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A Matter of Belonging: Dilemmas of Race, Assimilation, and Substantive Citizenship
Among Later Generation Japanese Americans

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Sociology

by

Dana Yasumitsu Nakano

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Rubén G. Rumbaut, Co-Chair
Associate Professor Linda Trinh Vo, Co-Chair
Professor Francesca Polletta
Associate Professor Glen M. Mimura
Associate Professor Eiichiro Azuma

2014

DEDICATION

To

my parents,

Gary and Sheri Nakano

for too many reasons to count,
this dissertation would not be possible without them

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

<div align="center">**CURRICULUM VITAE**

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Education

University of California, Irvine
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    Master of Arts in Asian American Studies

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA (2004)
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Publications

Refereed Publications:
    Nakano, Dana Y. 2013. "An Interlocking Panethnicity: The Negotiation of Collective Identity Among Asian American Social Movement Leaders," *Sociological Perspectives* 56(4): 569-595.
        UCI Department of Sociology Robin M. Williams, Jr. Graduate Paper Award (2013)

    Nakano, Dana Y. 2006. "Out of Time: Asian Americans, Time Limits, and Welfare Reform In California." Harvard University's *Asian American Policy Review* XV: 31-47.

    Nakano, Dana Y. "Telling the Right Story: Narrative as Mechanism for Policing Japanese American Ethnic Boundaries," under review at *Sociological Inquiry*.

Other Publications:
    Nakano, Dana Y. Forthcoming. "Japanese Immigration." Entry in *Asian American Society: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Mary Yu Danico and J. Geoffrey Golson. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Nakano, Dana Y. Forthcoming. "Japanese American Citizens League." Entry in *Asian American Society: An Encyclopedia*. Edited by Mary Yu Danico and J. Geoffrey Golson. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Review of Daryl Maeda's *Chains of Babylon. Social Forces* 89.3 (March 2011): 1077-8.

Review of Lisa Park's *Consuming Citizenship*. *Journal of American Ethnic History* 26.1 (Fall 2006): 112-3.

Grants, Awards & Fellowships

2014	Association of Asian American Studies, Kyoto University, and Japanese Association of Migration Studies International Exchange Scholar Award
2014	Graduate Dean's Dissertation Fellowship, UC Irvine
2013	Department of Sociology Robin M. Williams, Jr. Graduate Research Paper Award, UC Irvine
2013	Public Impact Fellowship, UC Irvine
2013-2011, 2008	Department of Sociology Summer Research Fellowship, UC Irvine
2012	Center for the Study of Democracy Research Assistantship, UC Irvine
2012	Labor and Employment Research Fund Minigrant, UC Irvine
2012	School of Social Science Associate Dean's Fellowship, UC Irvine
2010-2011	American Sociological Association Minority Fellowship
2010	Center for Organizational Research Graduate Fellow, UC Irvine
2008	Community Scholar Fellowship, UC Irvine
2007-2009	Center for the Study of Democracy Fellowship, UC Irvine
2007	Japanese American Citizen League Mike M. Masaoka Congressional Fellowship

Invited Lectures

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2014 "Theories of Race and Ethnicity," SOC 421: Contemporary Sociological Theory, Dr. Elizabeth Sowers, California State University, Channel Islands, Guest Lecture

Selected Conference Papers

2014 "Layered Belonging: Marginalization and Racialized Substantive Citizenship Among Later Generation Japanese Americans," Association of Asian American Studies (AAAS) National Conference, San Francisco, CA. *Panel Chair.*

2013 "Visual Citizenship and the Legibly Cool: The Recognition and Misrecognition of Japanese American Belonging," American Sociological Association (ASA) Annual Meeting, New York, NY

2012 "Finding Community: Race, Ethnicity, and Belonging in Japanese American Citizenship," ASA Annual Meeting, Denver, CO.

2012 "Terms of Visibility: Foreignness and Belonging Among Japanese Americans at Japanese Village and Deer Park"
      AAAS National Conference, Washington, DC.
      ASA Annual Meeting, Las Vegas, NV (2011)

2011 "The Power and Pervasiveness of Story: The JACL and the Flattening of Community Diversity," AAAS National Conference, New Orleans, LA.

2010 "Performance Before the Law: Naturalization, Anti-Miscegenation, and the Limits of Whiteness," Pacific Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Seattle, WA.

2010 "Policing Ethnic Boundaries: The Disciplinary Function of Japanese American Grand Narrative," ASA Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA.

2010 "Invisible Race: The Election of Congressman Cao and the Illusion of a Post-Racial America," AAAS National Conference, Austin, TX.

2009 "An Interlocking Panethnicity: Identity Work Among Asian American Social Movement Leaders," ASA Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA.

2009 "At the Intersection of Panethnic and Single-Ethnic: Collective Identity in Contemporary Asian American Social Movement," AAAS National Conference, Honolulu, HI.

2008 "Out of Time: Employed Asian Americans and the Effects of Welfare Reform in California," Pacific Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Portland, OR.

2008 "Confining Japanese America: Scott Fujita, Ehren Watada, and the Dilemma of Grand Narrative," AAAS Conference, Chicago, IL.

2006 **"**Preparing for the Future**:** Asian American Youth and Leadership Development in the SoMa District of San Francisco," AAAS Conference, Atlanta, GA.

Teaching Experience

Lecturer, California Polytechnic University, Pomona
      Statistics for the Social Sciences – SOC 307/307a (Spring 2014)
      Research Methods in Sociology I - SOC 204 (Winter 2013)

Lecturer, Pomona College, CA
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Lecturer, University of California, Irvine
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      Japanese American Personality – AAS 335 (Fall 2006)

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Research Assistant with Professor Catherine Bolzendahl, Department of Sociology and Center for The Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine (July 2012-September 2012)
- Compiled and cleaned cross-national dataset on legislative committees by gender
- Managed and cleaned multinational dataset on government and social welfare variables

Grant Manager/Program Analyst, The Olin Group, Santa Ana, CA (December 2010-April 2012)
- Formulated fund development and program evaluation strategy within non-profit sector
- Cultivated and managed relationships with non-profit organization clients
- Managed grant writers and pipeline of 60+ proposals (amounting to $850,000+)/month

Survey Research Consultant (Lead), "State of the JACL," Japanese American Citizens League and Annie E. Casey Foundation (November 2007-June 2009)
- Created and implemented sampling scheme and online survey of JACL membership
- Managed, cleaned, and analyzed full dataset of survey results
- Sole-authored final report

Research Assistant, Demographics Research Project, Asian Pacific American Legal Center, Los Angeles, CA (May-August 2008)
- Ran statistical analysis on outreach data in order to better target potential voters
- Conducted research in data reliability and projection and GIS spatial mapping

Congressional Fellow and Legislative Aide, Congressman Mike M. Honda (CA-15)/Japanese American Citizens League, Washington, DC (January-August 2007)
- Advised the Congressman on disaster preparedness/relief, Asian American, and historical reconciliation issues and bills
- Compiled demographics on districts with sizeable Asian American populations

Associate Consultant, International Business Machines (IBM), New York, (July 2004-August 2005)
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Service Activities

2013   Co-Facilitator, UCI Race Research Workgroup

2009-2011   Graduate Admissions Committee, Student Representative for UCI Sociology Department

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Matter of Belonging: Dilemmas of Race, Assimilation, and Substantive Citizenship
Among Later Generation Japanese Americans

By

Dana Y. Nakano

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Irvine, 2014

Professor Rubén G. Rumbaut, Co-Chair
Associate Professor Linda Trinh Vo, Co-Chair

This dissertation critiques the assimilation paradigm by highlighting the continued impact

of race for third and fourth generation Japanese Americans in suburban Southern California.

Despite their mass internment during WWII, assimilation scholarship since the 1960s heralds

Japanese Americans as the model minority and a shining example of the colorblind promise of

the "American Dream." Japanese Americans, as a group that has high socioeconomic attainment

and residential integration, provides an opportunity to explore the future of ethnic communities

after assimilation "success." However, through the political concept of substantive citizenship,

defined as a sense of local and national belonging, I show that race continues to limit the ability

of immigrant-origin communities to achieve full membership in US society. For this project, I

conducted 91 in-depth interviews, as well as collected archival and visual image sources, to

examine how Japanese Americans negotiate their substantive citizenship through localized

practices of ethnic and racial community formation. I demonstrate that third and fourth

generation Japanese Americans do not negotiate their lack of belonging by shedding their ethnic

identity as dictated by assimilation theory. Rather, they rely on ethnic community to shape their

sense of citizenship and belonging at both the local and national levels. Furthermore, I introduce

the concept of racial replenishment of ethnicity to illustrate how the influx of similarly racialized

immigration and refugees from Asia following policy reforms beginning in 1965 created a

context under which later generation Japanese Americans simultaneously acknowledge their

racialization as "Asian" and "forever foreigners" as well as augment their ethnic identification as

"Japanese American" as unique within the panethnic label. In a final segment of my dissertation,

I provide a concrete example of suburban ethnic community formation and substantive

citizenship through an exploration of the relationships, community, and networks formed among

the former employees of Japanese Village and Deer Park, a Japanese-themed amusement park in

Orange County that employed many local sansei youth from 1967-1974. Overall, the Japanese

American case opens a theoretical door for exploring the contemporary racial predicament of

Latinos and other Asian Americans, the fast growing immigrant populations in the US.

INTRODUCTION

The Puzzle of Later Generation Japanese American Citizenship

The fact that the Japanese bears in his features a distinctive racial hallmark, that he wears, so to speak, a racial uniform, classifies him. He cannot become a mere individual, indistinguishable in the cosmopolitan mass of the population, as is true, for example, of the Irish, and to a lesser extent, of some of the other immigrant races. The Japanese, like the Negro, is condemned to remain among us an abstraction, a symbol, and a symbol not merely of his own race, but of the Orient and that vague, ill-defined menace we sometimes refer to as the "yellow peril."

> "Racial Assimilation in Secondary Groups with Particular Reference to the Negro"
> Robert Ezra Park, 1914

We find this argument [the racial distinctiveness of new immigrants will inhibit processes of assimilation] less than compelling. For it ignores the experiences of the descendants of earlier immigration from Asia, who, despite "looking different" and despite a history of discrimination against Asians, are showing strong tendencies toward assimilation.

> *Remaking the American Mainstream*
> Richard Alba & Victor Nee, 2005

Taken together, the epigraphs by Park and Alba and Nee represent snapshots at two ends

of the sociological historiography of Japanese American studies outlining a trajectory of

Japanese American integration and assimilation across the intervening century. Across multiple

generations, Japanese Americans moved from unassimilable racial foreigner to persevering

model minority. It would seem that Alba and Nee's assertion at the dawn of the twenty-first

century declares Park's grim prediction from the past to be incorrect. The visible racial

difference of Japanese Americans, Park's racial uniform, did not lead to the arrested

development observed for African Americans. Rather, as Alba and Nee argue, racial boundaries

have shifted to allow Japanese Americans to overcome such barriers to achieve assimilation

success and even the status of honorary whites.

As assimilated subjects, it would seem the sociological story of Japanese Americans has

already been told complete with fairytale happy ending: everyone is happily American ever after.

Japanese Americans are a quintessential story of perseverance through adversity and ultimate achievement of the "American Dream." *A Matter of Belonging* does not tell such a story. Rather than a tale of assimilation, I find the Japanese American story is one of persistent racialization and the impact of such racialization on the lived experience and negotiations of local and national belonging. Precisely because the Japanese American story has been told in such a narrow way by the discipline in sociology, they provide an ideal case for the persistent impact of race on integration due to their maintained racial otherness, multigenerational history, and high achievement of various assimilation measures.

While Alba and Nee celebrate the Japanese American case as proof of assimilation crossing the color line, it is important to recognize that Japanese Americans, while no longer the menacing yellow peril, remain a racially distinct, non-white group even after multiple generations. Japanese Americans may be portrayed as the model minority of model minorities, but they remain visible as racial minorities nonetheless. Assimilationist scholars focusing on quantitative measures of socioeconomic attainment and social integration overlook the persistent impact of what Robert Park termed the Japanese American "racial uniform" on the lived experience and integration of third and fourth generation Japanese Americans. Japanese Americans, as a group that has high socioeconomic attainment and residential integration, provides an opportunity to explore the future of ethnic communities after assimilation "success."

