

Social Mobility of Japanese Immigrants in the U.S.A

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This paper is the second part of the study on the experience of Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans in the U. S. The first part was on the historical trends and background (Onozawa 2003). Basing primarily on statistical data, the patterns of social mobility will be examined by application of the so-called Gordon's assimilation model¹⁾ (Gordon: 1964). However the assimilation in the level of identity change proposed by Gordon will be omitted, since identity issue needs different methodology.

After nearly a century, Japanese Americans has numbered 588,300 (1970), and have become the largest Asian ethnic group in the U. S. According to the 1970 census, Japanese Americans show a comparatively high ratio of high-income persons and a lower ratio of low-income persons to its population as a whole. They attained fairly good economic status compared to the U.S. average and to that of other Asian Americans as seen in Table 1 and Chart 1 (U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, p. 106).

On the other hand, in the sphere of inter-ethnic marriage, which is an important index of the degree of assimilation, Japanese Americans are not less assimilated than are Chinese even though they are not as assimilated as are Filipino Americans.

In reading Table 2 (Gee, 1976: 574), one should bear in mind that a substantial numbers of "war brides", Japanese wives of American servicemen, came into the U.S, by 1960. The number has been estimated at 25,000 (Kitano 1969: 132), the percentage may be skewed considerably, especially in the 25-44 year-old female groups. Excluding these estimated 25,000 people; one can estimate that about 77% of the total Japanese American females married within their group and 76% of the 25-44 year-old female group did so. This calculation is based on the data of the 1970 census. The figure still shows a lower rate of intermarriage that of the Chinese group. (Of course, strictly speaking the "war brides" from other Asian countries should also be considered.)

In examining the ethnic breakdown of intermarriage, it should be noted that Japanese inter-marriage with whites is far more common than with other Asian ethnic groups; this can be seen as an indication of their relative success in assimilating with the dominant group in the U.S., shown in Table 3 (Gee 1976: 574). In this table we should again consider the ratio of "war brides". But the high percentage of Japanese males who marry white women confirms the general Japanese preference of whites in intermarriage.

In order to understand the social assimilation process of this ethnic group, it should be divided

Table 1 Income Characteristics of the U.S. Total Population and Asian Americans, 1970

Income of Persons 16 and Over	Japanese					Chinese					Pilipinos					Koreans			
	U.S. Total	United States	Hawaii	California	Other	United States	Hawaii	California	San Francisco	New York City	United States	Hawaii	California	Rural	Urban	United States	Honolulu	Los Angeles	New York City
% Under \$4,000																			
Male	31	30	26	29	36	41	27	40	44	47	40	36	43	47	39**	34	26	31	24
Female	68	58	54	58	65	65	54	67	68	61	56	69	56	74	47	69	55	55	46
% \$10,000 & Over																			
Male	25	33	33	32	31	24	36	25	15	12	12	11	11	6	17	25	39	23	35
Female	3	5	5	3	4	5	7	4	3	3	5	2	3	2	8	3	7	4	3
Income of Families																			
% Under \$4,000	15	10	6	9	16	13	7	13	16	16	14	12	15	16	15*	NA	NA	NA	NA
% \$10,000 & Over	47	65	71	65	54	54	71	56	49	35	46	45	44	35	48	NA	NA	NA	NA
Median Income (dollars)	9,590	12,515	13,542	12,393	11,034	10,610	14,936	10,916	9,879	7,809	9,318	9,289	9,124	7,475	9,690	NA	NA	NA	NA
Income of Families with Female Heads																			
% Under \$4,000	41	32	18	31	47	28	21	28	28 [†]	26 ^{††}	46	45	48	48	43	NA	NA	NA	NA
% \$10,000 & Over	18	29	39	29	19	28	40	27	27	25	20	18	16	18	26	NA	NA	NA	NA
Median Income (dollars)	4,962	6,467	8,112	6,689	4,636	6,627	8,256	6,369	6,359	6,716	4,708	4,574	4,341	4,348	5,254	NA	NA	NA	NA

* Urban U. S. except urban Hawaii and urban California.

** Total U. S. except Hawaii and California.

† Urban California.

†† Urban New York.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, PC (1) C1, Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC (1) D1, Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States, PC (2) 4G

into three generational divisions, as follows:

Issei: the first generation; immigrants born in Japan, by the end of 1970's they should be about 80 years old or more.

