. It is certainly an unbelievable matter for the conventional Japanese who are still under the spell of the ancestor-worship and the patriarchal principles, and also it may give a shock to some Americans as to the " Asiatic invasion " into the " pure white blood ". Concerned entirely with the cultural aspects of the intermarriage between the Japanese and the non-Japanese, my present study has nothing to do with the discus-

sion of the racialism ; the study of merit and demerit of the intermarriage from the racial view points, and its political control is not in my present scope.

Nevertheless, this high ratio of the Japanese intermarriage has a great significance as an indication of the future destiny of the Japanese people in America on the one hand, and on the other, of the possibility of a large scale intermarriage among the different nationalities in the future, if the social, economic and political conditions bring them to such a situation that no artificial barriers raise the discrimination against each other.

B. The sex differences of the intermarried Japanese :

According to the above mentioned census report from the Japanese General Consulate of New York, all of the 211 intermarried Japanese are males, without exception. I know only two Japanese women who married with the Americans in Japan while the latter were residing there. This one-sided sex difference of the Japanese intermarriage in America may appear quite strange to the student of the European immigrants who are composed of both sexes, of both status (single and married), while with the Japanese female immigrants, the situation is entirely different. With a very few exceptions of a negligible number, almost all the Japanese women came to this country with a definite status as wife of the male immigrants who had been residing here already, and who could afford the great expenses for the marriage trips to Japan and also could support the family in America. Thus a large number of small farmers, store owners, and also those who had some kind of steady jobs in the West, went back to Japan for the wife, simply because the trip expense was comparatively small. But, there were also many who could not afford it, and especially in the Eastern States the trip expenses were exceedingly great, and their jobs were mostly domestic service, which was rather precarious and did not suit the newly married couples. Since 1924, when the non-quota immigration law was passed by the United States Congress to bar the population influx from the Oriental countries, all the male Japanese immigrants have to remain single, regardless of age, status, or social importance, unless they marry with the younger generation or with some other non-Japanese. In

the Western States, the marriage between the male "first generation" from Japan and the female "second generation" born in America is taking place very frequently, because the number of the females far exceeds the number of the males among the latter group and also because the majority of the male second generation is still under the economic care of the first generation, which means that they are not ready yet for the home making. While, in the Eastern States, where only 3,892 Japanese are living in the 13 States, with a very small number of the female second generation of marriage age, we find many intermarriages taking place between the first generation Japanese and the non-Japanese. Therefore, the one-sided sex differences in the Japanese intermarriage is not a strange thing; instead, it is a very simple, natural phenomenon.

C. The nationalities of the intermarried women :

As to the nationality difference of the women who are intermarried with the Japanese men, and the actual number of each nationality of the 211 couples, we are informed nothing either from the U.S. Census or from the Japanese official record. According to my own study, the nationalities of the women of the 53 intermarried couples are as follows :

	Nationality	Color	Number
1.	American	White	20
2.	English	"	6
3.	Canadian	"	6
4.	German	"	6
5.	French	"	4
6.	Irish	"	3
7.	American	Black	3
8.	Swedish	White	2
9.	Austrian	"	1
10.	Scotch	"	1
11.	American (Half-Indian half-Dutch)		1 53

The remarkable fact is that the half of the total 53 are from Europe and the other half were born in America, if we include 3 Negroes and 1 half-Indian and half-Dutch woman into the latter group. If we take these 53 random samples as the indicies of the whole intermarried cases

for a moment, the high ratio of the Americans has a striking significance in view of the social distance between the Japanese and the Americans, which was studied by Dr. Bogardus, who puts the Japanese in the group of lower scale, whose social distance is supposedly great. What Dr. Bogardus actually means is not the distance but the preference which works only when the other conditions are equal or more or less neglected. This kind of conditional preference exists, indeed, among the racial groups, not as distance but as a selective basis or as a criterion of evaluation, which is, as a matter of fact, determined by the configuration of the total situation with the synthetic values. Therefore, the "social distance" is relative to the situation. Thus the study of the intermarriage will necessarily lead us from the study of the racial preference to the study of the situation. The high percentage of the intermarried American women will refute by no means the existence of the prejudicial racial preference, among the Americans in general, against the Japanese, but, on the other hand, the absoluteness of the Dr. Bogardus' social distance will be put into doubt by the fact. The most important problem is in what situation the prejudicial preference, the racial barrier, if we may call it that, will break down, and what kind of significance it will bear upon the type and nature of the intermarried families after the marriage.

D. The age of the intermarried people :

The intermarriage between the Japanese and the non-Japanese seems to take place rather later than the average marriage age, not only of Japan but also of America. The average marriage age of each sex of the 53 cases is 35.2 for men, and 32.7 for women. And their average length of married years is 7.89. The present age of these people ranges from 22 to 59 for men and 19 to 62 for women.

The high marriage age of the intermarried people has some significance in the mate selection :—the selection must be more rational but the field of selection is decreasing. This also has a significant bearing upon the number of births.

III. The Cultural Background, the Socio-economic Status of the Parents, and the Educational Status of the Inter-married People.

In order to get the better understanding of the personality and culture of the intermarried people, we have to know the social environment of their early age in which the basic form of their personality and culture was moulded, if the assumption is right that the general mode of culture and personality of an individual is conditioned by his social environment upon his native endowment. It is also likely that the scope of ambition and the opportunity of success are determined more or less by the socio-economic status of his parents in such a patriarchal society as Japan, where the parents are responsible for the socio-economic status of the children in the future and help them out at any cost to keep it not below the present socio-economic status of their own on the one hand, and on the other the children are constantly stimulated to this ambition with an ethical, and frequently a religious obligation, to bring the "honor" or the "face" to the parents as well as to the ancestors. This mutual obligation is actualized in the most cases as the great stimulation to the higher education, according to the degree of which the different grades of the socio-economic positions are given by society. Therefore, the educational status of the children is not only the symbolic expression of the socio-economic status of the parents but also of the future positions of the children. This is quite different in America where the higher education is not so prohibitive to the lower class as in Japan. The educational status has another significance, which is more universal, namely, as the index of culture of a person.