Far from being assimilated, deracialized subjects, later generation Japanese Americans continue to experience race in their daily lives within meaningful impact on their identity and community formation practices. Importantly, the purpose of this study is not to refute the quantitatively measured achievements of Japanese Americans in terms of socioeconomic status, education, residential integration, and intermarriage. Rather, I assert that these quantitative

variables are unable to capture the persistent impact of race on such outcomes and, more importantly, the daily lived experience of Japanese Americans. On their own, such measures point to a lack of discrimination and prejudice against Japanese Americans. However, in my study as well as others documenting Asian Americans across generations, later generation Japanese Americans continue to experience daily microaggressions and larger-scale discrimination due to their assumed foreignness and subordinate racial status. Such experiences lead Japanese Americans to feel unaccepted and as not belonging to their local communities and to the national citizenry, limiting their ability and sense of legitimate claim on social rights afforded to community members and citizens (Park 2005; Kim 2007; Jung 2009; Tsuda 2014).

The size of the Asian American population is relatively small in comparison to other racial minority categories, comprising only 5% of the national population compared to Latinos (16%) and African Americans (15%). Within the Asian American population, Japanese Americans make up is also small, ranking sixth among Asian American ethnic groups and totaling just over 5% of the Asian American population (US Census 2010). Given the low demographics of Japanese Americans in both racial and ethnic terms, why bother studying Asian Americans and Japanese Americans, in particular? Despite the small percentage of the overall national population, in 2012, Asian Americans became the fast growing immigrant group outpacing Latinos. By 2060, the Asian American population is projected to double and will represent nearly 9% of the national population (US Census 2012). Given these projections and pace of growth, Asian Americans are an important group to study as they will have an increasing impact of the US racial landscape.

Among Asian Americans, Japanese Americans are also important point of focus. Due to their unique history, Japanese Americans are the only Asian American ethnic group to be

predominantly native-born. This native-born population is also heavily skewed toward the later generations. Given their long and multigenerational history in the US, Japanese Americans can be seen as harbingers for the experiences yet to come in the future generations of other Asian Americans predominantly descending from post-1965 immigrants.

In centralizing the case of Japanese Americans, I do not mean to limit the implications of this study to this ethnic group or Asian Americans more broadly. I centralize the case of later generation Japanese Americans in order to illuminate the need to investigate the broader impact of differential racialization upon the multigenerational integration trajectories across a spectrum of communities of color be they Asian American, Latino, or African American. As US society continues to distinguish based on racial characteristics, I leverage the Japanese American case to illuminate how racialized experiences may play an important role in the ethnic identity and community maintenance and the persistent feeling of marginal substantive citizenship across a broad cross section of racial minority communities. The focus on the later generations, third and fourth, of the Japanese American community is particularly important in making this point as their continuing racialized experience does not allow for their entry into the "twilight of ethnicity" as has been observed among white ethnics of similar generation (Alba 1985; also see Gans 1979; Alba 1990; Waters 1990; Tuan 1999).

In addition to complicating the role of race in the processes of immigrant integration, my dissertation builds upon on race and immigration scholarship in two ways. First, as Japanese Americans present a peculiar trajectory of simultaneous upward mobility and retention of ethnicity, my study adds to the growing literature on the minority middle class, resultant minority cultures of mobility, and suburban ethnic communities. Second, I connect the studies of race and immigrant integration with another major sociological concept: substantive citizenship. Evelyn

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Nakano Glenn centralized substantive citizenship in her 2010 presidential address to the

American Sociological Association as "fundamentally a matter of belonging" (Glenn 2011: 1).

Through the political concept of substantive citizenship, defined as a sense of local and national

belonging, I show that race continues to limit the ability of immigrant-origin communities to

achieve full membership in US society and, hence, cannot reach the end point of assimilation. In

this way, my dissertation research helps to bridge the gap in the sociological literature at the

intersection of race and assimilation theory. I demonstrate that third and fourth generation

Japanese Americans do not negotiate their lack of belonging by shedding their ethnic identity as

dictated by assimilation theory. Rather, they rely on ethnic community to shape their sense of

citizenship.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL PARADOX OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

As previously mentioned, Japanese Americans are the only Asian American ethnic group

to be predominantly native-born. This contemporary community reality is the result of the early

arrival of the first wave of Japanese immigrants, the ability to form families, a half-century ban

on immigration, and the relative lack of immigration in the post-WW II era (Takaki 1998; King-

O'Riain 2006). Following the Chinese, Japanese immigrant were among the earliest arrivals to

the US from Asia in the late 1800s. Japanese immigrant labor was recruited largely as a

replacement for Chinese immigrant labor, which was banned in 1882 with the passage of the

racist Chinese Exclusion Act. Nearly twenty years later, Japanese immigrants faced a similar

exclusionary fate with one key difference. The Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907-8 was a

diplomatic negotiation between the US and Japan whereby Japan agreed to end the emigration of

laborer. In a show of good faith, the US agreed to allow Japanese immigrants already in the US

to bring over their wives and children from Japan. This allowance was critical in enabling Japanese Americans to form families, successive generations, and ultimately communities in the US; an allowance not afforded to Chinese immigrants (Takaki 1998).

Today, later generation Japanese Americans owe their existence to these early pioneers and the diplomatic agreement between the US and Japan. The later generation and native-born skew of the contemporary Japanese American population, however, is due to a dearth of immigration for the remainder of the 20th century, first because of exclusion and second because of the growth of the Japanese economy. While the Gentlemen's Agreement greatly curtailed immigration from Japan, the full exclusion of Japanese immigration came with the signing of the 1924 Johnson-Reed Act. This exclusion lasted until 1952 when the McCarran-Walter Act provided a nominal quota for Japanese immigrants. The doors were more widely opened when the Hart-Cellar Act of 1965 ended the quota system set in place back in 1924. Open doors, however, did not bring a resurgence in Japanese immigration to the US. By the mid-1960s, the Japanese economy was on the rise providing ample domestic opportunities to its citizens. With the removal of the necessary push factors for emigration, post-1965 Japanese immigration to the US remained low, particularly in comparison to the contemporaneous meteoric rise in immigration among other Asian ethnic groups. As new immigrants from Japan arrived in relatively small numbers in the later part of the twentieth century, they remain a minority within the predominantly native-born Japanese American community (Takaki 1998; King-O'Riain 2006).

The contemporary Japanese American community has also been heavily shaped by the forced removal and mass incarceration of Japanese Americans from the west coast during World War II, euphemistically referred to as the internment (Daniels 2004). The mass incarceration was

the result of growing anti-Japanese sentiment, racism, and wartime hysteria (Daniels 2004,

Weglyn 1996). Japanese Americans were viewed as the nation's enemy, synonymous with

Japan. This mass removal impacted all 120,000 Japanese Americans residing within the

evacuation zone, including all of California, coastal Washington and Oregon, and southern

Arizona, regardless of their citizenship status. In fact, two-thirds of those incarcerated were US-

born citizen.[1]

The mass incarceration of Japanese Americans itself was a project in forced assimilation

and education in how to be a good American (Hayashi 2008). The United States government

segregated community leaders, dismantling almost all Japanese American institutions. In camp,

school curriculum, adult classes, and social activities promoted US patriotism and support for the

war effort all while incarcerated behind barbed wire. However, the act of internment and the

propaganda promoted within the camps demonstrated to the internees that they were racially

different and still perceived as foreigners despite their long residence and citizenship in the

United States. Such rhetoric led Japanese Americans to self-promote assimilation as the answer

for future generations to never experience the atrocity of an internment. As a result, within

Japanese American families, Japanese language and cultural practices were pushed aside in favor

of behaviors that mimicked the US white mainstream.

The self-proclaimed assimilation focus in the aftermath of internment and later

generation status led many sociological studies in 1970s and 1980s to view the contemporary

Japanese American population as a highly, if not entirely, integrated group. Further study of this

assimilated group was deemed unnecessary by the 1990s. Nearly all later generation Japanese

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[1] Since the 1922 Ozawa case was heard before the US Supreme Court, Japanese immigrants were barred from naturalization. So, while the fact that two-thirds of internees were US citizens by birth is a clear abrogation of civil rights, the immigrant generation was targeted for their alleged loyalty to Japan by a nation that would not allow them to become a full member in the first place (Haney-Lopez 1996; Azuma 2005).

Americans are exclusive English speakers (Fugita & O'Brien 1994; Alba & Nee 2003; King-O'Riain 2006). Japanese Americans have education attainment levels and occupational statuses above that of native-born whites (Fugita & O'Brien 1994; Alba & Nee 2003; Spickard 2009; Teranishi 2010). Japanese Americans have among the highest median household incomes for any ethnic or racial group (Alba & Nee 2003; Sakamoto et al 2011). Japanese Americans are residentially integrated into white neighborhoods (Alba & Nee 2003; Spickard 2009). Japanese American outmarriage rates are also high, 53% among native-born Japanese Americans (ACS 2012 5-year Aggregate; also see Fugita & O'Brien 1994; Alba & Nee 2003; King-O'Riain 2006). As a result of high rates of outmarriage, native-born Japanese Americans are an increasingly multiracial and multiethnic population, with 40% of the population identifying with more than one race or ethnicity (ACS 2012 5-year Aggregate; also see Fugita & O'Brien 1994; Alba & Nee 2003; King-O'Riain 2006). Point by point, Japanese Americans seem to fulfill the assimilation criteria deemed most important in contemporary sociology, loosely based on the seven types of assimilation outlined by Gordon (1964).

Findings of assimilatory success make apparent the paradox of Japanese American experience. From their later generation and high socioeconomic status to residential integration and high rates of outmarriage, Japanese American assimilative success predicts a disappearance of ethnic identification and salience as they dissolve into America's proverbial melting pot. Despite the numerous assimilation indicators predicting the contrary, later generation Japanese Americans do not seem to be shedding their ethnic identity nor distancing themselves from their ethnic community (Fugita & O'Brien 1994; King-O'Riain 2006). Japanese Americans maintain high marks on some measure of assimilation, but fall short in others. This is the paradox of the Japanese American case. The paradox arises through the connection of assimilatory success with

loss of ethnic salience and the expansion of the white racial category. As Herbert Gans (2005) argues, assimilation is a process of social whitening. However, assimilative success has not lessened the racialization of Japanese Americans as outsiders and perpetual foreigners (Tuan 1999). Their success in quantitative assimilation measures may provide for an increased parity in life chances, but have not provided the full sense of membership required to true parity. Such continued racial marginalization certainly does not spell full assimilation.

Success Story, Japanese American Style?

In 1966, sociologist William Petersen, in his *New York Times Magazine* essay, "Success Story, Japanese-American Style," proclaimed the full assimilation of Japanese Americans and coined the term "model minority." While many other immigrant-origin ethnic minorities, as well as African Americans, have struggled to make their way in mainstream US society, Japanese Americans excelled in educational achievement and socioeconomic mobility. Petersen explained Japanese American assimilative success as a result of cultural vestiges from Japan, which emphasized family and hard work. Across multiple generations, Japanese Americans persevered against "the highest barriers our racists were able to fashion in part because of their meaningful attachment with an alien culture" (43).

While Petersen continues to mark Japanese Americans as cultural as well as racial others within the American mainstream, scholars, at the end of the 20th century (and beginning of the 21st) argue that Japanese Americans achievement of assimilative success is accompanied by the blurring, if not erasure, of racial boundaries with whiteness. Alba and Nee (2003), quoted in the epigraph, resurrect canonical straight-line assimilation theory and pay particular attention to later generation Asian Americans as proof of full assimilative success. Despite their own caveat of not

aiming to underestimate the persistent significance of race, Alba and Nee relate "strong tendencies toward assimilation" as an indication of reduced racial barriers for Asian Americans.

