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Educational Strategies among

Transnational New Japanese for Their American-Born Children:

A Case Study in Los Angeles

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Education

By

Aki Yamada

2015

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Educational Strategies among
Transnational New Japanese for Their American-Born Children:
A Case Study in Los Angeles

By

Aki Yamada

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor John Hawkins, Chair

In the late 1980s as part of the globalization trend, new waves of Japanese groups came to settle in the United States. These *New Japanese* migrants were substantially different from pre-World War II immigrants in terms of their education, economic background, and acceptance in American society. In Japanese, the members of the first generation of these New Japanese living in the United States are called *shin-issei*, the new first generation.

In order to understand the characteristics and identity of New Japanese migrants, the research focuses on defining them as a group, how they live in the United States, and the educational strategies they have for their American born 2nd generation children. While exploring New Japanese as a group, previous studies on Old and New Japanese from a historical perspective guide an understanding of their unique educational strategies and their outcomes, and

shed light on the differences that exist due to the modern circumstances of the New Japanese migrants.

In particular, this study focuses on the Japanese community in Los Angeles. Given that there are many different types of Japanese ethnics living in the metropolitan area, diversity in the composition of newer Japanese communities in Los Angeles results in varied educational strategies. I focus on how different types of New Japanese parents utilize different economic and cultural resources to aid in the education of their children. One of the primary methods shin-issei parents use to educate their children is to enroll them in a weekend Japanese supplementary school. The need and reliance of forms of supplementary education stem from shin-issei views on the importance of Japanese and American cultural norms as viewed through a transnational perspective. By examining new Japanese educational strategies and their outcomes, this study provides a deeper understanding of contemporary New Japanese in the United States as a whole, and how in their case, educational choices are influenced by globalization and transnationalism.

The dissertation of Aki Yamada is approved.

Val Rust

Shoichi Iwasaki

Edith Omwami

John Hawkins, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2015

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Biographical Sketch

Aki Yamada attended Doshisha University in Kyoto, Japan with a Bachelor of Arts in Policy Studies. She continued studying at Doshisha University and received her Master of Arts in American Studies. During her masters program she studied at Stanford University for one year as a Freeman Spogli Institute Visiting Researcher.

Aki began her doctoral studies in education at the University of California Los Angeles in 2011. She pursued her research on New Japanese living in the United States under the direction of advisor John Hawkins. During her time in the program her research was generously selected to receive the Dr. Paul and Hisako Terasaki Fellowship, the George and Sakaye Aratani Fellowship, and the Sasakawa Fellowship. Her research interests include globalization, contemporary Asian immigration, transnational identity, and internationalization of higher education.

Aki is now working as an Assistant Professor in the Empowerment Informatics program at Tsukuba University.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Today, in Los Angeles we take for granted how often we see Japanese foods, products, brands, culture and people. Because of the rich history of Japanese migration to the United States in the West Coast region, and California in particular, we see a diverse history of Japanese immigration. Japanese immigration to Southern California goes back approximately one hundred years. Based on my observations, some Japanese communities in Los Angeles are already transitioning to the fifth generation and most Japanese Americans are being raised only speaking English.

Distinctly separate from the first wave of these early Japanese American immigrants, there is a group of contemporary Japanese in the United States who have just recently arrived from Japan. In the late 1980s as part of the globalization trend, new waves of Japanese groups came to settle in the United States. They are classified as *New Japanese* immigrants and sojourners because their circumstances differ greatly from the previous, pre-World War II Japanese immigrants in terms of globalization factors, education, economic background, and acceptance in American society. Despite being a diverse group of people, some of the major groups of New Japanese migrants include corporate sojourners temporarily sent abroad from Japanese-based companies, blue-collar workers, small business entrepreneurs, and academics. Thus, they come from many different socio-economic backgrounds, but for the most part they are middle-class and do not come to the United States in search of wealth that they could not obtain in Japan.

The arrival of New Japanese migrants and immigrants in the United States provides an

opportunity to look at migration through the lenses of modern globalization and transnational identity. Despite coming from the same homeland of Japan, there are substantial and significant differences between the two groups as a result of the context of their existence abroad. Comparing the differences between pre-war Japanese immigrants and contemporary New Japanese immigrants, known as shin-issei, several questions emerge, such as who they are, what are the different characteristics of pre-war and post-war Japanese immigrants, and to what extent do they integrate in their American host society? These are major questions to be explored in this dissertation.

The postwar movements of Japanese overseas are closely linked to the transnational economic expansion of Japanese industries since the 1960s (Adachi, 2006). Modern globalization plays a strong role in the creation of these New Japanese communities in Los Angeles and elsewhere abroad. UNESCO's (1997) report on adult education explains globalization:

Society in the 21st century is being shaped by new and powerful forces, including the globalization of economic activity, a growing importance of knowledge as a prerequisite for participation in various productive activities, and the increasing democratization of political systems. (p. 7)

With technology that makes worldwide communication instantaneous, global issues have come to the forefront of interest, and have driven the pathway toward a global economy. Robertson (1992) defines globalization as “a concept that refers to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of a world system.” I operationally define that

globalization is a transnational movement of economic goods and knowledge, and the increased mobility among people following these trends. By looking at contemporary Japanese migration to the United States while focusing on globalization, what can be revealed about New Japanese abroad? This study examines the influence and impact of globalization by focusing on characteristics of New Japanese communities and how these traits factor into the educational understandings and strategies these contemporary Japanese mothers possess for their children raised in the United States.

Pursuing my graduate studies in West Los Angeles (L.A.), I personally became interested in New Japanese parents, mostly mothers in the United States who live between two cultures, the United States and Japan. Having had the opportunity to interact with many Japanese living in the United States, I saw that there is great diversity within their Los Angeles community, and my curiosity grew. I would like to contribute this piece of scholarship to the yet unstudied field of the emergence of a new and growing segment of the Japanese community. As a graduate student interested in the intersection between identity formation and languages, this interest came from my personal network by meeting many mothers from Japan and hearing their opinions on the challenge and conflict between living in both American and Japanese cultures simultaneously. Furthermore, many shared with me that raising a child in a different country and culture from their own was a daunting challenge due to language and cultural barriers. Meeting many different kinds of people who are related to Japan to different extents ignited a curiosity to conduct ethnographic research on the contemporary Japanese community in Los Angeles. Also, when I consider my own positionality, I myself belong to the New Japanese living in the United States. During the period of this research project I studied as an international student in Los Angeles, and additionally worked within the new Japanese community as a weekend language

schoolteacher.

Terminology

New Japanese and Shin-Issei

In Japanese language terminology, the members of the first generation of these New Japanese immigrants are called *shin-issei* and their American born second generation children are called *shin-nisei*. To breakdown these terms, *shin* means new in Japanese, *issei* means first generation, and *nisei* means second generation. Japanese terminology for generational qualifiers further extends to third generation as *sansei*, fourth generation as *yonsei*, fifth generation as *gosei*. As descendants of the Old Japanese Americans are now reaching the fifth generation in the United States, and have become increasingly assimilated toward American culture, further generations are generally not discussed at this point in time. These Japanese words are used to distinguish new versus Old and generational differences, and are frequently used within the Japanese American community as part and parcel of their attempt to define and maintain their cultural and ethnic identity.

It is still hard to define *shin-issei*, since they have not been methodically studied in the field of Japanese immigration to the United States. In previous studies, Minamikawa defined New Japanese as “permanent settlement overseas by the migrants, whether legal or illegal, excluding long term visitors” (2005a, p. 139). Yasuike (2005) reveals the different types of Japanese who came to the United States: students who came to study language, culture and other fields, temporary business workers, and those seeking professional degrees and positions as within American companies without being transnational employees. She states that, “Shin Issei are Japanese who currently reside in Southern California with permanent residency or

citizenship, with the exception of corporate transnational employees who still work at the same corporations that originally brought them to the U.S.” (2005, p. 74). However, their categorization is further complicated because some long-term visitors end up staying in the United States for more than ten years, and may or may not continue to stay as a matter of choice. In my own research, many shin-issei I met fell under this case, evidencing that to exclude based on permanent residence is a relatively arbitrary means of categorization. It presupposes that all Japanese abroad know their intention to remain as permanent residents at the outset, or that by one-day returning to Japan they have invalidated their former categorization as shin-issei.

In contrast to Minamikawa, Azuma (2005) explains New Japanese by the term *shin-issei* as the “settlers” that include business people and their family members, youths pursuing education in the United States, and lastly, individual Japanese who came in search of work, or other occupational factors such as entrepreneurship. Similar to Azuma, Hyodo (2012) explains shin-issei’s characteristics as:

placed in ongoing processes rather than a fixed status, referring in thus broadly to any Japanese living in the United States either as U.S. citizens (whether naturalized or U.S.-born but grown up in Japan, legal permanent residents (LPR), holders of any visas that enable them to stay longer than three months, non-immigrant, long term visitors LTV’s) or as illegal overstayers. (p. 81)

Additionally, Yui (2006) describes shin-issei as:

...self-employed people such as proprietors of and chefs at Japanese restaurants, people

who stayed on to work after graduating from U.S. universities, and those who have taken jobs at American companies, but there also appears to be an increase in recent years of people sent by Japanese corporations for longer periods who are taking U.S. citizenship. (p. 25)

As evidenced, there are a variety of definitions for the term *shin-issei*. This paper uses the more encompassing views favored by Yui, Azuma and Hyodo, which include permanent immigrants as well as long-term visitors.

Sojourners

This paper primarily categorizes New Japanese *shin-issei* into groups based on their status in the United States, and secondarily by their purpose for leaving Japan. Not all New Japanese are migrants who intend to reside in the United States permanently. Temporary business workers and other New Japanese migrants who are in the United States for a set period of time are often referred to as corporate sojourners, as their stay in the United States is temporary. The sojourner distinction is an important one because New Japanese are a highly mobile group containing a high percentage of individuals who fully intend to return to Japan. This paper uses the term “migrant” to group sojourners with other New Japanese who perceive that will one day return to Japan or have not yet made a decision about their future country of residence.

Research Questions

This research sought to conceptualize and identify “the New Japanese presence” in Los Angeles, and determine how and why they utilize supplementary education for their children. Many New Japanese exist within different categories of long-term and permanent residents

living in diaspora. The first, and most basic, question to ask in order to help define the shin-issei is how do they define themselves in the context of the United States, as immigrants or migrants? The answer to this question is very important in order to understand how they live between Japan and the United States.

Many migrants from Japan are actually not immigrants, but rather sojourners who plan to return to Japan. Adachi (2006) explains why Japanese leave Japan: “Many choose to go due to some degree of dissatisfaction with career opportunities in Japan, while others leave with positive motivations to study, to experience another culture, meet different people, and perhaps find interesting jobs with international businesses” (p. 19). In short, New Japanese migration is based on many diverse reasons for leaving Japan and arriving to the United States. Some can be categorized as immigrants, others as temporary residents, yet there are others that fit in neither. There are some shin-issei who come to the United States without long-term plans, but eventually end up staying in the United States. On the other hand, most business sojourners fully intend to return to Japan. This has strong implications toward how they create and interact with their ethnic community, and their overall assimilation into American society and culture.

This research also explored their shared experiences and how they created their own New Japanese community. As highly transnational migrants that maintain a strong Japanese identity and cultural norms while living in the United States it is important to recognize the role an ethnic community supports in their lifestyle. The ethnic community is the gateway and foundational point for learning about New Japanese, meeting them, and witnessing their presence and characteristics in the United States. To guide my research I aimed to learn more about new Japanese by seeking to answer two questions about their ethnic community:

1. What role and meaning do Japanese ethnic institutions serve for their ethnic community?

2. How do the New Japanese ethnic communities contribute toward shaping the New Japanese presence in California?

These New Japanese groups in the United States challenge scholars and society at large to rethink the usage of terms of *immigrant* and *immigration*, since many of them are not sure in the beginning whether they were going to stay in the United States permanently or temporarily. Due to their varied reasons for being in the United States, there are many different notions of identity, and even the term *immigrant* itself. Many of the New Japanese who are living in the United States go back and forth to Japan and are actually living within Japanese and American cultures simultaneously.

These varied notions of immigrant status and contextual reasons for being in the United States have a large impact on shin-issei identity and lifestyle while abroad. As such, their context for being in the United States and resulting lifestyle further link strongly to short and long term plans for shin-issei families and, thus, the education of their children. My research focused on parents of the new first generation and their children, and I looked at what specific educational strategies and understandings these parents possessed for their second-generation children while living in a transnational and globalized era. I had two main research questions regarding educational strategies:

1. What specific educational strategies do New Japanese parents utilize for their American-raised children, and what are the motivations and outcomes of these educational strategies?
2. How do these strategies relate to the context of New Japanese being in the United States, and the effects of globalization and transnationalism?

Addressing Research Questions

In order to address these research questions, this study examined the characteristics of the New Japanese and their ethnic communities in the United States. Special attention was given to the role of ethnic establishments and Japanese supplementary schools in these New Japanese communities. This section will first focus on how to define and characterize the contemporary New Japanese community in Los Angeles (L.A.). At a high level, consideration is first given to their status as migrants, immigrants, and the extent their lifestyle is affected and intertwined with transnationalism and globalization. There is a large difference between early Japanese, who arrived in the United States in the early twentieth century, and the New Japanese, who began arriving in the 1980s. By comparing the circumstances and experiences of these New Japanese with those of the early Japanese Americans, this study highlights changes that have occurred as a direct result of transnationalism and globalization as well as socio-economic status. The majority of early Japanese American immigrants left Japan in search of wealth, but what motivates their modern counterparts to leave an economically well-off Japan? Given the difference in time, how does modern transnationalism affect contemporary Japanese? Understanding these influences on shin-issei lifestyle helps to situate their identity and their presence in the United States. The analysis of shin-issei lifestyle informed a subsequent exploration of shin-issei parents' educational strategies for their second-generation children. This study focused on new types of immigration and migration, looking at the contemporary Japanese case in particular, how transnationalism and globalization play significant roles in regard to shin-issei identity formation, and how shin-issei mothers cope with educational understanding and strategies for their second-generation children.

Before starting this research, I was fascinated with the idea of diaspora, the creation of ethnic community, and ethnic maintenance. While examining the shin-issei case, I found that

transnational identity and the constant re-negotiation of identity while living in the United States was directly tied to educational goals and methods for raising shin-nisei children. In order to provide deeper insight into this aspect of modern Japanese immigration to the United States, this study examines one specific community and its local Japanese school. During this research project, I spent time observing and interacting with the community, and eventually worked within the aforementioned Japanese school to gain a true insider's perspective.

Key Research Points Designed to Address the Research Questions:

Special attention was given to following five points while conducting field research within the community and its institutions, such as the supplementary language school:

- 1) Compare and contrast the wave of Japanese immigration during the early 1900s with contemporary Japanese migration patterns.
- 2) Draw from early Japanese immigrant comparison to explore the New Japanese ethnic community and discover how transnationalism and globalization has changed their community and lifestyles.
- 3) Examine the challenges for New Japanese to conceptualize belongingness and citizenship in the United States. Do they have transnational, flexible, and bi-directional relationships with Japan and the United States?
- 4) Examine what educational understanding/strategies new first generation parents utilize for their new second-generation children? What does Japanese supplementary school mean for these New Japanese parents?
- 5) Discover the outcomes of formal and informal supplementary ethnic education for both the parents and children. For example, I will examine how does supplementary schooling

affects cultural identification and lifestyle later on. Did this schooling lead to significant ties to Japan, such as work opportunities, returning to Japan, or participation in Japanese social circles? How do parents and children feel about the education goals, process, and outcomes?

Statement of the Problem

Given the pervasive globalization we see today, processes of immigration and living abroad do not necessitate a break from one's homeland culture and ways of life. New patterns of Japanese immigration do not conform to those of earlier studies, which were based on a significantly different context at the global and individual levels. Educational patterns for future generations can be utilized as a significant marker of these changes. Unfortunately, extensive studies of New Japanese are lacking, as lately much attention in Asian American studies has been drawn to the rise of China's economy and a larger Chinese diaspora. Despite this, shin-issei studies are important to ongoing international understanding and relationship between the United States and Japan. Japanese people living and working abroad are an important part of these ties that reflect toward the macro relationship between countries.

Significance of Study

When comparing and contrasting the early Japanese Americans and New Japanese in the United States, it is important to recognize that the early immigrants came during the early 1900s, and since then there have been drastic changes due to the effects of globalization. For New Japanese, reasons for coming to the United States range from war-bride marriages (Storrs, 2000); business purposes, such as launching a Japanese restaurant or other ethnic business (Bestor, 2000); educational pursuits; and corporate requests for sojourners who will work abroad. These

New Japanese immigrants are a very diverse group. As Fukuda (2009) reiterates, that in terms of shin-issei purpose for immigrating to the United States, “Each of the Shin-Issei who moved to America had his or her own reasons for leaving Japan. Some leave to study abroad or get married...some pursue dreams of business success” (para. 2). If we examine the New Japanese immigrants through this globalization perspective, we can conclude that the New Japanese immigrants have distinctly different immigration processes from earlier Japanese Americans who had less education and financial resources, and had weaker relationships with their homeland. Some ethnic community establishments are now shared between new and Old Japanese communities, yet having resided in the United States for more than 100 years, older Japanese Americans form a distinctly separate group.

This study compares and contrasts the new and Old Japanese communities by using an ethnographic approach, observing the modern community through both outside and inside perspectives, providing insight into the processes of supplementary education in the New Japanese community and the maintenance and formation of ethnic identity. It also compares and contrasts New Japanese with pre-World War II Japanese immigrants, showing how migration patterns, purposes for migration, and lifestyles have changed over time. Immigrants generally face a daunting task of starting a new life in unfamiliar surroundings, requiring the adaptation of a new language, mannerisms, and culture. This study specifically focuses on the unique group of contemporary migrants from Japan coming to the United States in a highly globalized era globalization area, allowing for a detailed analysis of their case. This research reveals their new characteristics, and unique aspects of their case, including those that differentiate them from previous first wave Japanese immigrants who arrived to the United States more than hundred years ago.

The New Japanese integrating into and developing existing Japanese communities in the United States has received little academic attention, despite the number of New Japanese arriving in the United States since the 1980s. This study contributes to the knowledge and understanding of contemporary New Japanese, using an ethnic community in West L.A. as a case study. Looking at migrant groups and the New Japanese in the United States, Goodman, Peach, Takenaka, and White (2003) asserted, “a transitory migrant stream with a significant rate of population turnover nevertheless creates certain aspects of ‘community’ within a destination location” (p. 79). This statement explains the phenomenon of certain groups of migrants creating communities that are extensions of their native land after leaving it. It is questionable that why they need to create an extension of their motherland through the creation of an ethnic community. My research into the New Japanese community and its institutions like the Japanese market and supplementary school demonstrate these processes of community building and maintenance. Through grounded observations, this study contributes an ethnographic case study of the New Japanese, while addressing broader topics such as the role and meaning of Asian ethnic communities within the United States. This case study provides an analysis of the groups of people that participate in this particular ethnic community and their purposes for doing so. Beyond this particular study, it is my hope that by answering my initial research questions relating to the New Japanese community, further studies can be made to address the much larger question as to why these ethnic communities exist and their overall form and function in the different ethnic groups.

Theoretical Framework

An understanding of transnationalism and globalization theory is important in order to

comprehend the unique characteristics New Japanese immigrants possess. In terms of business and economics, globalization and the spread of international integration can be held responsible for many of these New Japanese groups. Many of these New Japanese individuals belong to academic institutions which value international studies and interpretation, others belong to international branches of Japanese companies, and some have started ethnic businesses that satisfy a demand for “Japanese” within the United States. Furthermore, transnationalism is important to understand that these New Japanese are not forced to assimilate into being “American.” They have the option to maintain both an American identity and a Japanese identity. Many even are able to maintain a very strong Japanese identity, despite living in the United States for extended periods of time. All these factors are important in understanding the ethnic community and the role it serves.

Globalization Theory

Globalization itself is hard to define since it is used in many different contexts and by many different fields of study—it holds different meanings in each context. Simply put, *globalization* is a process that encompasses transnational flow of political, economic, and cultural values. Globalization plays a role in most aspects of our daily life, since we are exposed to numerous forms of international information, goods, and resources that are being sent and received simultaneously. Giddens (1990) explains globalization as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (p. 64). Connecting to transnationalism theory, Kearny (1995) defined the difference between globalization and transnationalism thusly: “Transnationalism overlaps globalization but typically has a more

limited purview. Where global processes are largely decentered from specific national territories and take place in global space, transnational processes are anchored in and transcend one or more nation-state” (p. 548).

If we compare the contemporary New Japanese presence abroad, against the early Japanese Americans, globalization is a strong factor in the dissimilarity between the two groups. Due to the historical circumstances of the early Japanese immigration, they did not have strong, sustainable ties with their homeland. However, for today’s New Japanese abroad, through the lens of theories such as globalization and transnationalism, the complex relationship between immigrant’s actions and understanding, and the global flows between motherland and host country are more apparent. By applying these theories in this research on New Japanese communities in Los Angeles and their educational understandings attained while living in this globalized era, it is possible to see how New Japanese abroad create and develop identity. This new global era complicates studies of identity, as globalization multiplies rather than destroys identities (Tomlinson, 2003). This study explores New Japanese abroad with the understanding that they are creating their identity, belongingness, and lifestyle based on transnationalism made possible by globalization. In turn, these factors affect the educational strategies shin-issei choose for their children.

Transnationalism

Transnationalism is a term “originally widely used to describe corporate structures with established organizational bases in more than one state, has also been applied to movements and linkages of people, ideas, goods, beliefs, values, and capital across national borders” (Adachi, 2006, p. 3). Transnationalism has been applied in many studies for multi-dimensional comparative analyses of countries and international migration, evaluating historical, cultural, and

social connections that people maintain between two or more countries (cf. Schiller, Basch & Blanc, 1995; Weber, 1999; Li, 2009). One view of transnationalism is used to explain cases of socioeconomic motivated immigration to the Western countries; Sahoo & Kruijf (2014) explain “transnationalism is an efficient means of transferring knowledge, skills, and wealth from core nations to those in the semi-periphery and the periphery” (p. 178). However, shin-issei do not tend to fit into this limited definition, since they are often already educated middle and upper class citizens of Japan prior to their arrival to the United States. Transnationalism “emphasizes the dynamic process of nation-making as anchored across nations (and states), privileging neither place of origin nor adopted land and collapsing time and space into a single social field” (Schiller et al. in Hoffman, 2004).

Wei Li’s (2009) ethnographic and geographical study on Old and new Chinese immigrants in Los Angeles, California suburbs provides an example of contemporary study of Chinese migration patterns. In Li’s case study of the new Chinese community in the San Gabriel Valley, a community on the east side of L.A., she declares:

Transnationalism is a multidimensional phenomenon. It is considered to have at least three forms: economic, political, and sociocultural. Economic transnationalism has been widely studied; its foci include migrants’ remittances, cross-border economic transactions conducted by immigrant and minority business, as well as the economic activities of mega-scale multinational firms. Political transnationalism encompasses issues of citizenship, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and other organizational forms. Among the sociocultural dimensions of transnationalism are the “relational” and the “experiential” the former describing individual moments and the latter referring to an

individuals” sense of identity and belonging. (p. 27)

In this research, transnationalism has been introduced in order to examine how two major factors—the reason for leaving Japan and/or coming to the United States, and identity creation, maintenance and formation—make up a broader context that defines the New Japanese presence in Los Angeles. This research relies on the concept of transnationalism to analyze New Japanese positionality and identity while living in the United States. Transnationalism is an important concept for the New Japanese presence in Los Angeles, not because of the experience of moving and beginning to live abroad, but more so due to the importance of ongoing networks and connections with Japan via globalization. This globalized era allows for convenient and accessible air transportation and shipping; instantaneous long-distance communication via video, text message, and email; and worldwide access to homeland culture and up to date news. These technological advancements provide the basis for the emergence of transnationalism on a mass scale.

My research examines transnationalism within the movement from contemporary Japan to the United States, which is a predominately lacking upward socioeconomic motivation often associated with migration. Basch, Schiller, and Blanc (1994), define transnationalism as, “The process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (p. 6). Transnationalism allows us to see how immigrants live through two different nations, how globalization affects their identity and situations, and what processes they use to maintain networks back to their motherland. Contemporary immigration’s transnationalism is closely connected to advanced technology and easier communications. Immigrants are no longer considered “uprooted and transplanted migrants who

will be assimilated into the receiving societies, but ‘transmigrants,’ who will keep close ties and be identified with both their origin and receiving countries and beyond” (Li, 2009, p. 26).

Transnationalism to Contemporary Japanese

Along with modern technological advancements, increased globalization has shaped different patterns of immigration, settlement, and ethnic community establishment. For instance, affordable international travel has become accessible to most New Japanese who come to the United States, and middle and middle-upper class individuals are able to make yearly or even more frequent trips to visit Japan. Of note, studies often consider the importance of transnational connections that occur in the form of international trips to an immigrant’s homeland, both for personal and work reasons (Portes, Guarnizo & Landolt, 1999). What we can see from studies on transnationalism by Li (2006), Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (1999), and Basch et al. (1994), is that contemporary transnationalism has drastically changed how international migrants can now create strong and lasting connections between their motherland and new homeland. Looking at Japanese migrant groups and the New Japanese in the United States, continued migration and turnover of New Japanese as sojourners return a continuing sense of contemporary Japanese community within the United States. For New Japanese, this can manifest as an extension of Japan itself, not merely a patchwork recreation or substitute.