With these points in view, I tried to get a clearer picture of the early social environment of the intermarried people. Out of the 53 Japanese husbands, 41 are from the rural district and 12 from the urban district; 35 high school graduates or sometime students, 3 college graduates, both in Japan, and 9 out of them attended or graduated from colleges of America.

From these data, and also from the explanations by the people themselves, I have learnt that the majority of the intermarried Japanese

are from the middle class, and most of them, perhaps, belonged to the upper class in their rural communities. Two of them are from the well-known families in Japan. Coming out of the middle, or the upper class of the rural district, the most conservative but the most ambitious class of Japan, these people crossed the Pacific Ocean when they were very young: 33 of them left Japan when they were under 20, 18 under 25, only and two after 25. And excepting 5, the intermarried people are not the first son, the heir to the parents, and, as a matter of fact, it is only these non-heir sons that are free to leave the parents: otherwise they are obliged to stay with their parents for life under the same roof, to support them. These socially free, but very ambitious young people came to America with the most conservative type of culture,—the sense of honor, honesty, modesty, responsibility, the strong sense of family tie, the family solidarity and responsibility, the sense of thriftiness, industriousness, perseverance, aggressiveness, the strong ambition to success, social, economic and educational, on the one hand, but, on the other, the sense of localism, family individualism, oversensitiveness to “face”, lack of cooperative sense, etc. As a whole, these people were young, ambitious youth of a good culture, and if they stayed in Japan, they could be a good Japanese citizen of a good social status in the future.

While, on the other hand, the educational status of the intermarried women is much lower than their husbands: only 2 are college graduates, 7 attended business schools or nursing schools, 7 are high school graduates, and the remaining 37 have only primary education. The majority of them are from the small rural towns but 11 women are from the large cities. As to the cultural background of the intermarried women, I have to confess my utter ignorance. But from their educational status, as well as their explanations, and also from their socio-economic status at their marriage, we may assume that the majority of them are from the lower or the middle-class, excepting a very few. The cultural status of the wives may be lower than the husbands', if we may generally speak, but this general comparison is impossible since the different cultures can not be brought into comparison. The most important question is what kind of cultural traits of the Japanese husband and also of the non-Japanese wife of the intermarried family

contribute more efficiently to the stability and happiness of the family in this specific cultural area, and whether they are mutually supplementary or contradictory. The success of the intermarried family depends upon the mutual effort to eliminate the contradicting traits and stimulate the supplementing ones so that they can better adjust to the surrounding cultural area.

IV. The Socio-Economic Status of the Inter-married People at their Marriage.

The socio-economic status of both the Japanese husband and the non-Japanese wives at their marriage was low according to the scale of America, much lower in the case of the Japanese husbands than their parents' status, and lower even than what they would have been if they stayed in their home land. Even at present, their status is not much changed with the exception of 12 persons who have succeeded greatly in their own lines since their marriage.

The socio-economic status of the husbands at marriage were as follows: 21 domestic workers, 8 salesmen or clerks, 16 small store owners, 3 students, 3 professionals, 2 out of jobs. With the non-Japanese they were as follows: 18 domestic workers, 19 salesgirls, waitresses or factory workers, 4 office girls, 3 nurses, 2 students, 2 teachers, 5 no jobs.

The most interesting is that the marriages have taken place mostly between those who were nearly in the same situation: between the domestic workers, between the students, between the waitress and waiter, between the salesgirl and the store owner, between the nurse and the doctor, etc. It should be also noted that almost all the women in domestic service at their marriage were Europeans, and the salesgirls, waitresses, office girls, teachers, were Americans, and all the three nurses above mentioned were Canadians.

Why was the socio-economic status of the Japanese people so low? Was it due to their lower abilities, or was it due to the social and political discriminations? I don't think either of these were responsible for it. The real explanation of the failure was found in their wrong attitude towards their own life in America. This explanation is also valid to the failure of the Japanese immigrants in general, not only in America

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but also in any part of the world. The fundamental cause is so inherent in the most important culture pattern, the family system of Japan, that everywhere they go, they fall into the same failure, namely the nostalgia, the urge to return home with honor, or the "eternal call of the ancestor". Therefore, if I speak very generally, America means nothing more than the land of opportunity, the opportunity for easy study and the opportunity for easy wealth, both for the better life and better living in their home land, but not in America. This temporariness of their residence has important bearings upon every aspect of life. They do not give much significance to their social status ; they do not care about uncomfortable living and unpleasant life ; they do not invest their money into some permanent business ; they do not participate with interest in the social organization of more or less permanent nature ; they do not feel greatly lost if they are ostracised by the old friends ; they do not try to have a home before getting too old ; they satisfy their sexual needs in some temporary manner, either by auto-eroticism or by prostitutes. Everything is temporary, and anything which is permanent is in the ancestral home ; a good life and respectable living in Japan ; social honor and social care in Japan ; wife, children and grandchildren in Japan ; friends, neighbors, communities and nation in Japan ; Japan, Japan, everything worthwhile to their life is in Japan, excepting the opportunity. They talk so often about the racial discrimination, but not with a serious resentment as we frequently experience it among the Jews or the Negroes. They do not endeavor to open the closed doors at all. They often talk about marriage, but "after going back home". The successful merchants and the farmers send away the accumulated money to Japan to buy lands, houses and lots there, but they live in the shabby houses in America. They teach the Japanese language to the children, not for their better culture and opportunities, but for the preparation for "going back home".