Nisei: the second generation; born in the U. S. to Issei parents

Sansei: the third generation; born in the U. S. to Nisei parents

As described in the social background and trends of the migration flows (Onozawa 2003) the large inflow of Japanese migrants was confined to Period 1 (1890–1924), immigration in other periods in this study being negligible; therefore, we can judge the historical changes of this group to be genuinely evolutionary in nature, and not subject to great disruptions by later inflows of numerous Japanese migrants. Hence, generational categories are of special help in understanding the experience of Japanese Americans.

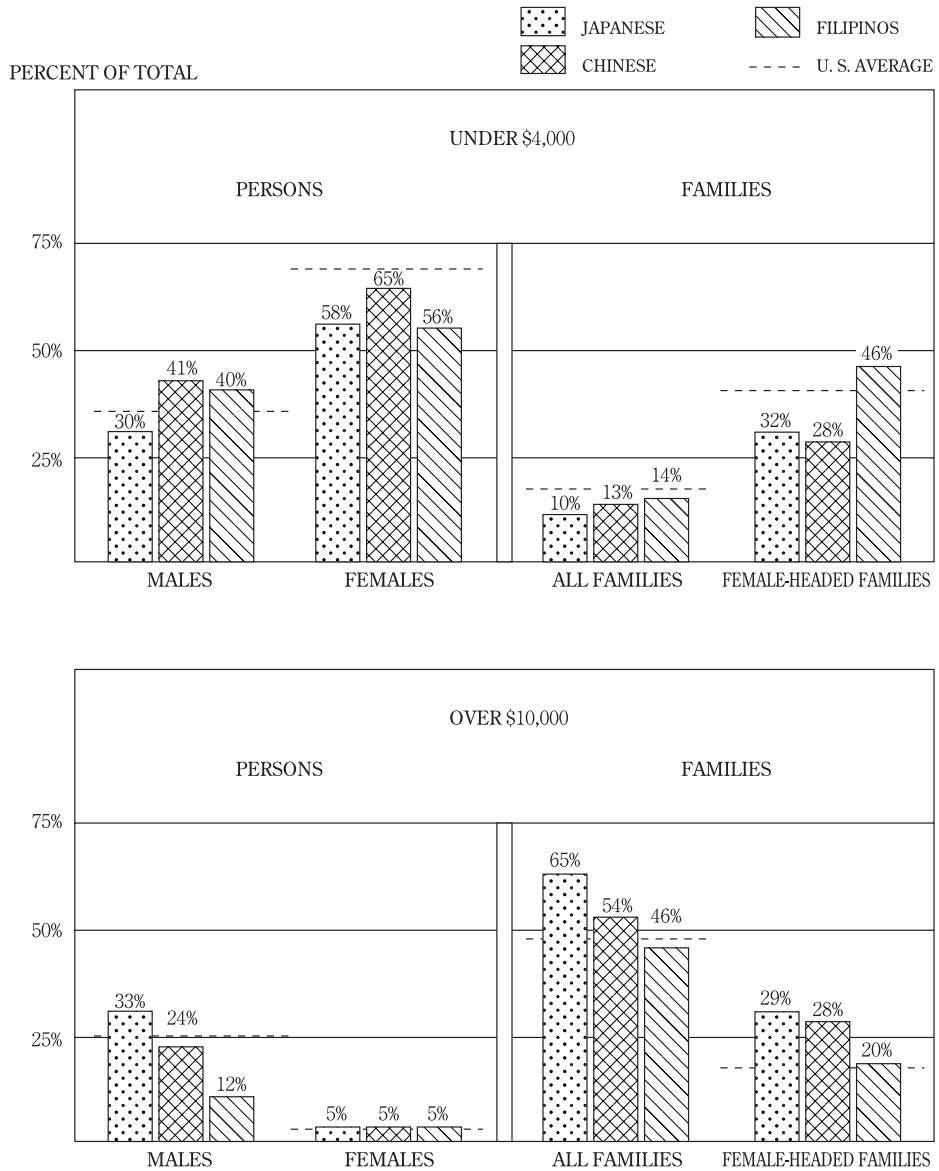


Chart 1 Asian American Incomes Under \$4,000 and \$10,000 and Over

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC (1) D1

1. The Issei

The Issei generation came to the U.S. mainly as agricultural laborers or as blue-collar laborers. Though they did not usually bring capital with them with which to begin businesses or to buy land,