The introduction of transnationalism is essential to the research of contemporary Japanese in order to truly see how the Japanese presence here in Los Angeles operates. There is no question that the New Japanese abroad generally maintain strong ties to Japan. Theories of transnationalism can be used to evaluate those ties to understand issues of identity, and then further on, the educational understandings New Japanese parents have and the preparations they make for their children’s education. These New Japanese are living and creating their own

unique form of Japaneseness, while differentiating themselves from the previous Japanese American community and negotiating their position in relation to Japan and the United States. Also, an interesting point emerges, which is to consider how the length of time they spend or have spent in the United States can affect and/or correspond to their sense of Japanese identity and relationship to Japan. Observing the contemporary New Japanese presence, their community, and their supplementary schools in Los Angeles from the lens of transnationalism allowed for analysis into the migration cycles and paths they travel. Additionally, it provided an opportunity to see what connections and transnational dimensions these New Japanese developed or maintained while living in the United States and what global ties, understandings, and strategies they used to cope with the absence of their homeland.

Contemporary cosmopolitans can be defined as a people or groups who can afford to cross borders and nations easily, allowing for lifestyles unbound from traditional ties toward nationality or geographical location. Some view contemporary Japanese as cosmopolitans, since networks between Japan and the United States are incredibly close, due to globalization networks, and accessible transportation and communication. The higher their status, the easier it is for them to adapt because they can possess flexible citizenship and can afford to use their wealth to maintain homeland ties. As transnational migrants, the identities of New Japanese are informed by both Japan and the United States to varying degrees. Kameyama (2012) concludes that these transnational immigrants are challenging the conceptualization of belonging, citizenship, and migration as one that is stable, one way, and bounded, and replacing it with one that is flexible, two-way, and unbounded by any particular nation-state or place.

All immigrants are exposed to transnationalism to some degree. However, over time the definition and meaning of transnationalism has changed and is strongly impacted by

globalization. By looking at contemporary Asian American communities, we can see that the some groups maintain transnational identities, while others lean towards assimilation toward an “American” identity. In the case of New Japanese abroad, I argue that they prefer to maintain strong ties with Japan, and exhibit strong transnational identities. Because transnationalism plays a large role in their lifestyle and choices in the United States, I use transnationalism as a key theory in order to describe the process of New Japanese immigrants social, cultural participation in the United States and Japan.

The Ethnoburb

Arizona State University Professor Wei Li (2009) suggests an alternative immigration model that is more relevant given the drastic changes in globalization and transnationalism that are evident in modern times. Her work examines the Chinese population in Los Angeles County and she has proposed the concept of an *ethnoburb* to explain new Chinese immigration. Importantly, “the ethnoburb model challenges the dominant view that assimilation is inevitable and remains the ideal solution for immigrants and other racial/ethnic minorities who live in the United States” (Li, 2009, p. 4). Ethnoburb combines the methods and theories of political and economic geography with a cultural focus emanating from ethnic and race studies scholarship. The ethnoburb is described as a middle ground between the traditional suburb and ethnic enclave, though not necessarily dominated by any one-minority group. As such, it is an important alternative to previous assumptions that immigrants would either enter America in ghettos or tightly segregated ethnic enclaves, which were thought to largely determine assimilation patterns and upward socioeconomic mobility (c.f. Portes & Manning, 1986; Etzioni, 1959).

As one of the factors allowing for the creation of modern day ethnoburbs, Li (2009) noted

that global economic restructuring has created more opportunities for highly educated, skilled, and wealthy immigrants. For these immigrants, the demands of their job and role in the restructured economy do not necessitate English speaking ability. Some of the New Japanese certainly fit into this category, especially the corporate sojourners who plan to stay temporarily. The typical sponsorship into an American branch of their Japanese company means that they will likely enter a work community that is supportive of their Japanese identity, Japanese social norms, and accommodates limited English ability. Their involvement with international trade with Japan meant that they can still be successful without adapting to American society. Li (2009) proposed that for these types of immigrants “the development of transnational or global ties is the key” for their relationship with America (p. 39). Li noted that certain world cities such as Los Angeles make good candidate locations for ethnoburbs because of their diverse immigrant networks and important shipping and business opportunities. Statistically speaking there are many factors that indicate Los Angeles County, in general, matches Li’s (2009) economic criteria of the ethnoburb for New Japanese. In 2007, it was reported that 83,000 Japanese nationals were living and working in Southern California (Consulate General of Japan).

Considering the case for a Japanese ethnoburbs in Los Angeles County, the city of Torrance is an excellent candidate. There is a substantial Japanese presence there and in the surrounding areas, partially based on the globalized economy and Japanese expansion into foreign markets. In particular, Torrance contains the U.S. headquarters of two major Japanese firms—Toyota and Honda—and the U.S. headquarters of All Nippon Airways. These major connections are indicative of the Japanese business preference toward this area. Based on 2000 census data, the population of Torrance is 9.8% Japanese, making Japanese the most common racial ancestry (Mapping L.A., Torrance). Furthermore, it is estimated that the average payroll

for Southern California based Japanese firms is 48% higher than the California average (Consulate General of Japan, 2011). This indicates that Japanese corporate sojourners and longer-term business workers associated with Japanese companies have significant economic means that disassociate them from traditional ethnic enclaves and ghettos.

Wei Li (2009) proposed the notion of an ethnoburb in the recent Los Angeles Chinese immigrant community as an alternative to the ghettos or poor ethnic enclaves that have traditionally been associated with new immigrants. This notion also applies to many of the groups of New Japanese migrants in the United States. As mentioned, there are not only corporate sojourners, but also many small business entrepreneurs, and service industry and blue-collar workers who play an important role in the ethnoburb. They fill the demand for ethnic business that is generated by transnational professionals who desire to maintain their Japanese norms even while abroad. These small business owners and workers fulfill these needs by creating ethnic services such as Japanese grocery markets, bookstores, supplementary schools, restaurants and more. These services are important because they allow New Japanese to maintain a transnational ethnic identity. They also offer services in Japanese, and that follow the norms of Japanese culture. This means that beyond structural alternatives to assimilation in the United States, the New Japanese also are able to maintain their native language, culture, and societal norms. Li (2009) noted, “Interdependency between rich and poor within a group enhances ethnicity whereas conflict between them undermines ethnic solidarity” (p. 48).

As transnational New Japanese hang onto their Japanese identity, this translates to a consumption of Japanese products and services that are offered up by the blue collar New Japanese. From one perspective this relationship can be generally characterized as educated and wealthy transnational Japanese being served culture and identity by the community’s blue-collar

workers who have less access to a transnational lifestyle themselves. However, the Japanese community tends not to be stratified by wealth as immigrants arriving from developing countries, thus relationships between the rich and poor within the Japanese community provide mutual benefits for each group, further increasing their overall ethnic identity as New Japanese.

Ethnoburb Applied to the New Japanese Community

Beyond location and community structure, the ethnoburb actively shapes how New Japanese communities operate and serve their ethnic group. The community should not just be viewed as a place to purchase Japanese products, eat Japanese food, etc. By looking at the globalized and transnational lifestyles of New Japanese in the United States it is clear that there is a deeper meaning to the role of ethnic community. By offering services that sell products but also “Japaneseness,” they are essential for allowing New Japanese to have the option to maintain a Japanese identity or begin assimilating toward American society. New Japanese cross class and educational lines, so the various sub-groups have varied ability to choose and different preferences towards one path or the other. In general, corporate sojourners prefer to maintain a Japanese identity since their circumstances are accommodating to this choice. Because sojourners intend to return home there is less pressing need to gain English proficiency and be able to operate independently within American society. The less well-off service workers have less choice, and must adapt to American society to some degree in order to survive. Unlike larger immigrant groups, like Chinese Americans, they do not have the numbers that allow for catering only to Japanese. As many work in the service industry, services need to be offered in both Japanese and English, and must also cater to the needs and tastes of both Japanese and American customers. These factors are important to understanding the ethnic community and how it serves New Japanese in the United States.

Observing the Japanese community, especially in the West L.A. Sawtelle area, Japanese businesses can be seen from a transnational perspective with a strong globalized atmosphere. The majority of customers in the Japanese markets in this area are Japanese and of Japanese descent, so almost all products come from big brands and household names that can be found in Japan. They do not stock American products, and almost all products are packaged and labeled the same as they are in Japan. Perhaps the main difference from products found in a supermarket in Japan is that they have extra English ingredient labels affixed to processed foods. Furthermore, many of the free papers and magazines found at the entrances and exits of Japanese supermarkets are written completely in Japanese with no English translation. Despite the fact that this Japanese supermarket is located in the United States, they cater to the needs of a Japanese community specifically. Beyond Japanese ethnic markets, there are many other types of businesses that not only serve products, but also dispense a taste of Japan within America, both culturally and socially. In these cases, it can be argued that the ethnic community is essential for the maintenance of a Japanese identity outside of Japan. This study explored the relationships and connections can we see within the New Japanese community in Los Angeles, despite being composed of various generations and intentions for coming to the United States.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Background on Early Japanese Migration

Japanese Americans' presence in the United States has a lengthy history going back to the early 20th century. Like other immigrant groups, they have struggled to find their place in America, and the identity of their group has changed over the course of multiple generational changes. While reading the case of Yone Noguchi, a Japanese man who came to the United States approximately 100 years ago and eventually became an English professor at Keio University in Japan, and Ronald Takaki's *Strangers From a Different Shore*, which explained Japanese American settlement in Hawaii, their history of labor, picture brides and WWII experiences, I was fascinated by the rich history of the Japanese American community in the United States (Sueyoshi, 2012; Takaki 1998). However, as a Japanese citizen studying in the United States, I could see that the Japanese Americans who are descendants of the early Japanese immigrants have clearly diverged from Japanese in Japan, and the two have become completely different groups. For instance, whenever I meet 4th generation descendants of Old Japanese Americans, called *yonsei*, I am quite surprised how their perception of Japan and my own are quite different. Their image of Japan and their traditions are still rooted in the perception of the Japan of their ancestors who immigrated to the United States more than a hundred years ago. In contrast, my contemporary perception is very different as I was raised in modern-day Japan.

However, by staying in the United States for an extended period of time, I have been able to witness that there are also New Japanese immigrants and visitors who have arrived after WWII. The New Japanese groups are quite different from the previous Japanese Americans

because the historical circumstances have changed drastically. I feel closer to these new groups of Japanese who speak Japanese fluently than the Old Japanese American community who have been in the United States for more than 100 years. As they have been in the United States for an extended period of time, many of these Japanese Americans no longer can speak Japanese, and their culture and way of life is disjointed from contemporary Japanese groups. Beyond language ability, there are other differences between the New and Old Japanese immigrants, for instance their purposes for staying in the United States, their occupations, and their culture and traditions. Despite coming from the same motherland, all of these elements where the past and present Japanese immigrants and sojourners differ are reflective of the historical changes that have taken place since the early Japanese Americans arrived.

When looking at the definite distinctions between the early and New Japanese in the United States, it is important to first understand the historical context of their immigration or arrival. Thus, I will provide literature review of scholars who have studied Japanese American history, and shift from the historic to contemporary Japanese communities in the United States. Scholars such as historian and ethnic studies professor Ronald Takaki, anthropologist Harumi Befu, and historians Eiichiro Azuma, Yuji Ichioka, Ryo Yoshida, and Toyotomi Morimoto have contributed an extensive body of work on the long history of pre-WWII first and second generations Japanese Americans. Whether viewing this history from an American perspective, Japanese perspective, or both sides simultaneously, each scholar's positionality toward Japanese Americans helps provide a piece of the complete picture. After defining the early Japanese Americans, this can be used to juxtapose this historical group with the contemporary wave of Japanese immigrants.

In order to comprehend contemporary Japanese, the history of Japanese immigration to

the United States is an important foundation. After examining the early Japanese Americans, attention will be turned to their contemporary counterparts, the New Japanese who arrived after WWII. What characterizes the new generation of Japanese immigrants, and how do the social circumstances they experience explain their unique character? However, one of the critical issues in studying the contemporary Japanese American community is that they do not have a long and recognized status, so there are very few articles and data regarding them.

Lastly, as mentioned, the majority of scholars who study Japanese American history have focused heavily on the early Japanese immigrants up to the post-WWII era. Contemporary Japanese communities differ from the previous Japanese American community, and these new communities must be analyzed as disconnected and distinct from the early Japanese Americans.

Early Japanese Americans

Immigration

Ronald Takaki's scholarship serves as a good starting point for examining the broad and long history of Japanese Americans as a whole. In his 1998 book *Strangers From a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*, Takaki explained the history of and gave an introduction to the first wave of Japanese to the United States, specifically looking at first and second generation Asian immigration cases before WWII. As a nisei who was raised in Hawaii, he gave a clear sense of early Asian American immigration and the social status of Asian Americans, in general, and Japanese Americans in Hawaii and the United States west coast, in particular.

Additionally, Takaki (1998) explained early Japanese diasporas in the United States and compared and contrasted them with other Asian immigrants. Not only interested in Japanese Americans, Takaki (1998) also studied several cases of Asian immigration to the United States,

including the Chinese, Korean, Indian, and Pilipino. His studies revealed how Asian immigrants from different regions and countries had different strategies and adaptation processes for living in the United States, and how these Asian immigrant parents raised their children in terms of education.

Most early Japanese Americans arrived during the early 1900s, a time when Japan was struggling economically, and many sought to find wealth in the Americas. Japanese immigration boomed following the 1882 Chinese Expulsion Act, which prohibited all immigration of Chinese laborers to the United States. Takaki (1998) explains that from 1910 to 1930 the Japanese immigrant population in the United States doubled to 138,834:

They were concentrated in the Pacific Coast states, especially California, where 42 percent of the total continental Japanese population lived in 1900, and 70 percent thirty years later... Approximately 40 percent of the Japanese migrants had made America their permanent home, and together with their children they were ushering Japanese American into the *teiju* – the era of settlement. (p. 181)

Takaki (1998) revealed the critical issues early Asian immigrants faced in their labor role in the United States, particularly in Hawaii. During this period Asian immigrants who came to the United States were primarily serving as substitutes for labor that used to belong to newer white Europeans immigrants, such as the Italians, Irish and Eastern Europeans. However, he points out that the prejudice and racism the Japanese immigrants faced was much greater than their white counterparts.

Most Japanese Americans settled into agricultural occupations such as farming vegetables

and fruit. Although most Japanese farmers were small operators with farms usually under forty-nine acres, some were truck farmers who sold their crops to local markets in cities like Los Angeles, Sacramento, Fresno and San Francisco (Takaki, 2000, p. 193). This lifestyle was natural for them, as most of these immigrants had belonged to poor farming families before coming to the United States. It is important to recognize that these early immigrants lacked social and economic wealth, and they endured many hardships during their entry to the United States.

Education

Toyotomi Morimoto, an educational historian in Japan, explained what issues early Japanese immigrants faced in the United States in the educational context in particular. His 1997 book, *Japanese Americans and Cultural Continuity: Maintaining Language and Heritage*, focused on the early Japanese American community in the first wave of settlement to the United States during the early 20th century to the 1940s. One aspect of his work looked at how first generation issei viewed the education of their second-generation nisei children. His work compliments that of Takaki. While Takaki provides a history of Japanese settlement and labor in Hawaii and the mainland United States, Morimoto provides a Japanese scholar's perspective into the educational aspects of Japanese diaspora and language schools.

Early Japanese Americans did place importance on American education, with good reason; structural assimilation into the American mainstream led to upward mobility, so it was necessary for their success (Takaki, 2000). However, they also were intent on providing a "Japanese" education as well. In his research on Japanese language schools from 1903-1921, Morimoto (1997) found that Keio Sano and his wife established the first Japanese language school in California, named Nihongo Gakuin, in San Francisco in 1903. During this era it was quite common for the Japanese ethnic community to stick together, so many of such schools

were created to serve their needs. Morimoto (1997) noted:

The love-hate relationship between the immigrants and the host country is reflected in the Issei's perception of the education of the Nisei. While setting high value on public education, Issei still kept the Japanese-language schools as a shelter for their own ethnic language and heritage. (p. 30)

For many first generation Issei, the purpose for coming to the United States and working heavily in manual labor was to return to Japan after earning substantial savings. Thus, it made sense to place importance on the Japanese education of their children who might one day return to Japan. Morimoto (1997) explained that the first language schools were used to serve the immediate needs of shin-issei parents for their children's childcare, instruction in Japanese education, culture, and socialization, often while they were unable to do so personally due to work and time limitations (p. 30). From Takaki to Morimoto and anthropologist Harumi Befu, these scholars who studied Japanese American history all found indications that early Japanese language schools were not just a place for the second generation to learn the language of the motherland,, but moreover, a bridge between the first generation and second generation.

Another point of interest in the early educational strategies of Japanese Americans was the *kibei* presence. The *kibei* were members of the Japanese American second generation who were sent to Japan to learn Japanese and to study in Japanese educational institutions until they eventually returned to the United States. Morimoto (1997) looked at what kind of schools they were sent to in their motherland, and the issues the Japanese American second generation faced during the early 1920s until before World War II. These members of the second generation

further evidence the importance that many in the Japanese American community placed on maintaining their Japanese language identity and culture among the second generation. Additionally, Morimoto (1997) and Takaki (2000) both found that the language school also served as a place to connect issei parents and nisei children. Since issei parents were busy with their agricultural labor work, they did not have enough time to teach their American born children the Japanese language.

However, at the same time, these early Japanese language schools faced issues regarding how to teach early second generation Japanese American nisei to be American and Japanese simultaneously. The emphasis on maintaining a Japanese identity became controversial given the historical context. Morimoto (1997) explained that, “Japanese language schools would place Nisei in an awkward position, since some politicians were trying to strip citizenship even from the American born second generation” (p. 36). It can be understood that these early Japanese language schools conflicted with the ideology of the American mainstream, and while valued by the community, they did have some negative consequences to the overall assimilation and acceptance of the Japanese Americans.

Community

Given the prejudice and racism early Japanese American issei and nisei faced, and the community pressure to maintain ethnic education, it should not be a complete surprise that as a group they maintained a strong sense of community and tradition. The original issei, the early Japanese Americans encountered significant racism, but rather than surrender their Japanese identity, they turned to ethnic enclaves for solidarity (Takaki, 1998). Stephen S. Fugita and David J. O’Brien, both historians, looked at the post-WWII Japanese American community, which was composed of the original early immigrants and their descendants. One of the interesting points

regarding their work was that they believed one of the reasons why Japanese Americans continued to keep Japanese culture within their community was because of their characteristics and rituals.

Despite the Japanese community shifting from first to second generation dominance, values such as authority relationships, respect for age, seniority, obligations, and responsibility were continued (Fugita & O'Brien, 1991, p 79). Fugita and O'Brien (1991) note, "there remains a remarkable degree of continuity in certain principles for structuring social relationships" (p. 29). While Japanese language ability, culture, and traditions have diminished across generations, the most outstanding retention of Japanese identity remains in their social relationships. While Fugita and O'Brien (1991) focused on what ethnicity means to the early Japanese Americans in the United States, they provide a connection between early Japanese immigrants and contemporary/New Japanese immigrants. While the majority of New Japanese immigrants are now first and second generation, they are also facing issues regarding how their New Japanese community will develop and change over time. Early Japanese immigrants created a strong ethnic Japanese community, maintaining their culture and traditions, and this same phenomena also can be witnessed in the New Japanese community who arrived after WWII (Fugita & O'Brien, 1991). According to Fugita and O'Brien (1991), we can look to the early Japanese Americans for guidance in understanding the New Japanese groups. What strategies did they have for preserving culture and traditions, and how did those strategies shape the community's change over time? While Asian immigration to the United States has been continuous, studies on Japanese immigration have largely tapered off as the previous waves of Japanese Americans have assimilated further into mainstream America. However, studies on contemporary Japanese migrants and immigrants offer a new opportunity to continue this field into the present.

Historic Arrival of Shin-Issei in the United States

Given the rich and long history of Japanese Americans, this study also provides a comparative analysis between the first wave of Japanese Americans during the early 20th century, and the shin-issei who are arriving now. However, the modern context of globalization, transnationalism, and other changes mean that today's shin-issei Japanese migrants are uniquely dissimilar in several ways. Sassen (1998) states, "Migrations do not just happen; they are produced. And migrations do not involve just any possible combination of countries: they are patterned" (p. 73). This definition raises the question, are New Japanese following the same migration and adjustment patterns as the original issei? It must be recognized that since the 1900s Japan has drastically grown economically, and as a result, so has the proportion of middle class households. It is no longer a country where the common case of emigration stems from a search for better financial opportunities abroad. From this perspective, shin-issei are following a much different pattern of immigration from the original issei. This difference is a very important point of analysis in understanding the characteristics of shin-issei. This research will pay attention to the structural and cultural reasons that shin-issei are being pushed and pulled abroad. While addressing the research questions, I will explain several themes apparent in the identity of the New Japanese and how their identity changes while living abroad in the United States. This discourse will explain why the differences between the shin-issei and issei are more than just a matter of period of immigration.

Economic, cultural, and academic globalization has facilitated the arrival of transnational Japanese individuals, families, and groups to the United States. In the 1920s United States immigration policy restricted immigration by national origin quotas which severely limited Japanese immigration to the United States. In the years following World War II, it was difficult to

secure visas and permanent residency abroad, and state sponsored emigration was mostly to Latin American countries (Yasuike, 2005). During this period, some Japanese women immigrated to the United States as war brides, marrying American soldiers during the occupation of Japan. The first significant wave of New Japanese individuals, transnational corporate sojourners, and groups began to arrive to the United States after the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 released restrictive immigration quotas. During the mid to late 1960s the Japanese economy was growing drastically and began expanding domestically and internationally. The simultaneous changes to United States immigration laws and economic progress were two important factors in bringing about a wave of Japanese immigrants to the United States. Yasuike (2005) explained that during this time, the United States started to become of the largest market for Japanese corporations as well as one of the most popular destinations for international facilities, helping to shape this trend in expanded Japanese immigration.

Sassen (1994) pointed out that due to the change of the 1965 American immigration law:

[T]here was a renewal of mass immigration change, which took place within the context of expanded US economic and military activity in Asia and the Caribbean Basin. The United States is at the heart of an international system of investment and production that binds these various regions. In the 1960s and 1970s, the United States played a crucial role in the development of a world economic system and it passed legislation, which aimed at opening its own, and other countries' economies to the flow of capital, goods, services and information. (p. 63)

Sassen (1994) argued that this change in American policy laid the groundwork for

modern internationalization and global economic systems. The United States became an attractive destination for Japanese expansion, and with these corporate ties, employers, employees, and families followed the transnational movement to the United States. However, unlike the majority of Japanese American immigrants from the early 20th century, these modern immigrants enjoyed the benefits Japan's new economic strength, corporate support networks, and readily accessible ties to their homeland through globalization and technological advancement. In short, the immigration patterns of the shin-issei and their issei predecessors were vastly different.

Contemporary Japanese Overseas Community

The overseas migration of shin-issei and their experiences are creating a new form of Japanese representation in the United States. According to Goodman et al. (2003), the number of Japanese abroad residing abroad for more than three months, *zairyu honjin*, in 2000 was 812,000. Befu (2003) explained the juxtaposition of the previous Japanese immigrants and contemporary New Japanese immigrants in terms of difference in social status. The early Japanese immigrants came dominantly from a poor economic background in order to pursue better opportunities in lucrative countries, which at the time were considered to be the United States and South America (Steoff & Takaki, 1994). Because they could not find better opportunities in Japan, they decided to make a new life abroad and left their motherland. Previous Japanese immigrants arrived to the California mainland predominantly to serve as manual and field laborers. As evidenced by Ronald Takaki's (1998) analysis of the early immigrants, most entered into agriculture work, and had no established capital or support. However, New Japanese immigrants were raised in a new era in which Japanese people did not face the levels of poverty that occurred in the late 19th

century and early 20th century, and thus, they did not come from a poor economic background. Moreover, socioeconomically, postwar Japan has grown drastically and has become a powerful country where the majority of the population is considered to be middle class (Gordon, 1993). This difference in terms of economic status is quite dramatic, and is responsible for more differences between the two groups in educational attainment, identity, and most importantly their assimilation into mainstream America.

Wei Li's 2009 analysis of the Los Angeles Chinese ethnoburb highlighted the differences between immigrant groups separated by differences in time period, and by extension, ethnographic, economic, and political factors. Her 2009 study provides a way to comprehend how Monterey Park became a Chinese ethnoburb with two distinct groups, Old Chinese (Lao Qiao) and New Chinese (Shin Qiao). In her analysis of these two groups, Wei Li noted similar distinctions between the Old and New Chinese sharing the same spaces as I have noticed with the Old and New Japanese. Despite coming from the same country of origin, it was apparent that migratory and immigrant circumstances are powerful factors that can stratify an ethnic group.