This was the typical attitude of the Japanese immigrants in America until ten years ago at least. Therefore, they were the successful industrial workers in their sense. But the success was limited to a small part of the people. The most of them were, after all, human beings, but not the Silas Manner nor the Shylock. It might be possible for anybody to submit himself to such a kind of life for the first few years,

during which their original ambition would bear the torch light before their step and their close touch with the old homes would reinforce their morality. But gradually, and very naturally, both the torch light and the reinforcing power would fade away with every step they took into the American life,—clothing, rooms, foods, picture shows, wine, women, automobiles, dancing, card playing, sports, and what not. The greater they would assimilate with the American life, the smaller the original motivations and the reinforcing power from home would become, with the result that only those who had the continuous reinforcing power within themselves became successful and the others are left unsuccessful day-dreamers whose lotus land is in Japan but no actual reinforcement comes from it.

Among the former successful group, we find many who came to America after their failure in their business life in Japan, and also those whose socio-economic status in Japan was the lowest. As a matter of fact, the largest number of the shrewdest and most successful merchants and farmers in America are found among the later group, to whom their old home is not a lotus land. While among the unsuccessful group, on the other hand, we find many people from the middle class, especially among those who came while young, without an actual business life of any sort. They were ambitious and the reinforcement from home was strong—for a while, but they were too young to resist the surrounding cultural values of any sort, and they were too blessed to curse their old homes. They became, in the long run, the "easy going people". It is a surprising fact that almost all the unsuccessful people of fairly good education, of the middle class, came to America with a definite ambition to study, and entered the domestic service, such as school-boy, plain cook, houseworker, waiter etc., the easiest work for anybody as a temporary job, and even after giving up their original ambitions, still stick to the same line in which they started for petty school expenses. Comparing them to the other groups, we may fairly say that the group of domestic service, such as cooks, butlers, valets, charffeurs, houseworkers, gardeners, etc. is the most Americanized and the best cultured class among the Japanese people in America, and yet, on the other hand, this is the most unsuccessful class. This was the class that could not start its career as a farm-hand or a railroad worker in the West; this was

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the class that started with the easiest and the most temporary work ; this was the group that could not take their own actual life seriously, but always rationalized their own failures ; this was the class that was oversensitive to the innocent words such as " Jap " or " Charlie " ; this was the class that would stand up too eagerly for the defence of the " face " of Japan, but always remain critical and antagonistic to any social activities among the Japanese groups there. They are clever, intellectual, and well-cultured, but these acquirements are not integrated into a personality. Instead of reinforcing their will power for the achievement of life of any sort, they have succeeded in developing a great deal of defence mechanisms. After all, they are the innocent victim of the Japanese family system which neglects to foster the individualism, the self-judging, self-reinforcing, self-responsible personality. The patriarchal system is still useful and necessary to Japan, where the family is the unit of existence and status, not only economically but also socially. But in individualistic America, only those who can see, enterprise, and carry out the plan by themselves, and who can control the human power for their own cause, will succeed in the long run.

Therefore, it is no wonder that we find so many people of that kind among the lower class intermarried people. But this means, in no way, the failure of their family life. Instead, we find the most successful families among them, regardless of their lower economic status. I will come back to this point later.

V. The Selections, the Motives, and the Circumstances of the Intermarriage.

A. The marriage is the most important happening to any person. It is the permanent union between two different sexes of different personalities. It is the new scheme of life which is to be carried out by the two. It is the creator and the nursery of the new lives. Every human value should be re-evaluated and re-adjusted between them. The marriage, as a life scheme, is the most important matter which requires the hardest thinking. While, on the other hand, the marriage is the most irrational one which is based upon the emotional, affectionate relations. The married life must be a horrible one, no matter how well it is schemed and how rationally it is carried out, if it is not reinforced constantly

with love.

In selecting the mate, both should be taken into full consideration as the basic criteria. But, as a matter of fact, this is rarely done and very often the one is apt to overbalance the other. In such a patriarchal society as Japan, the rational consideration by the experienced elders is over-emphasized in the neglect of the affectionate side of the one who is going to marry. While in America, where the freedom of selection is almost entirely left to the judgement of the inexperienced young people, the rational consideration is apt to be neglected. Nevertheless, the marriage takes place very often in such an incomplete manner that only one of the selective bases is over estimated in sacrifice of the other. But to those who are relatively old enough to evaluate their own life, past, present and future, in their totality, the marriage means a necessity that may satisfy better both the rational and the irrational motives, no matter how imperfect it is to either one of them. This compromise in the motives is perhaps due to the reconciliation to their own lot, the self-estimation of their own life in the totality of experience and in the configuration of the situation. The actual motives of the intermarried people of their marriage are most ilikely to be classified into this compromised one. According to the free-expressed statements by these people, neither the husband nor the wife seems to be his or her primary choice. Their primary choice, both in affectionate and rational motives, seems to have existed in their own racial and cultural group. But the whole situation of their life had reconciled them to the secondary choice, secondary to their whole life but the primary one to their situation. There are some, of course, whose marriage had taken place according to their primary choice of life. But to the most of them, it was more situational and compromising in the motive of the marriage. Therefore, I would like to describe the process of compromise in some more detail.