Table 2 Marriage within Own Subgroup by Sex, 1970

Percent of all Married Persons with a Spouse of Same Ethnic/Racial Group		Asian Americans			
		U. S. Total	Japanese	Chinese	Filipinos
Total 16 & Over:	Male	99%	88%	87%	67%
	Female	99	67	88	72
16-24 Yrs:	Male	NA	62	59	51
	Female	NA	54	72	50
25-44 Yrs:	Male	NA	84	84	72
	Female	NA	57	87	72
45 Years & Over:	Male	NA	93	90	63
	Female	NA	84	93	88

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population: Detailed Characteristics, United States Summary, PC (1) -D1; Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese, and Filipinos in the United States, PC (2) 4G; Subject Report: Marital Status, PC(2)4C

Table 3 Marriage Outside Own Subgroup by Origin of Spouse, 1970

		Origin of Spouse				
		% Other Asian	% White	% Spanish Origin	% Black	% Other*
Origin of Wife						
	Japanese	8%	81%	4%	3%	4%
	Chinese	18	59	8	3	13
	Filipino	7	54	22	7	9
Origin of Husband						
	Japanese	14%	65%	8%	1%	12%
	Chinese	25	49	12	3	11
	Filipino	12	42	30	3	12

* Includes Asian who are not Japanese, Chinese or Filipinos: American Indians, etc.

they worked their way up the social and economic ladder step by step; from farm laborer to share tenant, to cash tenant, and finally to farm owner (Iwata 1962: 28–29). Their success at becoming farm owners in the Los Angeles area can be seen in Table 4 (Modell, 1977: 99)

As for the occupational mobility of the Issei generation, Levine and Mantero present an interesting result based on interviews with 1,047 Issei in 1964–66, as shown in Table 5 (Levine 1973: 39).

Those who came to make their living by agriculture have shown very strong attachment to their occupation. Of those who became laborers, there was an initial predominance of blue-collar workers such as servicemen and laborers; they have tended to step up to white-collar jobs such as managers,

Table 4 Development of Japanese Agriculture* in Los Angeles, 1910–1940

	1910	1920	1930	1935	1940
Number of acres farmed by Japanese	6 ,173	44 ,503	24 ,815	28 ,135	30 ,820
Percentage of all farmland farmed by Japanese	0 .8	5 .1	4 .7	4 .5	5 .2
Number of Japanese farms	531	1 ,567	1 ,278	1 ,634	1 ,592
Mean number of acres per Japanese farm	12	29	19	17	19

* All figures after 1910 are for farms operated by non-whites, with very few exceptions, these were Japanese (from census 1920, 1930, 1940)

Table 5 U.S. Occupational Distribution of Issei Men (percentages)

	First Job	Second Job	Principal Occupation
<i>White collar</i>	11	20	35
Professional	3	4	5
Managerial	3	11	28
Clerical	5	5	2
<i>Farming*</i>	42	41	45
<i>Blue collar</i>	47	39	20
Crafts	1	3	3
Operatives	6	8	2
Service	20	15	5
Labor	20	13	10
(N)	(902)	(902)	(902)

*The Farming category includes farm laborers as well as owners

with the passage of time. But it should be remembered that the reason that Japanese white-collar workers were restricted largely to within the ethnic community and scarcely obtained white-collar jobs outside it was because of their language handicap and social discrimination (Kitano 1969). Even in the case of the Issei, educational background helped them a lot to step up to white-collar jobs, as Levine and Montero show in Table 6 (Levine 1973: 40).

Owing to the educational system in Japan, most of the Issei received at least eight years of schooling. Few people received further education because of their peasant background. Therefore, generally speaking, Japanese Issei were a highly homogeneous group in terms of education. However, minute differences in education still caused considerable differences in how they adapted to life in the U. S.; as is illustrated by the association of white-collar jobs and educational background in Table 6.

Intermarriage with the people of the host society is one of the most important indicators of marital assimilation. As Kikumura and Kitano's case study shows (1973), during 1924–1933, when most of the Issei married, the ratio of intermarriage was very low shown in Table 7 (Kikumura & Kitano 1977: 69)

Total out-marriage of Issei is about 5% (Kitano and Kikumura, 1977: 50). Most of the spouses were obtained from Japan mainly after the Gentlemen's Agreement (1908) using such methods as picture brides, traditional Japanese matchmaking etc. Therefore, the Issei generation can be said to have been partially successful in economic upward mobility, but relatively unsuccessful in marital assimilation (occupationally successful outside their ethnic group and more than a low rate of intermarriage).