While the literature on immigrant incorporation, assimilation, and acculturation makes explicit the process of becoming "American," it also provides an implicit equation of American and white racial status. In empirical studies of incorporation and assimilation, white is consistently the baseline category. Socioeconomic mobility is measured through movement out of ethnic niche occupations and into those dominated by whites. Residential integration is measured as movement into white neighborhoods. Marital assimilation is measured as intermarriage with native-born whites.

Following the logic of Gans, Alba, and Nee, Lee and Bean (2007) examine the case of multiracial black, Latino, and Asian American individuals to observe how assimilation outcomes are closely followed by similarity in white racial identification.

> Whiteness as a category has expanded over time to incorporate new immigrant groups in the past, and it appears to be stretching yet again. Based on patterns of multiracial identification, Asians and Latinos may be the next in line to be white, with multiracial Asian-whites and Latino-whites at the head of the queue (579).

As multiracial Asian Americans are more likely to identify as "white" in comparison to multiracial blacks, they demonstrate the blurring of racial boundaries and the impending whiteness of Asian Americans, a symbiotic process with assimilation. As scholars note Japanese American achievement of assimilative success, they usually stop short of claiming their full acceptance into a white racial category. Other scholars also find Japanese Americans, along with other East Asian American ethnic groups, fall into a liminal category of "honorary whiteness" (Bonacich and Modell 1980; Bonilla-Silva & Glover 2004; Lee & Bean 2007; O'Brien 2008).

While the above scholars have focused on the lowering of boundaries due to structural shifts in the conception of race, other scholars examine the reduced salience of ethnicity among

immigrant-origin populations. Rather than focus on structural changes in the redrawing of racial boundaries, scholars of ethnic salience observe reduced individual meaning and impact of ethnicity over time and generations among European immigrant-origin groups. This body of literature draws upon Gans' (1979) concept of symbolic ethnicity to describe the nominal way ethnic identification persists among later generation white ethnics. In its symbolic form, ethnicity is a private and voluntary practice; nostalgic, intermittent, and optional (Gans 1979; Alba 1985, 1990; Waters 1990). There is little impact on life chances and everyday behaviors. Importantly, symbolic ethnicity falls in line with unidirectional and positive path prescribed by canonical assimilation theory (Gans 1979). Symbolic ethnicity represents a weakening of ethnic ties and practices as immigrants and their descendants assimilate and mix into the "melting pot."

Waters (1990) finds strong support for Gans' symbolic ethnicity in her book length study of later generation white ethnics, but cautions that ethnic options may not function the same among later generation people of color due to the continuing salience of race in US society. Where Waters leaves off, Tuan (1999) picks up in her study of ethnic identity salience among later generation Japanese American and Chinese Americans. While acknowledging the persistent forms of race-based discrimination faced by Asian ethnics, Tuan finds that later generation Asian Americans also treat ethnicity symbolically in a way similar to later generation white ethnics. Such findings ultimately compliment the upward assimilative trajectory of Asian Americans and foreshadow their entry into whiteness.

Having achieved high marks in the benchmarks within the hegemonic theoretical framework of assimilation, it is little wonder that few studies on Japanese Americans have been produced within the discipline of sociology since the 1980s. The story of Japanese Americans has reached it happy ending, happily American ever after. They now fulfill their model minority

promise by serving as the example of assimilation crossing the color line and the possibilities available to other immigrant-origin communities of color. Sociological studies of immigrant incorporation that have utilized the canonical assimilation paradigm take for granted the later generation status of the Japanese American community and assume assimilation, symbolic ethnicity, and reduced racial boundaries have followed suit. Such studies have not adequately accounted for the differential processes of racialization experienced within the US racial landscape.

Japanese Americans as Forever Foreigners: A Story of Persistent Ethnicity and Racialization

A century ago, Robert Park penned his observation about Japanese Americans quoted in the epigraph. In these early years of the Japanese American community, Park recognized the visible racial difference of Japanese Americans that would inevitably inhibit their full integration into the United States: "a racial uniform, classifies him" (Park 1914: 611). Certainly, much can change in the social construction of race and the ability of Japanese Americans to overcome racial barriers during the course of a century. Segmented assimilation theory (Portes and Zhou 1993) is offered as an expanded framework for immigrant incorporation and expressly views immigrants as assimilating into a society variegated by race and class. Even here, however, there is no account of how the particular racial experience of Asian Americans differs from African Americans or Latinos and may produce different integration outcomes. Rather, model minority Asian Americans, and Japanese Americans more specifically, are placed in the upward mobility path within the segmented assimilation paradigm, which more or less mimic straight-line assimilation theory.

Despite the claims of assimilationist scholars outlined above, contemporary scholars still note the persistence of the racial uniform. Scholars have picked up on the ways in which persistent racialization implicates assimilation processes differently for Asian Americans in comparison with their white counterparts. Taking on the question "Are Asian Americans becoming white?" directly, Zhou (2004) states:

> This classification [of Asian Americans as white] is premature and based on false premises. Although Asian Americans as a group have attained the career and financial success equated with being white, and although many have moved next to and have even married whites, they still remain culturally distinct and suspect in a white society…The bottom line is: Americans of Asian ancestry still have to constantly prove that they truly are loyal Americans. (29, 36)

To be sure, Zhou as well as my own study, do not call into question the high quantitative achievement of Japanese Americans. Rather, we collectively question whether such measures are the only ones that matter in determining the full integration of a minority community.

As referenced earlier, Waters (1990) also cautions the application of the symbolic ethnicity concept to later generation Asian Americans due to their visible racial difference. While Tuan (1999) finds that later generation Asian Americans practice ethnicity in symbolic ways that approach white ethnic cultural practices, she also finds that race impedes the ability for later generation Asian Americans to claim full membership within the US citizenry. In the symbolic ethnic sense, Tuan concludes that Asian ethnics are "honorary whites," but finds the modifier of "honorary" significant in continuing to mark a racial boundary with "regular" whites. For Asian Americans persistent racialization stereotypes them as forever foreigners regardless of their nativity and later generation status. Racial identification as forever foreigners is not optional and continues to be placed upon later generation Asian Americans by the US mainstream.[2]

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[2] While Tuan (1999) alludes to the impact of such persistent racialization on the ethnic identity and practice of later generation Asian Americans, she continues to view ethnicity as an increasingly optional exercise.

In calling attention to a different trajectory of Japanese Americans and other Asian Americans in terms of symbolic ethnicity and ethnic options, these scholars allude to the persistence of ethnic identity and community. Other scholars have made more explicit analyses into the persistence of ethnicity among Japanese Americans. Fugita and O'Brien (1994) focus on the persistence of non-symbolic ethnicity and community among later generation Japanese Americans by asking: why do Japanese Americans, who have high levels of "assimilation," retain group cohesiveness at levels much higher than other similarly assimilated ethnic groups? Fugita and O'Brien find that the origins of persistent ethnicity lie in the cultural vestige of fictive kinship carried over by Japanese Americans from Japan. They cite this cultural practice, rather than structural explanations related to race and racialization, as promoting the maintenance of ethnic ties, despite integration along all other measures.

In a recent addition to the literature, Tsuda (2014) examines race and racialization as important factors leading to Japanese American ethnic persistence. Rather than reflect on the growing optional and symbolic nature of Japanese American ethnicity, Tsuda asserts that later generation Japanese Americans contest and negotiate their questioned citizenship and belonging by asserting their Americanness in daily interactions through identity, culture, and place. Through such micro-interactions, Tsuda demonstrates how Japanese Americans work to expand the definition American beyond whiteness. Tsuda does not comment on the salience or symbolic nature of Japanese Americans in the later generations.

As the scholarship on the ethnic persistence among Japanese Americans remains limited, the literature on reactive ethnicity is instructive on how ethnic persistence occurs in other communities. Rumbaut and colleagues observe reactive ethnicity as "one mode of ethnic identity formation, highlighting the role of a hostile context of reception [including perceived threats,

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persecution, discrimination, and exclusion] in accounting for the rise rather than the erosion of ethnicity" across generations (Rumbaut 2005: 3; also see Aleinikoff and Rumbaut 1998; Portes and Rumbaut 2006; Zhou and Lee 2007). Straight-line assimilation theory predicts the emergence of an optional form of symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979; Alba 1990; Waters 1990). Counter to this point, Rumbaut (2005) states,

> Whether ethnicity will become similarly optional for the offspring of immigrants who are today variously classified as non-white, or whether they will be collectively channeled into enduring, engulfing, racially marked subordinate statuses and forge oppositional identities and reactive political mobilizations, remain open empirical questions. (4)

To date, the reactive ethnicity literature has focused on the ethnic identification of the immigrant and second generations and the impact of context on their relatively recent arrival to the United States as an alternative perspective to the assimilationist assertion of ethnic dissolution over time and generation. Examining later generation Japanese Americans, far removed from the point of immigration, I seek to provide an answer to these open empirical questions offered by Rumbaut on the implications of race and multiple generations. I argue that perceived threats, persecution, discrimination, and exclusion shape context beyond reception. As Japanese Americans continue to bear a "racial uniform," their lived experience continues to be impacted by a national context where they are a self-conscious subordinate and marginalized group well beyond the immigrant and second generations. The context of reception may be expanded and reconceptualized as a context of racialization.

Looking at immigrant families and communities across racial and ethnic groups, scholars examine how encounters with the US racial structure impact ethnic formations and mutually constitutive structuring of race and ethnicity (Waters 1999; Rudrappa 2004; Lacy 2007; Zhou and Lee 2007; Jimenez 2009). Racial marginalization of immigrant-origin communities affects their practice of ethnicity and maintenance of an ethnic identity that is more than symbolic. For

example, Waters (1999) explores the racial and ethnic negotiations of Afro-Caribbean immigrants and second generation youth become racialized as black in the US context, despite distinct histories. Similarly demonstrating the impact of racialization on ethnic salience, Zhou and Lee (2007) find that second generation Asian Americans continue to viewed a non-citizens and non-Americans leading them to place greater importance on their ethnic identities. In these cases, ethnicity is activated in reaction to US-based racialization.

As this study unfolds the persistence of Japanese American ethnicity in light of high socioeconomic attainment, it also presents an opportunity to understand how a racialized minority navigates upward mobility in a way that differs from the white racial norm. While assimilation theory tend to equate upward mobility and entry into the middle class with a process of social whitenening, Neckerman et al. (1999) examine the lived experiences and paths taken by the distinctly *non-white minority* middle class. They introduce the concept of minority cultures of mobility, which they define as "draw[ing] upon available symbols, idioms, and practices to respond to distinctive problems of being middle class and minority" (949). Looking at the case of middle class African Americans, Neckerman et al. find that being middle class does not negate stigmas attached to race. However, being middle class does give rise to experiences that are distinct from co-ethnics from other, particularly lower, class backgrounds. Over time, these experiential differences produce minority cultures of mobility: cultural practices that are distinct from both the white middle class and co-ethnics of other class backgrounds.

Lacy (2007) observes middle class African Americans pursuing connections with other African Americans, with little emphasis on class status, through social organizations and residential choices. For Lacy, middle class African Americans seek out these racial relationships not only in reaction of institutional and day-to-day racism, but also because there is something

uniquely enjoyable about coethnic associations. Looking at the case of middle class Mexican Americans, Aguis Vallejo (2012) finds that unlike their white counterparts, middle class Mexican Americans are in closer social and physical proximity to poorer coethnics providing a stronger familiarity with poverty. Simultaneously, middle class Mexican Americans are not fully accepted by their white peers and find refuge in ethnic professional organizations.

Studies making explicit examination of the intersection of race within the middle class have largely overlooked the Asian American experience, particularly surprising given their ascribed model minority status. However, perhaps because of the model minority label and their positioning as honorary white, it is assumed that the Asian American middle class is the same as the white middle class and therefore unworthy of further investigation. As I hope has become clear, such simplistic and cursory equations do not adequately reflect the unique racialization experienced by Asian Americans. My study focuses on a middle class and suburban segment of the Japanese American population in order to remedy this oversight and add to the literature a further understanding of how differential racialization impacts middle class experiences.