In selecting a mate, the basis of evaluation seems to be composed of three factors at least,—affectionate, cultural, socio-economic. The affectionate factor is analysed into physico-personal charm which is usually called by the term "it", and the sense of "nearness" or "approachableness". The most attractive woman may not have an affectionate relation with a man if there is no sense of approachableness,

while a less beautiful woman may become an object of affection if he feel approachable to her. The White woman in general exceeds the Japanese woman in the attraction with their well-proportioned and well trained expressions, but as a matter of fact, this does not necessarily mean that the former becomes the object of affection of the Japanese man, since there is little sense of approachableness between them. The sense of approachableness is more psychological than inherent or social, which is perhaps a kind of inferiority complex, and with the Japanese, it comes from the consciousness of his language difficulty, inferior physique in its appearance, racial discrimination supposedly existing in America. Therefore, if the causes of the inferiority complex are overcome, then there is nothing to stop him from loving a White woman. On the White woman's side, the case must be quite different. She has no inferiority complex with the Japanese. The only trouble is her superiority complex, which is composed mostly of physical, cultural and national elements which are more or less out of their personal acquirements. Therefore, when she faces the situation, that has nothing to do with the complex or does not uphold her complex any longer, then she has to yield it to the situation. In any field, where every individual has to be compared by his own merits, the racial superiority complex does not function. And it does not function in such a case that his actual status in social, economic, cultural and also physical aspects are inferior to those whom he is despising. Therefore, it is more than natural that the Japanese and the White fall in love while they are working under the same roof. The common situation releases them from both the inferior and superior complexes, thus creating the sense of nearness or approachableness. When these complexes are once overcome, they can appreciate each other much deeper. However, it is very rare among the Japanese, as well as among the White, to reach the point at which they fall in love by mutual abandoning of their complexes. As a matter of fact, they love and marry according to their primary sense of nearness, the poor with the poor, the rich with the rich, the White with the White, the Japanese with the Japanese, with a few romantic and philosophical exceptions.

The culture as a factor of selective basis of the mate will be considered from the two different view points, culture as the basic form of

personality and culture as the scheme of family construction. The culture as the basic form of personality is extremely difficult for the scientific analysis, but not so difficult for the social intercourse, especially among those of the same cultural area; we deal with him as if he is as such according to own subjective interpretations and understandings, and we can describe his personality in various cultural terms. If we once accept him as a friend according to our intuitive but synthetic measurement, his unknowable parts become some extra-charm to us. Therefore in friendship this does not seem to stand as a hindrance to the mutual relations unless he has some definite undesirable cultural traits, as long as we accept him. In the case of the intermarriage, the unknowable part of the Japanese seems to constitute some "Oriental attractiveness" in the mind of the White woman. In some cases the cowardness or cautiousness on the Japanese part is taken as chivalry or gentlemanliness by the White woman. In the course of development of love, every behavior of the one party, trifle or important, is interpreted by the other party in her or his favor according to his or her own cultural interpretations. A well-educated American woman told me once about the admirable chivalry of her Japanese fiance. "For instance," she said, "he did not ask me for a kiss even in such a case that would stimulate the slowest American boy to ask for more." I don't know whether or not this should be interpreted as an admirable action or a cowardly one. Most likely the latter. There are many cases of this sort according to the stories of the Japanese immigrants. But there are also other sorts of cases where the catholicity of humanity attracted each other regardless of their cultural difference. I met an American girl of 19 who married very recently with a Japanese butler of 40 after he was indicted on the guilt of theft. She was from Boston, a very attractive, bright girl. She told me about her life history very frankly. Her parents were divorced from each other when she was 12, and her mother, with whom she had been living since, married again with some other man when she was 18. So she left home and came to New York, expecting some help from her girl friend. But the friend helped her get a living by offering herself as a slave to men. Thus she could support herself as a half-prostitute. Her last "Boy friend" left her

alone sick in bed in a boarding house. She could not work, she could not beg, when, a Japanese man, who was living on the same floor, took care of her with every sympathy. Thus two months passed, but during that time he never asked her even for a kiss. She became badly ill again, and she was put into the hospital. He spent all his money for the expenses and yet the bill was not covered. So he stole a gold watch from his employer's desk. He was found out soon and was duly indicted. During his parole she asked and insisted that he marry her, and he did. This is a real, pathetic story, and yet there is a deep meaning that the humanity is deeper and stronger than cultural form, and its difference is easily overcome by the more profound and catholic humanity. The success of the intermarried families is not dependent so much upon the cultural forms, but upon their basis, the humanity.

Now, as to the discussion of the culture as the basic form of family construction, we are dealing with a more rational basis of selection. This is the consideration by them about the nature and type of the family they are going to construct. I have asked many Japanese of various lines about their attitude toward the intermarriage with the White. The majority have the negative attitude, and their chief objection to it seems to exist in his point, namely, the difference in the nature and type of the family. Their fundamental concept of the family is still typically Japanese, no matter how much modified their ideas by the American influence. They think that the American husband is "goody goody", always under the control of his wife; that the wife spends all the money, for nothing, that he has made; that the American wife hates to work to help her husband; that she divorces him as soon as he loses his job or she finds out some other sweetie; that the chastity of the wife can not be trusted; that the husband has to tie the shoe-string for his wife; that he has to spend all his time for the work at the office and for the wife at home; that the home is not the place for the comfort of the husband but for the wife; that the American woman will look down upon the Japanese husband and make him serve as a servant; that she will leave him when he gets old; that she does not care for house-keeping but likes to go out for parties, dancing and picture-shows; that she does not take good care of the children, etc. etc. While the criticism by the Japanese women there of the American family is differ-

ent. They think that the woman's position is higher than Japan; the husband is very kind to his wife; that the wife is freer than in Japan; that the Japanese husband is too oppressive and dictating, etc. etc. But no Japanese mother, as far as I know, wants to marry her children to the Amreicans.

The younger Japanese generation born in America is generally in favor of the American type of family. Neither the male nor the female wants to marry the Japanese who has no American culture. They are afraid that the Japanese concept of family does not fit in to their concept of family.

But with the American people, it is quite different. They know about the Japanese family only through the books. Most of them do not understand and therefore do not care so much about it. And to the intermarried White women, this kind of consideration did not seem to come as a serious problem. Instead, they seemed to have worried about the other point, namely the socio-economic factor, before their marriage. While, with the intermarried Japanese, they gave a serious consideration to this point. I know many Japanese who are willing to marry a White woman but still hesitating to do so because of this consideration.