Glebe Gunther (2003), a German anthropologist, conducted research on New Japanese business communities in Dusseldorf, Germany. In his research he explained the establishment of Japanese communities: "With the growth of this expatriate community, Japanese business recognized the new market opportunities and supermarkets, bookshops, hairdressers, real estate agents, restaurants and karaoke bars emerged catering for the well-paid employees of the multinational companies and their families" (in Goodman et al., p. 110). Gunther's statement on the Japanese community in Dusseldorf demonstrates how the Japanese community became a significant source of ethnic information and culture for Japanese groups living in Germany. Model (1985) explained ethnic enclaves as "an occupational niche in which an ethnic group has

secured some activity and influence” (p. 64). Though Model’s study was mainly focused on ethnic enclaves in New York for Jewish, Italian, and African American communities, it provided an understanding of ethnic enclaves that may also apply to aspects of New Japanese communities in the United States. These anthropologists provide evidence that the Japanese community is very meaningful for the lifestyles of contemporary Japanese migrants who live abroad. While many of the cases found in my literature review relate to international cases beyond a case study in Los Angeles, there are in fact many similarities in the role of ethnic businesses within the larger Japanese community abroad, despite the different locations. In the 2003 book *Global Japan*, Goodman et al. devoted several chapters into explorations of the origins of different Japanese communities in countries outside of Japan, such as Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, Hong Kong, Singapore. Goodman et al. (2003) explained Japanese communities outside Japan as:

the encapsulation and isolation of Japanese migrants within their host cities and countries. The creation of a series of Japanese cultural and social landscapes in cities in various parts of the world enables migrants to remain within a Japanese social *milieu*, operating according to rules and expectations that are familiar from Tokyo, Nagoya or Osaka. (p. 9)

Goodman et al.’s (2003) findings further reinforced the idea that the New Japanese create their ethnic communities as an extension of their previous lifestyles in Japan. In a sense, this isolates them further from their host society and any expectations for their assimilation.

Roger Goodman and Harumi Befu, who are both anthropologists, explain what a

Japanese community means, especially to contemporary Japanese immigrants who live in the United States. In defining the characteristics of New Japanese immigrants and visitors Befu (2003) stated:

The dispersal of Japanese resulting from Japan's economic globalization may be classified into long-term (or permanent), and short-term (or non-permanent) categories. The former designates those who leave Japan permanently, or who have no definite plans to return to Japan. The latter includes those who intend to return to Japan or at least leave the foreign country within a definite period, most of them within five or six years. (p. 5)

This illustrates that there are different dichotomized groups within the New Japanese immigrants. In terms of Japanese human dispersal, these groups can be categorized as non-permanent sojourners and permanent immigrants. Unlike the early Japanese Americans, the New Japanese groups enter the United States in very different circumstances. Befu (2003) explained that the majority of non-permanent sojourners were in the category of business expatriates, working temporarily in the United States, and their families. Due to economic expansion from globalization, various Japanese businesses and multinational corporations have started to establish branches all over the world, and corporate workers are sent abroad to set up bases as the front link of Japanese economic imperial expansions (Befu, 2003, p. 5). Yamada (2007) demonstrated that these professionals have specific educational plans for their children, both while they are in the United States and when they return to Japan. They often receive educational support for their children from their Japanese companies, which frequently have ties to elite private schools. In addition, most of the business sojourners fully intend to return to Japan, and

thus they prefer to maintain a transnational identity rather than trying to fit into American society. This has strong implications toward how they create their ethnic community, and the strategies they employ for their children's language attainment and identity creation.

In addition to the professional business workers, a second group of emerged comprising Japanese scholars and students studying abroad in order to conduct research. These groups were not as likely to be accompanied by their families compared to the professional business worker group. Befu (2003) explained that one of the reasons that the number of immigrating scholars and students increased after the postwar era "is unquestionably Japan's economic affluence and the consequent availability of financial resource among the Japanese that have increased the numbers of students and scholars manifold in the last few decades" (p. 5). Examining the primary drivers for New Japanese migration, it is evident that, the non-permanent Japanese sojourners have strong ties with Japan, since they have often have academic and corporate sponsors sourced in Japan. This also demonstrates the access that non-permanent sojourners have access to go back and forth to Japan and the United States to do research, business, or for other reasons related to their field of work.

In contrast to the non-permanent sojourners, the permanent immigrants are categorized with the broader purpose of remaining in the United States. Juxtaposed with the early Japanese immigrants, contemporary New Japanese immigrants are very distinct in terms of social status. This group of New Japanese individuals are largely employed in blue-collar or service oriented jobs. Unlike the corporate sojourners, they tend to have plans to remain in the United States permanently, and they are creating a new style of Japanese American community. Many assume that Japanese immigrants as a whole are generally well educated and wealthy, however, the blue-collar workers are distinctly separate, and unlike the professionals and corporate sojourners,

often have less education and are lacking in high demand professional skill sets. While there is great diversity amongst Japanese immigrants to the United States, few studies have focused on the acculturation process of this largely invisible community.

The New Japanese Community in the United States

Distinct Characteristics

When comparing and contrasting the early Japanese Americans and New Japanese in the United States, it is important to recognize that the early immigrants came during the early 1900s, and since then there have been drastic changes due to the effects of globalization. Globalization is a key factor in determining why these two groups have experienced completely different immigration processes.

Community

Living in a globalized and diverse society like the United States, it is important to understand the various ethnic traditions and viewpoints that are encountered in everyday life. One highly visible form of this diversity is the abundance of ethnic communities such as Chinatowns, Korea Towns, and other less formally defined ethnic territories. Whether looking at ethnic identity, culture, or the economic impact, in many ways ethnic communities can be viewed as microcosms of the effects of globalization at the local level. As the world becomes increasingly globalized through advances in technology, the changes also influence our lifestyles and our understanding of diversity, and this can be witnessed within an ethnic community. This study looks at the newly arrived Japanese community to better understand how this community functions, especially among the increasingly globalized and transnational individuals that make

up this group in the United States.

There is an obvious trend of New Japanese groups who travel and immigrate abroad tending to maintain a strong sense of Japanese identity. Their usage of a tight knit ethnic community hints that they will follow the example of how early Japanese Americans were able to maintain a strong identity, and culture across multiple generations in the United States. Going back to Fugita and O'Brien's (1991) analysis of the early Japanese Americans, they state "Cultural guidelines for structuring social relationships play a critical role in understanding both the structural assimilation and the contemporary retention of ethnicity among Japanese Americans" (p. 27). If this history is an indicator, the New Japanese groups will likely retain even more of their language and culture than the early Japanese.

Education

Supplementary Japanese Language Schools

Clearly the effects of globalization and the ability to maintain a transnational identity have many significant effects toward the educational strategies New Japanese follow for their children. Many Japanese language schools in Los Angeles specifically target the children of corporate sojourners because they need to keep up with Japanese curricula for their return to Japan. These language schools emphasize a curriculum similar to schools in Japan to serve this purpose. On the other hand, parents who plan to remain in the United States are often motivated to send their children to these schools in order to create a cultural and language bond with their children, similar the bond noted by the scholars who focused on the educational motivations for early Japanese immigrants. Unfortunately, the educational aspect of New Japanese immigrants has not been given much attention yet. Furthermore, it is difficult to find information on their educational outcomes as they have just recently reached ages where these outcomes are visible. I

plan to address this topic in my own research and hope to contribute a greater understanding of how New Japanese education strategies further reflect their state in a globalized world.

Yasuko Minoura, an anthropologist, studied what it means for Japanese children to be raised in a bi-cultural environment where they are exposed to both Japan and the United States in their everyday lives. She found that for “Japanese families in the United States, the culture inside the house is conceptualized as that of Japan, but that which transpires outside the house is America” (1992, p. 307). While Japanese children are raised in American society, their home life is still Japanese, so they are actually coexisting with American culture and Japanese culture. Studies regarding the shin-issei’s first generation children and second-generation children’s relationship with these two cultures are indispensable. Which culture do these children identify with more, their host society American culture, or their family centric Japanese culture?

Minoura (1992) defined the indicator of incorporation of culture as “when cultural meaning systems are most readily incorporated by the individual, such that they play a significant role in directing one’s behavior” (p. 307). It can be understood that Japanese children obtain two separate sets of cultural behaviors, one to operate within American culture, such as attending standard American schools and living within an American community, while their Japanese culture is used within their home with their Japanese parents. Thus, these modern second generation children who are raised in the United States must create their own behaviors and methods for incorporating and handling their bicultural identity. Minoura (1992) explained that it is best to analyze the importance of cultural identity “at the interface of two cultures, the meaning systems to which the individual adheres are more apparent, as they are more readily dissociated from a context in which actions are taking place” (p. 307). Thus, consideration must also be given to context when evaluating the impact of cultural identity.

Minoura (1992) also pointed out that age is also an important factor for children, because they must be old enough and experienced enough to understand the difference of cultural meaning. They must be able to understand and differentiate the two cultural meaning systems that they operate within. For Japanese children who are in the stage of understanding the difference between two cultures and have the skills to incorporate American and Japanese cultures into their lives, this is the significant moment in time to reveal what Japanese supplementary education truly means for them. At this point, they have learned how to manage and deal with their bicultural lifestyle, assigning values and differentiating between two educational systems. This process is key to my evaluation of the significance and outcomes for shin-nisei children attending the supplementary schools.

In this paper I focus strongly on the words *bicultural* and *transnational*, while examining shin-nisei children who attend Japanese supplementary school. By looking at the current New Japanese immigrant community, it can be understood that Japanese children who are raised and educated in the United States, are living in an era of globalization and come from various social and immigrant status backgrounds. However their shared experience is as Minoura (1992) explained: “Children go to local American school from Monday to Friday and, in addition, most of them go to a Japanese school for supplementary education every Saturday, in order to keep up their ability to do a Japanese curriculum” (p. 307).

Different Types and Purposes of Japanese Language/Supplementary School

At a glance, one could label all types of Japanese schools as a single group, but in fact, this ignores important distinguishing features that separate different schools. For instance, there are different types of Japanese children attending Japanese supplementary schools. The location

of a school can be a significant indicator of what type of Japanese children tend to attend. This location indicator in specific areas can also be used to view the differences in the Japanese supplementary schools themselves. For instance, the Japanese schools Minoura (1992) researched were attended predominately by the children of Japanese corporate sojourners, which means that many of these Japanese children stayed in the United States temporarily. She explained, “These Japanese children relocated temporarily to the United States give us clues as to when distinctive ‘Japanese’ or ‘American’ identity is made in terms of the cultural grammar of interpersonal behavior” (p. 315).

However, when we turn our attention to Japanese students who are not children of corporate sojourners, nor consider themselves as staying temporarily in the United States, their goal in studying Japanese is quite different from the non-permanent Japanese groups who are planning to return to Japan. In contrast, within the new wave of Japanese immigrants, the group who come to the United States without the support of a company or educational institution identify more closely with a viewpoint of assimilation to American culture. Japanese children whose parents plan to go back to Japan are influenced by their parent’s identity to identify themselves as Japanese temporarily staying in the United States, and thus, their goal is to be academically prepared to return back Japan in addition to absorbing American values verbally and culturally during their limited stay in the United States.

It is important to note that some Japanese schools intentionally focus their curricula to cater to a specific type of shin-issei parent who will dictate the educational strategies for their children. Within Los Angeles County, certain Japanese supplementary schools focus more on preparation for a Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, and Science approved educational curricula, whereas other schools prioritize language development and maintenance.

This diversity of aim within Japanese schools in Los Angeles is an important factor in categorizing the educational strategies of shin-issei parents, as well as the educational outcomes for their bicultural children.

On the other hand, still there are similarities between the children of academic and corporate sojourners, and those whose parents will remain in the United States permanently. Both groups of children are bilingual, predominantly attend a local American school on the weekdays, and then attend a Japanese supplementary school on the weekend. Once when they go home, they speak in Japanese and have large amounts of Japanese cultural exposure through easily obtained Japanese media, books, and other sources of culture due to the effects of modern globalization. Globalization is one of the significant keywords in categorizing, understanding, and defining the New Japanese community in the United States. Globalization has also impacted Japanese movement to the United States, thus allowing for New Japanese communities large enough to support numerous Japanese supplementary educational institutions and cultural networks. By explaining and defining the role of supplementary education and the types of Japanese parents who enroll their children, I will explain the diversity of the Japanese supplementary school itself and what it means to educate Japanese children bilingually.

The Role of Supplementary Schools

Setsue Shibata (2000) explained supplementary schools as “one of the most effective ways to teach children a heritage language, since parents’ efforts, a patience, and resources are limited” (p. 471). Shibata (2000) also stated:

The purpose of heritage language education is to promote the values of one’s inherited language and culture, to promote communication with parents and children as well as the

family and the community, and to prepare bilingual people to deal with a multicultural society. (p. 467)

Not merely for teaching Japanese language, supplementary language schools also serve as a center for fostering and sharing ethnic values and identity. They play a significant cultural educator role for students, parents, and eventually future generations. From this point of view, it can be understood that the supplementary school plays a multi-dimensional role for students, as well as parents. Though Shibata conducted research on Japanese supplementary schools in a small town where there were few Japanese, the study can help others to consider the many roles the Japanese supplementary school fulfills, especially for first generation New Japanese immigrant parents and their shin-nisei children.

According to Noro (in Shibata 2000):

There are six main reasons for the first generation of Japanese to teach their native language to their children: a) to communicate with their children b) to preserve parental authority, c) to have pride in their Japanese ethnicity, d) to understand both cultures, e) to have an advantage for a future career, and f) to communicate with relatives and people in Japan. (p. 466)

From these points, supplementary schools can be seen as ideal places to contribute to Japanese heritage language speaker's language skill development and ethnic identity. However, one of the main factors of Japanese children attending a Japanese language school is not completely based on ethnic maintenance, but is also strongly influenced by the Japanese identity of their parents.

Japanese Language School Ethnic Identity Development and Maintenance

In a 2004 study of a Japanese heritage program in Arizona, using language socialization as a theoretical lens, Siegel found that language classes at a supplementary school are beneficial due to “the effectiveness of acquiring language through the process of sociocultural knowledge” (p. 124). Thus, beyond the intrinsic learning provided by classroom instruction, students further learned linguistic and cultural knowledge through daily interactions with other members of their social group, the same New Japanese cohort who attend the Japanese supplementary school. Shibata (2012) pointed out that in terms of identity development, “[Heritage Language] HL schools can be seen as ideal places to contribute to heritage language development, not only because they teach the language but also because they offer an opportunity for ethnic group membership” (p. 465). Shibata (2012) also explains one of the strongest reasons parents want their children to attend the Japanese supplementary school, is not language maintenance but to pass on their native language to their children in a location where ethno linguistic vitality is low. In small towns such as the one Shibata studied, it is much harder for ethnic networks to maintain their heritage language and culture due to their smaller size and diminished access to extended ethnic resources, such as ethnic news, markets, restaurants, and other community institutions. Thus, ethnic identity development and maintenance is an important factor in the overall purpose and meaning for students of Japanese descent attending a language school. Regarding ethnic identity theory, Giles and Bryne (cited in Chinen & Tucker, 2005) explained:

These group members not only are likely to maintain their ethnic identity, and keep at some distance from out-group speakers, but that they also are less motivated to acquire native-like proficiency in the dominant language and wish to maintain the knowledge of

their ethnic tongue. (p. 28)

Relating Literature to my Research

While many of the cases found in my literature review relate to international cases beyond my case study in Los Angeles, these works helped provide a preliminary foundation of findings and insight that informed my own work. I expected to find that there would be many similarities in the role of ethnic community, identity, and education within the New Japanese group at large, despite differing locales. Similarly, the concept of ethnic enclaves was very relevant to the New Japanese. I used the existing literature as a general base to build upon in the beginning, and later I delved into a more in-depth study of the intricate relationship between Japanese schools in the Japanese community and New Japanese groups.

Similar Studies: Cultural Migrants in New York and Texas

In a study similar to my research, Ando (2010) focused on groups of Japanese immigrants and sojourners who lived in Texas and came from different social capital and historical backgrounds. In this case study, Ando used structural equation modeling on her sample of 380 New Japanese in order to measure success along metrics of positive wellbeing, social capital, and acculturation. The study focused heavily on Japanese women, who ranged in age from 30-40, were married, and came from a fairly high socioeconomic household. Since most of the studies on contemporary/New Japanese immigrants apply a qualitative approach, this dissertation provided a different analysis approach using a large sample to draw conclusions through statistical data. The study looked at where they lived, their occupations, and their family structure. Of particular interest were the differences related to Japanese families' social capital. The scale of this study showed the great range of the Japanese community present in Texas, and

gave an interesting and atypical quantitative approach to New Japanese studies.

Ando (2010) explained the relevance of social capital theory and connected this to New Japanese acculturation by showing how the earning levels of Japanese living in Texas correlated to level of acculturation. Ando (2010) defined social capital as a resource for generating social opportunities and benefits, such as building social networks and improving psychological and social outcomes. She found that New Japanese groups with high social capital tended to minimally identify themselves as immigrants. On the other hand, those with lower social capital tended to identify themselves as immigrants and have less transnational points of view. Despite Texas having a smaller number of New Japanese than Los Angeles or New York, her research provides a strong explanation of New Japanese lifestyle and circumstances.

Hyodo's (2012) study defined contemporary Japanese people living in New York, whom he labeled as adventurers. Hyodo (2012) first explained how the Immigration Act of 1965 changed Japanese immigration to the United States dramatically and brought more diversified Japanese groups to the United States. These new immigrants had various purposes, occupations, status, and social capital, and they created a new type of Japanese community within the United States, very different from the communities of previous Japanese immigrants who arrived more than 100 years ago. Hyodo (2012) also explained that despite the previous Japanese first generation, issei, and New Japanese shin-issei, coming from the same country, they differ greatly. This study focused on New York specifically, and looked at how New Japanese groups created their community and identity in the United States. He raised many questions: how does this group view themselves in the context of New York? Do they view themselves as immigrants? If they have settled in the United States, why do they keep going back to Japan? What are the push and pull factors for them to come and stay in New York, despite the majority

of New Japanese immigrants coming from middle class backgrounds in Japan? How do their immigration stories differ from other contemporary immigrants who came to the United States after the immigration law of 1965?

Hyodo (2012) perceived Japanese people in New York as adventurers who are in a highly transnational environment with ongoing self-adjustment. He did not delve into their relationships with their children, which I paid close attention to in my study.

Conclusions

As discussed above, previous studies have focused on transnational expatriates Japanese parents, motherhood, parenthood, transnational identity, specifically focused on Japanese who are going back and forth between Japan and the United States and who also considered themselves as non-immigrant. However, as discussed my research goals, one of the main goals and purposes was to obtain deeper, more authentic voices directly from all the individuals who kindly shared their stories, life histories, through my long period of field research that allowed me greater access to each individual. This literature review provides a broad background overview of the studies on contemporary Japanese in the United States from the analyses of range of studies using both qualitative and quantitative methodologies.

This literature also provides insight as to how different ethnic groups created an ethnic community after arriving to the United States as immigrants. Studies such as ethnoburb theory on comparative studies between Old and New Chinese immigrants highlighted the new patterns of immigration and integration that differentiate immigrant groups of different time periods. It revealed the importance the ethnic community as a place for new immigrants to obtain helpful information and create networks. Thus, being influenced by the comparative studies between Old

and New Chinese immigrants in one specific place in Monterey Park in Southern California, for my research I also picked one spot in West L.A., an area called Sawtelle. In doing so, before conducting and focusing on educational aspect part of newly first Japanese immigrants, shin-issei, this site research was more to find who are these New Japanese people and where and why they were coming to this one specific place.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

There are still not many published articles regarding New Japanese immigrants, which demonstrates that the study of contemporary Japanese immigrants is a new, evolving, and underdeveloped field. Why are there so few studies of New Japanese immigrants, and what are the barriers that have limited the development of these studies? New Japanese immigrants are fascinating and unique for several reasons: their diversity, identity, and strategies for living in the United States. However, a major hurdle in doing research into this topic is that their story is still being played out. Defined in the context of their current state, there is little to no existing quantitative data that can meaningfully explore their presence in the United States. Furthermore, the relatively small numbers of contemporary Japanese immigrants means it is hard to find and collect quantitative data samples. Thus, before conducting the research, I determined that in order to understand their shin-issei experiences, a qualitative approach was extremely important to be able weigh each individual's case in detail.

Primary methodologies used during this case study include participant observation, ethnography, and in-depth interviews while spending time with the New Japanese community in Los Angeles. I will also explain the necessity of using an oral history interview style in my research and the purpose and goal of this specific methodology. The goal of this research was to collect voices from New Japanese first generation immigrants and temporary visitors and to collect insight on the educational strategies for their second-generation children. If they did not have children, I mainly asked how they identified themselves in the context of Japan and the United States. By acquiring interviewee's experiences and views from their own testimony, I was

able to provide an analysis of the characteristics of Japanese immigrants and what ethnic community means within the contemporary contexts that these transnational immigrants participate in.

The data-collection period for this research was from 2012 to 2014. In 2012 I started conducting ethnographic research on a specific Japanese supermarket in West L.A. By targeting this specific location and establishment I aimed to meet different types of Japanese people and analyze how transnationalism and identity of New Japanese in the Sawtelle community. Over a period of six months, I met with seven interviewees and selected five interviewees to present findings for. As a next step, I worked as a teaching assistant at a Japanese language school in the Sawtelle area. In addition to teaching Japanese language to the students, I wanted to analyze the atmosphere and interactions with the parents and students as an essential part of understanding shin-issei educational planning. Volunteering at the school allowed me to build relationships within the community and resulted in opportunities to learn from parents and students first hand through observation and interviews. Arranging for interviews relied heavily on building of trust and gathering recommendations from previous interviewees. In total, more than 25 interviews were conducted during these two years.

Ethnography

Ethnographic approaches allow researchers to go inside a specific community, using that community's language to comprehend their culture. It can address points of interest such as how the community looks and works internally, lifestyles of community members, and the higher-level importance of language and culture. In this study encompassing fields of migration, ethnic identity, and education, understanding these aspects of New Japanese community was essential

for in-depth analysis. I did not consider it sufficient to evaluate my particular research group without first going inside and observing their community. Obtaining information and findings from previous studies and literature was useful, but the opportunities for new findings and verification of existing hypotheses were too important to overlook. As a result, I decided to primarily use ethnographic research methodologies in order to first witness and observe the community and then to evaluate based on actual field data.

By acquiring interviewee's experiences and views in their own voices, I was able to analyze the characteristics of Japanese immigrants and what ethnic community means to them in the contemporary society that these transnational immigrants participate in. Hearing these points from each individual interviewee guided my conceptualization of New Japanese immigrants and their unique characteristics. Not just acquiring knowledge on New Japanese immigrants from literature reviews, but also hearing actual voices from individuals through face-to-face interviews provided the data and understanding for more in-depth studies of their lifestyle, experiences, and educational goals.

During my first two years at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) I focused on collecting data through community observation, and later I examined integration within the New Japanese community. While visiting each Japanese community in Los Angeles County, I followed the research methodology of participant observation, staying inside the community in order to observe and understand phenomena local to the community from insider and outsider points of view. The balance between outsider and insider viewpoints is extremely important to ground this research from many different perspectives. I started conducting preliminary field research on the New Japanese community in Sawtelle, Los Angeles's "Little Osaka," and decided to continue to use this as a focal point of this localized case study. Beyond interacting

with the community at large, I arranged in-person interviews and gathered the personal accounts of individual New Japanese group members using snowball, also known as chain or network sampling, the most common form of purposeful sampling (Merriam, 2002, p. 79). Knowing several New Japanese in Los Angeles and their families helped facilitate my preliminary studies. Through these ethnographic observations in the Japanese community in West L.A., and downtown L.A., I was able to get a clear understanding of how each Japanese community responds to the question, “What does being Japanese mean to you?”

Community Observation

The final goal of this study is to understand the standpoint of shin-issei living in the United States, and how they educate their children. In order to understand their situation, their group characteristics, ethnic community, and supplementary schools are the key aspect of analysis. This study will guide us toward the notion of inter-group diversity within the contemporary Japanese community, in West L.A. in particular. It provides detailed explanations of aspects of the New Japanese community, which most previous studies haven't examined. This study on the New Japanese community primarily uses the lenses of transnationalism and globalization, examining the roles these concepts have in the New Japanese community and Japanese Saturday school.

In order to contextualize and support the data gathered from interviews, I carried out participant observation within the shin-issei ethnic community of the Sawtelle neighborhood. My case study field research focused on what the shin-issei ethnic community, places like Japantown, and its ethnically tied institutions mean to New Japanese immigrants. Key points of study included how they interacted with their ethnic community, their motivations for doing so,

and how the ethnic community plays a role in shaping the New Japanese presence in California. This study will first examine the New Japanese community through the role of the Japanese Market. Using it as a case study, I explored how the community supports transnational identities, strong ties to Japan, and effected New Japanese individuals at a personal level.

My research is based heavily on the Japanese community in West L.A., specifically focusing on Sawtelle area, as known as Little Osaka. While East Los Angeles' Little Tokyo has a long history of early Japanese issei migration studies, Sawtelle Japantown, "Little Osaka," has not received as much attention. It was only just recently recognized with the official title of "Sawtelle Japantown" on April 1, 2015, as testament to the presence and cultural distinction of Japanese Americans from the pre-World War II era to the present. This area has a long history of Japanese migration from the beginning of the 20th century till today. Over this period of time, the community has changed drastically as different waves of Japanese settled in Sawtelle. Although the population has a substantially large Japanese population, its inhabitants and their purposes of stay in West L.A. have changed.