2. The Nisei and Sansei

The Nisei and Sansei generations received full schooling in the American educational system (ex-

Table 6 Japanese Educations of Respondent and Spouse

	Education		
	Both 8 or Fewer Years	One 9 or More, the Other 8 or Fewer	Both 9 or More Years
FIRST JOB:			
White collar	10%	10%	18%
(N)	(397)	(230)	(175)
SECOND JOB:			
White collar	14%	21%	55%
(N)	(395)	(230)	(175)
PRINCIPAL OCCUPATION:			
White collar	24%	35%	55%
(N)	(395)	(230)	(175)

Note: Occupation is that of male Issei in the U.S.

cepting, of course, the *Kibei*), even though some of them suffered discrimination. They were less handicapped by lack of English proficiency and knowledge of American culture and technology; this enabled them to go into various occupations, especially white collar ones. General trends in California are shown in Table 8 (Kitano 1969: 172)

From the above table, comparing 1960 to 1940, drastic decline of laborers (category 5) from 26.4% to 5.9% and a corresponding rise of professional and technical workers (category 10) from 3.8% to 15%, are noticeable. The generational relationship between Issei and Nisei can be seen by the results of Levine and Montero's research show in Table 9 (Levine & Montero, 1973: 42). White-collar percentages in the Issei generation of 39% changed very radically to 71% in the Nisei generation. This shows that the second generation was successful in structural assimilation with the American society. Moreover, it should be noticed that, in contrast to their parent's generation, the Nisei tended to gain in the second generation white collar jobs outside the Japanese ethnic community.

Table 9 shows further that not only the white collar Issei's children but also the blue collar or

**Table 7 Japanese American Out-marriage in Los Angeles County 1924-1972
(the ratio of 1948-51 already included the marriages by Nisei).**

Years	Marriages with at least One Japanese Partner	Male Outmarriages		Female Outmarriages		Total Outmarriages	
		Total	% of All Outmarriages	Total	% of All Outmarriages	total	% of Total Japanese Marriages
1924 - 1933	1163	17	63%	10	37%	27	2%
1948 - 1951	445	20	38%	33	62%	53	12%
1949	187	8	40%	12	60%	20	11%
1950	168	6	33%	12	67%	18	11%
1951	187	10	39%	16	61%	26	14%
1952	171	11	46%	13	54%	24	14%
1953	197	14	41%	20	59%	34	17%
1954	238	10	26%	29	74%	39	16%
1955	264	18	33%	37	67%	55	21%
1956	268	14	24%	45	76%	59	22%
1957	346	26	31%	57	69%	83	24%
1958	465	30	32%	65	68%	95	20%
1959	631	58	41%	85	59%	143	23%
1971	772	140	39%	221	61%	361	47%
1972	388	83	44%	107	56%	190	49%

Note: Based on Burma (1952, 1963), Panunzio (1942), and statistics from the Marriage License Bureau, Los Angeles County. For 1948 through 1959, total marriages with at least one Japanese partner include all interracial marriages recorded for those years: 1972 data are for January-June

farmer Issei's children attained a high rate of white collar jobs. In Chart 2 one can see that Japanese American educational levels are somewhat higher than the U.S. average.

Compared with Chinese and Filipino Americans, the Japanese Americans show lower figures than Chinese Americans at the college level and Japanese American females show lower figures than Filipino American females at the college level. But other than that, the Japanese American group shows higher qualifications than either of the other two groups. It is an important fact that Japanese American shows the lowest figure at 8 years or less, while they show the highest figure at the high school

Table 8 Shift in Occupation of Employed Japanese Males in California, 14 Years Old or Older, by Percent, 1950 and 1960

Industry	Japanese Males (by per cent)		
	1940	1950	1960
(1) <i>Farm Laborers and Foremen</i>	4.6	19.4	9.2
(2) <i>Service Workers, Except Private Household</i>	8.3	5.4	3.5
(3) <i>Operatives and Kindred Workers</i>	6.2	6.5	9.1
(4) <i>Farmers and Farm Managers</i>	4.3	17.1	21.4
(5) <i>Laborers, Except Farm and Mine</i>	26.4	17.9	5.9
(6) <i>Craftsmen, Foremen, and Kindred Workers</i>	2.9	5.2	10.4
(7) <i>Clerical, Sales, and Kindred Workers</i>	21.1	8.8	12.7
(8) <i>Managers, Officials and Proprietors, Except Farm</i>	19.8	8.6	7.9
(9) <i>Private Household Workers</i>	2.3	3.2	1.1
(10) <i>Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers</i>	3.8	4.4	15.0
(11) <i>Other and Not Reported (change of classification)</i>	3	3.5	3.8
Total:	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: U.S. Census: Broom, L. and Riemer, R., *Removal and Return* (Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1949), p.2.; State of California: *Californians of Japanese, Chinese, Filipino Ancestry*, Division of Fair Employment Practices, June, 1965, San Francisco, California