The third factor is the socio-economic, the most important deciding factor. The Japanese attitude toward this is different according to their intention whether to stay there or return to Japan. Those who are intending to return oppose the intermarriage saying that the White woman can not follow the ways of living in Japan, that they will be isolated from the friends and relatives because she is not the Japanese and can not speak the Japanese language; that nobody wants to marry the mixed blood children there, that it is only to make the wife suffer, etc. etc. But those who are intending to stay in America are divided into two: the one group is also opposing the intermarriage mostly on the cultural reasons as above described; the other group is recommending it saying that the American woman is more independent than the Japanese woman, so she is more helpful to the husband, that the family life with a "yes! yes!" Japanese woman is tiresome, that she will open the doors of the American society for the husband so that his social life will be improved, that she knows more about housekeeping

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and child nursing than the Japanese woman, that she keeps the family life more intelligent and cultured, that she is a great help to the husband because she can find out a job much easier than the Japanese woman, that the mixed blood children have better chances than the pure Japanese children in getting positions here, and also will be admitted into American society without difficulty, etc. etc.

The attitude of the American people toward the Japanese in this point seems to be more social. They are afraid to get ostracised by society if they marry with the Japanese. They are afraid to lose the American citizenship in case of the woman, and lose the good position. A high school teacher, an American woman, doesn't make her marriage with a Japanese public since she is afraid to lose her present position. The fear, the social constraint is the inhibitive motive to them.

These three factors, affectional, cultural, and socio-economic, are the most important selective bases, the final decision from which is termed as "social distance" by Bogardus. As a matter of fact, the "social distance in mate" is more complicated and specific than it appears. The social distance that exists as preference predominates the majority, but it is overcome by the individuals under some specific situations.

B. Under what kind of situations has the intermarriage taken place? What kind of situations have broken up the social distance?

In studying the psychological aspects of the Japanese immigrants in America, one of the most striking facts is the sexual complex among the single persons. It is not a mere reaction to the sexual desires, but a deep rooted complex that affects the whole constitution of personality. Their constant recourse to the auto-eroticism or promiscuous intercourse is not merely for the sexual satisfaction, but also for the compensation of their all wretched life. The deep interest in eroticism, the topic of their daily conversation, the objects of their spending money, the object of their attention on the street, the object of their day-dreams, their habit of auto-eroticism, and what not, will reveal the fact that their sexual interest is more or less psychopathic and abnormal. This is found more often among the urban domestic workers than among the rural farmers.

This complex, however, seems to be very natural to them who

came from the country where they could get the woman's response rather abundantly from the home, neighbors, fellow village folks, and if they still could not saturate their sexual desires in this indirect manner, then they could get the satisfaction from the prostitute without much personal loss. But in America, their environment does not provide any response to them excepting the sexual stimulations of various sort, the tight fitting dress, the half naked legs, the deep painted lips, the coquettish smiles. They work hard from morning till night, day after day, year after year, without any response. The daily humiliation from the work, no pleasure, no happiness. And yet their original pride does not allow them to adjust their whole mental attitude to this wretched position. They are servants, cooks, waiter, charffeurs, but they can not identify themselves with their present positions. Their position is very low, but their pride is very high. In the course of years, they have gradually lost the reinforcement from home, and yet they have not developed self-reinforcement. Their lotus land is in Japan, but it is most likely a dream.

In such a situation it is only natural that various kinds of neurotic conditions will result,—inferiority complexes, defence mechanisms, self-disintegration, etc. etc. The sexual complex is one of these psychopathic products of emigrant life. What they actually need is not the sexual satisfaction but the response of a woman. It is not physical but more psychological and personal. It is a matter of the whole personality.

We find a more or less same situation among the White men and women working in such an environment in New York. The helpless women from Europe, the friendless girls from the small towns, the girls who were betrayed and fooled by men, the women whose previous husbands deserted them, etc. etc. Also working hard for their own existence in such a wretched situation, these women still try to find out some happiness, the true response and true care, and economic security if possible. But first of all, they want security of the meaning of life, the love.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the longing hearts meet together in such a situation. Both of them have the common interest which is more impinging and direct than the constraining power of selection

which is, after all, indirect and abstractive. The immediacy, concreteness, and directness of the actual situation is the stronger motivation than the indirect, abstractive, and general social and rational constraint. Most of the intermarriage is, therefore, a production of the specific human sphere in which the immediate human needs are repressed so that the satisfaction to them, if it is not the best one, has the greater attraction than the rational control, whose function is fairly well performed only in such a society where the immediate need of human life is normally satisfied.

VI. The General Mode of Family Life.

One of the most outstanding features of their family life is the remarkable tendency toward Americanization, the greater assimilation with the surrounding culture, regardless of the nationality of the wife intermarried with the Japanese. This is more conspicuous, of course, among the families whose housekeeper is an American. Excepting the minor details, through which they express their cultural differences more or less freely, the mode of family life of the intermarried people seems to adjust to the general mode of life of this particular cultural area instead of falling into the cultural assertion either of the husband or of the wife. This is more conspicuous among those families whose children go to school. The surrounding culture enforces them to adjust themselves to the socially standardized norms through the occupation, social-association, mass production, education, recreation, etc. etc., appealing to their fear mechanism so that any conspicuous deviation from the normal standard is avoided. They seem to be very sensitive to the social censure at this point, trying always not to attract the social attention and criticism on account of the deviation. The White wife is more sensitive to it than the husband in many cases. It may be due, perhaps, to the inferiority complex she might have on account of her marriage with a non-White man, or it may be due to her compensation mechanism. Nevertheless, the extent of Americanization of the group is surprizingly great, comparing it to the other Japanese families in America. And yet, in minor details, we detect their cultural differences freely expressed and freely enjoyed. It seems to me that the parts that bear the social significance are more or less formally imitated and the