Since the early 1900s Japanese began settling in the Sawtelle area, commonly working as farmers, gardeners, and landscapers in outlying areas like Santa Monica, Westwood, Bel Air and Brentwood (Fujimoto, Japanese Institute of Sawtelle [JIS] & Japanese American Historical Society of Southern California [JAS], 2007). After internment during World War II, many of the issei returned to Sawtelle, and the community returned to gardening and developing Japanese nurseries. Since later generations of Japanese were no longer confined to an ethnic enclave due to socioeconomic limitations, they gradually moved out of Sawtelle. Fujimoto et al. (2007) noted a shift in Japanese demographics: "From the 1970s, there has been a new generation of Issei in Japantown. They are merchants and professionals who do not necessarily reside in Sawtelle but

provide the services that make Sawtelle deserve the nickname Little Osaka” (p. 8). Lately, a growing number New Japanese studying abroad in the United States, New Japanese immigrants and migrants, and non-Japanese who are interested in Japanese culture, are becoming the symbolic face of the Little Osaka community. This Old versus New dichotomy of the Japanese community is evident in Sawtelle’s Japantown, as shin-issei become the new face of Japanese in the existing Old Japanese locale.

Applying Transnationalism to Sawtelle Japanese Community

Viewing the New Japanese as a diaspora may provide another valid perspective given the transnational nature of most shin-issei. Studies on immigration have indicated that the phenomenon of contemporary transnational migrants going back and forth between their home country and host country while maintaining close ties of information, economy, culture, and personal connections with their home country is quite common.

Research on the contemporary New Japanese community requires the usage and application of the concept of *transnationalism*, but before applying it to the New Japanese case, its usage within this research context will be clarified here. The term *transnationalism* has roots in describing how corporate structures spread across multiple locations, but the term has expanded to further include aspects of culture, identity, and lifestyle. Basch et al. (1994) succinctly define *transnationalism* as:

...the process by which immigrant forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. We call these processes transnationalism to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross-geographic, cultural, and political borders... An essential element of transnationalism is

the multiplicity of involvements that transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies. (p. 7)

Contemporary studies of migration are closely linked to transnationalism, as the context of migration has changed over time. Whereas past immigrants often lacked economic resources or the modern means of transportation that allow rapid and frequent international travel, migrants now have the capability to maintain strong ties to their countries of origin. Furthermore, the nature of immigration itself has changed as people move abroad for different reasons. Older generations of immigrants often sought to escape poverty or persecution, while new immigrants do not necessarily follow this economic disparity between homeland and destination country.

New migrants also leave their homelands for a variety of reasons and come from a wide range of social and economic means. For example, many New Japanese are well educated and come from middle and upper class families. This status means they have the resources to travel to and from Japan frequently and have a high degree of international mobility and freedom. Now with the advent of Internet technologies, news and other forms of media and culture are broadcast internationally nearly instantaneously. With such access to their native land and culture, the New Japanese have the capability of maintaining a Japanese identity and lifestyle even while living abroad.

In this study of shin-issei in the United States a core theme is the transnational lives that the New Japanese live. Rather than give up their Japanese identity when coming to America, shin-issei engage in activities that cultivate and maintain a strong Japanese identity and see that their shin-nisei children do as well. Japanese supplementary school curricula, activities, and faculty aim to encourage students to connect with Japan in many different aspects. They provide

a strong “living” connection with Japan through exchange programs with Japanese schools, inviting Japanese guests, and other means of tying students to contemporary Japan. Thus, supplementary schools play a role not only to educate students in Japanese language, but also to provide diverse options for actually incorporating Japanese culture and identity into their lives in the United States, rather than seeing it as a distant motherland.

Yasuike (2005) explains, “Many immigrants live in Los Angeles and other global cities, such places being products of globalization in which economic, political and cultural activities are connected to locations beyond their national borders by way of transnational networks” (p. 37). Ethnic institutions like the Japanese language school become a central part of the shin-issei community, helping the diaspora in the United States operate transnationally. Safran (1991) explains that:

Diasporas may focus more on maintaining ethnic identity through language, culture or religion associated with the homeland, and their desire to continue to maintain relations with likeminded others, fostering and ‘ethno-communal’ consciousness in the nations in which they currently reside. (p. 84)

Having a specific ethnic community is key to allowing new immigrants to maintain their native culture and pass it on to subsequent generations.

My field research examining the New Japanese community in the Sawtelle area helps show how transnationalism manifests in education and identity formation. There are many types of people within the New Japanese community and many subtle differences that arise due to their having varied purposes for being in the United States. This study is not meant to present shin-

issei and their children as a homogenous group, but rather provide a more detailed and realistic picture that captures their diverse community.

Interviews

In order to understand what ethnic communities and ethnic enclaves mean for New Japanese migrants and visitors in the United States, it is important to observe the ethnic community from within and listen directly to members of the community. First-generation immigrants, especially, possess the unique quality of having a strong motherland culture, thus their views must be analyzed carefully. New Japanese immigrants come from a variety of social and economic backgrounds, so I believe that each individual case must be analyzed carefully in order to be able to draw valid conclusions. Thus, for this research, conducting interviews within the community was an ideal method to gather data and address the main research questions.

This research relies heavily on the transcription and analysis of oral interviews with members of the shin-issei community. These interviews were collected throughout the length of my field research, from the summer of 2012 to the winter of 2014. While carrying out this research, I planned to conduct the oral interviews in Japanese. Being able to communicate in the language used within the community was a key point as an ethnographer working within the New Japanese community. Hearing points from each individual interviewee guided my definition of New Japanese immigrants and their unique characteristics. Not only acquiring knowledge on New Japanese immigrants from literature review, but hearing actual voices from individuals through face-to-face interviews provided the data that allowed for in-depth understanding.

Since my focus is on New Japanese who came post World War II, the majority of these New Japanese members prefer to speak in Japanese. As New Japanese are mostly first generation

immigrants and migrants, Japanese is their native and most natural language for conversing. Thus by using Japanese, they were able to express themselves more easily and comfortably. I also interviewed some shin-nisei children, and during these interviews, I switched between Japanese and English depending on which they preferred.

The goal of these interviews was to gain insight into the following topics:

1. How do New Japanese immigrants identify themselves in the context of the United States and Japan?
2. How do they view Japan and the United States from a transnational perspective?
3. What educational strategies do they possess to their second-generation children?

My research process followed the path seen in Figure 1.

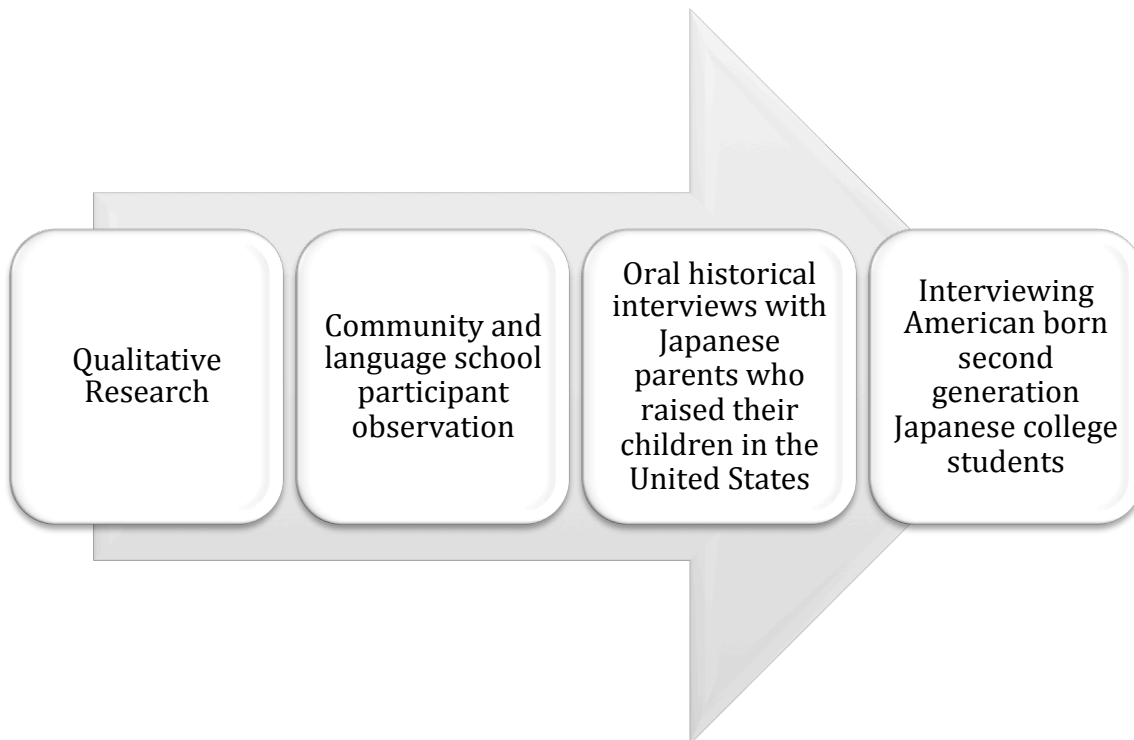


Figure 1. *Research process overview. Copyright the author's.*

Oral Historical Interviews

This section addresses the necessity of using oral historical interviews in this research. The oral historical interview style was developed to use oral testimony as a record of memories, stories, and thoughts that would complement the written historical record of an era. Historical documents, statistics, and reports provide perspective into history, but oral historical interviews further reveal different accounts through the lenses of the first-hand input of individual people. Oral historical interviews are not scripted, or strictly dictated by the interviewer, but rather they serve as a dialogue that allows interviewees to explain the personal significance of a topic. This style of interviewing allows for analyzing and interpreting the collected interview data and can guide to different perspectives to view the main subject matter. Since it focuses strongly on each individual, it can reveal findings that cannot easily be seen from data at a broader level. It values each individual's case as important, and thus, is very useful for understanding human aspects of history.

However, it was important to understand the characteristics and style typical of oral historical interviews before applying it as a methodological approach. How did oral historical approach become used in research methodology? Is it considered to be a theory or a methodology? Anna Green (1993), an oral historian teaching at the University of Exeter explained:

Oral history is still regarded by the majority of historians as primarily a methodology. From this perspective, oral history often appears to be a more or less technical process in which the memories of the elderly are elicited through questions, recorded on tape

machines and transcribed. (p. 230)

Allan Nevins, a former professor at Columbia University, is largely considered to be the founder of oral history. In 1938 he stated that the purpose of oral history was “to obtain from the lips and papers of living Americans who have led significant lives, a fuller record of their participation in the political, economic, and cultural life of the last sixty years” (Nevins, 1975, p. 288). In an interview at Columbia in 1948, Nevins espoused oral history’s ability to preserve history that would have otherwise been lost, believing “oral history is one of the latest and most promising of these precautions, and already it saved from death’s dateless night much that the future will rejoice over and cherish” (Nevins, 1975, p. 288). His work on recording history through oral history was a brand new style during that time, and his research caught the attention of scholars who maintained a belief in the superior reliability of written documents and others who came to support his research. The nature of collecting data from individual interviews is to acquire voices from each informant, and find the difference and uniqueness in their experiences.

Selection: Why Los Angeles as a Case Study?

One of the reasons that Los Angeles was a good location for a case study was because of the large number of New Japanese immigrants. Despite the fact that Los Angeles has a long history with early Japanese immigrants, it continues to also have a large concentration of New Japanese immigrants as well. This history of both Old and New Japanese migration allows a deeper comparison between these two groups of Japanese in the United States. Within the New Japanese communities of Los Angeles, I visited diverse types of Japanese schools targeting the second-generation children of New Japanese immigrants. I witnessed the education that is

provided, heard from school staff members and parents whose children attend these schools. I ended up focusing on one particular Japanese school, where I visited and eventually worked as a teaching assistant. During this teaching experience I was able to communicate with many different types of New Japanese parents and children, and see the community from a truly insider point of view.

Sampling: Collecting Participants

Interviews with New Japanese immigrants allowed me to understand the characteristics of New Japanese immigrants, and how they identify themselves. I divided interviewees by their purpose and family situation while in living in the United States. The three categorizations are as follows:

1. International marriage cases
2. Permanent Japanese immigrant families
3. Sojourners

I will discuss each of these in turn below.

International Marriage Cases

The *international marriage* interviewee group comprises those cases where only one parent in the family is New Japanese. Compared to both parents being Japanese, having Japanese influence from only one side of the family tends to result in different relationships toward Japanese identity, language ability, etc. With 15 of these cases, they made up the majority of interviewees in this study.

Permanent Japanese Immigrant Families

This group is made up of families where both parents were born in Japan and came to the United States through their own personal motivations. This group includes people with both white-collar jobs (ranging from corporate business workers to professional jobs in higher education) and blue-collar jobs (those related to ethnic business, food industries, and agricultural jobs), thus, it is difficult to aggregate them into a single grouping. I wanted to sub-categorize based on their occupation in order to draw conclusions on how social class, social capital, and social economy link to their identity as New Japanese immigrants, but I did not have the resources to gather a statistically meaningful sample size. Despite that, this study does note some occupational trends for how their situation, viewpoints, and identity differ, which in turn factors into how they try to strategize their children's education.

Sojourners

The last group I interviewed was the New Japanese who are staying in the United States temporarily as sojourners. The basis for this group is typically academia and corporate workers being sent abroad temporarily. These cases can be extremely different from Japanese groups who intend to stay permanently in the United States. Since their outlook on children's education is very different from those who plan to stay permanently; they have some distinct educational demands and strategies.

Research Goals

One of the critical aspects regarding Japanese studies is that the majority of studies that focus on Japanese and Japanese Americans in the United States only look at the early first Japanese immigrants who arrived during the early 1900s. There are numerous studies from a wide range of interdisciplinary perspectives on early Japanese Americans and their struggles with

racism and internment during World War II. However, the Japanese diaspora have since changed due to the drastic differences in Japanese and U.S. economic and political relationships. During the early immigration period, the first wave of Japanese went abroad as manual laborers with little education and wealth, which largely shaped their immigrant experience. However, since that time, Japan has become an economically powerful country, with the third largest nominal GDP worldwide. As a result, Japan has become an immigrant-receiving country, with many immigrants coming from Southeast Asia, Latin America, and China. Despite the favorable economy and living standards in Japan, there are still Japanese who decide to leave Japan for other countries by individual choice, but their circumstances are notably different from the pre-World War II immigrants. Yet, studies on New Japanese abroad haven't sufficiently responded to the lack of focus in this new area study. Given my positionality as an ethnographer who is familiar with both Japan and the United States, this study aims to contribute to understanding New Japanese communities and their experiences in modern immigration.

Fulfilling this gap in research on modern Japanese immigration will help address a much larger subject of ethnic community formation and function. Though my research on New Japanese and what ethnic community means to them is only one specific case of ethnic immigration, I believe this study contributes to the understanding of other immigrants as well. As mentioned, here in Los Angeles there are many diverse ethnic groups coexisting. Having a shared cultural space in this diverse city has special meaning to groups beyond just the Japanese immigrants. There are growing numbers on new groups immigrating to the United States, but like the New Japanese, many are highly educated and are economically well off. Globalization has had a major impact on changing the nature of immigration, especially as global relations, trade, and knowledge-based economies bring new types of immigrants who do not conform to

dated historical patterns of immigrants as manual laborers and refugees. Many modern immigrants have the resources to maintain strong transnational identities, and their professions and communities allow them to maintain strong ties with their homeland. Given the rise of these different groups of people moving transnationally, this study provides a new lens to rethink what immigration means in a modern globalized context.

Having gone inside the community, speaking their language, and understanding both American and Japanese culture and lifestyles, I believe it is important for me as a researcher to reveal more about the understudied New Japanese community. Living in a global and diverse society as the United States, it is important to understand various ethnic traditions and viewpoints. Furthermore, these ethnic communities play an important economic role, as they have a small, but important role in supporting and sustaining international trade and consumption. Whether looking at ethnic identity, culture, or economic impact, one can view the ethnic community as a microcosm of the effects of globalization. As the world continues to become globalized through technological and knowledge advancement, these changes become increasingly important to study and understand.

CHAPTER 4

SITE 1: THE NIJIYA MARKET

The Sawtelle Japanese Community: The Role of a Japanese Supermarket for Shin-issei

To avoid generalizations of shin-issei in the United States, this paper limits its focus specifically on the Sawtelle neighborhood of Los Angeles, California. This lesser known Sawtelle neighborhood is also known as Little Osaka, a Japantown in West L.A. In contrast, the more widely known Little Tokyo is located in East L.A. This chapter will focus on one Japanese supermarket in Sawtelle as an ethnographic research case study, showing how it affects the shin-issei community as an ethnic institution and demonstrating the diversity of its shin-issei customers. This chapter aims to provide both a macro-perspective of the community as a whole, and the micro-perspective of individuals in it through observation and interviews with individual shin-issei and people involved with the Japanese community in Sawtelle. This chapter will describe the broader aspect of Japanese community, specifically focusing on the supermarket itself and the types of customers that support this ethnic institution. Since the primary goal of this dissertation is to collect and reveal the diverse aspects of the New Japanese community, this ethnographic and qualitative research of a Japanese supermarket was the first step toward understanding the composition and the non-educational aspects of the shin-issei community.

The focus on Japanese the supermarket in Sawtelle provides a different perspective on shin-issei identity and will later connect to the study of another ethnic institution, the nearby Japanese supplementary school in the Sawtelle neighborhood. This part of the study helps to explain the shin-issei as the emergent new face of the Japanese community in West L.A., through qualitative field observations, over a two-year period and through my experiences as a Japanese

language teacher at a Japanese community supplementary school. Interactions with parents, students, and other teachers at this school were instrumental in learning more about the shin-issei community, identity, and educational strategies.

Introduction

The emergence of New Japanese migrants in the United States provides us with an opportunity to look at migration through the lenses of modern globalization and transnational identity. One of the most basic questions to address in order to help define these New Japanese is to see how they define themselves in the context of the United States, as immigrants or migrants. This question is very important in order to understand how they simultaneously live between Japan and the United States. Furthermore, some New Japanese come to the United States without long-term plans, but they eventually end up staying in the United States. Due to the various reasons for their being in the United States, they have many different notions of identity, even with regard to the term “immigrant” itself. For example, most of the business sojourners fully intend to return to Japan, thus they prefer to maintain a transnational identity rather than try to fit into American society. These migratory plans have strong implications for how these New Japanese create and interact with their ethnic community, and their overall assimilation into American society and culture.

But what does the maintenance of a cultural and ethnic identity mean to these new migrants? In order to study New Japanese migrants, establishments that make up the Japanese ethnic community, such as the Japanese supermarkets, are very important to study. They are places where these new migrants can meet and interact with members of their own ethnic group, and they provide a sense of Japan in the United States. From a researcher’s point of view, we can

examine the interactions with the markets in order to gain more insight into the lifestyle of this group. The Japanese supermarket can also be observed from a transnational perspective since it possesses a globalized atmosphere and function. The majority of customers are Japanese or of Japanese descent, so many product names are explained both in English and Japanese while some free papers and magazines are only written in Japanese. So, despite the fact that these Japanese supermarkets are located in the United States, we can see that they often cater specifically to the needs of the Japanese community.

As my research looks at the role of supermarkets in the Japanese community, I look towards my own membership in this community. Being Japanese myself, why do I visit the Japanese community and Japanese supermarkets? From my own personal experience, I visit Japanese supermarkets frequently since they are close to UCLA. I do intend to purchase products that I cannot get in an American supermarket; however, I have noticed that I have several other motives for going there as well. Before conducting field research, from my own standpoint, I can hypothesize several reasons why I visit the Japanese community in Los Angeles, and Sawtelle Little Osaka in particular. I came to the United States in order to pursue my graduate degree here in Los Angeles, but as time passed I missed the sense of belonging to my community, and I asked myself if there was a place where I could share my country's culture and my own background with groups of people with whom I have these things in common? Before becoming interested in conducting field research into the Japanese community and representative supermarkets in Los Angeles, I was always curious about this particular ethnic space. In a Japanese supermarket, it is not hard to witness a moment where the majority of people are speaking Japanese and are employing Japanese mannerisms. On such occasions, the supermarket acts as a site of contemporary Japan.

This study will examine the characteristics of the New Japanese migrants in the United States who visit Japanese supermarkets in West L.A. As part of this study, attention will be given to the New Japanese community and the significance of ethnic establishments in the community. Thus, this paper will provide insight into who the New Japanese migrants are and the roles their ethnic community plays in their lives.

Statement of the Problem

My research questions pertain to asking what meaning the Japanese ethnic community and the supermarket, in particular, have for contemporary Japanese migrants in Los Angeles, and, what role do they play? I believe the Japanese ethnic community and Japanese supermarket have an important role in shaping the society of New Japanese migrants in the United States. The markets do not merely serve as places where people can purchase Japanese products. An understanding of transnationalism and globalization theory is important in order to comprehend the unique characteristics that the New Japanese possess. In terms of business and economics, we understand that globalization and the spread of international integration is responsible for many of these New Japanese groups. Many belong to academic institutions which value international studies and interpretations, others belong to the international branches of Japanese companies, while some have started ethnic businesses that satisfy a demand for “Japanese-ness” within the United States.

Furthermore, transnationalism is important for understanding that these New Japanese migrants are not forced to assimilate and become “American.” They have the option to maintain both an American identity and a Japanese identity. Many are even able to maintain a very strong Japanese identity, despite having lived in the United States for extended periods of time. All

these factors are important in understanding the ethnic community and the role it serves.

Site and Methods

Site Description

There are a number of Japanese ethnic markets in California. Some are small family run businesses, while others are large chain supermarkets, such as Nijiya Japanese Market and Mitsuwa Marketplace, and there are even chains with roots in Japan, such as Marukai Corporation. In order to learn more about the role and meaning of the ethnic community for New Japanese migrants in the United States, this study examines the significance the Nijiya Market in Sawtelle, Los Angeles. The Sawtelle area is an excellent location for a case study on the New Japanese because of the large number of New Japanese and ethnic businesses in the area. This neighborhood is sometimes referred to as “Little Osaka,” in contrast to downtown Los Angeles’ “Little Tokyo.” This naming refers to how Osaka is east of Tokyo in Japan, therefore the two areas are two equivalent ethnic communities in the Los Angeles area.

Observing the Japanese community, especially in the West L.A. Sawtelle area, Japanese businesses can be seen from a transnational perspective to have a strongly globalized atmosphere. Visiting Japanese markets in this area, the majority of customers are Japanese or of Japanese descent, so almost all the products come from the big brands and household names that can be found in Japan. They do not stock American products, and almost all the products are packaged and labeled the same as they are in Japan. Perhaps the main difference is that they have extra English ingredient labels affixed to processed foods. Furthermore, many of the free papers and magazines found at the entrances and exits of the Japanese supermarkets are written completely in Japanese with no English translation. Despite the fact that this Japanese

supermarket is located in the United States, we can see that it often caters specifically to the needs of the Japanese community.

Methods

The study of this site was primarily based on participant observation and field notes collected inside the Japanese market, outside in the food court, and in the nearby surrounding ethnic community. In addition, five in-depth oral historical interviews were collected from customers of the market to gain more insight into its role from a personal perspective. Most of the interviewees were New Japanese migrants and long-term visitors in the United States. While frequently visiting the Nijiya market for interviews and field observation, I noticed many second-generation Japanese Americans and customers who are not Japanese at all. Seeing how many generations of Japanese descent and people with various relationships to Japan visited the same space, I decided to explore these alternative perspectives in addition to the New Japanese in order to analyze the entirety of the ethnic market's space and function. Thus, my interviews also included one second-generation Japanese American and a non-Japanese graduate student who lived and worked in Japan for a year.

My interview style and approach changed over time. In my original research plan, I thought it would be easy to collect customers' voices, although I did not know these people well, and I was certain I could learn more from interviewing people with whom I was not familiar. Then, depending on the time and the level of familiarity I enjoyed with the interviewee, I found that 30 minutes was, in general, the most suitable amount of time for the interviewee. Although it strongly depended on when I conducted an interview, I noticed that, before starting, preparation time for introductions was extremely important. Making the interviewee feel comfortable with me, so that they knew who I was and what my position as a researcher meant beforehand,

although extremely hard, greatly affected the final outcome. The more interviews I conducted, the more I was able to hone my approach.

During this study, five interviews were collected with various customers of the Nijiya Market. Table 1 gives background information for each of the participants.

Table 1.
Summary of Participant Background Information

Participant Identifier	Background Information			
	Age	Sex	Occupation	Status
TY	30s	F	Teacher	New Japanese immigrant
SY	20s	F	Student	Second-generation Japanese immigrant
EI	40s	M	Teacher	New Japanese immigrant
C	70s	F	Nijiya Employee	Second-generation Japanese immigrant
JO	20s	M	Student	Lived/Worked in Japan

In addition to interviews, observed methodology and observed phenomena complemented my research methodology. I went to Nijiya Market more than 15 times over the course of this project and spent an average of one hour per visit. This market is part of a small shopping center that houses a number of Japanese businesses including a bookstore, a realtor, and restaurants. Observations were made within this general area, but mostly in Nijiya Market and its small food court.

As part of my methods, I also drew from some of my own personal experiences, as I can be considered a member of this New Japanese group abroad. I was born in the United States but

returned to Japan at the age of eight. As an undergraduate, I studied abroad at the University of California, Santa Barbara (UCSB) for half a year, and during my Master's degree studies, I was a visiting researcher at Stanford University for one year. I share many experiences in common with New Japanese migrants and was able to connect with and understand my New Japanese interviewee's feelings as a result.

Findings

This section discusses the findings, which were especially relevant to the subject of ethnic identity. Ethnic markets like the Japanese market have a significant role in the community as sites to welcome Japanese culture and traditions. They help to preserve those traditions, and create an ethnic identity for future generations.