While examining the minority cultures of mobility will illuminate how Japanese Americans navigate upward mobility given their racial minority status, I am also interested in understanding how Japanese Americans negotiate their membership beyond their social class. I am interested in the ways in which Japanese American negotiate their membership and belonging within their local communities and the nation. Examining the forms persistent ethnic community takes in contemporary Japanese America, I explore how ethnic community forms the basis for a sense of belonging and claim of an American identity.

SUBSTANTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND BELONGING: RETHINKING THE ASSIMILATION PARADIGM

If the assimilation paradigm has failed to adequately capture the simultaneous phenomena of upward mobility and persistent racialization for Japanese Americans, what theoretical framework might enable us to better understand this paradoxical status? In a pair of thought provoking essays, Kim (2007) and Jung (2009) separately critique contemporary assimilation scholarship for their lack of racial analysis. Both Kim and Jung propose in nuanced ways that the assimilation paradigm be shifted toward a politics of national belonging with a focus on citizenship-based subordination. Similar to the critique I have laid out above, Kim (2007) questions the ability of Asian Americans to fully assimilate without fully eliminating the racial boundary between white and Asian (also see Tsuda 2014). Full assimilation of Asian Americans is impeded by the equations of American citizenship and belonging with white racial status. For Kim, any substantive evaluation of Asian American integration must contend with the racially limited recognition of American citizenship and national belonging. Taking a more expansive view of racial groups under the purview of assimilation theory, Jung (2009) argues that assimilation literature has come to be focused on the reduction of difference, rather than the elimination of inequality and domination. Similar to Kim, Jung calls for a reorientation of the assimilation paradigm away from the pursuit of ethnic similarity to one that analyzes the politics of national belonging.

What would a reorientation toward a politics of national belonging look like? For both Kim and Jung, national belonging implicates legal citizenship and the state. However, citizenship also takes on a more expanded definition to capture social and cultural dimensions. Legal scholar Carbado (2005) provides a useful framework for understanding how racial and ethnic minorities become politically incorporated into the US in both legal and extralegal ways. Carbado (2005)

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conceptualizes racial naturalization as a distinct process from naturalization into American citizenship. Racial naturalization unfolds as a "process or experience through which people enter the imagined American community as cognizable racial subjects" (651). Racial naturalization, then, is the process of obtaining an American identity, which for immigrants of color requires inhabiting a subordinate racialized status. For racial minority subjects, legal American citizenship does not guarantee an American identity (also see Smith 1997 on ascriptive Americanism). Additionally, individuals can claim American identity without obtaining legal citizenship (Carbado 2005). Asian Americans, and Japanese Americans by extension, become racially naturalized as "cognizable racial subjects," through an association with perpetual foreignness (Tuan 1999; Kim 2007).

Speaking of the extralegal aspects of citizenship, many scholars have implicitly described the racial naturalization of Asian Americans as forever foreigners and not belonging in terms of cultural or substantive citizenship (Siu 2001; Carbado 2005; Glenn 2002, 2011; Maira 2009). Borrowing from Maira (2009), cultural citizenship "highlights the ways in which the trope of national [and local] belonging…is not just based on political, social, and economic dimensions of citizenship but is also defined in the social realm of belonging"(10). Glenn (2011) develops a sociological approach to citizenship in her presidential address to the American Sociological Association urging analysis of substantive citizenship. Glenn urges an evaluation of citizenship as "fundamentally, a matter of belonging, which requires recognition by other members of the community" (2011: 3). Glenn and Maira urge us to understand citizenship as a local and mundane practice and interactions between community members. The inclusion of the varying local practices of citizenship helps to centralize the boundary work undertaken between individuals as fellow community members actively "participate in drawing the boundaries of

citizenship and defining who is entitled to civil, political, and social rights by granting or withholding recognition" (Glenn 2011: 3). Race and distinct processes of racialization are fundamentally implicated in these mundane micro-level interactions as communities and individuals access and exercise their citizenship and sense of belonging at both the national and the local levels.

Within the discipline of sociology and particularly among immigration scholars, discussion of belonging have largely centered on self-identification with ethnic, racial, or national groups (Aleinikoff & Rumbaut 1998; Rumbaut 2005; Yuval-Davis 2006). Usefully, Yuval-Davis (2006) expands our understanding of belonging beyond identity by offering analytical frameworks that also include social location within power structures, emotional attachments, and ethical/political values. In exploring substantive citizenship and its promise of local and national belonging, I similarly move beyond self-identification as a marker of belonging. I explore the ways in which the social racial location of Japanese Americans impacts my respondents' community membership, social marginalizations, and interpersonal relationships. I focus on the local and lived experience of later generation Japanese Americans to highlight the ways in which national belonging is experienced as an everyday practice through micro-interactions. I establish where and how Japanese Americans perceive and establish their sense of belonging through their commentary on levels of comfort within varying racial spaces, their affinity with co-ethnics, and their sense of recognition of membership (or lack thereof) from others. Forming particular types of communities along racial and ethnic lines reveals how later generation Japanese Americans negotiate their substantive citizenship in light of their racial marginalization. Such paths are navigated in reaction to the lack of recognition of Japanese

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American belonging by broader US public sentiment, which still holds all Asian Americans as forever foreigners.

I contend that high achievements along assimilative measures do not negate experiences of race-based prejudice and discrimination on a daily basis (Tuan 1999; Zhou & Lee 2007; Tsuda 2014). Assimilation scholarship has yet to fully contend with the persistence and impact of these racist micro-interactions on daily lived experience. The lens of substantive citizenship broadens our understandings of inequality in everyday life. The local focus of substantive citizenship forces our analysis to confront the ways in which race is implicated and impactful in the process of daily life, which is not evident in quantitative outcomes of success. Taking central issues of belonging at multiple levels, substantive citizenship allows for a systematic analysis of race-based social marginalization stemming from microaggressions and connects such interpersonal interactions to the limiting and denial of social belonging and rights.

BELONGING THROUGH ETHNICITY: HOW TO THINK ABOUT JAPANESE AMERICANS

If Japanese Americans present a paradox for sociological understandings of the relationship between race and assimilation, then the lens of substantive citizenship and citizenship-based subordinations allows for a more expansive view of integration processes and experiences that may better explain how and why race continues to impact the lives of supposedly assimilated racial and ethnic minorities. Later generation Japanese Americans are racialized subjects. Race continues to impact Japanese Americans in multiple social processes and contexts; most important for this study, identity and community formation. Persistent racialization as forever foreigners and accompanying feelings of social marginalization in racial terms enhances the salience of ethnicity among Japanese Americans. Sansei and yonsei readily

acknowledge their common racialization as "Asians" and "forever foreigners." They view the prevalence and persistence of such racializations as connected to the influx of similarly racialized immigration and refugees from Asia following policy reforms beginning in 1965. Such policy changes led to an Asian American population that is predominantly foreign-born. In chapter 3, I introduce the concept of *racial replenishment of ethnicity* to illustrate how common racialization with other Asian Americans leads to a replenishment and maintenance of a distinct later generation Japanese American ethnicity as a means differentiate themselves from other, more recently arrived Asian Americans.[3]

Later generation Japanese Americans establish their identification as unique within the panethnic Asian American category. Creating such distinctions inevitably translates into community seeking and formation practices with other later generation Japanese Americans as a strategy to establish spaces of belonging. Moving beyond a symbolic understanding of persistent ethnicity in later generations and building on the citizenship scholarship of Glenn and others, I demonstrate how later generation Japanese Americans, who are seen as racially not belonging, navigate a marginalized citizenship and construct their own communities of belonging through local mundane practices and interaction. Japanese American ethnicity, maintained in reaction to persistent racialization, continues to structure sansei and yonsei interpersonal relationships and sense of community. I argue that with a basis in local ethnic community, later generation Japanese Americans are better able to deploy claims for national belonging. More than just

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[3] Racial replenishment of ethnicity builds upon Jimenez's (2009) concept of immigrant replenishment of ethnicity. Studying another later generation community of color, Jimenez aptly demonstrates that ethnic identity is more persistent among Mexican Americans than is observed in previous studies of white ethnic populations due to the consistent flow of immigration from Mexico. However, replenished ethnicity has limited explanatory power regarding the persistent ethnicity of Japanese Americans. Unlike Mexican Americans, Japanese American immigration was banned from 1924 to 1952 and did not return to notable figures until the 1980s.[3] As such, a more or less continuous wave of new immigrants from the homeland was unable to replenish the ethnic ranks of the Japanese American community. Taking into account the differing circumstances of Japanese American history and building upon Jimenez's concept of replenished ethnicity, this study will explore alternative explanations of Japanese American persistent ethnicity with a particular eye to the continuing role of race.

asserting an ethnic identity, race and ethnicity impact the lived experience of Japanese Americans by shaping the ways they form communities and relationships and ultimately find local and national belonging. The formation of local (and ethnic) communities of belonging is a strategy and reality for marginalized groups whose substantive citizenship goes largely unrecognized.

The substantive citizenship lens moves us beyond analyses that take quantitative measures of assimilation success as the gospel truth when it comes to experiences with prejudice and discrimination. The substantive citizenship lens, in taking into consideration feelings of belonging to local and national communities, provides an opportunity for a more nuanced understanding of inequality. Lastly, the substantative citizenship lens allows us to more fully investigate the multiple ways in which race can impact outcomes and daily lived experiences. If we are to think about later generation Japanese Americans as racialized subject rather than assimilated subjects on the cusp of whiteness, we should think about Japanese American social integration, and perhaps the social integration of all racialized subjects, through the lens of substantive citizenship.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Taking the paradoxical case of the Japanese Americans, I apply a reoriented assimilation paradigm that takes seriously the implications of race and the politics of national belonging. My study provides an empirical foundation for the framework put forth in the theoretical essays by Jung (2009) and Kim (2007). My interrogation takes as central Glenn's (2002; 2011) concept of substantive citizenship: "fundamentally, a matter of belonging" (2011: 1). It should be obvious that third and fourth Japanese Americans retain American citizenship in the legal sense.

However, it is less obvious that Japanese Americans can claim an American identity in terms of substantive citizenship and racial naturalization (Carbado 2005; Glenn 2011). I am interested in the ways Japanese Americans lay claims on American membership and substantive citizenship through ethnic community in light of their perceived racial difference. It is a critical investigation on whether the achievement of parity in the standard assimilation variables also provides the same social freedoms and claims of belonging as white Americans. As contemporary immigration arrives predominantly from Asia and Latin America, understanding how non-white groups are able to integrate into US society is of fundamental social and political importance and has become a central query in American sociology. My study speaks to a broader need for scholars of immigration to pay more attention to the racialized experiences of immigrant origin groups and the ways in which this racialization limits access to substantive citizenship and membership in the nation, and therefore hinder full assimilation.

Examining Japanese Americans individual and collective understandings of race and placement within the US racial structure, this study will interrogate the distinct form of racialization experienced by Asian Americans that does not fit within the black/white paradigm, or any dichotomous variation (see Okihiro 1994, J.Y. Kim 1999 for black/white or white/non-white paradigm; see Warren & Twine 1997, Yancey 2003, Lee & Bean 2010 for black/non-black paradigm). Beyond simply demonstrating a process of racialization that is neither white nor black, this study will also explore the social outcomes of this distinct process of racialization: a minority culture of mobility. More than just an asserted identity, race and ethnicity impact the lived experience of Japanese Americans by shaping the ways they form communities and relationships and ultimately find local and national belonging.

Overall, my dissertation will explore the questions: Given the prevailing view of Japanese Americans as perpetual foreigners, regardless of generation, how does such racialization place limitations on the substantive citizenship of Japanese Americans? How do later generation Japanese Americans negotiate ethnic community formation? How does ethnic community impact substantive citizenship and an augmented sense of local and national belonging? What is the role of the distinct racial naturalization of Japanese Americans in constructing a sense of belonging both locally and nationally?