parts that bear significance only to the individuals are left free to themselves for the self-expression and appreciation. The double-standard of social mores of the Japanese family in America is nothing but the example of this sort of adjustment. Before the eyes of the American people they act as the other Americans do, but behind them they follow their old Japanese manners. In the intermarried family, the constraint is also within the family, especially among those whose wives are American. The mental strain of the husband within the family seems to be very great so that he looks either depressed or over-strained. I have often seen some of these people who are rebelliously Japanese in their behavior among their Japanese group, while perfectly American before their wives. But, this is the extreme case, and the majority of them leave plenty room within the family for the free expression and appreciation of their own cultures. When this kind of adjustment is not reached, especially when the one party is extremely assertive of its own culture as I have seen in a family, there is a constant conflict between the wife and husband as to the details of the daily life. However, the Americanization by the White wife from Europe is much easier than her Japanese husband, because the former's previous culture has many similarities in its basic forms while the latter is quite different and the Americanization does not take place in him as a natural unconscious process, but as something which should be consciously learned under a close and constant scrutiny by the society as well as by his own wife. Therefore, in the unfortunate cases, many undesirable traits will be developed in the husband's personality from this conscious effort,—over-strain, depression, inferiority complex, defence mechanism, compensation, etc., so that it will lead the married life to a disruption in the long run. The danger of the intermarriage exists in this slow, unconscious process of mental maladjustment in the course of their conscious effort to Americanize, and not so much in the cultural difference itself between the husband and wife. The question how to avoid the danger is mostly dependent upon the attitude of the wife,—to what extent she can appreciate her husband's culture, how to educate him, etc. The majority of the intermarried families, however, appear to be well-adjusted, more closely bound on the deeper level than the formal cultural level,—the affection, devotion, solidarity, responsibility, etc.

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Many White wives expressed their satisfaction and appreciation of these points of their Japanese husbands. The humanity seems to overcome the difference of the cultural forms. The deeper the mutual appreciation on this level, the greater the free expression of the old culture within the family, thanks to the keen insight of the human being that penetrates deep into the humanity through the difference of the cultural forms. Thus the content of culture, the humanity, is more important than its form. The latter may be limited to a certain cultural area, but the former is more universal and catholic.

A. Daily living :

The food, clothing, dwellings of the intermarried people are predominantly American, determined partly by the economic rule, the cheap mass production and supply, and partly by the social constraint, the normal standard of living in form and content, in sacrifice to a great extent of their original tastes, habits, and comforts. But this is not limited to the intermarried people ; the immigrants in general are subjected to this modification. It is only a matter of degree. I have seen many intermarried families taking Japanese food every day. The adjustment seems to be easier in these lines because they have many varieties and modifications.

B. Language :

The daily language of the intermarried people is English without exception as far as I know, regardless of the nationality of the wife. Their daily necessity of social association and occupation on the one hand, and the difficulty to learn Japanese or some other wife's tongue besides English on the other, seems to have standardized the language at home. The Japanese husband of the English speaking wife speaks much better than the one of the non-English speaking wife. The handicap of the children of the latter family seems to be great, especially at their early grades of school. The sense of humiliation and inferiority complex of the husband must be considerably greater if his wife is English speaking. There is very little effort to teach the Japanese language to the children, but in general they think it an overtax to teach some other language besides English. Two families are teaching German.

C. Customs and Manners :

They follow the American customs and manners too. If the wife is too sensitive to the mannerism, many conflicts seem to follow as I mentioned above. In this point, the husband whose wife is not American seems to have a better advantage, encountering the wife's objection with his own interpretation of the American custom.

This is, however, a cause of conflict, not because of its difficulty to learn, but because of the assertion by the one party upon the other. Sometimes a trivial personal fault in mannerism is accused by the other party in terms of his original culture as a whole.

D. Religion :

Out of 53 Japanese husbands, 29 were Protestants, 14 Catholics, 1 Buddhist, 9 no religion; out of 53 wives, 31 were Protestants, 18 Catholics, 4 no religion; 23 husbands and 35 wives occasionally go to church; 11 husbands and 17 wives are regular church attendants; most of the children go to Sunday Schools or belong to some church. With only a few exceptions, these Christians go to American churches, although there are three Japanese protestant churches in New York. The number of christians is greater among the intermarried Japanese than the average Japanese group.

Why is the percentage of Christian so great among the intermarried Japanese? What is the function of religion in the intermarried family? Why do they attend the American churches instead of the Japanese?

A Father of a Catholic Church in New York, who is in charge of the Japanese Catholic Club, told me that the number of the members of the Club is 26 intermarried couples, 1 Japanese-Japanese couple, and 1 single Japanese, that most of the intermarried husbands were converted either before or after the marriage by the advice and request of their Catholic wives, that the wives are more religious than the husbands with a very few exceptions. However, this is not the only case of the Catholic people, it is probably the same with the other Christian husbands. We may, perhaps, say without much exaggeration that the religion has a different meaning to the Japanese husbands. All the Christian sects, both of Protestant and Catholic, seem to have almost a similar meaning to them, and not much different even from Buddhism.

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This does not necessarily mean that they are not religious. On the contrary, they may believe in some deity which is more universal and nonsectarian than being identified with any one of the existing religions. This is the typical Japanese attitude towards religion. Therefore, they are willing to attend any kind of sect, any church, any religion, but they are nonsectarian after all. If their wives advise them to go to Church, they go willingly regardless of its religion. If the wives insist that they be converted to the Catholic faith, they do so willingly because it does not make much difference. This is not the sophisticated attitude, but rather the typical Japanese concept of deity which is more or less pantheistic. Therefore, their converts from non-religion to Christianity, from Protestantism to Catholicism, or vice versa, can not be taken so much as the indication of their religiousness in the Western sense. Most probably they do so only for the sake of the wife to whom a specific religion has a definite meaning which is somewhat foreign to them. As a matter of fact, they can live with or without any specific religion, and this does not necessarily follow that they are not religious.