Table 9 Occupation Strata between Generations

Nisei Sons	Issei Fathers			
	White Collar	Farm	Blue Collar	Total
White Collar	33	29	9	71
Farm	1	10	1	12
Blue Collar	5	9	3	17
<i>Total</i>	39	48	13	100%

(N = 1188)

graduate level. They are in contrast to the Chinese Americans, who show the highest figure among all ethnic groups in the U.S., and also show higher figures than Japanese or Filipino Americans at the level of 8 years or less. This means that Japanese Americans are extremely homogeneous even in the third or fourth generation. The same trend can be seen in the number of those enrolled in schools of higher education as shown in Chart 3 (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, p.80). Their percentage of 56% for males and 48% for females is considerably higher than the U.S. average of 37% for males and 27% for females. However, these figures are not nearly as impressive as those for Chinese Americans: 71% for males and 58% for females.

In comparison with the Chinese American group, the Japanese American group is strong in middle level education and has a wide distribution of educated people. This strength partially explains the higher number of Japanese Americans in the \$10,000 and over income bracket, compared with Chinese Americans (see Chart 1). But we can go deeper in our understanding by examining Table 10 (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, p.102)

This table shows the ratio of persons in professional, technical, and managerial positions who have had four or more years of college. (For ease of presentation, I will confine examination to males.)

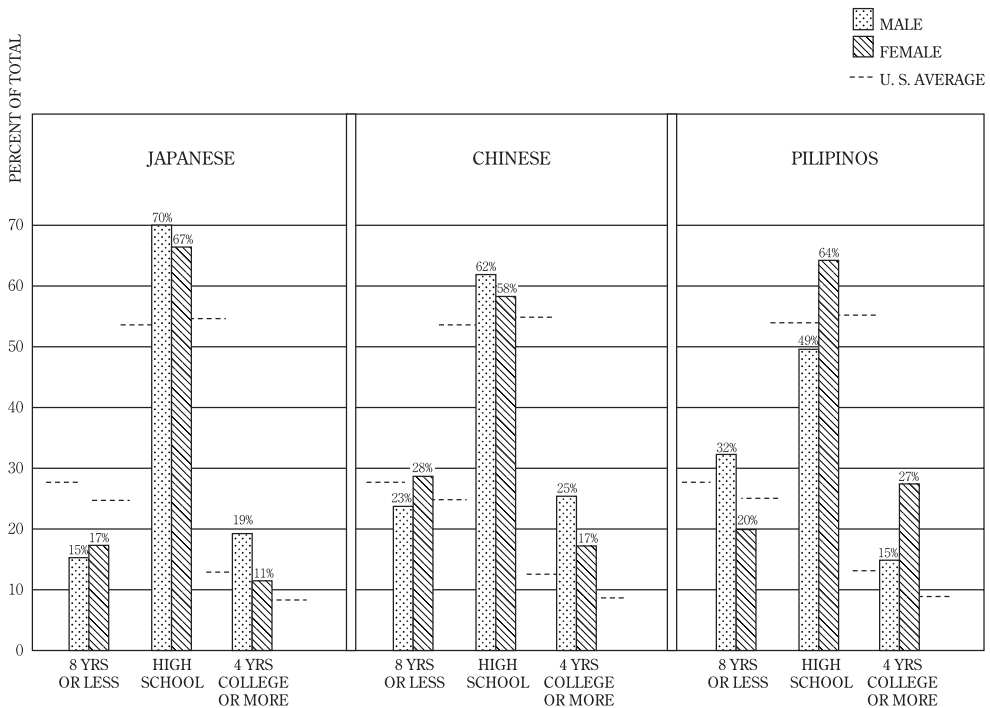


Chart 2 Schooling completed by Asian Americans 16 Years Old and Over

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population, Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States, PC(2)-1G