Welcoming Japanese Identity

Japanese supermarkets like Nijya market have a number of different features that differentiate them from American markets. These markets aim to recreate a sense of Japan in the United States, which means a physical space where Japanese people feel familiar and comfortable. Many of my interviewees had a strong sense of nostalgia or felt comfortable in the Japanese market while purchasing products there (see Table 2). Although most of my interviewees were customers, I was able to hear a store employee's perspective in one of my interviews. Her job was providing curry samples for customers. When I asked her why she thinks people come to the Japanese market, she immediately noted that Nijiya has a better Japanese-style customer service than the Mitsuwa or Marukai markets. For example, she stated that Nijiya employees welcome customers by saying, "Irashimase," which literally means, "Welcome and thank you for coming." This phrase is a very common Japanese phrase and is extremely

important in industries dealing with Japanese customers, in particular. From my experience of working in the food industry in a part-time job in Japan, I recalled that the training manual that I had to learn during the first few weeks emphasized the correct attitude for greeting customers by stressing the need to practice greeting them with the phrase, “Irashaimase.” I also worked at a supermarket in Japan during my undergraduate years as well. What this lady said strongly connected with my own experience of working at a supermarket in Japan. Furthermore, high quality customer service is an essential part of Japanese culture, and manifests very differently from that of the United States. The use of these phrases is symbolic of this customer-service-oriented culture, and it also indicates the Japanese identity that this market is trying to establish. From a cultural point of view, the use of Japanese social norms and expectations provides New Japanese migrants in the United States with a sense of Japanese ‘space,’ another important aspect of Nijiya’s role within the Japanese community.

This interviewee also pointed out that even non-Japanese workers are expected to learn basic Japanese words, phrases and specific Japanese foods in order to create a positive environment for the Japanese customers. She explained to me that there are Hispanic/Mexican employees who work at the Japanese market in Sawtelle, and they learn basic Japanese language skills in order to make customers feel at home and provide assistance with finding food. After she gave me this information, I decided to briefly confirm this by asking a non-Japanese looking employee, “Excuse me, do you have Ika sashimi?” (Ika is the Japanese word for sliced raw squid.) He replied, “Yes, follow me,” and he then guided me to the fish products area. Despite being fluent in English, as a Japanese visitor myself, I thought that being able to speak Japanese and be understood is indeed an important part of the experience of shopping at a Japanese market such as Nijiya.

The Japanese market also serves the community by providing a sense of Japan in the United States. For instance, my male teacher interviewee paid a lot of attention to some of the aspects of supermarkets in Japan that Nijiya preserves. For example, he noted that they have rotating sales, such as a 20-percent-off sandwich sale every Tuesday, and between 7:00-8:00 p.m. daily they have a 20-30-percent-off sale. These time-based sales are a very prominent feature of supermarkets in Japan, and many customers come specifically to try to find food during these time periods. He also enjoyed the use of a “stamp” system where you receive stamps for purchasing goods, which can later be redeemed for a discount. This is similar to American reward programs, but using stamps is the typical way that Japanese supermarkets implement loyalty programs to encourage repeat visits. By maintaining these customs even in the United States, these markets provide customers with a space where they can operate as if they were in Japan. The opportunity to find these experiences is especially valued by first-generation immigrants.

The Japanese market also tries to replicate a Japanese shopping experience in terms of products and product placement. The store layout and presentation of products is very different from American supermarkets, but it is very familiar to people who have lived in Japan. One of my interviewees, who is not Japanese, but was a student who lived and worked in Japan for two years, commented:

. . .the way they do displays in the Japanese market is very Japanese, really Japanese! Like the displays for specials and emphasizing products is very similar. Since Nijiya is a Japanese-owned supermarket, they maybe cater it in the same way Japanese supermarkets in Japan do. The standard of service and the aesthetic are exactly the same as a Japanese

market, and it is because it is a Japanese market that they do it in the same way.

Having been raised in Japan, I strongly agree with this comment, and it is quite clear that the Nijiya chain made many efforts to not merely bring products, but also the entire “Japanese market experience” to the United States. As stated above, there are numerous aspects of this market that match my own notion of Japanese markets, ranging from the way products are displayed, the way signs and products are advertised and labeled, and even the frequently narrow and cramped aisles. Interestingly, none of my Japanese interviewees mentioned this, although it is a very striking feature of the Nijiya Market. Perhaps this is because, having lived in Japan and having strong, established notions about Japanese supermarkets, the interviewees already assume this to be a part of what a Japanese market is; thus, it was not brought up during our discussion. If so, it would seem that the Japanese market accomplished its goal of recreating a Japanese supermarket experience from a presentation perspective.

Since all the other interviewees were Japanese, my interview with JO was my only interview with a non-Japanese who goes to the Japanese market frequently. I noted that his views greatly contrasted with those of the others as I interviewed him to discover his reasons for going to the market and to hear how he viewed this place. Since he had lived and worked in Japan for two years, his opinion guided me to thinking about Japan from a different perspective. This American interviewee also shared his experience of living in Japan, and how he faced a similar situation to that which Japanese experience while living in America. JO explained:

When I was living in Japan, I would sometimes seek international stores, and it was always nice to meet somewhere with people who understood my culture. [People living

abroad] miss that and go in order to feel some common culture.

Being Japanese myself, I have similar feelings while living in the United States, and I believe that this sense of belonging, of being attached to a culture and familiar surroundings, attracts New Japanese migrants to ethnic community establishments such as the Nijiya Market.

The Maintenance of an Ethnic Identity

A common and recurring theme in the oral interviews revolved around notions of the Japanese traditions, memories, and cultural rituals that were tied to the consumption of Japanese products, and the vague feeling of Japan that was associated with Japanese markets. Although customers who are affiliated with Japan come from many different backgrounds, during their interviews all the interviewees talked about Japanese food products to some extent: when they purchase them, what kinds of connections and attachment they have to them, and the symbolic meaning of these products (see Table 2). By analyzing these specific Japanese foods, which are only sold at the Japanese market, in greater depth, I came to notice that this food helps us to analyze the customer's identity in several ways.

During the interview, most interviewees frequently mentioned many specific food types, brands, and Japanese names, since these identifiers had a strong connection with their own memories of Japan. For example, people had connections with the Japanese foods their parents made for them while they were growing up in the United States, with the specific Japanese foods they have strong memories associated with, and even some general notions about Japanese markets versus American supermarkets. When I decided to conduct part of my research at the Japanese market, which naturally deals with food, I did not anticipate that all the interviewees would mainly talk specifically about food and its links to culture. While I was making my

research inventory, I listed specific names of food that tended to appear quite often during the interviews. Table 2 shows that meat, fish, and raw foods, appeared most frequently during my interviews with Japanese customers.

Table 2.
Frequency of Products Mentioned During Interviews

Participant	Food type				
	Vegetables	Japanese specialty	Bread	Meat	Seafood
TY		1		1	1
SY	1	6			
EI		1	1		
C					
JO					
Total	1	8	1	1	1
Note: Specific food mentioned	Pumpkin	Bento, tofu, natto, tsukemono (pickles), umeboshi, manju,		Tonkatsu (deep-fried pork)	Grilled mackerel

This common theme of food can be interpreted in different ways, so it is important to note that food can be a marker for strong, cultural identification. Given the limited number of interviewees, I do not try to make any statements about how generational differences or ties to Japan affect people's ties to food, but there are perhaps some general points that can be made. First, looking at the products mentioned, the interviewees focus on foods that are very important for traditional Japanese cooking, or prepared foods that fit into a similar category. For example, TY cooks frequently for herself and her husband, so she buys sliced meats and seafood for preparing Japanese food. Although pork and mackerel can be purchased at American grocery stores, their preparation is slightly different, and through the value of this small difference, we can see that these small details are important for authentically recreating the dishes that she had

enjoyed growing up in Japan.

Similarly, EI notes a strong attachment to one particular Japanese bread product, especially because it reminds him of the bread he used to eat in Japan:

I am very picky when it comes to bread and I like Japanese toast very much. In the morning I can only eat Japanese bread here, despite being in the United States, and that is how much bread means to me... This “Cherry Blossom” is a very thick sliced toast and the quality of this bread is exactly the same as the one we eat in Japan. Do you know the yamazaki pan (Yamazaki bread is a famous brand of Japanese bread)? It is similar to that one!

Here again, there is a strong feeling of nostalgia and familiarity that this interviewee has for a certain food product that he used to eat in Japan. Looking at how interviewees felt about Japanese markets (see Table 3), there were many feelings that support this belief, specifically nostalgia and comfort regarding Japanese products. Portion size also falls under the notion of Japanese familiarity because Japanese portions are smaller and more “individual” than their American counterparts.

Table 3.
Frequency of Participant's Mentions of Various Notions About the Food at Japanese Markets

Participant	Portion Size	Food Qualities			Emotions		
		Expensive	Quality	Promotions	Nostalgia	Pride	Comfort
TY			1		1		1
SY	1	1				1	1
EI	1		1	2	1		
C							1
JO		1			1		1
Total mentions	2	2	2	2	3	2	4

Almost all of the interviewees had a similar feeling toward at least one Japanese product, and I feel these products do in fact tie them to their Japanese culture and identity. In the case of New Japanese migrants, it could be said that their refusal to give up their ties and memories with Japanese products also implies a similar refusal to leave behind their identity as a Japanese person. Furthermore, access to ethnic community spaces, services, and products enable New Japanese migrants to hold onto Japan even while they are living in the United States

The same interviewee, EI, noted:

Even though I haven't been back to Japan for a long while, more than eleven years, I do not miss Japan that much because I can feel Japanese culture by going to Nijjiya. I do not feel homesick. Even though I am living far away from Japan, I can get access to Japanese culture by media, TV, and the Internet. Being exposed to Japanese culture here in L.A. by eating and going to Japanese-owned stores, it is very easy for me to feel Japanese culture.

While Nijiya and the Japanese ethnic community are very helpful in making him feel connected to Japan as a “Japanese space” in both its physical and non-physical aspects, he also pursues other ethnic interests, such as collecting traditional Japanese statues. He mentioned several traditional New Year’s sculptures. For instance, he tries to collect each year’s zodiac sculptures, in order to show them in his house. While he was talking about his interest in the sculptures, he mentioned that he never paid attention to them while he was in Japan. He said he did not feel homesick, because it was easy to be immersed in Japanese culture, despite being in Los Angeles and away from Japan.

Another interviewee, EI, who is also a teacher, brought up an interesting point concerning the varying degrees of “Japanese-ness” that Japanese markets have. She compared Nijiya to two other markets, Mitsuwa and Marukai, saying,

I analyze that Mitsuwa and Marukai Japanese supermarket tend to focus more on non-Japanese, or Japanese-American customers ... In comparison to that, Nijiya sells more live new products from Japan, literally a product that arrived from Japan like yesterday. I think that is the difference. I also personally feel the meat and fish that are sold at Nijiya look fresher and will suit New Japanese people like me.

She later commented that Nijiya is a better fit for a New Japanese migrant such as herself. Because this notion exists for her, we can see that she has a strong tie to Japan, and part of that relationship is made up of her choice of Japanese market and products. My graduate student interviewee also mentioned, when talking about why New Japanese migrants shop at the

Japanese market, “People who came from a high class in Japan, I feel they have a strong pride of being Japanese... But I noticed quite a lot they also mention about ‘Made in Japan’ and how they are proud of this.”

Despite the fact that many of the products sold at the Japanese markets are more expensive than those sold at the American markets, many New Japanese migrants maintain a sense of pride and feel strong cultural nostalgia specifically for Japanese products. Of note, products such as fruits and vegetables not specific to Japan were rarely mentioned, so it is likely that these products, which are not tied to Japanese culture or memory, are purchased from American grocery stores, or perhaps these migrants have few preferences when it comes to American versus Japanese stores with regard to these products.

The Creation of an Ethnic Identity

For those New Japanese immigrants who come to the United States as adults, their relationship to Japan is quite different from those who were born and raised here, or moved to the United States as children. For the former group, their relationship with the ethnic market largely serves as a symbolic tie to the culture and way of life of their homeland. For the younger generation, the ethnic market serves to create an ethnic identity rather than maintain it. In this regard, the market plays an educational role beyond the strict interpretation of buying and learning about ethnic products. It is easy to make a general assumption that the Japanese market is a supermarket, and therefore its primary and most important role is to serve people who come in order to purchase Japanese products. However, in analyzing each interviewee’s words and after spending a large amount of time making field notes during my participant observation, it became clear that the Japanese market also serves an educational role for the New Japanese community.

One graduate student interviewee, SY, who was raised in the United States by a Japanese mother, clearly explained the ethnic aspect of the food products that are sold at Japanese markets. When my interviewee mentioned Japanese products, she mentioned them all by their Japanese names and terms. Despite being raised in America and living in Japan for no more than one year, she spoke fluent Japanese to me. She explained that her mother moved from Tokyo to a small town in New York State. There was no Japanese community and she was the only Japanese person in the town, so I was very impressed with her daughter's connection to Japanese culture and language proficiency. During the interview, she said:

The only place where my mom was able to get Japanese products was the Asian market, owned by Chinese. They sold few Japanese products and were an important place for my mom to cook Japanese food. Also, I think it was a place where I was able to learn about Japanese culture, from collecting and making Japanese food.

Later in the interview, she noted that this market was over one hour away from their home by car. In this interviewee's case, food was an important part of her cultural learning, and sharing the unique experience of shopping, cooking, and eating Japanese food with her mother helped her to connect with Japan's culture and language. Her perspective was quite different from that of my other Japanese interviewees, who were raised in Japan and came to the United States as adults. However, her experience highlights the different roles that ethnic community establishments like the Japanese market have for Japanese people from different generations and backgrounds.

During my field observations, I often encountered Japanese mothers at the grocery store with their children. Usually they would be conversing in Japanese and often the children were

saying, “I want to eat this,” or, “Mother, can you buy me this?” asking for specific Japanese products. This experience was quite unique and fresh for me, since most of the interviews I conducted focused on New Japanese adult perspectives. I briefly talked with one mother who taught her five year-old daughter Japanese by herself. Based on the conversations of the first-generation New Japanese mothers and their Japanese children, I realized that this Japanese market plays an important role for the second generation as well. During my on-site observations, there were numerous times where I was able to observe this phenomenon—where one parent was Japanese but the other was of another ethnicity, yet their children were able to speak Japanese.

Based on my interview with SY, I believe that Nijiya Market’s products can serve as a means to transfer cultural identity and traditions to their children. For example, the act of buying ethnic ingredients, preparing them, and serving them to their children enables parents to spread their knowledge of food, language, and other cultural indicators. Furthermore, as a space, the ethnic market invites parents and children to embrace “Japanese-ness” despite being in the United States.

Creating Cultural Awareness

The Japanese market also serves individuals who are not Japanese, despite selling almost exclusively Japanese products. My non-Japanese interviewee, JO, noted:

There are a lot of Chinese and other Asian customers, not only Japanese. I feel older Japanese come more regularly than younger Japanese people to Japanese market. And I see Japanophiles, these people know Japanese food, and they only buy their favorite stuff! Like, I am going to eat ramen today because ramen is cool, and that’s what they

saw in a Japanese drama or anime. I do see them going there and talking about Japanese anime and pop culture. I can just tell by looking at them. But Nijiya attracts those people as well, not only Japanese people.

This was a very interesting comment because he pointed out that it is also important to consider the role of the Japanese market for non-Japanese as well. As he notes, many of these customers have learned about a few select products or foods that they like from TV, pop-culture, or Japanese restaurants. From this perspective, the ethnic market plays an important role in helping to disseminate Japanese culture and knowledge to the outside community. Two of my Japanese interviewees, who are married to Americans, note that they often bring their spouse shopping to Nijiya, and they both enjoy Japanese foods. Also, during field observation, there were many interracial couples shopping together. Even though people may not have a direct relationship to Japan, they can indirectly become familiar with it through the existence of the Japanese market.

Conclusions and Implications

The New Japanese community in Los Angeles can be observed from a transnational perspective due to the effects of globalization on people's everyday lives. New Japanese migrants abroad act as transnational agents who move among numerous countries but maintain a strong Japanese identity, and this phenomenon was seen inside the Japanese market. Early Japanese immigrants tried to maintain their Japanese identity through education and community but were constrained by physical limitations in their attempts to maintain ties with their homeland. However, for New Japanese migrants who live in today's globalized atmosphere, this

goal is much easier to accomplish.

There are several factors behind the significance of the Japanese market for the broader community, and an analysis of the observations that were collected for this study shows more than the superficial transaction of ethnic goods. The Japanese market plays both symbolic ethnic and cultural educational roles in the community. The Nijiya Market plays an important role for the Japanese migrants' cultural identity, traditions, and language. For new migrants or visitors, it serves as a welcoming Japanese environment in the United States, and it allows them to maintain a transnational Japanese identity and way of life while abroad. For Japanese children raised in the United States, there was evidence to show that visiting a Japanese space like the Japanese market and using the products sold there for cooking, etc. can have a significant role in the creation of their own ethnic identity when modeled on that of their parents. We can also consider the outsider's point of view, where people who are not Japanese can visit Japanese markets to gain a better understanding and awareness of Japanese culture.

CHAPTER 5

SITE 2: JAPANESE SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL

Goal and Mission

The previous chapter revealed a basic overview of different types of New Japanese living in the United States through a macro-view of the contemporary Japanese community. The Japanese supermarket was used as an example of an ethnic institution that supports and is frequented by shin-issei. In order to shift towards the specific theme of educational strategies of shin-issei parents, a narrower and more detailed analysis of shin-issei families and the ethnic school will be presented. Educational analysis was grouped with the same previously mentioned categorizations of the New Japanese community, firstly the permanent immigrant versus temporary sojourner dichotomy.

Focusing on the theme of Japanese supplementary education, this section looks at the roles that globalization and transnational theory play in the New Japanese community and its processes of identity creation/maintenance and education. Qualitative research methods were used in order to examine firsthand how these factors have influenced various members of the shin-issei community. For example, how do shin-issei view their status in the United States, their relationship to Japan, and their children's education? At the macro level, we can examine how they live in the United States and to what extent they assimilate into American culture, or resist and isolate themselves in Japanese culture and community. It is clear that shin-issei are living in a globalized area that enables easy access to culture, information, news, and social networks spanning the geographical distance from Japan to the United States. Transnationalism and globalization allow them much greater access to their homeland than previous Japanese

immigrant groups, and this is evidenced through their community and identity. In order to understand the shin-issei community, immigration, family matters, and background reasons for coming to the United States were core exterior themes of investigation. These topics led to more in-depth understanding and deeper conversations on their perspective and stand-point as New Japanese in the United States.

Methodology and Sampling

Because shin-issei studies are a new and developing field, there is limited existing educational data and research to draw on. The goal of this project is to develop and contribute knowledge to this field, but in order to do so, it was a necessity to gather my own findings for analysis. In doing so, I used a qualitative methodology, extended participant observation, which goes beyond strict observation of the subject, but actually interacting and seeing the community from an inside perspective. By going inside the community, participant observation allows researchers to gain unique insight that is not necessary available from an outsider's perspective. My own Japanese heritage as a Japanese graduate student studying at UCLA allowed me to enter as a member of the New Japanese community, while being grounded outside as well. However, community observation alone still limits a study to publically viewable phenomena, and cannot capture unadulterated private activity, mindset or past events. Additionally, this study also uses qualitative interviews as an instrument to provide more valid and detailed picture of the actual lives of shin-issei, and their educational planning. Engaging in two years of fieldwork in the Los Angeles area with a focus on the Sawtelle Japantown, this project seeks to reveal the characteristics of the New Japanese community, and how these characteristics affect educational planning and outcomes for their children.

Necessity for Interviews

From a macro perspective, it is easy to generalize and over-simplify New Japanese migrants as a homogenous group living in the United States. In previous studies, Adachi (2006) describes the characteristic of Japanese migrants as:

Many migrants from Japan are actually not immigrants, but rather sojourners who plan to return to Japan. Many choose to go due to some degree of dissatisfaction with career opportunities in Japan, while others leave with positive motivations to study, to experience another culture, meet different people, and perhaps find interesting jobs with international businesses. (p. 19)

New Japanese migration is the result of many diverse reasons coming to the United States. This same variance of identity, purpose, and lifestyle was demonstrated during the ethnographic study of Japanese supermarkets, and my own experiences of interacting with teachers, parents, and students at a Japanese supplementary school. Thus, New Japanese who are living in the United States have mixed feelings regarding their classification. Some can be categorized as immigrants, others temporary residents, and yet other circumstances that fit in neither.

My data collection process included in-depth oral interviews with 20-25 Japanese parents, Japanese school teachers, and shin-issei with a variety of occupational backgrounds living in West L.A. Interviews were conducted over a period of two years, from 2012 to 2014 and were expanded as individuals were recommended for interviewing through the networks of the various interviewee groups. The interview time for each individual and group oral interviews, varied from as short one as 1 hour to as long as 2 hours. My first interview opportunities were

shin-nisei students at UCLA, which then expanded to the friends of those students' shin-issei parents and later to parents of students at the Japanese supplementary school where I taught. Generally, contacts were expanded through snowball sampling over the course of my fieldwork.

While there are a variety of ways information on the New Japanese community and its individual stories can be gathered and analyzed, interviews were conducted with an eye toward shin-issei who dictate their children's education. When I started this project, I decided to treat the interviews uniformly, but it became apparent that, with regard to Japanese education for children, a key factor was the composition of the family and their reason for being in the United States. Reviewing the interviews and their group characteristics, the most logical way to group interviewee cases ended up being splitting them into international marriage cases and corporate sojourners.

Prior to the interview process, I prepared specific questions: when the interviewees arrived to the United States, and their immigrant status as either a permanent resident (international marriage) or non-permanent resident (corporate sojourner). The goal of separating interviews this way was to better capture the diversity among New Japanese families while presenting common themes. Further questions were prepared under the theme of their shin-nisei children's education. Educational goals vary with the parent's status and reason for living in the United States, for example, whether they are temporary corporate sojourners or permanent residents. The majority of interviews were conducted with shin-issei mothers due to the numerous cases of international-marriage couples that consisted of a Japanese wife and a husband of a different nationality. In couples where both parents were shin-issei, the fathers were often at work and could not be interviewed; in such cases, the mothers were typically housewives and had taken on the primary role as Japanese educators. Fortunately, I was able to interview

four shin-issei fathers to provide a wider ranging understanding of how these shin-issei parents plan and carry out their children's Japanese education.

Interviews were conducted at various locations near the Japanese community convenient for the interviewee: a café, a restaurant, or at the Japanese language school I taught at. Interviews were designed to ask the interviewee to naturally reflect on their experience in raising their children, first allowing them to retell their experiences, and then asking to reflect on their children's Japanese education outcomes or future plans. This allowed them to reflect on their thoughts and feelings in their educational decision-making processes and their understandings and identity as being a shin-issei. While there was a core group of questions, some questions were carefully adapted to each individual interviewee. Some interviewees had topics regarding family or struggles in the United States that they did not want to discuss, and careful attention was given to interviewee responses to determine how the discussion would flow. Some interviewees were very engaged with my research, providing many detailed stories and explanations, while others were more casual and the interview time was cut short. When these interviewees provided their thoughts and opinions, some were dry and short, while some were rich and long and conversation expanded naturally. The nature of the interview with each interviewee depended strongly on the topic that was discussed during the conversation. Careful attention was given to the topics that interviewees expounded upon, as these were the topics that were most vividly remembered and mattered most to them. Thus, the interview findings presented here have been filtered with this bias with the intention of providing the most important aspects of shin-issei experiences. Most importantly, a wide variety of interviewees were found, and these collective glimpses of life histories provide deep insight into each individual interviewee's case.

Core Interview Questions

The core interview questions asked during all interviews centered on the following basic questions:

1. How do you view Japan?
2. What does Japan mean to you and to your children?
3. What type of Japanese education goals and planning did you have for your children?
4. What factors influenced those decisions, such as utilizing and selecting a supplementary language school?

These core questions served as starting points for dialogue with the interviewees. These questions were aimed at starting a conversation about shin-issei experience in the United States, their identity, and their educational plans for their children. Due to the diversity within the shin-issei cases, follow up questions were adjusted for each particular case, rather than following a strict set of follow up questions, so that the participants were able to share their thoughts freely.

First, responses of shin-issei parents will be presented followed by responses from a number of their shin-nisei children, and my own field research observations. Two sets of interview questions were prepared; the first targeting shin-issei parents who are currently raising their children, and the second for parents whose children are now adults. During pilot studies for this research, I met with several groups of shin-issei parents in Los Angeles and found that, depending on the age of their children, they had very different points of view regarding the educational strategies for their children. Thus, separate sets of interview questions were necessary to capture these initial differences. Further details on the interview questions and qualitative methods are listed in Appendix I.

Japanese Institute of Sawtelle and Sawtelle Gakuin

Like the Japanese presence in the Sawtelle neighborhood, the Japanese Institute of Sawtelle (JIS) has a long established presence in the community. Like the rich and extended history of Japanese migration to West L.A., the school itself has adapted and changed as the community it serves has changed over time. The JIS was created in 1925 and incorporated in 1929 as a non-profit institution serving as a Japanese community center that hosted talent shows, lectures, singing, and movies (Fujimoto et al., 2007). The Japanese Institute of Sawtelle is still very much an important center for the Japanese community in many regards beyond the school: it hosts judo, karate, and kendo clubs, as well as senior programs, and it supports the local Japanese American Citizens League (JACL). Simply put, its two-part mission statement is to teach the Japanese language and to transmit Japanese culture. In its early days in the 1920s JIS students were either enrolled in one hour classes every weekday or six hours every Saturday. Its commitment then was toward both Japanese language and culture, very much as it is now. Today it only offers Saturday instruction, but as recent as 2009, it still had a strong attendance of over 140 students ranging from the pre-kindergarten to high school (“Japanese Institute of Sawtelle,” 2015).