However, the religion seems to have a great function in the intermarried family, which is somewhat precarious in its cultural and racial basis and is most likely to disrupt with the slightest shock. What it needs most urgently is the constant reinforcement of love and tightening the whole family constitution. The Japanese people are unanimous in their opinion as to the fact that the religious intermarried family is more stabilized and harmonious than the others. The religious role of the Christian wives at home seems to be very important and also very successful because their husband's attitude towards religion is more elastic and sympathetic. If the latter is non-religious or sectarian, then the case must be quite different, and it may be another cause of conflict. It is, therefore, very fortunate that the Christian religion functions rather smoothly and cooperatively as the greatest reinforcement of the intermarried family.

The reason why they do not go to the Japanese Church seems to be very simple according to their explanation. The Japanese churches do not use English for the service, first of all, and the women Church members hesitate to approach actively to the intermarried White women in fear of the English difficulty to the embarrassment of the latter, while

in the American Churches both of them can understand the service and the wives can enjoy the social association better in and through the Church. Another reason is that there is no Catholic Church among the Japanese community in New York.

E. Sex Life :

As to this rather private affair, I have gathered the materials mostly from the Japanese husbands, being corroborated by only five White wives. First of all, I wanted to get the data as to the following assumptions which are more or less admitted among the Japanese people in general as true, namely that there is a wide difference between the White and the Japanese in the matter of sexual desires, that the discrepancies in the point are the cause of family disruption. It is seemingly true that the desires of the White woman are stronger and oftener than the Japanese husband in general, and also than the Japanese woman of the same age. But I do not know whether it is due to the racial differences or to the promiscuous and auto-satisfying life of the husband in his pre-marital period, if this assumption is true.

As to the sex life as a cause of family disruption, I was not confirmed either, although I heard about some cases that would disprove this assumption, namely, that if a White woman once marries a Japanese man and separates on some inevitable reason, she will marry another Japanese man sooner or later instead of an American. As a matter of fact, the importance of the sex life is comparatively relative to the total value of the whole family life. And the unrestrictive satisfaction of the desire never does constitute the real happiness. The sexual satisfaction is more inclusive and psychological than a mere physical mechanism. The desires may be more often saturated indirectly in a more constructive, synthetic manner. And the success of a family does not depend so much upon the extent of the direct satisfaction as the indirect, constructive one. Among the intermarried people, the slight sex difference on the bio-physical level seems to be well adjusted to the mutual satisfaction and, moreover, they seem to enjoy the sex life on the psychological and cultural level by sublimating the direct tensions, which, otherwise, seem to cause the family disruption even with a slight difference if its direct satisfaction is the sole basis of family.

F. Child :

The 25 out of the 53 intermarried families have children with the rate of 1.8 per family; that means only 0.85 for every intermarried family of average 7.89 years of married life. The average number of children is extremely small in view of the comparatively long average married years. A suspicion will naturally arise as to the practicing of some contraceptive methods for the control of the births, and my inquiry has justified my suspicion. The practice of birth control is not limited to the intermarried people. The Census report by the Japanese General Consulate shows a remarkable fact that 152 out of 431 Japanese families in the Eastern Coast are reported childless. This is remarkable simply because it has happened to the Japanese, to whom the birth control had been more or less foreign until very recently. But this cultural trait of this country has offered them a way of solution of their peculiar situation which is rather precarious and tentative, requiring a concentration of energy upon something that is more fundamental and elementary than the child birth. Regarding the great number of childless families among both the intermarried and the pure Japanese families, the birth control is not the only cause. The promiscuous sex life during the premarital age of the husbands seems to have a great bearing. But in general, we can not deny the large practice of birth control among them. Why do they practice it? Is there any difference between the intermarried families and the pure Japanese ones in the motive of practice?

According to my inquiries the fundamental motive is not so much for the prolongation of pleasure, neither for the fear of the too many children, neither for the sake of the wife's health, except in a very few cases. The real motive seems to exist in the fear of the future insecurity of the socio-economic life of their own and also of the coming child. The existence of a child is not only a handicap but also a menace to the majority of them who are working together, both husband and wife, as domestic workers or small proprietors. Moreover, the future of the child who is coming under such a precarious situation is most likely to be doomed to the precarious life, too. This consideration seems to be very strong when the husband's age is pretty high. In this case, the

motive may be altruistic for the consideration of the coming child, but it may be also selfish for the consideration of their own,—“How can we take care of the child when we have to take care of ourselves?” Nevertheless, these selfish and altruistic considerations in fear of the future socio-economic insecurity are most likely their real motives, which are rather common to both groups. But, with the intermarried people, another motive which is rather peculiar to them seems to work, namely the fear of the insecurity of the family relations in the future. It is more natural to suspect than to deny the existence of some precariousness and tentativeness to some extent in the fundamental family band of some intermarried families. This may be due, perhaps, to the suspicion on both sides of the future desertion, or the fear of desertion may be probably the mere sign of the precarious nature of their relations. Having married under a more or less abnormal situation with an impending necessity, it is only natural that some of them come to the fuller realization of the given relation with regret and disappointment. To these people the present relation is tentative and trial, and the future is precarious. But, this kind of attitude, not so bad as that, of course, is probably shared more or less by a fairly great number of the intermarried people. Some expressly and some implicitly told me to this effect. Behind the rationalized motive of birth control we can deny the existence of such a kind of fear among the relatively great number of the intermarried people although this is only my suspicion. One husband told me that all his money is deposited in the bank in his wife's name only to assure her of the future security of the relations, while another husband told me that he keeps his own money away from hers in fear of her future desertion. As a matter of fact, there have been many cases, according to the tales by the leaders and acquaintances, that the wife deserted her husband with all his money and property as soon as they became her's only in name. But, as to the reversal cases, I have heard only one. But, the fear of the woman can be justified from the daily news to the reversal effect, and from her natural logic, “Even the Americans do this, then the Japanese, of course.”