Methodology and Data

Moving beyond sociology's standard quantified measures of assimilation, my dissertation takes a multi-method, qualitative examination of Japanese Americans to provide a critique of existing theories of immigrant integration and revised understanding of the future racialized trajectories of contemporary immigrants. My dissertation relies mainly upon in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 91 later generation Japanese Americans who grew up in the Orange County and Los Angeles County region. This sample was accrued via snowball sampling through two different, although often intertwining, paths. Interviews took place in personal homes and offices, public spaces, or over the phone depending on the preference and location of the respondent. Most interviews were conducted one on one, however in a few cases interviews were completed with two respondents simultaneously. All interviews were transcribed and analyzed through an iterative coding schema. This schema began with open coding to establish relevant and common themes and topics across all interviews. Upon completion of this first round of coding and consolidation of codes, a second round of coding was completed on all transcripts to ensure that all themes were coded for across all data.

My study began with an interest in a little known amusement park, Japanese Village and Deer Park, open in Buena Park, CA from 1967 to 1974. Affectionately remembered by former employees as "Deer Park," the Japanese-themed tourist attraction was a fixture within the Orange County amusement corridor from 1967 to 1974. Advertised as "America's only authentic Japanese village," Deer Park proprietors sought a staff that would match the "enchantment of old Japan." They found a ready workforce among high school and college-aged sansei (third-generation Japanese Americans) from the surrounding communities. While it is unsurprising that the proprietors would want an ethnic Japanese staff, or at least a staff that was Asian in appearance, it is more surprising that sansei youth flocked to the employment opportunity. Nonetheless, the park's client-facing staff was almost entirely filled by high school and college-aged sansei from the greater Los Angeles Area. Many of these youth traveled considerable distances from their homes within a far more dispersed postwar Southern California Japanese American population to work at Deer Park. Despite its short eight-year existence, Deer Park made an indelible impression on lives of former employees and truly embodies the concepts of ethnic community building and belonging at the center of my dissertation research.

Deer Park and its former employees, then, represent the first starting point for my sample. Employees were identified from a memory book published as part of a reunion held in 1986. As individuals responded to requests for interviews, I asked them to put me in touch with other friends and family who also worked at Deer Park. In collecting the yonsei (fourth-generation) sample, I also asked former employees who responded to specifically put me in contact with their children. Former Deer Park employees account for 41 sansei of my respondents and an additional 17 yonsei respondents are the children of former employees.

In addition to interview participation, former Deer Park employees also provided a second source of data: visual archival material. Personal and promotional photographs from their Deer Park days, official press releases, souvenirs, and other memorabilia from the personal collections of former employees were aggregated in original or digital form to an original archive of Japanese Village an Deer Park. Most important for this study are the 404 unique personal and promotional photographic images. These images form the basis of data for Chapter 5 of this study. More information on the analytical methodology used on the photographic images can be found in the introduction of that chapter.

The second snowball sample path originates from Japanese Americans previously known by me, the researcher, or other non-Japanese American acquaintances. I took special care to avoid recruitment from Japanese American or Asian American organizations and focused mainly on Japanese American individuals who were known through non-Japanese American or Asian American specific means. I felt that this was important because I wanted to avoid sampling on the dependent variable as much as possible. It would not be surprising to find evidence of a persistent ethnic community if I recruited from an institution that espouses a sense of ethnicity and community. In this way, I attempted to recruit individuals who were least likely to have a sense of community with other Japanese Americans. The second sample path resulted in 11 sansei respondents and 21 yonsei respondents. I also pursued family units in this non-Deer Park affiliated sample resulting in five more familial ties within my sample. In total, I have 17 family units within my sample.

Lastly, my yonsei sample also includes individuals of multiethnic and multiracial backgrounds in addition to non-mixed Japanese Americans.[4] I intentionally sought multiethnic and multiracial respondents as they form a sizeable portion of the contemporary Japanese American populations and are an increasingly important part of the ever-evolving ethnic story. My final sample includes 11 multiracial and 2 multiethnic yonsei.

Organization of the Study

In the next chapter, I provide a synthesis of the historical, domestic and global contexts shaping the Japanese American experience and community formation, paying particular attention to the postwar period into the present day. This will include a demographic overview of the local areas under study and the Japanese American population more generally. I critically examine the paradoxical position of Japanese Americans in the US racial landscape in consideration of the shifting geopolitical context of the latter half of the twentieth century. I focus on the intersecting impacts of the shifting image of Japan and Japanese Americans due to shifts from wartime enemy to Cold War ally to economic rival, the persistent haunting of the internment experience across multiple generations, changes in immigration law and local demographics, and suburbanization in Los Angeles and Orange Counties on the formation of domestic communities and substantive citizenship claims by Japanese Americans. As I will argue throughout the empirical chapters that follow, these particular circumstances have had a tremendous impact on the racialization of Japanese Americans and the ability of Japanese Americans to build communities of belonging and claim substantive citizenship.

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[4] Multiracial individuals are those who self-identify as Japanese American and one or more other races. Multiethnic individuals are those who self-identify as Japanese American as one or more other Asian ethnicities, but not any other racial category.

Chapter 3, the first empirical and data-driven chapter, examines how third and fourth generation Japanese Americans think about and practice community. This chapter begins with the premise that Japanese Americans in suburban Southern California are a residentially dispersed population, but maintain a strong sense of ethnic community across the broad geographic region. This premise counters structural assimilation predictions of the erosion of ethnic community with the reduced social distance between residentially integrated ethnic minorities and their predominantly white neighbors. In contrast to other studies of ethnic suburbia, which focus on suburban ethnic concentrations, my study examines a population that tends not to live in the same grouping of neighborhoods. Hence, my study contributes to the understanding of ethnic communities in the absence of residential proximity.

Rather than the degradation of community, Japanese Americans continue to conceptualize and form ethnic communities in multiple and dynamic ways. This chapter uncovers two important community formation practices among later generation Japanese Americans. First, contemporary Japanese American communities have become less dependent on specific places, such as neighborhoods, and are increasingly mobile. Japanese Americans maintain connections in a way that I describe as "semi-imagined communities," in that they are based on past experiences and circumstances that no longer exist but continue to play a significant role in how they view themselves and their community (concept of imagined communities borrowed from Anderson 1991). Second, given the changing ethnic demographics in the contemporary Southern California Asian American population, Japanese Americans reconceptualize community away from purely ethnically-based definitions toward broader racially-based, panethnic communities. Such communities are formed in recognition of the common racialization experienced and lived by Asian Americans regardless of generation.

Simultaneously, however, later generation Japanese Americans also maintain and assert ethnic distinction from other, more recently arrived Asian Americans. Borrowing from the work of Tomas Jimenez on ethnic replenishment, I term this process the *racial replenishment of ethnicity*.

As chapter 3 explores the form community takes among contemporary later generation Japanese Americans, chapter 4 provides an examination of the impetus for persistent ethnic community and the utility of such community. In terms of impetus, Japanese Americans, even into the fourth generation do not recognize themselves, nor are they recognized by others, as racially white leading to a sense of marginalization from their predominantly white local communities and national belonging. Looking at the utility of ethnic community, I pull from Evelyn Nakano Glenn's work on substantive citizenship and the local embodiments of belonging. Here, I begin to directly apply the reoriented assimilation paradigm focused on a politics of belonging. While assimilationist scholars predict that belonging would accompany a reduction in ethnic boundaries and integration into the mainstream, my findings show that ethnic and racial community often forms the foundations for a local sense of belonging for later generation Japanese Americans. Establishing community and relationships with co-ethnics and similarly racialized individuals allows Japanese Americans to understand their sense of marginalization as part of a larger and uniquely American race politics. While their fellow Americans may still perceive them as forever foreigners, Japanese Americans find belonging through ethnic community and, in turn, are able to see themselves and make claims upon substantive American citizenship.

Chapter 5 provides a concrete example of local community formation through an exploration of the relationships and networks formed among the former employees of Japanese Village and Deer Park (Deer Park). In addition to drawing from interview data, this chapter

benefits from archival methods, which uncovered photographic images, both promotional and personal in nature, from Deer Park. Approximately 400 photographic images were collected from the personal archives of interview respondents. This chapter will open up the discussion of negotiation of Japanese American visibility and belonging within the local community through the spectacle of Deer Park. For Japanese Americans during the time of Deer Park, visibility rested upon their legibility as foreign/peripheral within the boundaries of membership within the US nation. While foreignness of costume as well as body was all that was seen by the predominantly white patrons of the park, Japanese American youth continued to accentuate their work attire with contemporary American style through hair, make-up, and language. In terms of their co-ethnics, American fashion points allowed young Japanese Americans to be visible and legibly "cool" to one another and aided in the formation of community.

Chapter 6 will return to the ethnic construction of substantive citizenship, but with a focus on national belonging. Similar to chapter 4's exploration of the ethnic basis of local belonging, chapter 6 argues that later generation Japanese Americans also rely upon ethnic specific historical presence and participation in broader US history in order to claim membership in a broader national citizenry. In particular, later generation Japanese Americans invoked their familial and ethnic connection to World War II internment. Respondents also discuss the long history and multiple generations of Japanese Americans in the US, particularly as a way to distinguish themselves from more recent immigrant communities.

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My dissertation examines the continued impact of race on the sense of belonging achieved by third and fourth generation Japanese Americans in suburban Southern California. Despite their mass internment during WWII, assimilation scholarship since the 1960s heralds

Japanese Americans as the model minority and a shining example of the colorblind promise of the "American Dream." I centralize local and national belonging, through the concept of substantive citizenship, to understand how model minority status does not pave a path to belong or negate experiences of marginalization. In highlighting the persistent racialization and marginalization of later generation Japanese Americans, I do not mean to paint my respondents as passive victims with second-class citizenship. In illuminating the role and persistence of ethnic community, I demonstrate that later generation Japanese Americans are active participants in their own negotiated claims of substantive citizenship: local and national belonging. Furthermore, while assimilation scholars often paint ethnic community maintenance as detrimental to integration, respondents in my study express a genuine interest and enjoyment in interacting with other Japanese Americans (also see Portes & Rumbaut 2006; Lacy 2007 on the benefits of persistent ethnic community).

While this study takes on the case of later generation Japanese Americans, the implications of this study are by no means limited to this population. I aim to spotlight the ways in which race continues to impact the experience of non-white immigrants across multiple generations; even as they progress positively in other aspects of assimilation. Important in its own right, the Japanese American case also opens a theoretical door for exploring how issues of race, lack of belonging, and substantive citizenship claims arise in other ethnic and racial minority communities, immigrant and non-immigrant.

CHAPTER ONE

The Historical and Contemporary Context of Japanese American Racialization

Since its introduction by Portes and Rumbaut (1996), the "context of reception" concept has pushed the field of immigration and race studies to look inward at the helpful and detrimental environmental factors in which immigrants and racial and ethnic minorities have come to live. Importantly, examining context of reception extends the vision of assimilation and incorporation scholars to look beyond the point of entry and consider how community contexts shape lived experiences across the life course and across generations. Given their multigenerational community roots, the context in which Japanese Americans live and shape their community may not be one of "reception." However, this concept remains useful in highlighting the importance of digging deep into the domestic circumstances to better understand processes of racialization and community formation. Rather than exploring contexts of reception, I explore contexts of racialization in order to extend the empirical viability of "contexts of reception" beyond the immigrant and second generation. In this chapter, I reveal the contexts of the peculiar formation of the contemporary Japanese American community. I explore the ways in which the particular immigration history has fundamentally shaped the demographic context for Japanese American citizenship. I also examine the ways the local, national, and global impacts upon the historical and contemporary domestic situation and demographics of Japanese Americans. In particular, I argue that a history of exclusion, the legacy of internment, suburbanization, and the Cold War are central to understanding the lived context of racialization in which the Japanese Americans in Southern California have established their communities in the postwar period and into the present day.

HOW DID WE GET HERE?