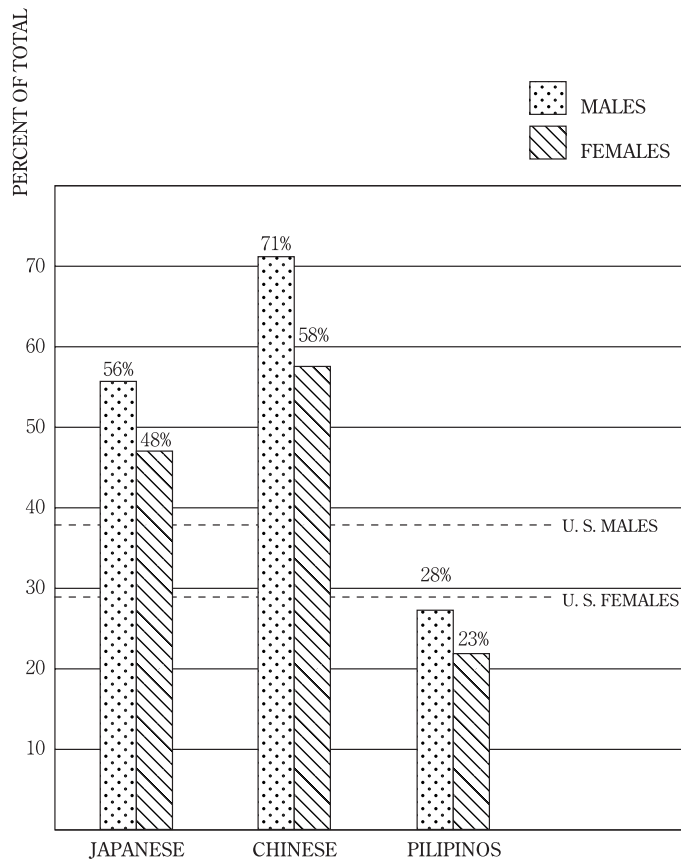


Chart 3 Enrollment of Asian Americans, 18-24 Years Old, in School

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-C1 Subject Reports in the United States, PC(2)-1C

Even considering the language handicap of the foreign born generations, it is clear that Asians and Asian Americans in the U. S. have suffered from discrimination in recruitment and promotion; that is, compared with a ratio of 1.5 for the U.S. as a whole, the 1.3 for Japanese Americans, 1.1 for Chinese Americans and 0.9 for Filipino Americans are significantly lower than average. In the Asian American groups, the ratio of Japanese Americans is higher than that of either the Chinese or Filipino Americans. From what does this difference stem?

In their densely populated areas, e.g., Hawaii and California, Japanese Americans show a higher ratio. This fact suggests that the Japanese American ethnic communities serve to protect the interests of Japanese Americans. If this idea is true then it means that the Japanese American community is quite effective in helping to push its people upward. Let's examine this more closely, reviewing Bonacich's mid 1960's study on the small businesses of Japanese Americans, which is based on data gathered from 2,304 Nisei on the Mainland. On the small businesses of the Issei, she states:

Table 10 Ratio of Persons in Professional, Technical and Managerial Occupations to Persons with 4 or More Years of College: 1970*
 (* the ratios on this table are based on the number of persons in professional, technical and managerial occupations over the number of persons with 4 or more years of college.)

	Males	Females
<u>U. S. Total</u>	1.5	1.0
<u>Japanese</u>		
U. S.	1.3	0.9
Hawaii	1.8	1.3
California	1.3	0.8
Other	1.0	0.6
Foreign Born	0.9	0.5
<u>Chinese</u>		
U. S.	1.1	0.7
Hawaii	1.5	1.0
California	1.2	0.7
New York State	1.1	0.7
Foreign Born	1.0	0.6
<u>Filipinos</u>		
U. S.	0.9	0.7
Hawaii	1.7	0.7
California	0.9	0.5
Rural	1.1	0.7
Outside		
Hawaii & California	0.9	0.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1970 Census of Population General Social and Economic Characteristics, United States Summary, PC(1)-1D Subject Reports: Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States. PC(2)-1G

“In 1941 Bloom and Riemer (1949: 20) found that, among male Japanese in the labor force in Los Angeles County, 47 percent were self-employed. For those over 45 years of age 60 percent were self-employed. These people worked as operators of small shops such as restaurants, grocery stores, or boarding houses, or as small farmers or market gardeners. These enterprises shared the features of not involving a large initial capital investment and of depending heavily on unpaid family labor. In essence, they were small businesses” (Bonacich 1975: 97).