The children are brought up mostly according to the American standard of education. There is a very little effort to supplement it with either father's or mother's original culture. This kind of effort

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seems to be more difficult in the intermarried families than the pure Japanese families because of the lack of mutual understanding of their own original cultures. The sole guiding principle of education of the mixed children is the "Hundred Per Cent American". And yet they can not escape from the great influence by the parents, and it seems to create a very desirable personality in them by the unconscious combination of American and Japanese and sometimes some other European cultures, which their parents could not reach by their conscious effort. Moreover, they receive very good school education according to the conventional Japanese ideal. They are glad to sacrifice their fortune for the future career of the children, and according to them, it is dependent upon school education if other things are equal.

The mixed blood children have a definite advantage in their social life so far as their American environment is concerned. Their physical appearance does not attract any suspicious attention, they talk English freely and their mother is white. It is very natural, therefore, that they have very few associates among the first or second Japanese generations. Most of them are bright, attractive, with the combination of East and West. The future of the intermarried children seems to be very bright if they do not spoil themselves.

C. Economic Life :

The economic status of the intermarried husbands ranges from the unsuccessful domestic servants to the successful professionals or business enterpriser : 20 domestic workers and laborers, 17 small store proprietors, 9 clerks and salesmen, 3 medical doctors, 2 writers, 2 successful businessmen.

Seventy per cent of the wives of the first two groups, domestic workers and small store owners, work together with their husbands ; there are three other wives also working as office girls.

In general, they are as successful as the other Japanese immigrants, but the most successful group is occupied by the intermarried people. The most successful and prominent Japanese immigrants in America are intermarried, with some exceptions, and also with the exception of those people who came here, not as immigrants. According to the life insurance men, the intermarried people are better off than the rest

of the Japanese, and a greater number of people and a larger amount of policies are subscribed for by the former than the latter relative to the number of the population of both groups.

VII. The Social Relationships.

A. The Family Relations :

The nucleus of a culture seems to be somewhat intuitive and irrational, as it is a synthetic product of many experiences which are synthesised behind the rational, conscious level into some life attitude, belief, conviction, dogma, with some form of sentiments and emotions attached to them. The people of the same cultural group or racial, national group share a great amount of similarity in their nuclei of cultures, since the culture is given by society through social interactions and the experience includes also the experience of the ancestors. Therefore, when the two persons meet on the street they are bound by numerous relations on the unconscious, irrational levels, no matter how casual their meeting may be. They share the common experience, common interest, common belief, common attitude, common dogma, to a great extent. The rational conscious relations of these people are nothing but some expressed relations of these multifarious irrational, unconscious relations. The intermarried people lack these deep relations, which are traditional, shared and added generation after generation as if they were inherent in some race. The nature of the social relations of the intermarried people is fundamentally rational and conscious. As they are not bound deep on the irrational, unconscious level as the sharer of a common culture and experience of a larger group, the community, they have to bind themselves with the rational, conscious tie as the creator of the community. In this sense their relation is more or less associational, a group for a definite common purpose. For the numbers of a cultural group, the marriage is a combination of two types of relations, community and association, irrational and rational. But for the intermarried people, it is fundamentally rational and associational. However, this does not necessarily mean its weakness at all in view of the growing tendency of the rational type of human relations all over the civilized countries as a result of the development of the

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individualistic, purposeful behaviors. The success of the intermarried family, therefore, does not depend so much upon the similarity of their cultures as the sharing of their common purpose and its achievement by a clever management. The families, in which the different cultures of the couple are freely expressed, without enforced inhibition, for the mutual understanding and appreciation and these cultures are usefully mobilized for the sake of the common interest, appear to be more successful and enjoying their married life. Those families which are characterized by outsiders as "more Japanese" appear to be far better off than those characterized as "more American". In the former, the husband and wife are respecting and appreciating each other in terms of personality, the nuclei of cultures, while in the latter the emphasis is put upon the form of cultures.

In parent-child relations, there seems to exist some sense of mother superiority in the child's attitude because of their closer contact and because of her better social prestige.

B. The Social Relations :

These intermarried people are mostly still keeping their old friends and relatives among their social circle. But there is a tendency to limit the associates to the closest ones. This may be due to their voluntary avoidance in order to save the various kinds of embarrassments from each other ; it is simply annoying to both the husband and wife a Japanese friend comes frequently, speaking Japanese, acting according to Japanese manner ; it is also annoying if an American comes with a suspicious critical eye and somewhat patronizing attitude.

Most of them participate in the group activities of their affiliations ; regardless of Japanese or American nature. Those who live in the small towns seem to participate in almost all the community activities as the others.

C. The Organization :

As to the social organization of the intermarried people, I know only one in New York, namely, the Japanese Catholic Club, which has 56 members. They are all intermarried people but three. This organization was established three years ago, and more activities are of a social than a religious nature. They hold the regular meeting once

every month in the homes of these people, taking turns. I had an opportunity to attend one of these meetings and found it very harmonious and friendly.

The mixed blood children do not participate so much in the Japanese activities. Their social activities, organized or unorganized, seem to be limited to the Americans. This is very natural because they seem to have very little consciousness as to their own blood difference. They are passed as regular Americans by their associates.

VIII. Conclusion.

The above study of the Japanese immigrant intermarriage is tentative and hypothetical, and many important subjects are neglected. This, however, will be a little guidance to the task of problem-making by the future research students in this field.