Beginning in the 1880s, Japanese immigrants were recruited en masse as laborers to the Hawaiian Islands and later the mainland West Coast of the United States.[5] In 1882, following a growing tide of anti-Chinese sentiment in California, US Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, which banned the entry of Chinese laborers. While this law solved the "Chinese Problem," it did not solve California's continued need for cheap labor for a growing agricultural industry. Early West Coast industrialists and landowners looked to Japan as a new source of labor (Chan 1991; Takaki 1998).

Similar to many immigrant groups recruited as laborers, the initial immigrants from Japan were young, unattached men.[6] While they lived transient lives as migrant laborers, these bachelors formed communities centered on the urban and rural Japantowns that began to appear up and down the west coast (Kurashige 2002; Azuma 2005). Without women, however, the ability to extend this community beyond a single generation through the formation of families was severely limited. Such was the case for the initial Chinese immigrants from the mid-1800s who were also predominantly young men. Women, due to the Page Law of 1875,[7] and subsequent laborers, due to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, were unable to follow the initial pioneers to the United States.[8] As such, a large scale Chinese American community did not

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[5] Japanese laborers were first recruited to Hawaii in an effort to segment the plantation labor force along ethnic lines. Hawaii continues to have one of the largest Japanese American populations in the US. However, as my overall project focuses on Southern California, I do not include the history of Japanese Americans in Hawaii in this historical overview. Many Japanese immigrants who began their journey in Hawaii did ultimately migrate to the mainland (Takaki 1998; Spickard 2009).

[6] Azuma (2005) argues against the standard immigrant narratives to reveal the diverse origins and intentions of Japanese America. Rather than view Japanese immigrants as only sojourners and laborers, Azuma broadens their description to include colonialists and mercantilists.

[7] The Page Law of 1875 was the first federal immigration law and banned the entry of immigrant from Asia who did not come voluntarily. This law was intended to end the entry of contract laborers and women, who were thought to come to the United States solely for the purpose of prostitution. The impact of this law was to effectively thwart the immigration of Chinese women into the United States (Chan 1991; Takaki 1998).

[8] While the Chinese Exclusion Act allowed for the continued migration of businessmen and diplomats, who more often traveled in family units, their numbers were relatively small and many did not remain in the US long-term. To

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develop from the early period of migration. Rather, the present day community largely results

from later waves of migration from China and later Taiwan; following the 1943 repeal of the

Chinese Exclusion Act, the Communist takeover of China in 1949, and the end of the national

quota system in US immigration policy with the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act

of 1965. The large number of Chinese immigrants and their US-born progeny resulting from this

later migration quickly subsumed the comparatively small number of later generation Chinese

Americans who descended from earlier labor and business immigrants. A similar story, with

different historical detail, could be told about Filipino Americans (Chan 1991; Takaki 1998).

Japanese American immigration history follows a very different trajectory. While

Chinese immigrants were cut off in 1882, immigration from the rest of Asia, with the exception

of the Philippines, was barred in 1917 (Chan 1991; Takaki 1998).[9] Immigration from Japan,

however, remained legally open until 1924. In this way, early Japanese immigration is similar to

that of Eastern and Southern Europeans. Prior to 1924, however, Japanese immigration was

significantly altered by the Gentleman's Agreement of 1908. In this diplomatic agreement, the

Japanese government agreed to stop the emigration of laborers and, in return, the United States

agreed to promote a hospitable environment for Japanese immigrants already in the United States

and also allowed for immigrants already present to bring over their wives and children. The

Gentleman's Agreement is important to the development of a Japanese American community in

at least two ways. First, the fact that the Gentleman's Agreement was an act of diplomacy rather

than a piece of congressional legislation is a reflections of Japan's industrialization and

be sure, many laborers also maintained a sojourner mentality and also planned to return to China once they had accrued wealth in the US. In addition, some Chinese businessman and their families ultimately decided to stay in the United States (Chan 1991; Hsu 2000; Lee 2003).

[9] Until 1934, Filipino migration to the United States was unaffected by changes in immigration law as the Philippines was a US colony and all Filipinos held the status of US national. As US nationals, Filipinos could freely move within the empire. In 1934, however, the Tydings-McDuffie Act provided de jure independence to the Philippines within ten years and immediately removed the US national status for all Filipinos simultaneously banning immigration from the Philippines in line with the rest of Asia (Chan 1991; Takaki 1998).

westernization and its accompanying rise in military power throughout the Pacific Rim. To be certain, the power relationship between the United States and Japan remained unequal, but the US recognized they could not treat Japan in the same as way as China, a geopolitically weaker nation during this time period. In order to maintain peace with a growing rival in the Pacific, Japan was afforded more favorable treatment in the diplomatically negotiated Gentleman's Agreement (Chan 1991; Takaki 1998; Spickard 2009).

The second, and arguably most impactful, consequence of the Gentleman's Agreement was the ability of early Japanese Americans to form family units and produce the second generation, or Nisei.[10] By allowing the migration of women and children, the Gentleman's Agreement enabled the formation of multigenerational Japanese American communities. As mentioned previously, the large scale migration of women during this early period of Asian American immigration is unique to the Japanese American experience as other Asian women were legally barred from entry.[11] In this way, the Gentleman's Agreement demonstrates an early manifestation of the role of geopolitics in the formation of racist and exclusionary immigration laws and the particular treatment of Japanese Americans and the impacts of international relations on domestic community formation (Chan 1991; Takaki 1998; Spickard 2009).

Japanese immigrants ultimately met the same legislative fate as other Asian immigrants with their full and legal exclusion in 1924 with the passage of the National Origins Act. While the immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe were provided a nominal quota of 2% each national origin group's population size in 1890, Japanese immigrants were completely excluded.

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[10] Interestingly, however, many Japanese American men were bachelors when they left Japan for the United States. As these bachelors sought Japanese wives, many relied upon family members or matchmakers back in Japan to find suitable spouses giving rise to the picture bride phenomenon. Picture brides were so named because their marriages and voyages to the United States were often only based upon (often outdated) photographs of their future spouses.

[11] Filipina immigrants, who were considered US nationals until 1934, did not arrive in the United States in large numbers because major migration from the Philippines coincided with the Great Depression. Filipina migration, while allowable in legal terms, remained largely prohibited in economic terms.

This exclusion continued until the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act in 1952, which provided a nominal quota to Japan in keeping with the Immigration Act of 1924 (Chan 1991; Takaki 1998; Spickard 2009). While formal legal exclusion ended in 1952, a substantial number of immigrants, almost entirely women, entered the United States following WWII under the auspices of the Soldier Brides Act of 1947. Originally, a temporary order that was extended until the passage of the McCarran-Walter Act, the Soldier Brides Act allowed for the entry of wives of US servicemen returning from overseas deployment. The women, more commonly referred to as war brides, were allowed to enter regardless of race forming a loophole in the Asian exclusion laws(Chan 1991; Takaki 1998; Simpson 2002; Spickard 2009).

Aside from the war bride phenomena, immigration paths for the Japanese were not significantly reopened until 1965 and the end of the national origins quota system of immigration, similar to other Asian American ethnic groups. However, unlike their fellow Asians, Japanese immigrants did not begin entering the United States in significant numbers following the Hart-Cellar Immigration Act of 1965 (Chan 1991; Takaki 1998; King-O'Riain 2006; Spickard 2009). Following World War II reconstruction, the Japanese economy saw significant growth due to its participation in the Cold War military industrial complex and needed to maintain its labor supply. Immigrants from Japan seeking permanent residency averaged less than 5,000 per year through 1989. Beginning in 1990, immigration from Japan slowly began to rise but remains low with only 7,100 Japanese immigrants seeking permanent residency in 2010 (Nakano 2014).[12] The limited immigration from Japan during the postwar period resulted in the majority of today's Japanese Americans finding their ancestral roots

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[12] With the rise of the Japanese economy in the 1970s and 1980s, many migrants from Japan to the United States came on temporary business assignments on rotation in the US offices of Japanese companies. This practice brought a revolving door of Japanese businessmen and their families as temporary residents in the US (Kurotani 2005; Nakano 2014).

among the Japanese immigrants arriving prior to1924 (Glenn 1988; Fugita and O'Brien 1994; King-O'Riain 2006). Furthermore, today, native-born Japanese Americans have strong representation from the third and fourth generations (Glenn 1988; Yanagisako 1992; King-O'Riain 2006; Tsuda 2014).

The time gap in immigration and the relatively short time period of immigrant entry from Japan (1880s-1924) allowed for a solid generational structure within the Japanese American community. Within this structure generation from point immigration maps fairly neatly upon historical generation based on birth year: issei (immigrant, first generation), nisei (second generation), sansei (third generation), yonsei (fourth generation) (Glenn 1988; Yanagisako 1992; Spickard 2009). On the US mainland, the first generation, Issei all arrived prior to 1924 due to restrictions on immigration of Japanese laborers beginning in 1908 with the signing of the Gentlemen's Agreement and full exclusion of all Japanese immigrants with the Immigration Act of 1924.[13] Their Nisei children were generally born between the years 1918-1940 (Glenn 1988; Yanagisako 1992). Sansei were born from the 1940s through the 1960s. The vast majority of Yonsei were born from the early years of the 1970s through end of the century. While newer waves of Japanese immigration post-WWII certainly complicate this tight generational structuring, Japanese American communities continue to identify themselves by these distinct generational categories (Nakano 2014).[14]

The immigration history of Japanese Americans clearly demonstrates the ways in which geopolitical circumstances and US-Japan relations have fundamentally shaped Japanese American communities by impacting immigration and emigration policies on both sides of the

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[13] The time period of immigration from Japan is highly gendered. Due to the specificities of the Gentleman's Agreement, nearly all Issei men arrived prior to 1908. Women represented a very small proportion of immigrants prior to 1908 but represented the majority of immigrants from 1908-1924 (Glenn 1988; Takaki 1998).

[14] More recent arrivals from Japan following World War II are also technically issei (first generation) and nisei (second generation). However, to mark their different period of arrival, these groups have been dubbed shin-issei (new first generation) and shin-nisei (new second generation) (Nakano 2014).

Pacific. Understanding the historical development of global politics proves vital to understanding who could enter the US and when they could enter. Those early migrants who made it to US shores formed the basis for the contemporary Japanese American community.[15]

NOT ALLOWED TO BELONG: CITIZENSHIP EXCLUSION IN JAPANESE AMERICAN HISTORY

Numerous scholars of Asian American studies note that citizenship has been a key axis of exclusion for Asian Americans throughout their history (Glenn 2002; Ngai 2003; Park 2005; Kim 2007; Maira 2009). The Naturalization Act of 1790 did not make any explicit exclusion from citizenship, but only provided the rights of citizenship and naturalization to free white men. Citizenship and naturalization rights were extended to "aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent" in the Naturalization Act of 1870 following the ratification of the 13th Amendment and the abolishment of slavery. The first formal and explicit exclusion of an ethnic or racial group from naturalization came in 1882 with the Chinese Exclusion Act. This act classified the Chinese as aliens ineligible for naturalization and banned the entry of Chinese laborers (Chan 1991; Haney-Lopez 1996; Takaki 1998).

By the turn of the 20th century, the established and legally coded racial and ethnic categories for citizenship and naturalization eligibility and exclusion were far from exhaustive. Japanese American eligibility remained in the legal gray area. While Chinese Americans were explicitly barred, the racial connection between Asian ethnicities was not formalized in the law. Taking advantage of their ambiguous legal racial status, Japanese immigrants applied for citizenship leaving the decision to deny up to local bureaucrats and government employees

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[15] Certainly, more recent immigration from Japan, from war brides to post-1965 immigrants to temporary businessmen and their families, has also added in various ways to the contemporary Japanese American population. However, these newer communities have remained conspicuously separate (Simpson 2002; Kurotani 2005; Nakano 2014).