In previous studies of Japanese schools, some scholars indicated that getting access to conduct qualitative research was one of the hardest obstacles to overcome. In June of 2013, I began volunteering at the Sawtelle Gakuin as a teaching assistant. Due to the education-centric nature of my research, this was an ideal place where I could directly meet and interact with a diverse group of people with a relationship to Japan. By working at this school, I was fully able to integrate with the school’s culture, faculty and students, and this provided opportunities for both participant observation and interviews. At first, I considered myself as a researcher

volunteering at the school, but I later noticed that I had equally become a member of the school community.

Students in my classes were in the 10-13 year old range and had diverse ethnic backgrounds. Most had only one parent who was shin-issei, but overall there was a variety of different levels of comprehensive Japanese skills and awareness toward Japanese culture. Having a high concentration of shin-nisei students here, Sawtelle Gakuin was a very important location to meet shin-issei parents and to observe and interact with shin-nisei students as they experienced Japanese education. Many casual interactions with students and parents occurred during break times, after school, or during school activities and events, such as Halloween, sports day, etc. I also observed numerous casual interactions between students, allowing me to hear about their own views toward their Japanese education and identity. I was able to talk with and interview shin-issei parents about Japanese educational planning for their children and gain insight into why they wanted them to learn Japanese at this school. Meeting shin-issei parents helped contextualize how contemporary globalization influences education for a family moving between Japan and the United States. They also shared their views on the purpose and role of the Japanese school and home schooling. I will further explain the types of children who are attending, its curriculum, and finally the characteristics of the school and faculty itself.

During the research on the supermarket, I was able to witness several parents and children coming right after from the Saturday school in order to get lunch. During the interviews, educational understanding, deciding how to keep and maintain the Japanese language, culture and identity were important topics for interviewees. Beyond the supermarket, the study of the supplementary school had a significant connection to reveal the educational strategies and understanding these diverse New Japanese parents provided for their children, framed within the

context of highly mobile and transnational lifestyles. Clearly there was a similar connection between the Japanese supermarket and Japanese school, as if shin-issei parents viewed both places as locations for negotiating their identity and sense of cultural belonging while living in the United States.

Japanese School Curriculum

This section will explain the purpose of the Japanese school where I served as an assistant and also used as my field site. For one year I served as a volunteer assistant, organizing and helping to instruct 10-13 year old students from 9:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. every Saturday. During this time, I was involved mainly with one class of 24 students. My role as a teaching assistant included checking their homework assignments, tests, and writings. I spent four to five hours every Saturday teaching students how to read and write basic Japanese writing, often by having them read aloud or repeat words and sentences after me and doing writing exercises. After class, I had time to talk with some of the parents who came to pick up their children or to talk amongst the other teachers. Communicating with the parents of these students, I became more aware of each parent's educational goals and their expectations from the class and of me as an assistant in terms of helping the students to improve their basic Japanese reading and writing and fostering an awareness of Japanese culture and heritage.

Interestingly, much of this school's student body was composed of international-marriage families. As a result, most students were only half-Japanese, with only one shin-issei parent, demographics that heavily corresponded with families planning to stay in the United States permanently. Middle school classes at Sawtelle Gakuin were divided into two groups based on comprehensive Japanese level, generally resulting in heritage speakers being grouped together.

In order to measure the difference between the two class groups, oral and written tests were given in September and at the beginning of the new year. Implications of this dual system included different pedagogy, curricula, and homework. There were also differences in how parents were messaged and given updates regarding their children. For instance, regarding homework, the lower group's homework focused on basic exercises following recently instructed material and memorization of Japanese characters, writing characters in correct order and forming sentences. On the other hand, being able to read and write in Chinese characters (called *kanji* in Japanese), the higher group's assignments focused on higher level Japanese vocabulary that were rarely introduced to the lower student group.

One noticeable distinction was that placement within the two groups of students heavily correlated with their background, and their relationship with and exposure to Japanese language and culture in their home life and family context. Students who were in the higher-level class tended to be part of a family where both their parents were *shin-issei*, and thus, both were able to speak Japanese to them fluently as native speakers and assist with any learning difficulties. In contrast, the majority of students in the lower-level grouping had most of their family interactions in English, their parents were not Japanese, or Japanese was not a native language of at least one of the parent. Some of the students were of their Japanese heritage; however, many of them were fourth or fifth generation Japanese Americans and their parents' desire to send them to Japanese school was not for them to be bilingual, but rather to become more aware of their heritage and understand basic reading and writing in Japanese. Within this group, the majority of the students' parents could not help with their Japanese homework assignments due to time constraints or lack of Japanese proficiency in one or both parents.

Sawtelle Gakuin also has an after-school "homework club," a school program offered to

help students who have a hard time completing their homework at home. During this one-hour period teachers are available to help students complete the upcoming week's homework. In contrast with the higher-level student group, most of the students who were in the lower-level participated in the homework club. I mostly served the students from my normal class group in the homework club, since I was most familiar with their homework assignments and best understood their comprehensive Japanese skill-level. During homework club I had more opportunities to interact with and observe each student, carefully paying attention to their level and understanding of Japanese, asking how often they studied Japanese outside of school, how interested they were in studying Japanese, and about their own perceptions of studying and knowing about Japanese language and culture.

Within three to four months, I became familiar with most of the students' individual family backgrounds. To learn more about these students, I focused on casual interactions during class discussions, and more importantly, during break times, when students would come to talk to me, ask questions, and spontaneously share their thoughts. During these break times, I asked many questions such as, how often they studied Japanese during the weekdays at home, how they viewed Japan, and whether they were excited about or were enjoying studying Japanese. As we spent hours together every Saturday, the students showed great interest and affection toward me, and most of them were eager to respond to the questions I raised. Sometimes they would come to me to show and present their knowledge on a Japanese topic, such as drawing Japanese anime characters, explaining to me what they learned from watching Japanese shows, quoting phrases, doing imitations of characters, and other demonstrations of Japanese popular culture knowledge. Other times students would bring up words or cultural points they learned through Japanese books, comics, and printed media. Sometimes students would make a point to ask me

how I viewed their thoughts about Japanese culture, seeking to validate or confirm things they learned through these informal means of education. In witnessing how these students integrated Japanese language into their lives outside the structure of class and homework assignments, it was clear that for shin-nisei, Japanese pop culture played a significant role in educational engagement and the development of their Japanese ethnic identity and pride towards their Japanese heritage.

When students came to speak about Japanese culture or popular culture, I would ask how they obtained that information, why they were interested in a particular subject, and how it was similar or different from American culture. I wanted to learn firsthand how these students compared the American culture they were immersed in with Japanese culture, which had a somewhat isolated and distanced place in their lives. Hearing them compare American and Japanese culture simultaneously, provided a sense of the role of Japanese identity and culture within their lifestyle and how meaningful it was to them. Parents and supplementary school teachers often use Japanese language knowledge and proficiency as indicators of success, with the expectation of producing bilingual children. Many shin-issei parents believe that providing a Japanese education will help their children in the long-term, such as to broaden their perspectives and help them to find more opportunities as adults. Yet, it is important to evaluate how identity formation intertwined with the children's engagement toward bi-cultural and bilingual ethnic education. The students I interacted with had very different viewpoints from their parents, and as educators, we should strive to drive self-motivation and engagement, rather than mandate it from a parental or educator's perspective.

Shin-Issei Japanese Parents

During the two years of field research, I taught multiple classes of 10-13 year olds at Sawtelle Gakuin. Each grade is divided into two classes based on level of Japanese proficiency. This system works well because shin-nisei students come from a variety of backgrounds and exposure to Japanese at home and in the community. From my personal experience, students could be consistently divided into two groups based on approximate level of comprehensive Japanese knowledge, literacy, and conversational language ability. The majority of the high performing students shared a common feature of having a direct tie to Japanese nationality in their parentage. In other words, children of shin-issei parents in international marriage or both parents being shin-issei. Conversely, the lower performing students who attended this language school generally had non-Japanese parents, or non-native Japanese parents, such as third generation Japanese Americans. Whereas public American education exposes all children to subject matter evenly, Japanese supplementary school performance is heavily influenced by Japanese exposure at home.

Despite being in the same grade, the differences between these two groups evidenced how much having a native-Japanese speaking parent influences children's Japanese language ability. By observing students in casual conversation and during class instruction, I was able to witness students with native-Japanese family members often incorporate this tie into their conversations and activities. For instance, one student who is half-Japanese tended to use Japanese phrases she learned at home and often talked about specific Japanese brands, characters, and other cultural icons in her casual conversation with her other friends. While observing her or talking with her, she often said things like, "I am Japanese, so..." or, "This is what my friends and family in Japan told me is popular..." However, other students who do not have close ties to Japan have difficulty understanding the points that she or other such students

make.

Furthermore, during the afterschool homework club, while working with students and talking to them, it was apparent that some faced more difficulty than others because their parents were not able to assist with their homework due to lack of Japanese language ability or lack of time. Also, through talking with students and parents after school I was able to learn about each student's background, for example, if both or one parent were shin-issei, or if neither parent is native in Japanese. In my experience at Sawtelle Gakuin, and in other moments in the Japanese communities of Los Angeles, I found that these factors were very important to language ability and comprehension.

Overall, family background seems to be a clear indicator of a student's Japanese proficiency. Having one or more parent capable of speaking fluent Japanese had a strong influence to their children's connection to Japanese culture, language, and ethnic identity. Having a native Japanese parent provided an unparalleled Japanese environment and support with homework and everyday usage that directly aided fluency. Furthermore, student's identities as shin-nisei were strongly affected by the interactions with their parents and their shin-nisei peers.

International Marriage Cases

One significant grouping of shin-issei children have parents who fall under the category of international marriage, where one parent is shin-issei and the other non-native Japanese. Cases of international marriage are quite common in the Sawtelle Japantown community. For instance, I frequently observed families with one Japanese spouse or noted mixed-race children shopping with a Japanese parent. It is quite common to see these children speaking Japanese to their Japanese parent while on errands in the ethnic community.

I conducted nine in-person interviews with a number of these cases in order to better

understand how these parents educate their children and the unique family dynamics that come into play. These interviews were done with the native-Japanese parent in Japanese. Due to the preferred use of Japanese language, the non-native spouse was not present during these interviews. Interestingly, out of the eight interviews I conducted, seven were with shin-issei Japanese mothers, and only one was with a shin-issei Japanese father. The majority of interview data is from the perspective of shin-issei Japanese mothers who married non-Japanese, thus explaining the educational strategies they utilize for their half-Japanese children while living in the United States.

Identity as a Shin-Issei Japanese Mother

Interviewee (N) was born in Japan and has been living in the state of California for almost thirty years. She met her husband while he was a visiting researcher in Japan. They married and immigrated to the United States, where she raised two sons. I met her eldest son while I was studying abroad in California, and despite his Caucasian appearance, he spoke Japanese with a formal and fluent manner. By interviewing (N), I hoped to learn more about her son's background and the educational points his parents focused on while raising him.

The first interview with (N) was first conducted in 2011 on the UCLA campus and lasted approximately one hour and thirty minutes. As my intention was also to hear the son's opinion, her son joined the interview after and we continued for another hour. After the long interview the interviewee (N) later suggested me to recommend several of her Japanese mother who are living near her and their marriage status is international marriage case. She pointed out that, there might be a difference between both Japanese parents raising a children and one side Japanese parents, in regard to what was the obstacles in teaching Japanese to their children, what kind of support they had between individual families and what connection, school, options they had in teaching

Japanese language and culture to their shin-nisei children.

Interviews with shin-issei mothers in international marriages shed light on their positionality in the United States and identity formation for both themselves and their children. Most of the interviewed mothers shared a common thread of challenges adapting to life in the United States, which compounded with having to raise their children in a country in which they themselves did not grow up. Beyond these women's own difficulties adapting to the United States, there was also a central need to coexist with their cultural heritage as Japanese and their present American circumstances. Having this dual identity themselves, it is natural that shin-issei parents then transfer their dual identity to their children, and as such, are forced to make decisions that will shape their children's identities.

Each mother formed their own opinions towards, ideas of, and strategies for raising their children in a Japanese and American bi-cultural atmosphere. When I interviewed Interviewee (N), both of her sons had graduated from college. Having completed raising her children into adulthood, she explained that she would not want to go through the struggles teaching and helping both homework in Japanese and English again. Interviewee (N) shared her experience of raising two sons in the United States:

I came to the States after meeting my husband. I felt I was obligated to teach Japanese to my children since my parents in Japan really wanted to communicate with them. Since my husband does not speak Japanese, I did my best to teach my first son Japanese, talking to him in Japanese, sending him to Japan every summer to attend a summer school in Japan, and taking him to a Japanese school every Saturday. The eldest son was very passionate about learning, so it was not that hard, but my second son was more

difficult. Maybe it was my fault. The way I taught too much to the eldest son, the second son was always watching how much his brother was studying and maybe felt it was not his style and felt lack of passion to study and learn Japanese.

Even though I've been living in the United States for more than thirty years, I still feel that I am Japanese, and not yet Japanese American. One of the reasons why I think I am not Japanese American is that when I was living in northern California, I met a Japanese family near my neighborhood and was invited to visit their house. I introduced myself as a Japanese person from Japan, but currently living in the United States I said, 'I am now a Japanese American.' As soon as I said that, the Japanese American family who invited me said, 'You are not Japanese American because you never experienced the discrimination that the Japanese American community experienced during World War Two. You are part of a generation who came after the war, so that is completely different era, and so you are a different Japanese living in the United States.'

Interviewee N strongly identified as *shin-issei*, and she now differentiates between Old Japanese Americans and New Japanese immigrants. Furthermore, she also shared that she prefers to interact with friends who are from Japan and can speak Japanese fluently like her since she feels more comfortable sharing her experience living in the States with them. Through her interaction with Japanese Americans and learning about Japanese migration history to the United States, she created an identity centered as a person born in Japan, but living in the United States.

These new first generation Japanese mothers shared an important point as they became

more aware of their identity as Japanese—while living in Japan, they never had to question themselves or their identity as being Japanese. America influenced their awareness of being Japanese, or in different words, living in America forced them to identify themselves as New Japanese in order to distinguish themselves from the earlier wave of Old Japanese.

Through the collective opinions from interviewees, I found that rather than fully integrating their American and Japanese cultural identities, to a greater extent they maintained separate identities and switched appropriately for a given context. That is not to say that these identities were fixed, and they did have overlap as they gradually adjust toward American culture. Nonetheless, it is important to note that they did maintain two separate cultural identities.

Sharing Ideas with other Shin-Issei Mothers

While raising her sons in the United States, (N) faced several difficulties teaching and helping her children with homework and school preparation. The English language was one barrier, but because she was raised and educated in Japan, she was also unfamiliar with many things her children were facing at school and in other non-Japanese centric settings. One way she dealt with these difficulties was to discuss them with other shin-issei parents, meeting them in weekly gatherings with the Japanese mothers in her neighborhood that she met through her sons' Japanese language school or American school. These interactions with other shin-issei parents were important moments for discussing their children's education and strategies with others of a similar background and circumstances. Interviewed mothers said that these interactions were extremely important for them to cope with life in the United States and also for raising their children. According to (N), the most important and most discussed question among the shin-issei mothers she met was, "How can we continue teaching Japanese to our children who are growing

up in the United States?”

(N) revealed several other specific sub-questions that frequently arose in discussions regarding teaching Japanese to their children:

1. What are good textbooks, videos, and other methods that can be used to teach Japanese to their children?
2. Which schools are good for their children and value Japanese and English bilingualism?
3. How much support do they get from their spouses, most whom are not native Japanese?
4. How do their children view and value their Japanese heritage? What kind of identity do they have as shin-nisei children who are of half or full Japanese heritage?
5. How much can they and their children handle between American public school and Japanese Saturday school curricula?

At the supplementary Japanese school where I worked, it was very common to see Japanese parents interacting with each other in their native language. They often discussed many of these same topics, sharing ideas schooling, and their plans for educating their children.

Specific Strategies for Japanese Education

The majority of interviewed shin-issei mothers said they utilized many options for teaching Japanese to their American-born children, such as watching Japanese educational TV shows and reading Japanese books to their children. Attending Japanese community cultural events in the Los Angeles area was also important in order to make their children more familiar

with their cultural heritage. Specific educational strategies varied depending on the children's age and year of schooling, so I have broken them down into three categories: pre-school, elementary-middle school, and high school and college.

Pre-Schooling Strategies

From interviewing shin-issei mothers who married to non-Japanese husbands, it was apparent that teaching Japanese was not only for their children's language ability, but it was also to create and maintain an ethnic identity, pride, and awareness of being Japanese. Surprisingly, these two interviewees' opinions and educational understanding, vision, and strategies, demonstrated that they were quite strongly determined from the early pre-school year. The shin-issei Japanese mothers married to non-Japanese husbands, in particular, said that they consistently talked to their children in Japanese while they were babies. Interviewee N explained:

Other Japanese mothers who already raised their children said to speak as much Japanese as possible while they are babies, since they will eventually learn English outside of the house. Being exposed and hearing Japanese from early age is better, that is what I heard from the other Japanese mothers who were married to non-Japanese husbands. Being raised in the United States, learning and using English will be required for them, but this atmosphere does not apply to learning Japanese. If we don't speak Japanese to them, how can they learn Japanese? As mothers, we are their only close relation who can speak and talk Japanese to them in the United States. I was the only one who could teach him Japanese so I was strongly committed to speak only Japanese to him while he was small and until now. In front of my husband I won't speak much Japanese to him, since my

husband does not understand Japanese.

Interviewee N said:

I felt that I had a mission to make my sons speak Japanese in order to communicate with my Japanese parents. One reason I thought about my parents while raising my sons to learn Japanese was that when I married my husband and was about to immigrate to the United States, my father told me very quietly that he wished to be able to communicate with his grandchildren in Japanese since he won't be able to see them all the time. When my father said that, I became aware of the fact that he and my mother will be missing my children grow up and won't be able to see them often. If he never said that to me, I would not have been so determined to educate my children in Japanese language and culture. Because I chose to marry a non-Japanese man, eventually moving to the United States and leaving my parents back in Japan, this was a mission and duty for me. My parents had already allowed me to marry my husband and immigrate to the United States; at least I wanted to allow them to be able to connect with my children.

Shin-issei interviewees felt a sense of duty that they should teach Japanese to their children in order for them to communicate with their grandparents living in Japan, as well as to make them nourish an identity of being Japanese and having Japanese heritage. Similar to interviewee (N), (M) felt teaching Japanese was not an option but more an obligation, mission, and response to her Japanese parents who were in Japan. She insisted that she wanted her children to speak with their Japanese grandparents without any translation:

Eventually I noticed that I found a different meaning why I was communicating and teaching Japanese to my first son besides my parents' request. He was the only one I had in the States, where my life was quite lonely in the beginning with few friends.

One factor in the desire to teach Japanese is perhaps the familiarity of the language for the teacher. Most shin-issei mothers had difficulty adapting to life in the United States and American culture. Thus, it is natural that their language preference is toward Japanese, and this factors into the decision in how to communicate with their children:

I was determined that if I didn't teach him Japanese then, he would never have the chance to learn nor be exposed to Japanese culture. Thus, I had no choice and had to educate and constantly talk to him in Japanese while he was a baby. (N)

Another noteworthy form of support for shin-nisei Japanese education comes from the family's relatives and remaining ties in Japan. Shin-issei interviewees often noted that support from parents in Japan was indispensable. Both interviewees (M) and (N) referred to the fact that their parents sent many Japanese children's books, music, and videos meant to help teach their grandchildren Japanese. Having these material resources allowed the shin-issei parents to provide their children an environment that is fully connected to Japan. Moreover, they provide a comprehensive education that binds Japanese language and culture. By watching, hearing, and being familiar with Japanese culture through media like books, videos, and songs, shin-issei parents set a foundation that strongly influences further Japanese education levels for these children. Shin-issei mothers place high importance on establishing Japanese during their

children's pre-schooling years, believing this is the most effective time period to do so.

Elementary/Middle School Strategies

Shin-issei mothers in international marriages undertake the role as the sole instructor in Japanese language and culture. While they may have received valuable support indirectly from family in Japan, their husbands did not speak Japanese and were unable to provide any assistance in Japanese education. When their children reached the age to enroll in elementary and middle school, every single interviewee was adamant that they attend a Saturday Japanese school. Not only do Japanese Saturday schools serve an important place for children to learn and interact with other Japanese heritage children, but they are also extremely important for shin-issei parents to get to know other Japanese parents, allowing them to discuss how to educate their children and to share resources as well. In comparison to pre-schooling years, children attending a Japanese Saturday school find it very challenging to manage the workload from their standard American schooling and possible other extra-curricular activities such as sports. Parents often discuss these issues with Japanese schoolteachers in order to try to balance the workload from competing activities and negotiate whether they can continue learning Japanese or need to refocus on their primary schooling. This is a critical point in Japanese education where they may remove themselves from the formal schooling system of academic texts and Japanese peers. If they do so, they are only left with learning in their home environment with their shin-issei parent or parents. During these years, shin-nisei children formulate their own ethnic and cultural identity and pride, choosing whether they identify themselves as Americans living and growing in the United States, or to maintain strong ties to their Japanese heritage.

Identity as a Shin-Issei Father

Most of the cases of shin-issei international marriage were relationships with a Japanese mother, but I was able to meet a Japanese shin-issei, referred to as interviewee (I), who lived in the United States more than thirty five years and married a non-Japanese wife. He came to the United States as a transnational corporate sojourner sent to work in the American branch of his Japanese company. His original intent was to remain a non-permanent expatriate; however, as time went on he married a non-Japanese American woman and decided to stay in the United States as a permanent resident. He continues to live in California. As a male minority in this analysis of shin-issei parents, there are some important points of difference to note in his case. Unlike the shin-issei mothers who were interviewed, he worked full-time while trying to educate his children, providing a different view into Japanese education.

Interviewee (I) pointed out several comparative points of view he paid attention to while raising two of his children, one daughter and one son. The gender difference within the international-marriage parenting case and how mother's and father's view the importance and reason for their children studying Japanese in the United States, there were several different points of view. During the forty-five minute interview with (I), he mentioned several times:

Because I was working most of the time in the United States, teaching Japanese to my two children was quite harder than I thought, since my wife is not from Japan, nor can she speak Japanese. I did make my children go to Japanese school every Saturday, so that they can be familiar with other children who are related to Japan like them, but I found it hard to manage in comparison to other Japanese mothers. Most of the students in those days were children who were half-Japanese and half non-Japanese, with the majority of their mothers being Japanese, while I was one of the few Japanese fathers who married to

non-Japanese. I did not have enough time to talk and interact with other Japanese parents who came from Japan, in order to share and exchange information in regard to how to make our children bilingual, make them show interest in Japanese culture, or to promote an identity as being part of Japanese descent. I believe this is what majority of Japanese parent desire to their children, right?

Through (I)'s comparative point of view with other Japanese mothers and amount of time they spent educating their children in Japanese, time constraints was one of the most significant differences between the gender cases. During my own time as a Japanese school teaching assistant, I witnessed this disparity in international-marriage cases, depending on which parent was shin-issei. Children whose mothers were Japanese tended to have more familiarity with Japanese language and culture, compared to those with Japanese fathers. Comparing comments from shin-issei mothers and the large amount of time and effort needed to provide informal Japanese education, and fathers who cannot do so due to occupational time constraints, it emerges that time spent with Japanese parents is a key in determining a child's future interest and proficiency in Japanese language.

Shin-issei mothers had strong commitment and time to informally educate and actively help their shin-nisei children with Japanese school curricula and assignments. Seven shin-issei mothers who were married to non-Japanese husbands emphasized that most of their educational support, planning, and vision between Japanese and English education was decided by themselves, since their husbands were exceedingly absent due to work and other private matters. The one shin-issei father in an international marriage, (I), admitted his disappointment with not being able to provide the time investment that he observed among shin-issei housewives:

Most weekdays I was away from home, working, and I did not have enough time to communicate and teach Japanese to them, nor pay attention to their Japanese Saturday school homework. I believe most of your other interviewees were Japanese mothers who had more time to spend time with their children than me, right?

From interviewee testimony, it is evident that decision-making and support for Japanese education hinges solely on the shin-issei parent in the international marriage case. Providing a solid Japanese language and cultural education for children is a large commitment that requires extensive amount of time and planning from shin-issei parents. Families where both parents are shin-issei are more likely to succeed in providing Japanese education because they have the ability to assist in this process.