In the postwar period, there has been a general trend for Nisei to move away from ethnically oriented small businesses to non-ethnically oriented big businesses. On the division between ethnically oriented small businesses and non- ethnically oriented corporate entities, she says that it

“... is accounted for by a number of factors, including: year of birth (the younger, the less likely to be in small business), education (fewer of the more educated are in small business), work history (those who start in small business occupations tend to remain there), and religion (the Pacific coast 83 harbors more Nisei in small business)” (Bonacich 1975, p. 97).

In the case of Bonacich's sample, 47% of the Nisei engaged in ethnically oriented firms, the remaining 53% being employees in non-Japanese American businesses or working as public servants. The relationship between the distribution of the occupation and the type of firm in this sample is shown in Table 11 (Bonacich 1975:102). It should be noted that managers, officers, proprietors, service workers, and laborers tend to concentrate in ethnically oriented small businesses, while half of the Nisei who are not in this economy are professional and technical workers.

As for the difference in income, Bonacich states that:

“Small business is related to income in a striking way. Forty-two percent of the Nisei in ethnic firms earned \$10,000 or less annually at the time of the study compared to 33 percent of those in the general economy. But at the other end of the scale 20 percent of those in small business earned \$20,000 or more as compared with only eight percent of persons in non-Japanese American employ. The different income distributions suggest that the two economies have different meanings. The non-ethnic economy seems to promise security: a good income without too much risk, but a financial ceiling. The ethnic economy is more of a gamble” (Bonacich 1975, pp. 101–102).

Even if it is like a gamble to engage in ethnically oriented business, it is true that it is still contributing to upward mobility of almost half of the Nisei. As one sees in Table 10, in Hawaii and California with their heavy Japanese ethnic concentrations, Japanese Americans have been successful in attain-

Table 11 Nisei Male Occupation and Type of Firm

Occupation	Small Business	Non-Small Business	% Small Business
Professional, Technical, and Kindred	14%	48%	21% (640)
Managers, Officials, and Proprietors	30	12	69% (405)
Clerical, Sales, and Kindred	7	15	29% (218)
Farmers and Farm Workers	27	2	93% (275)
Craftsmen, Foremen, and Operatives	5	20	18% (249)
Service Workers and Laborers	18	4	82% (211)
	(949)	(1049)	

Note: Nisei have at least one parent born in Japan; Sansei have both parents born in the United States.

ing high status positions, while in other places with no concentrations they have been relatively unsuccessful. Even compared with the Chinese, who as a people have had a longer history in the U.S., it may be observed that the Japanese ethnic economy seems to be contributing very effectively to the social upward mobility of their ethnic group as a whole; coupled with their high level educational homogeneity, the support that Japanese Americans have received from their community has made them remarkably upwardly mobile.

As for marriage with non-Japanese, as we have already seen in the case of Los Angeles County (Table 7), the out-marriage ratio has rapidly increased from 10% in the 1940's and early 1950's to 20% in the late 1950's. By the early 1970's it had attained almost 50%. This indicates an increasing number of Nisei and Sansei who have married outside their ethnic group. Although the sample size is small, John N. Tinker's study in Fresno County shows the trends in detail shown in Table 12 (Tinker 1973: 63). The Nisei's intermarriage ratio to in-marriage changed radically from 10:1 in the early 1960's to 2:1 in the early 1970's, while marriages of Sansei have been increasingly with those outside their ethnic group to the point that they were well over 50%.

In research on the four main subgroups in the Japanese American community-Buddhist Nisei, Buddhist Sansei, Christian Nisei, and Christian Sansei-in Los Angeles, Feagin and Fujitaki obtained data on attitudinal differences among the subgroups concerning the subject of intermarriage, in Table 13 (modified from Feagin 1972: 25).

Table 12 Japanese In-marriages and Intermarriages in Fresno County Year and Generation

Year	Nisei		Sansei		Generation Unknown
	In-Marriages	Inter-Marriages	In-Marriages	Inter-Marriages	
1958	27	5	0	1	
1959	26	2	1	0	
1960	19	2	1	1	
1961	26	2	0	0	
1962	18	2	0	1	
1963	18	1	4	0	1
1964	15	2	1	8	
1965	14	6	2	2	1
1966	10	1	4	7	
1967	10	5	7	5	1
1968	12	4	8	8	
1969	8	3	7	16	
1970	12	5	9	15	1
1971	10	7	12	14	

Note: Nisei have at least one parent born in Japan; Sansei have both parents born in the United States.