(Ichioka 1988). Such ambiguity, however, would not last long. Beginning in 1894, 9 cases concerning Japanese American eligibility for naturalization were heard by the US Supreme Court (Haney-Lopez 1996). Without exception, each decision denied Japanese Americans the right to naturalize. The nail in the coffin came in 1922 with the case *Ozawa v. the United States*. The decision handed down by the court in the Ozawa case unequivocally interpreted the Chinese Exclusion Act as applicable to Japanese immigrants given their shared racial lineage with the Chinese (Ichioka 1988; Haney-Lopez 1996). Japanese immigrants immediately became aliens ineligible for naturalization. Shortly following the Ozawa decision, Japanese immigration was banned fully in 1924 with the passage of the National Origins Quota Act. Japanese ineligibility for naturalization and exclusion continued until 1952. The McCarran-Walter Act provided a nominal immigration quota to Japan in keeping with the national origins quota criteria and lifted the ban on naturalization (Chan 1991; Takaki 1998; Spickard 2009).

From their earliest appearance in the US, Japanese immigrants have been drawn outside the legal and social boundaries of national membership. The denial of naturalization rights, based on the perception of unassimilability, and outright exclusion sends a clear message of undesirability and non-belonging. While Japanese immigrants faced ineligibility and eventual exclusion, their American-born children, the nisei, maintained their birthright citizenship. This birthright provided legal membership but fell short of providing the sense of belonging necessary for true substantive citizenship. Numerous historical accounts demonstrate the discrimination faced by nisei within primary labor market employment and in their local communities (Glenn 1988; Kurashige 2002; Azuma 2005). The sense of non-belonging and positioning of Japanese Americans outside the boundaries of US membership is further underscored by the Japanese American wartime mass incarceration, which stripped Japanese Americans, citizens and non-

citizens, of their legal rights and membership (Carbado 2005). This wartime internment

reiterated non-belonging as Japanese Americans became reclassified from citizens and

permanent residents to enemy aliens, were physically removed from their local communities, and

incarcerated in makeshift camps within the nation's interior.

THE LONG SHADOWS OF INTERNMENT

Internment itself was a clear demonstration of how historically Japanese Americans have

been racially defined as non-citizens and not belonging. However, the lived experience of

internment was largely limited to the issei and nisei; the majority of sansei were born after World

War II. The impact of internment has lasted far beyond the closing of the last camp in 1946 and

beyond the generations who lived through the experience (Nakagawa 1995; Simpson 2002).

Internment represents a critical moment that shaped internal and external conceptions of

Japanese Americans both historically and in the contemporary period (Murray 2000; Daniels

2004). While all respondents in my study are part of the third and fourth generations and were

born well after the closure of the last camp, the internment experience made an indelible mark on

the Japanese American community and continues to impact how Japanese Americans

conceptualize and practice community into the present day. This study, with its focus on third

and fourth generation Japanese Americans, attempts to understand the Japanese American

experience beyond internment. However, the wartime period remains highly salient in the

contemporary community. In discussing the legacies of internment and how it shapes the context

of Japanese American community building, I wish to draw particular attention to two seemingly

contradictory aspects: (1) assimilation, American hyperpatriotism, and severing of ties with

Japan and Japanese culture; and (2) persistence of the Japanese American community

institutions. While this list is by no means exhaustive, I believe they are the most fundamental and impactful.

Having recognized that their perceived foreignness was main cause of their incarceration, Japanese Americans and the Nisei in particular began to practice a quiet patriotism and 110% Americanism, which down played their Japanese heritage (Wilson & Hosokawa 1980; Spickard 2009). As the Nisei began to build baby boom families in the postwar periods alongside the rest of the US, they made a conscious choice not to teach their Sansei children the Japanese language and kept other Japanese cultural practices as private affairs if at all. Hyperpatriotism and a distancing from Japan and all things Japanese by former internees is a topic well tread in the existing literature on postwar Japanese American experience (Wilson & Hosokawa 1980; Fugita & O'Brien 1994; Kurashige 2002; Spickard 2009). Commercial, cultural, and even familial ties with Japan were quickly severed. My study participants also relay the loss of culture and ties to Japan as an outcome of the internment experience. Japanese Americans see language as a key marker of Japaneseness and hindrance to their full acceptance by the US (white) mainstream. As such, the Japanese language was among the first cultural signifiers to be jettisoned. While the vast majority of nisei were at least partially bilingual, very few wanted to pass that linguistic ability onto their children. The sansei overwhelmingly do not speak Japanese with any fluency (Alba & Nee 2003; Spickard 2009).

Importantly, the loss of the "mother tongue" by the third generation is not uncommon among immigrant origin populations. Rumbaut (2009) characterized the United States as a "language graveyard" referencing how quickly ethnic groups lose language abilities over time and generations in the United States. By the third generation, a very small minority of any ethnic population speaks their mother tongue at home or with any amount of fluency (Alba et al 2002;

Rumbaut, Massey, and Bean 2006; Rumbaut 2009). Perhaps, then, the language loss by Japanese Americans by the third generation is not particularly remarkable and simply part of a natural process all immigrant origin communities pass through. What is important, however, is the connection third and fourth generation Japanese Americans make between culture and language loss and the internment experience. The absence of language and culture is seen as a legacy of internment and connects later generation Japanese Americans, who did not directly experience the displacement, to the historical experience as well as to the broader Japanese American community. In this way, the internment experience continues to haunt and shape the contemporary Japanese American community and how Japanese American relate to one another through common language (English) and culture (Japanese American).

While the severing of international ties and the loss of language are important facts in the postwar Japanese American experience, what often gets overlooked, or only given implicit reference, is the persistence and growth of community institutions and social connections following the release of Japanese Americans from camp. Scholars have uncovered the continuing importance of Japanese American churches (both Buddhist and Christian), festivals, sports leagues, and social and political organizations throughout the postwar period and into the present day (Levine & Rhodes 1981; Fugita & O'Brien 1994; Takahashi 1997; King 2002; Kurashige 2002; Lim 2005; King-O'Riain 2006; Chin 2012; Matsumoto 2014). While former internees sought to distance themselves from all things "Japanese," this clearly did not include their co-ethnics. Rather, Japanese Americans in the postwar period joined other Japanese Americans in activities and institutions modeled after those within the white mainstream. As Kurashige (2002) noted in the prewar period, these postwar institutions and activities paralleled mainstream counterparts but rarely intersected.

Furthermore, while a segment of former internees took the internment experience as a sign and opportunity to relocate themselves to other regions of the United States with lower concentrations of Japanese American, the vast majority of internees returned to the West Coast, particularly to the urban center of Los Angeles. Upon their return, many Japanese Americans continued to form ethnically concentrated neighborhoods in places such as Gardena, the San Gabriel Valley, the Crenshaw District, and the Westside (Kurashige 2002). Despite this distancing from Japanese culture and heritage, Japanese American communities rebuilt themselves across the West Coast during the postwar period. Even into the present day, Japanese Americans are among five *most* regionally concentrated ethnic groups in the US (Portes & Rumbaut 2006).

While Japanese American community institutions were created and rebuilt out of the ashes of internment to promote ethnic maintenance, it is important to note that the Japanese American population was not a fully unified community in the postwar period. A significant segment of the population certainly followed the path outlined above, wishing to fade into the American melting pot and sought assimilative strategies embedded within ethnic community institutions. However, other segments of the community were more critical of assimilationist strategies or otherwise fell outside the prescribed proper behavior of model citizens (Kurashige 2002; Muller 2001; Mimura 2009; Wu 2014). Perhaps the most notable schism to come out of the internment experience was between the pro-assimilationist Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) and the no-no boy draft resisters. As the only Japanese American organization allowed to survive the war, the JACL was a strong supporter of military service as a means to prove the loyalty of all Japanese Americans was vehemently opposed to and outright attacked the no-no boys who resisted the draft orders while still held behind barbed-wire in internment

camps. These no-no boys became resisters of conscience as they recognized the racial injustice and violation of their constitutional rights as citizens; a very different, but no less American, practice (Muller 2001).

The wartime experience with internment and the racism, discrimination, and violence that accompanied it had simultaneously taught Japanese Americans the necessity to "assimilating" but also the importance of community, ethnic community in particular, as a safe guard against the enduring potential of white racism and anti-Asian nationalism to rise again. Internment can then be understood as changing the Japanese American community, but certainly did not lead to its demise. In fact, it may be more appropriate to think of internment as strengthening Japanese American community bonds in new forms.

ORANGE COUNTY: POSTSUBURBIA AND LOCAL RENDERINGS OF COLD WAR RACE POLITICS

The mass incarceration of Japanese Americans from the West Coast and its aftermath created divides and social distance within the various factions of the Japanese American community. The aftermath of internment also included increased physical distance among Japanese American residences. Japanese Americans returned to the greater Los Angeles region in large numbers following the closure of the camps and resided in new Japanese American neighborhoods. However, the postwar Japanese American population in Southern California was far more dispersed than it had been prior to the war due to the dual impact of desired assimilation and postwar suburbanization. Such suburbanization was especially evident in the region under study here: Orange and south Los Angeles Counties from the 1950s to the present. In the postwar period, this region transitioned from its agricultural roots into a suburban paradise for urban Los Angeles white flight reaching one million inhabitants in 1963. Today, Driving north on the 405

or 5 freeways from the southern tip of Orange County towards Los Angeles, it would be difficult to tell the exact location of the county line separating these two politically distinct bodies. Save the small sign marking the legal boundary on the side of the highway, the cityscapes of wide streets, low-rise concrete façades framed by trees and grass lined sidewalks throughout the Southland are slow transitions and the traversing of city borders often goes unnoticed. Even locals often puzzle over which cities lying along the counties' border (Cerritos, Los Alamitos, Whittier, La Habra) belong to Orange or Los Angeles.

Such visions have made coastal Southern California the model of urban sprawl, or what Kling, Olin, and Poster have described as the "postsuburb" (1991). While traditional suburban developments are characterized as "peripheral bedroom communities from which commuters travel to workplaces in the urban core," postsuburbs have a distinct business, cultural, and residential life from nearby urban centers (Kling et al 1991: 5). Hallmarks of Orange County as a postsuburb include "distinct and separate centers: residential neighborhoods, shopping malls, and industrial parks" often separated by drive times of 15 to 30 min (Kling et al 1991: ix). This decentralization and division of social spaces has important implications for the possibilities and forms of community formed in Orange County from the postwar to the present. Hansen and Ryan (1991) argue "the paucity of sustained social connection between residents, handicaps [Orange County residents] in their attempt to create a local identity, common belief system, and homegrown values" (165).

The impacts of distance were even more exaggerated for Japanese-Americans in Orange County attempting to build ethnic community as the vast majority did not live in neighborhood clusters as they had prior to their World War II incarceration. However, as Hansen and Ryan (1991) rightly point out in their study of public celebrations in Orange County, the greater

dispersion and "reduced" social interactions does not eliminate the possibility of public life and community building. Rather, the postsuburban reality urges Orange County residents to consider alternative forms of connections and conceptions of community. In seeking and building community, postsuburban Japanese Americans have become accustomed to traveling significant distances and utilizing decentralized community institutions to fulfill social necessities rather than rely on their immediate vicinity. These necessities continue to include social connections, often of the ethnic variety.

Following the mass 1950s migration of white flight, Japanese Americans also began to buy homes and move to the southern suburbs of Los Angeles (Kurashige 2007; Brooks 2009; C. Cheng 2013; W. Cheng 2013). However, if the process of movement into the suburbs is often equated with successful assimilation and a diminishing social distance from non-Hispanic whites, why seek ethnic community once residing in the suburbs? Why not bask in the achievement of the American Dream and build community with the white neighbors next door? To answer these questions, we must look to the shifting political ideologies shaping the postwar social context and circumstances under which Japanese Americans took up residents in the postsuburbs of Orange and south Los Angeles Counties. I argue that among the most salient contexts structuring the lives of Japanese Americans as they build community in postwar Southern California are: the rise of the Cold War, the shadows of internment, and shifting racial and ethnic demographics of Los Angeles and Orange Counties. Cultural studies scholar Jodi Kim (2010) examines the Cold War not simply as a historical period with a particular start and end data, but as "an epistemology and production of knowledge…[which] exceeds and outlines its historical eventness" (3). The Cold War, then, is a historical period that produced a particular ideology and knowledge particularly with regard to race, which helps to shape the lived

experience of Japanese Americans. As an international geopolitical conflict, the Cold War

provides an example of what Lisa Lowe (1996) has termed "the international within the

national." International diplomatic and military relations between the US and Asia intimately

shaped a logic for understanding the domestic status and racial positioning of Japanese

Americans during the Cold War and after.