Corporate Sojourner Cases

By looking at Japanese overseas migration, for example, to the Los Angeles area, it is easy to see Japanese people who came to the United States for Japanese corporate purposes. For example, the city of Torrance contains the American branch headquarters for major Japanese companies like Honda, Toyota, All Nippon Airways, and the Mitsuwa supermarket chain. This trend toward Japanese corporate internationalization began in the 1950s and Southern California was a primary expansion point (Yasuike, 2005). Core to this expansion is the strategy of sending Japanese workers abroad temporarily to serve as key personnel, tying the Japanese and American branches. Being native Japanese, they can serve as intermediaries to receive and carry out instructions from Japan, while understanding Japanese language, culture, and business knowledge. Thus, it is not uncommon for entry and mid-level Japanese employees to be sent

abroad to work in such international branch offices on a temporary basis. Goodman et al. (2003) explain this phenomenon:

Japanese corporate developments in manufacturing and later financial services were primarily responsible for growing out-migratory movements. Instead of importing foreign labor to work in factories in their own land, Japan exported Japanese workers to manage such factories elsewhere. The development of a Japanese branch-plant economy, of joint ventures and of tertiary and quaternary economic activities, necessitated the establishing of significant migratory flows of technical advisors, middle managers and executives, training and recruitments staff, and of various lower-level clerical staff to service the needs of these management groups. (p. 8)

Japanese expatriates are sent abroad on a temporary basis, generally lasting a few years before returning to their original company locations in Japan. However, there are no requirements or expectations that these individuals have prior working knowledge or skills to assist them in their time abroad. Goodman et al. (2003) propose that current corporate out-migratory patterns result in 'environmental bubbles,' which isolate them within Japanese centric communities built around them. Such bubbles specifically cater to the needs of temporary Japanese expatriates and allow them to operate as if they were in an extension of Japan. For example, such community infrastructure can include corporate supplied housing and activities, Japanese schools for their children, and Japanese social networks. As Japanese expatriates constantly rotate between Japan and America, these communities stay intact for new migrants to bring family and immediately reside within a community containing Japanese schools, stores,

and opportunities to meet other Japanese expatriate families with similar backgrounds. Many studies find that the New Japanese abroad tend to maintain their Japanese identity and culture despite being physically displaced from their homeland (Goodman et al., 2003). Their social circles and lifestyles allow them to operate as if still in Japan, as much as possible. In the context of this Los Angeles based study, such communities can be seen in the West L.A. area, in the “Little Osaka” Japanese community, or “Little Tokyo” in the eastern section of the city. It is important to be critically aware that beyond large cities like Los Angeles, Japanese expatriates may find themselves with smaller or non-existent Japanese communities. However, these bubble communities are indicative of both the Japanese strategy for internationalization, and the increasingly international business structures that have resulted from modern globalization.

Identity of a Shin-Issei Transnational Corporate Sojourner Family

I met interviewee (A) through interviewee (N). (A) first arrived in the southern United States with her husband and two sons, aged five and three years old at the time. The family were all native Japanese, and they came to the United States when (A)’s husband was sent as a corporate sojourner.

During the interview with (A), she seemed to be reluctant to talk about her youngest son’s case because of the issues and obstacles he faced while adapting and trying to maintain his Japanese culture and language. (A) emphasized that she felt disappointment toward herself for the struggles her youngest son had with his Japanese. The eldest son, who was five when he left Japan, had a better understanding of Japanese when they left, so he remained fully aware of his heritage and was able to maintain his Japanese language proficiency easily in comparison to her second son.

(A) faced a great deal of uncertainty in her early years in the United States. First and foremost, she didn't know how long she was going to stay in the United States, and thus, she constantly faced the challenge of trying to help her sons adapt to their lives in the United States, but also be prepared for the possibility of a sudden return to Japan. Not knowing what the future held for her family, she questioned whether she should consider herself as an immigrant or permanent resident. Many interviewees faced this same ambiguity in their status as immigrants or migrants, many choosing to simply claim they are Japanese living in the United States for a long time, even if permanently. Interviewee A explained:

After all, looking back at the long decades of my life in the United States, it was completely different from my expectations before moving for my husband's work. Eventually we somehow ended up staying here. In the beginning, I heard from my husband's Japanese company that our family was going to be sent to the United States temporarily, not permanently, so my mind was clear that I had to teach and make children maintain their Japanese in order to prepare for returning to Japan. In the beginning, it was clear that we were going to the United States temporarily, and that I would eventually return one day to Japan. At least that was the original plan and purpose that I was told.

Since (A)'s family came to the United States as transnational corporate sojourners, she knew she would have to continue educating both children in Japanese language in particular, but didn't have the preparation or support to make a clear educational plan. Interviewee A explained:

However, the longer my family stayed in the United States, my husband gradually

became used to the American work environment, and confessed to me that maybe it was a better idea to remain staying in the United States, rather than going back to Japan. Looking at our two sons who were becoming more American than Japanese, speaking English more easily and fluently than Japanese, and making new friends and enjoying their new lives, we both started to feel it would be better for my husband and our sons. However, when I asked myself whether I wanted to stay in the United States longer than the original plan, it was very difficult, since I faced, and still face, several issues adjusting to the life in the United States. For instance, I miss my parents and family back in Japan, but the strongest concern was speaking English, which is still very difficult for me. I communicated with my two sons in Japanese and helped them with their Japanese Saturday school homework, but most of their responses to me were in English. I truly felt I had wasted my efforts to teach and educate them in Japanese, but moreover, many times I felt that I had failed for not being able to make them retain their Japanese language and identity, as I had initially planned.

It was absolutely hard for me to raise my children in the United States because I was not used to many things, like the customs and culture. I felt very lonely...

(A)'s case provides important insight into the dissimilarities between international marriage and corporate sojourner cases. Shin-issei families that are relatively certain of their future residence in the United States often choose to provide a Japanese education, but there is no level of Japanese proficiency that must be attained, other than one that they may set on their own. On the other hand, corporate sojourners face the daunting task to educate their children in

Japanese so they are prepared to return to Japan. (A) mentioned that among the factors in their decision to remain in the United States was their children's increasing English fluency, while their Japanese was deteriorating. Furthermore, she explains a greater disappointment in not being able to handle her second son, who had very little Japanese fluency at the time they entered the United States.

(A) also evidences another important distinction for the families of corporate sojourners: they often plan to return to Japan, but as time progresses it becomes unclear whether that will actually occur. This sometimes damages their ability to operate in the United States because if there is a Japanese bubble community, they may forego any attempt at integration, assuming their eventual return to Japan. (A) mentioned that while her working husband and children became confident operating in an American environment due to their work and schooling, she did not, and this troubled her greatly when they decided to stay in the United States for the good of the family as a whole.

Zhou (1997) points out that assimilation theory has dominated sociological thinking and recent studies now ask whether assimilation translates to upward social mobility as was once thought. Transnational migration, enabled through today's globalized and interconnected world, make us rethink established interpretations. Shin-issei corporate sojourners provide a unique perspective as individuals who have established social status through international connections, and even may have the opportunity to forego assimilation by operating within ethnic bubbles such as the Japanese in the Los Angeles area.

Shin-issei Networks in Los Angeles

In previous studies, one specific location in West L.A., Sawtelle, provided one glimpse into the contemporary Japanese community, such as what kind of people were coming, who

shops in a Japanese supermarket, and what role do Japanese supermarkets serve for the New Japanese community and to people who are related to Japan? This section shifts attention toward how the New Japanese community functions at the individual level and the nature of interpersonal relationships as they relate to the shin-issei experience and Japanese schooling.

My previous study of the Japanese supermarket in West L.A.'s Sawtelle neighborhood showed how this institution plays a role for many different types of people who have a relationship with Japan ethnically, culturally, or through heritage and beyond. People who are planning to stay in Japan temporarily, permanently, or are not sure yet—they all are maintaining a translational relationship with Japan on different levels. This statement is seen in identity as being Japanese, keeping Japanese identity who is living in the United States, creating hybrid and mixed culture between Japan and the United States are significant in order to understand how they maintain Japanese culture and identity transnationally.

While interviewing shin-issei Japanese mothers, I asked about the social networks they had within the New Japanese community. In the following section, through providing individual and group voices during the interview (individual and group interview), I will discuss what parts were specifically interested by shin-issei Japanese, mothers in particular (since majority of collected interviews were mothers). This section will discuss characteristics of shin-issei mothers network, obtaining information's through networking and how this community shows Japanese transnationally atmosphere and bicultural knowledge and information simultaneously.

Previous studies on ethnic communities have indicated the significant role which community played for immigrants, and women in particular, since it helped providing these women with helpful resources and tips for them and their families to adapt to their new host society (Nukaga, 2008). In a previous study, Nukaga (2008) pointed out that:

The Japanese chuzai mothers in my study also forged co-ethnic networks of their own, thereby creating a crucial information channel that ran through the Japanese community. This was particularly important and useful for the newcomer mothers, who were usually at a loss during their first several months in L.A. They did not understand what children got for their homework and when to hand it in. They did not even know where to buy things. The mothers said that gaining necessary information about the host society was crucial for survival and they were able to seek for assistance in Japanese mothers' network. (p. 149)

This chapter will provide the collected opinions from group interview with one social grouping of shin-issei Japanese mothers. I set the focal point of this discussion around the concept of social networking among New Japanese mothers and its significance for them. I was introduced to this group of Japanese shin-issei mothers through one mother who has lived in Los Angeles for more than twenty years. Most of them knew each other because their children went to the same school or participated together in a club or sports activity. Similarly, many shin-issei mothers I interviewed had a network through their children's Japanese Saturday schools. The majority of them would meet at a café or similar place, chatting together while their children were at school. Some would continue interacting via phone or email, while others preferred to simply meet during chance encounters at their children's Japanese Saturday school. However, perhaps more important than the frequency or location of these meetings between Japanese parents is the subject matter that is being discussed.

Through my interactions and observations during conversations with shin-issei mothers, I

noticed that there is an implied and understood hierarchy or scale structure between Japanese mothers. Because so often these networks are utilized to support adaptation to life in America and the difficulties of raising children and educating them in Japanese, those who have the knowledge and experience to advise on these matters are recognized and valued. During conversations, I would often hear phrases like, “She knows more about those cases since she has been in the United States longer, and raised her children perfectly.” I had the opportunity to talk with several mothers and hear about the nature of their networks with other Japanese mothers.

Me: How did you all meet and stay in contact? What kind of information did you seek specifically through your network with other Japanese mothers?

Interviewee P: We mostly met each other through our children’s Japanese school and we started to talk to each other, for example asking how do we teach Japanese at home, make our children keep up with their Japanese homework, encourage use of Japanese language despite many of us being married to non-Japanese husbands. We do talk about many other topics as well.

In another group conversation, I posed the same question toward interviewees N and S, who shared more detailed responses:

Me: Can some of you provide any specific topics that you sought advice or information through your social network interactions with other Japanese mothers?

Interviewee N: For my case, most of the time my husband was not home so I was always speaking Japanese to my two sons. While my eldest son enjoyed going to the Japanese

school every Saturday and was also motivated toward studying and homework, the second son was not similar to him. Maybe it was because my first son was very motivated and into Japanese, he studied by himself and did a lot of work. Of course, I had to help him and check most of his Japanese school homework assignments. Because he worked very hard, there were times when he was not able to do other activities relating to his American school, such as sports activities, and friend's birthday parties. I think by seeing my first son's time commitment to the Japanese weekend school, my second son was discouraged and didn't believe it would be something important for him. At the Japanese school, I talked with other Japanese mothers who were raising their children in the United States in an international marriage. I wanted to find out if they had also faced similar problems, and other challenges and solutions they faced with their children's education.

Interviewee S: That was same with me too. Despite I only had one daughter; she had a similar situation where she gradually lost motivation to continue Japanese school in addition to American weekday school assignments. My daughter was at first very motivated toward studying Japanese because I always took her back to Japan during summer and winter breaks, so she would be familiar with her heritage and background. She enjoyed most of the time when she was young, however, as she grew up she began to face more difficulties in adjusting and maintaining her English and Japanese language and school assignments. She gradually lost motivation to keep up with her Japanese schoolwork. I had several confrontations with her and most of the time I felt very sorry for her to keep studying Japanese. Despite liking the culture and having interest in her

heritage, those aspects were separate from her desire to actually studying and learning the language. I believe what my daughter went through, struggling to learn both English and Japanese, and doing two sets of school assignments was a huge obstacle, which N's second son must have also felt.

Hearing the issues and struggles interviewees N and S faced while trying to maintain their children's engagement in both American school and Japanese school assignments, help from shin-issei mothers played an enormous role.

One characteristic of this group conversation between these shin-issei mother interviewees was that the majority of their children were now in college or working. This conversation was more of a reflection, looking back their past, in regard to how they raised their children, what ideas and ambitions they had initially and how gradually those ideas shifted as time went by. While observing and hearing the conversation of all interviewees, I noticed the most-discussed and seemingly most interesting topic was about the issues and hardships these mothers all faced while having their children learn Japanese and English simultaneously. Interviewees N and S both pointed out that because their husbands were mostly working and not present while raising their children, they would never want to go through that long experience again. At times, the conversation would return to frustrations and issues that arose because the mothers were solely taking on the challenge of raising their children to be educated both in Japanese and American schooling. It was quite interesting to hear interviewee N, in particular, as she said during the group conversation:

Looking back now, raising two sons was definitely a long journey, and if one day I would

have to do that again with my grandchildren, I can definitely say that I would never want to do it again. It was such a stressful time and it was a long commitment that I struggled with, and both my sons tried hard as well.

I found these group conversations were divided into several different topics such as shopping, education, career, and difficulties with language and living in the United States. Often times these same subjects were discussed both for themselves and in relation to their children and their futures. Yet, a central theme among shin-issei mothers was that they showed great interest to the topics involving their children in particular. Children center networking and obtaining information through this network played a significant role and sustained these shin-issei mothers. In order to support this role, interviewee A said:

When I was first raising my daughter in Pasadena, my husband was mostly away during day time and he only came home after his work, which pretty much meant he was not able to witness the growth of our daughter. I had many questions that I wanted to ask others, but because I was not comfortable asking other American mothers in English, I was trying to find Japanese mothers or someone able to speak Japanese, in order to obtain information's, tips and answers to the questions I had.

Other Japanese mothers in the group had similar opinions, and it was evident that these mothers were actively helping and supporting each other, even during brief meetings and moments where they can communicate in Japanese. These groups frequently discussed points that only a fellow shin-issei could understand: they sought help from someone who knew and truly understood their circumstances and struggles.

While participating in the conversation, several times these shin-issei mothers used the Japanese words, *eijyu-gumi*, meaning permanent residents who will stay in the United States, and *kikoku-gumi*, referring to the temporary sojourners who plan to return to Japan. I was quite fascinated with this usage of this terminology by the shin-issei Japanese mothers, who considered themselves as permanent *eijyu-gumi*. While hearing the usage of these two categories of Japanese group, I would like to share some of the uniqueness of these two groups. Interviewee S said:

I think when I would talk with other Japanese mothers I was trying to ask about education, and ideas to share with mothers like us who were planning to stay in the United States. Among the other Japanese mothers I befriended at the Saturday Japanese school, my neighborhood and Japanese community in Pasadena, I felt the distinction between people who were planning to return to Japan, those who were not sure how long they would stay in the United States, and lastly people like me who knew that they would stay in the United States permanently, since my husband is American. It is fun to meet Japanese people, but sad when I met many New Japanese people whose families arrived due to a Japanese company, as [corporate sojourners], or as expatriates. Almost all of them returned to Japan, and I wonder how their family and the children are doing now.

There were many Japanese mothers who relied on information through these Japanese wives/mothers networks, mostly obtaining information and sources that were related to their children. However, gradually through meeting and interacting, they also learnt and got adjusted and created their own groups of networks, such as groups who were planning to stay, remaining permanently in the United States and groups who were planning to return to Japan. As Nukaga

(2008) explained in her research:

Mothers with similar-aged children had lots of opportunities to informally meet one another. One of the reasons for this is that the mothers had accompanied their children everywhere in L.A. where car is the basic means of transportation. Unlike Japan where children can go to school on their own, parents have to send and pick-up their children at school. In case of the Japanese mothers, it was mothers, not fathers, who were responsible for driving children on weekdays. Although the Japanese mothers thought of this time as hectic, pick-up and drop-off time at a local American school was an ideal opportunity for the mothers to casually engage in conversations and make friends with one another on a daily basis. (p. 153)

Nukaga (2008) also witnessed similar informal networks between shin-issei mothers, recalling:

During pick-up and drop-off hours at the schools [in Palos Verdes], with high concentration of Japanese children, I frequently saw groups of Japanese mothers enjoying their conversation in the corridors and in front of the school buildings. The mothers told me that they became close with other mothers as they saw each other every day at school. One mother told me that whenever she had questions, she could easily find other Japanese mothers who were willing to give advice, if she came to school. Additionally, Japanese [weekend schools and tutoring schools] were also places where mothers could make friends with one another during pick-up and drop-off time. (p. 154)

The topics that Japanese shin-issei mothers covered included lack of English skill and cultural gaps they faced while living and raising their children in the United States, informative sources on schools between the United States and Japan, and educational concerns they faced for their children. Although the mothers were sharing and collecting information through meeting and chatting with other Japanese, they also closely and carefully listened to their children's experience at the American school and at Japanese school, since the children themselves were informative in sharing their daily experiences and observations.

Japanese School Parental Networks

As an active participant in the Japanese Saturday school every weekend, I witnessed how important the school was for Japanese parents to meet other Japanese people with similar backgrounds and to talk and share information relating to their unique circumstances as new immigrants and migrants trying to raise children bilingually and biculturally.

Over the one and a half year period I volunteered and worked there, I was invited to several events hosted by shin-issei Japanese mothers. Usually these events would be lunch or meeting up for coffee and would sometimes be hosted at their homes. By participating in these mothers' group events, I was able to see how the Japanese school was a first step in how these shin-issei mothers to got to know each other, and it opened the door for interactions outside of the school, whether in-person, via phone, or over email. Most of these events were held while their children were at school, so it was a convenient moment for stay-at-home shin-issei mothers to talk with each other and share some of their concerns, interests, their children's education or private matters, or sometimes simply gossip and rumors. Through meeting parents at the

Japanese language school, and from these group events with shin-issei mothers, I had many opportunities to interview Japanese mothers in both group and individual settings.

Interviewee D was a Japanese mother in her mid-forties who had lived in the United States for more than twenty years. Two of her children attend weekend Japanese school and I was able to hear about her experiences in the United States and with her children's education:

Me: In today's interview can you tell me why you decided to have your two children attend weekend Japanese school, and I also would like to hear about your personal experiences being a New Japanese married to non-Japanese husband, and about your own identity as well.

D: I came to the United States after graduating high school, since I always had a dream that I wanted to come to the United States, in particular to California where I had the idea that Los Angeles would be sunny and welcoming to everyone. I was raised in Osaka, but I wanted to get out from the city, where I spent most of my time, and wanted to see the world outside of Japan, so I decided to come to Los Angeles. At first, I went to the community college and was enrolled in many classes, since my English was not good at all and it did take a long time for me to adjust to California. However, at the same time I enjoyed exploring and meeting many new different people, despite my English was broken. I felt this experience made me much stronger than the time I was in Japan, where I never had issues with language or with people of different cultural backgrounds. After studying and living more than five years in the United States, I met my husband and decided to stay in the United States, despite not originally planning to stay. He is American, so he helped me with my English, and I started to depend on him a lot, but at

the same time he cannot speak any Japanese.

Me: Would you mind providing some of your thoughts and experiences from raising your two children? I am very interested and impressed with your eldest son since he speaks Japanese very fluently, and he always says he loves eating Japanese food and watching all television shows about Japan. Would you mind sharing how you are raising your children, and what kind of educational understanding you have with them?

D: Of course, as you talked about my son who is your student, he always watches Japanese TV, but actually his English is not that good. Despite being born and raised in Los Angeles, he always watches Japanese TV and seems to identify himself as Japanese more so than American. Also, he always speaks to me in Japanese and always requests me to show him more Japanese TV shows, such as Japanese anime cartoons, Japanese comedies, and to get Japanese books for him. I am very happy and proud of him since he is always studying Japanese spontaneously, without me forcing him or telling him to, but I'm also a bit concerned that he is not trying as hard toward his American school studies and assignments.. Maybe he became interested in Japanese culture a lot because I myself cannot speak English well and always communicated to him in Japanese and we both watched many Japanese TV shows, exposing him to Japanese culture more deeply and strongly than his home exposure to American culture.

Me: Although you mentioned that your husband is not Japanese and does not speak Japanese, does he have any opinions about your son's identity? If you can share some of your understanding about your husband as an international marriage case.

D: It's very funny, but since I cannot speak English that well, my two children always translate and explain how they are doing to him in English. There are other things my husband and I communicate about, but I'm managing the children's education planning. Pretty much both of them are handling their Japanese and American education okay, and it seems like my husband is fine with that. Also, because my husband is very busy with work, he is not at home much and I am spending more time with my children, always speaking and texting to them in Japanese and not in English. I think this pattern will continue until they really get tired of me speaking to them in Japanese, but so far I think they will keep growing toward having a Japanese identity, and I myself will keep thinking that I am a Japanese mother and will try to have a strong influence nourishing their Japanese identity.

Shin-Nisei Adult Perspectives

Having collected numerous cases of parenting and childhood learning, my research shifted towards the analysis of adult shin-nisei students in order to provide a fuller picture of shin-nisei educational outcomes. Being raised with exposure to Japanese language and culture, and attending Japanese school to improve their language ability and cultural competency, how would these factors translate into adulthood? Would childhood instilment of Japanese identity be retained, would it turn out to be superficial and dropped in favor of a mainstream American identity? This section focuses on the oral testimony I collected from shin-nisei students who are currently attending college or who have already graduated.

During the course of this research, I was able to meet several second-generation New Japanese students, who identified themselves as shin-nisei. Over a period of three years at

UCLA, I served as a teaching assistant and associate for many courses, covering topics ranging from Japanese history, contemporary Japanese literature and films, and Japanese language. Many of the students enrolled were from Asia, or Asian American, and some were *shin-nissei*. I had opportunities to meet and interact with these students twice a week, during and after discussion sections, and thus got to know many of them more personally. Knowing my own Japanese background, some students would come to talk to me in Japanese, and I was very impressed with their high level of comprehension and conversational skill. While I was interacting and talking with these students outside of class, during office hours, or during free time, some of these students showed interest in participating in my research by sharing their thoughts and looking back on how they were raised and educated, and how they view their identity and relation to Japan and the United States. I asked whether if they were willing to talk with me for a longer period, in a more formal interview. As soon as I explained my research purpose and intention, students kindly offered to participate in my research, and thus, I was able to collect seven interviews from them. Each interview lasted between one and one and a half hours.

I asked questions based on what I prepared and then let the conversation go naturally to the topic each interviewee felt comfortable talking about. These interviews with *shin-nisei* interviewees provided insight on how they view their Japanese parents, and how they perceived identity and background on being Japanese. In this section, I present selections from some of the most relevant interview points highlighting the subjects of education, educational outcomes, culture, and identity:

Me: How do you describe about yourself in relation to Japan and the United States?

Interviewee Y: I definitely think I am part [Japanese American] but more in the middle of

Japan and the United States. As you mentioned in our class, I noticed we have several students who have a connection to Japan. I view myself as a Japanese who was born in the United States, but not completely American, since when I go home and talk to my parents I speak in Japanese, and I do still go visit my grandparents in Japan. However, when I see other students of Japanese descent who are already fourth and fifth generation, even though they are also Nikkei like me, I feel there is a huge difference between them and I. My parents have been living in the United States more than two decades, but they still maintain a strong connection with Japan, they always talk to me in Japanese, and provided me a Japanese education while I was growing up.

Me: Can you explain to me more about that educational aspect? For instance you speak very fluent Japanese to me, and I am very impressed. Can you tell me how you learned Japanese? Did your parents set rules or dictate your education to improve your skill in Japanese?

Interviewee Y: Absolutely. Although I feel more comfortable in speaking English, as it is my native language, when I am at home I always speak in Japanese or try to speak in Japanese as much as I can, since my friends are mostly English speaking. Regarding how I learned Japanese, I can definitely say my mother played a strong role in educating and teaching me Japanese. Every Saturday I went to Japanese weekend school, and to be honest, I had a great time spending time with students who had a similar cultural background to me, but it was also a stressful obligation to deal with Japanese school assignment in addition to normal schoolwork.

Me: What kind of homework did you have? Did your mother or father help you with it?

Interviewee Y: Mostly my mother helped me with my Japanese weekend school assignments every Friday night. One of the reason why I did not do my Japanese school homework until Friday night was because during the other weekdays I was committed with my American school assignments and sports activities. My mother had to take me to all these places outside of school and she spent a lot of time with me at these events, even though she was not comfortable speaking in English and interacting with my American friends' parents. When I think about that, it makes me think how my mother seemed to enjoy speaking with other Japanese mothers who she met at the Japanese weekend school where I went. After getting to know them, I think she went to social events, lunches and café meetings, and spent some hobby times with them, chatting in Japanese.

As previously mentioned, there is a strong parental influence in Japanese language development. Kondo-Brown's (2001) survey found that shin-nisei heritage language proficiency correlated with their Japanese mother's language use and proficiency at home. As interviewee Y mentions, her mother was not proficient in English, so learning Japanese and using it at home was expected, a trend not uncommon among the shin-issei mothers I met during this study.

Identity and Values

Interacting with and observing how elementary and middle school students create and learn about Japanese culture and nourish their Japanese identity at Japanese school has shown the formative aspects of ethnic education. One important aspect of measuring the educational outcomes of Japanese language school and parenting strategies employed by shin-issei is to look at how shin-nisei adults identify with Japan and Japanese culture. The shin-nisei children that I

met during this study had vague notions of Japanese identity that were largely informed by their parents and structural attendance in Japanese supplementary school. As adult college students and graduates, they have more personal experiences and identity defining decision-making experience that determine how they incorporate their Japanese heritage into their lives. Furthermore, Kondo-Brown (2001) points out that heritage students' attitudes toward their heritage language acquisition are not static, and in fact the majority of bilingual students she surveyed indicated their interest increased during college. Interviews with shin-nisei adults were very helpful in examining factors for identity creation and maintenance.