Table 13 Crude Indices of Marital Assimilation, by Religion and Generation

INDEX	BUDDHISTN			CHRISTIAN			EPSILON (BN-CN)	EPSILON (BS-SC)
	SAMPLE Nisei	SAMPLE Sansei	EPSILON (BN-BS)	SAMPLE Nisei	SAMPLE Sansei	EPSILON (CN-CS)		
Behavioral Measures								
% of Those Married Who Are Married to Non-Japanese	0%	0%	0%***	0%	0%	0%***	0%***	0%***
Attitudinal Measures								
% Who Are Not Married Who Prefer to Marry a Person From Japan or a Japanese American	NA	76%	NA	NA	42%	NA	NA	+ 34%
% Who Prefer that a Close Relative Marry a Person From Japan or a Japanese American	100%	56%	+ 44%**	82%	29%	+ 53%**	+ 18%***	+ 27%**
% Who are Generally Opposed to Marriages Between Caucasians and Orientals	55%	8%	+ 47%**	19%	13%	+ 6%***	+ 36%**	- 5%***
% Who Would Absolutely Oppose Marriage of a Close Relative to a Negro American	77%	17%	+ 60%**	54%	24%	+ 30%**	+ 23%*	- 7%

* = chi-square (one-tail) significant at .10

** = chi-square (one-tail) significant at .05 or better

*** = too many small cells to calculate significance

NA = not applicable

This table shows an interesting gap in consciousness between Nisei and Sansei. Generally speaking, the Nisei generation prefers in-marriage but with exceptional tolerance to intermarriage with whites. But in contrast, the Sansei generation seems hardly concerned with in-marriage. It is interesting that generally progressive Christian Sansei show a rather high percentage of dislike in regard to intermarriage with American blacks (24%).

Conclusions

From the above examination the upward social mobility of Japanese migrants and their descendants seems to smoothly moved up from generation to generation, which can be schematically shown as in Chart 4. The process of the mobility was occurring as part of the dynamics of history. For instance, the occupational mobility process was formalized under the exclusionist movement, the war-time evacuation and incarceration etc. The Issei started their career in the U.S. from the bottom of the hierarchy, being employed as poorly paid manual workers in agricultural or construction work. Slowly they progressed upward, depending upon their diligence. Even their white-collar jobs were limited and mainly were within the Japanese community. In the second generation, their occupations gradually diversified and shifted. However, not until the third generation that after the experience of the hardship, they finally could have their ethnic social status established in a stable position in the American ori-

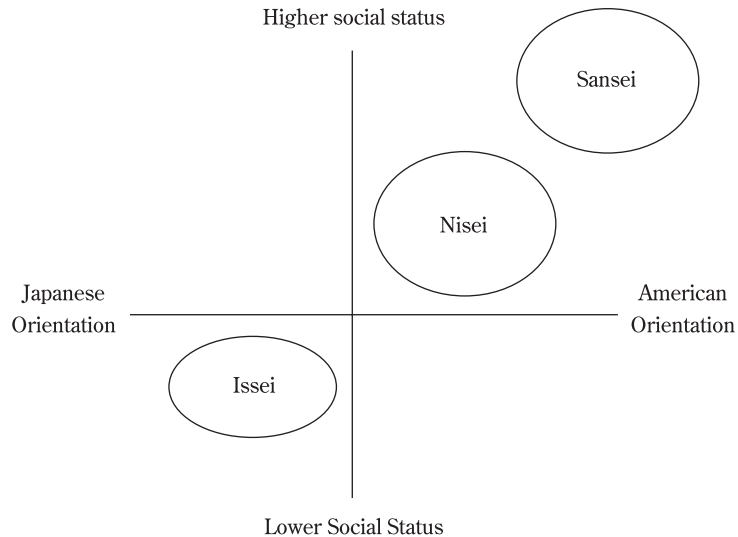


Chart 4 The upward mobility pattern of three Japanese generations in reference of social status in American society

ented sphere.

Note

- 1) Up to the 1970's, the social assimilation process of any ethnic groups in the U.S. can be divided into these three stages:
 - 1) Cultural assimilation: the stage of attachment, symbolized by the ability to speak excellently the language of the majority or dominant group.
 - 2) Structural assimilation: the stage at which members of a given group form friendships with members of the majority or dominant groups through occupational, educational, political, and other associations.
 - 3) Marital assimilation: the stage at which members of a given group inter-marry with the members of the majority or dominant group.

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