I met interviewee C while she was a college junior enrolled in a Japanese history general education class where I was a teaching associate. She was particularly interested in the class and she would frequently come to talk with me during office hours. During these times, we spoke in English while occasionally mixing Japanese in our conversation, and I noticed that her Japanese language level was quite high. She explained to me that she spent two years in Hiroshima, Japan, where her mother was from, and said it was such a great time to learn about and experience her motherland:

Me: Can you explain to me why you are taking this Japanese history class at UCLA?

C: Yes, well I am Japanese American, but I'm not completely American nor Japanese, and since my father and mother are both from Japan and always speak Japanese to me, I was always interested in learning about my Japanese roots. I spent time in a Japanese school every Saturday when I was young from elementary to middle school. To be honest, it was quite hard to keep up with both American and Japanese weekday school assignments. I really appreciate that I had the opportunity to spend two years in Japan

during middle school and my knowledge of Japanese improved drastically. When I look back on my time Japanese weekend school, it was a place not only to learn the Japanese reading, writing, and language, but also to meet other Japanese heritage American students who share a similar background with me. However, when I went to Japan to Hiroshima during middle school, I was the only student who came from the States and obviously my language and comprehension skills in Japanese were not same level as other Japanese native students. However, I immersed myself to interact and assimilate with them as much as possible because I knew that my time in Japan was limited and not permanent. I did miss my American friends and American culture at the same time, but when I look back my middle school two years moment in Hiroshima, it was rewarding and it made me think that I am really Japanese. Comparing to my other Japanese heritage friends in the States, the majority of them are already fourth and fifth generation, and they are quite far apart from Japan. They also have a strong pride of being Japanese, but they are different from me, such as not having family ties, connection with Japanese language, their parents are also born and raised in the States, and English is their first language and not Japanese. Despite being raised in the United States I feel I had strong connection with Japan, and I was coexisting between both countries simultaneously.

Me: Since you refer yourself as being exposed to both culture and background closely, what kind of identity do you have in particular? Is it more to Japanese or Japanese American or New Japanese American, such as shin-issei?

C: Definitely I feel I am shin-nisei, the word you used. I think that is the most adequate way to describe about me since I am not fully American nor fully Japanese, plus I'm not

fourth or fifth generation *yonsei* or *gosei* generation Japanese American. Though, I might be a little special since I spent two years in Japan in middle school, wore Japanese public middle school uniform, ate the same cafeteria food that other Japanese students ate, and I was not using nor exposed to any American culture during that time. That two years really made me think that I am, and can be more Japanese than I ever thought while I was living and growing up in the States. Before that, I learned and spoke Japanese with my parents and went to Japanese school on the weekend, but still I didn't feel fully Japanese, even in Japan, since the longest period I spent before middle school was just summer break, one month with my grandparents, *oba-chan* and *oji-chan*. During summer vacation time, my mother attempted to give me the experience of going to Japanese school for one month, but I was never fully exposed to the school since the length of stay was short.

My conversation with interviewee C provides insight into the complex processes of identity creation that affect shin-nisei. Interviewee C had an exceptionally transnational childhood, actively learning Japanese language and culture, constantly through interactions with her family, and both in the United States and Japan. She mentions that even as a shin-nisei with exposure to Japan by her parents, Saturday school, and childhood vacations in Japan, her connection to Japan really only stepped to the next level after living there for two years. Throughout this study, exposure to Japanese language and culture has been such a key element toward development and adoption of Japanese identity.

Me: Looking back your life, being able to spend in Japan and the United States, going to Japanese school on the weekend and now studying at UCLA and taking a Japanese class, can you explain how you view these experiences?

C: One of the reasons why I took this class at UCLA was going back to my roots and wanting to know more about Japan more from an academic learning environment. Studying at UCLA, I was able to notice that there were many other students who are related to Japan in many different ways, such as heritage students like me, some students who are non-heritage, but are interested in Japanese culture and language, and so on. Because of all these different and diverse views and backgrounds with Japanese culture from these students enrolled in one class together, I learned many different perspectives about Japan, and discovered a different way to view myself as being Japanese or Japanese American, more New Japanese American, such as what you said, shin-nisei. I think the word shin-nisei, is the best way to describe about myself, since I am not [fourth generation] and I am not completely Japanese like those who were born and raised in Japan and then came to the United States. Still I consider English as my first language, and I feel more comfortable in reading and writing in English.

All of the shin-nisei adults I interviewed agreed that like Interviewee C, they could not identify as simply American, despite being raised in the United States. As adults, they recognize the strong ties to Japan that they possess from their childhood, which have largely shaped their ethnic identity. Shibata (2000) found that for shin-nisei children, the Japanese Saturday school had an immediate and significant positive impact on ethnic identity and confidence. Having grown up, shin-nisei carry these associations and feelings forward, but develop more nuanced views about how they fit in as Americans, Japanese Americans, and Japanese. Furthermore, as adults, many begin to recognize and utilize the social capital and skills they developed through their ethnic education (Kondo-Brown, 2001). Among my interviewees there was a strong

appreciation for the efforts of their parents to provide a bicultural and bilingual education that had a lasting impact into their adult lives.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

This research focused specifically on the New Japanese in Los Angeles from the period of 2011-2015. In particular, much of the fieldwork was limited specifically to the Sawtelle neighborhood. By having these limitations, this study presents a very accurate picture of current shin-issei lifestyles and education, but at the cost of being unable to provide evidence toward shin-issei trends on a larger scale geographically and across time. I have tried to address this by incorporating knowledge and references from previous studies when possible. Further breaking down shin-issei groups by time period may help identify subtle differences that are not captured by this study. Additionally, more geographic samplings could help draw further conclusions about shin-issei patterns at larger regional or national levels, which cannot be validated by this study alone.

I have stressed that the New Japanese are a very diverse group, and have tried to capture a variety of cases to demonstrate this. Interviews were conducted with corporate sojourners, temporary visitors, and permanent immigrants to the United States; however, I cannot claim to have presented the full breadth of variety in this community. As demonstrated in this study, purposes for being in the United States can play an extremely significant role in lifestyle and educational choices for shin-nisei children. In this respect, the Sawtelle neighborhood that this study examines may be very different from other regions in California or the United States at large. For example, most of the students at Sawtelle Gakuin had a bias towards cases of international marriage families, where only one parent was Japanese. Communities with bias

towards corporate sojourners likely have supplementary schools utilizing very different methods and curricula targeting students who will eventually return to Japan. To address this limitation, further studies should be conducted in other regions to determine which trends are region specific and which can be assigned to shin-issei as a larger group.

This study was heavily reliant on qualitative research methodologies and sought to highlight the detailed experiences of shin-issei and shin-nisei ethnic education that can only be accurately described through qualitative means. Establishing a connection to this ethnic community and conducting qualitative research through field observations, meeting contacts, and carrying out interviews was a very time consuming process. This qualitative analysis provides an understanding of the personal factors that affect lifestyle and educational planning decision-making. However, I think it is not feasible for a single researcher to carry out this task on a larger scale in a timely manner. Future studies could use quantitative sampling and profiling to try to predict the prevalence of various cases in other locales, but in my estimation, it would still need to be reinforced by some qualitative evidence.

Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I will explain how my findings add to the ethnographic research on the contemporary Japanese community, and how they demonstrate new ways to consider modern migration and immigration in the modern context of transnationalism and globalization.

The subject of New Japanese migrants in the United States has not been given much attention, as they have a small and somewhat hidden presence. One of the key points of this study was to identify and examine the understudied New Japanese community living in the

United States. In order to provide an accurate examination of shin-issei, this study first looked at the definition of this group, the characteristics of its members, and the diversity that makes this group hard to succinctly define. Despite the terminology of shin-issei and shin-nisei being simple and concise in the general sense as “new first-generation” and “new second-generation” Japanese in the United States, the actual meaning is quite vague and open to much interpretation when applied towards its members at the individual level.

Community

The long process of field research with the New Japanese helped me to recognize that the New Japanese and their presence in the United States are heavily influenced by contemporary trends towards globalization and transnationalism. It is quite common that their reason for being in the United States is directly tied to global networks affected by these trends, as is the case for corporate sojourners, entrepreneurs, academics, and many other occupations and pursuits. Through the literature review and analysis of the various types of shin-issei, we can see that their modern context heavily distinguishes them from the old issei that immigrated during the early 1900s. Due to U.S. immigration laws the Old and New Japanese groups have a large gap in temporal context, making them so dissimilar that the New Japanese no longer fit into the existing long and rich history of earlier Japanese Americans that dominate the field of Japanese American studies. Not only have the Japanese people changed, but American society and its inclusiveness towards immigrants, and Japanese in particular, is now dramatically different. Modern transnationalism, globalization, and technological advances, all allow them to access Japanese culture, news, and lifestyles, even while living in the United States. This pushes their case beyond historical assumptions such as immigration patterns from poor to rich countries, or models that define assimilation as an unavoidable and desirable pathway to economic and social

advancement. A significant number of New Japanese migrants stay in the United States for extended periods of time with plans to return to Japan, and after such a long stay, some unintentionally end up as permanent immigrants. I posit that shin-issei contemporary migration factors are key to understanding their lifestyle, parenting, and educational decision making, and have shown examples of this in my analysis.

Using the Sawtelle Japanese community in West L.A. as a case study, this research has demonstrated the wide range of different types of shin-issei and shin-nisei that exist, making them hard to categorize them into a unified group or narrative. Interestingly, the Sawtelle New Japanese community has taken form in an existing Japanese neighborhood formed by Old Japanese Americans whose descendants are now in the fourth and fifth generation and no longer speak Japanese or have strong ties to Japanese culture. In many regards, the new shin-issei have become the new face of this existing ethnic community. Using the Sawtelle neighborhood as a focal geographical site, I had nearby access that allowed me to frequently visit and meet New Japanese and conduct research in the community. While living and studying in Los Angeles, I met many New Japanese people, those who came to study abroad like myself, and Japanese people working in the United States as both short-term sojourners and long term permanent immigrants. My personal encounters with shin-issei were often with Japanese families at Japanese restaurants, the Japanese supermarket, and at the local Japanese supplementary school in West L.A. During this research project I was interacting with parts of the New Japanese community every weekend and some weekdays, teaching, interviewing, and engaging with New Japanese children and their parents. After explaining the Japanese community at large, this study focused on interviews with individual shin-issei to provide detailed qualitative understanding of the various cases within the community.

Education

As expected with such a diverse group of New Japanese living in the United States, different personal connections to Japan resulted in different educational planning and outcomes for shin-nisei children. To learn more about the community and Japanese supplementary schooling firsthand, I volunteered at a local language school over a period of a year and a half. I found that language and cultural competency were strongly linked to parental influence and ability to educate in Japanese at home. Kondo-Brown (2001) also found that surveyed heritage students Japanese proficiency was largely tied to use in informal learning environments, and furthermore found that the mother's usage of Japanese language was critical to learning and maintenance. For example, in my study the children of corporate sojourners whose parents were both shin-issei consistently outperformed children whose parents fell under the international-marriage cases of a single shin-issei parent. Thus, while formal instruction is important for learning, it can be understood that having consistent exposure to Japanese culture and language in informal settings is essential for shin-nisei development and maintenance of Japanese language, culture, and identity. Furthermore, among highly transnational shin-issei individuals, there is an even greater motivation to maintain their Japanese language, culture, and traditions, and see that these elements are passed on to their children.

From the beginning of this research, a key point was to investigate the role of parenting and educational planning for shin-nisei children. Over the course of this project, I discovered and found consistent evidence of the importance of the role of parents in identity formation and maintenance for shin-nisei children, and thus it was essential to directly interview parents on the subject of their children's education. By working inside the Japanese school catering to the shin-issei community, I had many opportunities to meet shin-issei mothers and meet with them and

their parenting networks at the school and outside of the school, for example at cafes and at their homes. From these interactions and individual and group interviews I conducted with them I was able to gather voices from shin-issei parents and develop an understanding of their educational motivations and planning. I presented many different interviews with shin-issei parents that reflect the transnational lifestyles they live, and how they factor into their parenting and educational planning for their shin-nisei children. From one aspect, shin-issei mothers had many difficulties adapting to life in the United States, due to lack of English ability and the fact that they are living and raising children in an unfamiliar location, culture, and society. Thus, for instance shin-issei parents sometimes cannot provide help with their children's American school assignments and integration into American culture, or sometimes simply carrying out everyday tasks that are daunting for a foreigner with limited English. My interviews with members of these shin-issei networks evidence their significant role in supporting and enabling a transnational lifestyle in the United States. More prominent to these parenting networks was discussing parent's concerns and difficulties regarding their children's Japanese education.

Parenting and Networks

Depending on their purpose for coming, and their expected length of stay in the United States, Japanese mothers and fathers have unique personal ideas and strategies for their children's education. For example, many parents struggled with how to best raise them to be bilingual, bicultural, and have a strong Japanese identity, despite being raised entirely in the United States. I consistently found that parental transnationalism very strongly correlated with these efforts in Japanese education. Parents planning to return to Japan have the most at stake in ensuring their children are educated in a manner that allows them to transition seamlessly from life in America. Japanese mothers who are living in the United States as expatriates are

constantly involved not only in their children's education in the mainstream U.S. school system, but also in the Japanese education necessary for their children to survive in the competitive Japanese educational system when their husband's job assignment is completed and they return to Japan. A 2008 study by Nukaga focused on Japanese mothers who were planning to return to Japan after a temporary stay in the United States, my study provides more insight into Japanese mothers who are planning to stay in the United States permanently. These include Japanese women who married non-Japanese men and moved to the United States as cases of international marriage and those coming through personal will without corporate support, and even those who planned to return to Japan but eventually decided to stay. I met many families where despite knowing they were going to stay in the United States permanently, they still attempted to maintain close ties with Japan, not only for themselves, but for their second generation children through their Japanese education.

In this study, through examining the shin-issei lifestyle in relation to transnationalism and globalization, hearing about parenting and educational planning for shin-nisei children, and seeing it implemented first-hand as a Japanese school teaching-assistant, I have provided a solid foundation of knowledge regarding shin-nisei education. The final part of my research was to provide an understanding of how these actions and decisions translate toward educational outcomes in respect to shin-nisei adults. My interviewees evidenced that active exposure and interest in Japanese language and culture from youth was a strong indicator of development into adulthood. Furthermore, as adults these shin-nisei exhibited an awareness and pride of their ties to Japan, differentiating themselves from more Americanized Japanese Americans among their friends and peers. Takahashi (1998) explains that unlike perceptions of Old Japanese Americans, shin-issei and shin-nisei who speak Japanese and have strong ties to Japanese culture are given a

higher cultural status than Americanized counterparts. From this perspective, the development and maintenance of their Japanese heritage adds to their socioeconomic value as world-citizens in a globalized setting. Though having struggled with the rigors of facing both Japanese and American education, the shin-nisei I interviewed valued their exposure toward their Japanese heritage, and saw it as an asset and a point of sociocultural strength for future opportunities.

Final Thoughts

This study has shown the diverse factors that affect ethnic education for contemporary Japanese families, a highly transnational group living in the United States. By comparing shin-issei to early Japanese Americans, we can see how movements of people have changed over time, and how globalization and transnationalism is resulting in new conditions and patterns for migration and lifestyle. This study not only reveals the diverse sub-groups within the shin-issei community, but how educational strategies vary among them. Both shin-issei parents and their children struggle with the processes of ethnic education, especially the burden of handling both American and Japanese education at the same time. While new immigrants, in particular the first generation, can maintain their motherland culture and language relatively easily in a transnational setting, shin-nisei children struggle with being pulled toward two different sets of language and cultural values. Fortunately, the shin-nisei who I talked to all agreed that these struggles resulted in ethnic knowledge and cultural ability that they value as adults.

The more globalization and transnationalism expand in everyday life, the more we see the transfer of information and cultural exchange becoming increasingly rapid and pervasive. Whereas 100 years ago Japan and the United States would be considered extremely far apart, geographically and culturally, modern New Japanese migrants can travel back and forth with

ease. Furthermore, it is now possible to live a cosmopolitan lifestyle, allowing them to choose to forgo assimilation into American culture and society. Instead, we see how evident transnationalism is among shin-issei, socializing within Japanese communities and institutions, raising their children to be proficient in Japanese language and culture, all despite having left Japan itself. In many respects, shin-issei are representative of a new form of migratory patterns and lifestyles that are enabled through our modern context, and I believe these studies will soon be applicable to other emergent groups that are forgoing strict patterns of immigration and assimilation. Thus, studies like this may be part of a larger trend that will be important to prepare for in a future of increasing globalization and transnationalism.

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Japanese Questions and English Translations

Note: Several core questions were prepared before the interview, but some of the questions and the order they were asked were changed and the actual interview format was improvised to more naturally respond to each interviewee's case. Some of these core questions did not apply for some interviewees, so before conducting the actual interview, I changed the questions to be asked, or omitted them on a case-by-case basis. In order to collect and obtain deep and rich responses from each interviewee, I carefully prepared these changes for each interviewee's background based on my interactions with them prior to the interview. Several interviewees were met with multiple times in order to gain a rapport and better understanding for their family and personal history.

Questions Prepared for Shin-Issei Parents

質問項目は新一世の親を対象とする

1. アメリカに来た経緯を教えてください。

Please explain the reason why you came to the United States.

2. 家族の構成を教えてください。もしお子さんがいらっしゃる場合はおいくつですか？

Please tell me about the members of your family. If you have a child, how old are they?

3. お子さんをアメリカで育てる中、特に何に注意を払いましたか？

While raising your children in the United States what things did you pay attention to?

4. お子さんを育てる際に日本とアメリカの両文化についてどのように意識、育てましたか？何か日米間の両文化面で意識したことはありましたか？

While raising your children, how did you perceive Japanese and the United States culture?

Did you possess a specific mindset or understanding of American and Japanese culture?

5. お子さんが学校、主に小学校に入学するまでに何か気にかけていたことはありますか？

Before your children entered elementary school, were there any things you paid attention in particular?

6. お子さんはアメリカで日本語学校に通われましたか？

Did your children go to a Japanese school on weekends?

7. もし行かれたのであれば、どのような日本語学校でしたか？日本語学校について教えてください。

If your children went to a Japanese school, would you mind telling the name and what type of school it was?

8. 平日の現地校と週末の日本語学校にお子さんが通う際、何か工夫されたことはありますか？

While your children went to American school on weekdays and Japanese school on weekends, were there any things you paid attention to?

9. 日本語学校に通うようになってお子さんに何か変化はありましたか？

After your children started going to Japanese school, were there any changes and developments? If so would you mind telling me what they were?

10. 日本語学校は何年生まで通いましたか？今も通っていますか？

How long did your children attend the Japanese school? Are they still attending?

11. 日本語学校・補習校に通われてからお子様の日本、日本人、日本文化への考え方には変化がありましたか？

After going to Japanese school, do you think your children's views of Japan, and Japanese language and culture changed?

12. 日本語学校・補習校に通わせる以外に日本語を教えるにあたって何か工夫されたことはありますか？

Besides having your children attend Japanese language or supplementary school, were there any things you yourself elaborated on in order to teach Japanese?

13. もしお子さんが大学在籍、または大学を卒業されたのであれば、子育てを振り返って日本語習得、日本の教育についてどう思いますか？

If your children are currently enrolled in an undergraduate program or have graduated college, how do you view your experiences raising children and educating them in Japanese language?

14. アメリカでの子育て、特に教育面を振り返ってみて日本語学校、日本人学校、補習校に行かせてよかったと思いますか？子育てをしている最中と終えてからの感想はどのようなものですか？

Looking back your experience raising your children in the United States, how do you feel about your educational focus on Japanese language and Japanese schooling? Overall do you think it was the right choice, after being able to see the outcome? Do you think there is a difference in your educational understanding of Japanese language and Japanese culture, during and after finishing you finished raising your children?

15. お子さんと親子さん自身は二つの文化の中で育ちながらのどのようにアイデンティティの構築、または保持しましたか？

While living in the United States how did you create and maintain an American and Japanese identity for yourself and your children?

16. アメリカに住む中で他の日本人の人とネットワークはありましたか？もしあった場

合どのような情報、ネットワーキングでしたか？

While living in the United States, did you have any kind of network with other Japanese people? If so, what kind of information was shared and how did you use that network?

Questions Prepared for Shin-Nisei Adults

The following are the core questions for interviews with shin-nisei adults. Questions were designed to help evaluate their identification with Japan and the United States, and their reflections on experiences with Japanese supplementary education.

1. 生まれはアメリカか日本ですか？それとも他の国ですか？

Where you born in the United States or Japan or other country?

2. 家族の構成を教えてください。

Please tell me about the members of your family.

3. 両親は日本から来た日本人ですか？それとも片方が日本人ですか？

Are your Japanese parents from Japan? Is one side of your parents Japanese?

4. 両親が日本語を喋れる場合、記憶にあるところからでいいのでどのように日本語を
教えてもらいましたか？

If your parent(s) can speak Japanese, would you mind sharing how your Japanese parent or parents taught you how to speak Japanese?

5. 日本人の両親に育ててもらった中で、何か両親が日本・日本語に関して工夫しているところはあったと思いますか？

While you were being raised by your Japanese parents, were there any specific points or strategies your parents paid attention regarding teaching Japanese?

6. 日本語はどのようにして学んだと思いますか？

Please tell me about how you learned Japanese?

7. アメリカで育っている過程で、常に日本と日本語を学ぶことについて考えたことはありますか？

Can you please tell me how you felt about learning Japanese and about Japan while you were growing up?

7. 日本語学校には通いましたか？もし通っていたのであれば、学校についての意見や感想などについて教えてください。

Did you go to a Japanese school, such as cram or weekend school? If you went, would you mind sharing your thoughts and experiences?

8. もし日本人学校に通っていたのであればどのような所だったと思いますか？日本語学校に通ったことは日本語を学ぶ以外に何か影響することはありましたか？

If you went to a Japanese school, what kind of place and atmosphere did it look like? If your

Japanese school was a place you learned more than Japanese language, would you mind sharing what other impact the school for you?

9. アメリカの学校と日本語学校の違いについて教えてください。

Would you mind sharing some of your thoughts on the differences between your American school and your Japanese school?

10. 日本語学校で知り合った友達とは主に日本語か英語どちらで喋っていましたか？

Did you speak Japanese or English to your Japanese school friends?

11. 日本語を喋っていた場合、あなたにとってアメリカにいて日本語を使うとはどのような意味合いがありましたか？

If you spoke Japanese to your Japanese school friends, was there any meaning behind speaking Japanese to them?

12. 日本語を学ぶについて日本にたいしての気持ちなどに変化はありましたか？

Did learning Japanese have any influence on your understanding to Japan? Can you describe that influence?

13. アメリカで育ち、日本も学校を通して触れ、自分にとってアメリカと日本という二つの国はどのような所だとおもいますか？

Please share your thoughts on how you view Japan and the United States? For example, despite being raised in the United States, you went to American and Japanese school and

maybe you gained a familiarity to both countries.

14. 日本語悪行を経験したあと、日本について更に学びたい、日本に留学をしてみたいと考えたことはありますか？

After experiencing Japanese school, have you ever planned or desired to study or travel to Japan, in order to learn more in-depth about Japan?

15. アメリカの大学に在籍中、日本について触れるサークルやイベントなどには参加したことがありますか？参加した場合、そこでの経験について教えてください。

While you attended or were attending in the college in the United States, did you had any chance to be exposed to some events or association that were related to Japan? If you participated in, please share some of your thoughts, experiences and background.

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW INVENTORY

Table 4.
Nijiya Market Interview Inventory

Name	TY
Age	30s
Date/Time	1/15/2013 3:00PM
Length	45 minutes
Location	Nijiya food court
Occupation	Language teacher
Years in U.S.	13 years
Relationship to Japan	First-generation New Japanese. Goes back to Japan once a year
Name	SY
Age	20s
Date/Time	1/23/2013 6:30PM
Length	25 minutes
Location	Coffee store
Occupation	Graduate student
Years in U.S.	Since birth
Relationship to Japan	Second-generation New Japanese migrant. Japanese mother and non-Japanese father.
Name	EI
Age	40s
Date/Time	1/27/2013 3:00PM
Length	31 minutes
Location	Nijiya food court
Occupation	Language teacher
Years in U.S.	21 years
Relationship to Japan	First-generation New Japanese migrant who came to the U.S. for college. Has not been back to Japan in more than eight years.

Name	C
Age	70s
Date/Time	2/2/2013 5:20PM
Length	40 minutes/observation
Location	Inside Nijiya Market
Occupation	Nijiya Employee
Years in U.S.	More than 50 years
Relationship to Japan	Second-generation Japanese American, but spent 10 years in Japan.

Name	JO
Age	20s
Date/Time	2/15/2013 3:00PM
Length	1 hour
Location	Near Moore Hall
Occupation	Graduate student
Years in U.S.	Since birth
Relationship to Japan	Not Japanese, but worked in Japan for two years and took Japanese language and history classes

Table 5.
Interviewee Frequency of Visits to Nijia Market

Frequency	Almost daily	At least weekly	At least monthly
TY		1	
SY			1
EI	1		
C (employee)	1		
JO			1
Total	2	1	2

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