Despite its root as a global conflict between the communist Soviet Union and democratic

United States, the Cold War marks a significant turning point in the domestic race relations

broadly as well as a particular shift in the racial positioning of Asian Americans. Dudziak (2000)

provides an insightful connection between Cold War Politics and the passage of Civil Rights

legislation. Reacting to Soviet propaganda that shined a light on the United States racism

towards African Americans and other racial minority citizens, the United States rushed to

demonstrate and practice the equality and rights promised to all individuals regardless of skin

color. The Cold War political expediency culminated in the groundbreaking Civil Rights Act of

1964 and the Hart-Cellar Immigration Act of 1965.[16]

In addition to Kim (2010), Asian American historians have examined the unique and

overlooked position of Asian Americans in the racial discourse transformation occurring during

the Cold War (Lee 1999; Brooks 2009; C. Cheng 2013; Wu 2014). Given their persistent

association with Asia, the important position of Asia in communist containment policy, and their

perceived assimilative success, Asian Americans were often used as pawns by the US

government to simultaneously promote the virtuous image of US democracy abroad and

discipline other less upwardly mobile minorities at home. Importantly Cheng (2013) points out

that Asian American rights were both expanded and infringed upon during the Cold War era to

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[16] Cold War geopolitics also aided in the earlier shifts in immigration policy from the 1952 McCarren-Walter Act, which ended the exclusion of Japanese immigrants (Gotanda 1996).

suit the geopolitical goals of the US state. Wu (2014) and Lee (1999) remark on how Asian

American racialization as the model minority is intimately tied to Cold War politics. Reforming

the discourse of Chinese and Japanese American success away from one of wartime and

economic threat and toward the rhetoric's of the model minority was meant to demonstrate to the

world the virtues of the US brand of liberal democracy where anyone can make it regardless of

race.

Brooks (2009) explicitly examine the cross-section of Southern California

suburbanization and Cold War politics as she describe the process through which the image

Japanese Americans held by the US public shifted from wartime enemy of the nation to "alien

neighbors and foreign friends." Similar to the shift in rhetoric around civil rights and the

treatment of racial and ethnic minorities, particularly African Americans, Japan's new role as the

central Cold War ally in the Pacific lead to a change in discourse surrounding the treatment of

Japanese Americans and their place in US society. Looking at the liberalization of suburban

housing policies in Los Angeles, Brooks demonstrates how the shifting position of Japan in Cold

War geopolitics enabled Japanese Americans to gain residence in predominantly white

neighborhoods; neighborhoods that continued to deny the residence of other racial minority

citizens.[17]

While civil rights legislation and the reenvisioning of Japanese Americans as "foreign

friends" was meant to improve their position, access, and treatment within the domestic US

context, these new policies and discourses lead to the rise of massive resistance in the American

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[17] Examining a similar issue and location, Kurashige (2007) focuses Brooks' argument to show that Japanese
American racial positioning within the US landscape had been dependent upon geopolitics and US-Japan relations
long before the Cold War and even World War II. In addition, Kurashige highlights the triangulation and coalition
building with African Americans. Japanese American oppositional placement vis-à-vis African Americans in Los
Angeles resulting in numerous shifts in residential acceptance of these two groups, where Japanese Americans were
not always the beneficiaries.

South as well as the rise of the new conservative right. The rise of the new conservative right was particularly apparent and impactful in Orange County and broader Southern California. While Japanese Americans on the West Coast may not have felt the direct backlash of massive resistance in the South, the racial turmoil permeated across the nation affecting national policy and the rise of a new conservative national politics.

McGirr (2001) focuses on Orange County as an important site for the birth of the new American Right: "a real center and symbol of American Conservatism in the 1960s" (4). For McGirr, postwar suburbanization, the Cold War military industrial complex, and "liberal" political change found a home and ready population of founding members among Orange County residents. The growth of Orange County as a suburb, and later a postsuburb, is intimately tied to the Cold War arms race and the growth of the military industries necessary to support it. Given its location on the Pacific Coast, its proximity to the Los Angeles metropolis, and perpetual sunshine, Orange County became prime real estate for both military bases (Santa Ana Army Air Base, Seal Beach Naval Ammunition Depot, Long Beach/Los Alamitos Naval Air Station, El Toro US Marine Corps Air Station) and military contactors (Beckman Instruments, American Electronics, and Hughes Aircraft in Fullerton; Autonetics and Nortronics in Anaheim; and Ford Aeronutronics in Newport Beach) (McGirr 2001:25,27). The military and related industries poured hundreds of millions of dollars into the region as well as recruited a more highly educated pool of technical and scientific labor to reside in the new suburb housing developments. Given their livelihood dependence on the military industrial complex, these new Orange County residents were ripe to participate in the new conservative movement with their vested interest in the anti-communist, perceptively pro-military, and small government platform. Converse to this predominantly white labor pool of new residents, local Japanese Americans

continued to hold occupations tied to Orange County's roots as a farming region or took part in various small business ventures. Given their experiences with internment, Japanese Americans tended to shy away from any form of political activism (Levine & Rhodes 1981).

While McGirr tends to downplay the racialized, and often racist, ideology within the new conservative right, other scholars writing on the conservative movement elsewhere in the nation have demonstrated more explicit ties. Kruse (2005) connects the roots of the conservative movement to suburbanization and white flight in Atlanta, GA. Kruse argues white flight was "more than a physical relocation…[but] a political revolution" (6). As upwardly mobile African Americans began to move into the Atlanta suburb in the late 1950s and early 1960s, white suburbanites became increasingly agitated by the racial encroachment. However, in light of the civil rights movement, whites who wished to preserve the racial purity of their neighborhoods looked to the conservative movement and its shifted political discourse which moved away from the "often starkly racist demagoguery" to a new racially coded language "predicated on a language of rights, freedoms, and individualism" (6).

McGirr (2001) notes similar shifts in discourse among Orange County conservatives. Furthermore, the backlash against the encroachment of racial and ethnic minorities into white Orange County suburbs is also evident in McGirr's discussion of Orange County conservative support of Proposition 14, which removed existing state law prohibiting racial bias and discrimination in housing considerations, in the 1964 election. Quoting one of her interview subjects, McGirr cites that for many Orange County whites, "Proposition 14 is what the [conservative] movement was all about" (133).

I focus on the conservative movement because of its prominence in Orange County beginning in the postwar period. This political conservative atmosphere and the accompanying

racial discourse shape an important context in which local Japanese Americans seek and form communities and relationships. However, racialized political discourse could be found in Orange County and throughout California on both sides of the aisle. HoSang (2010), in his examination of California state ballot initiatives, demonstrates a commitment to and defense of a "racialized liberalism" and "political whiteness" throughout the postwar period. From the 1940s through the present day, ballot measures dismantled fair housing and employment, school desegregation, affirmative action, and the rights of immigrants. Such systematic rollbacks defy a simple partisan explanation along party lines. Rather, they "require a different analysis of the relationship between a liberal political culture and the endurance of racial hierarchy and power" (HoSang 2010: 265). So even in the generally liberal political milieu, which dominates the state of California, racial hierarchies and the visibility and impact of racial differences persist. Understanding the racial discourse, both locally in Orange County and throughout the state of California, illuminates the environment in which Japanese Americans lived their daily lives. While Japanese Americans are often portrayed as blending into white suburbia, they were, in fact, highly conspicuous. They continued to be impacted by their non-white racial status and created their communities within a highly racialized context.

The Cold War necessity of creating the image of the US as the home and protector of democracy lead to the expansion of civil rights protections for racial minorities. While civil rights legislation was aimed to quell racial discrimination, an ironic consequence was the transformation of political racial discourse into less overt but no less invidious terms. Despite their anti-communist origins, civil rights were perceived as a liberal political swing leading to a conservative backlash and transformation of in the way race enters American political discourse.

The same policies meant to eliminate race-based disparities aided in the continuation of racial differences.

As Japan was repositioned as a prized Cold War ally following the postwar US occupation and reconstruction, the status of Japanese Americans within the domestic contest was also affected. In order to ensure that Japan remained a trusted ally, the US found it expedient to demonstrate their fair treatment of Japanese Americans. As previously summarized, Brooks (2009) and Kurashige (2007) illuminate the connection between Cold War "friendship" and the greater access given to Japanese Americans during the postwar period to white suburban neighborhoods from which they were previously excluded. In addition to greater access to suburban housing, Japanese Americans also achieved substantial political gains, such as legislation ending immigration and naturalization exclusions and granting repayment for property loss due to internment. Such legislative victories were largely predicated upon the new role of Japan in the US Cold War policy of containment (Gotanda 1996).

The seemingly unbreakable tie to Japan in the eyes of US foreign policy makers and the broader US public had (and has) important implications for the domestic racialized experience of Japanese Americans. This connection is a clear example of the forever foreigner stigma that continues to haunt Asian Americans generally, regardless of generation. Japanese Americans were accepted into suburban neighborhoods not because they were recognized as equal Americans by their white neighbors. Rather, they were seen as "foreign friends;" local representatives of Japan (Kurashige 2007; Brooks 2009). Their acceptance into the neighborhood was based upon their perceived foreignness; their racial difference. In this way, the movement of Japanese Americans into white neighborhoods is another ironic consequence of Cold War racial benevolence. The seeming residential integration, spatial assimilation, and supposed reduction in

social distance, actually highlighted the racial difference and foreignness of Japanese Americans vis-à-vis their white neighbors.

SHIFTING RACIAL DEMOGRAPHICS OF LOS ANGELES AND ORANGE COUNTIES: 1950-2010

During the suburban shift beginning in 1950, the Orange County population grew an astounding fourteen fold, 216,224 to over 3 million, in 2010. Over the same period, Los Angeles County more than doubled in size from 4.1 million to nearly 10 million residents (Forstall 1995; US Census 2010). This growth coincides with the postwar population explosion, more commonly known as the baby-boom generation, but is also attributable to the massive internal migrations westward and the urban to suburban population shifts (McGirr 2001). Both Los Angeles and Orange Counties became prime residential relocation destinations for military personnel returning from the World War II Pacific Theater. Former military personnel as well as a new class of college-educated professionals resulting from the G.I. Bill quickly filled positions in the Southland's growing military-related industries (McGirr 2001). While both domestic and international migrants to Southern California came from every racial backgrounds, the postwar population growth was brought more residents of color, particularly Latinos and Asian Americans.

In 1950, the first postwar Census reported Los Angeles and Orange Counties as 93% and 99% white, respectively (LA Almanac 1998-2014; OC Almanac 2004-2006a, 2004-2006b).[18] However, Southern California had long been the destination for internal migrants from the more eastern portions of the nation, other parts of the state of California, as well as immigration from

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[18] It is unclear from the *Orange County Almanac* and *Los Angeles Almanac* records how the Latino population was counted in 1950. The figures displayed here may include some portion of the Southern California Latino population. This does not detract, however, from the strong white population majority and its social and political dominance in the region.

abroad. This trend continued and increased during the postwar period. Many postwar internal migrants were African Americans. From 1950 to 2010, the black population in Los Angeles County peaked in 1990 at roughly 950,000. In Orange County, the black population continues to grow reaching 44,000 in 2010. Differing from the growth in the African American population, the growth for Latinos and Asian Americans has largely been due to immigration, with notable exception of the Japanese. The US Census began tracking Hispanic ethnicity systematically in 1970. From that point, the Latino population in Los Angeles recorded a growth from one million to over 4.6 million residents. This growth represented a dramatic population shift for Latinos accounting for only 15.1% in 1970 to 47.7% in 2010. Latinos have been the largest single racial group in Los Angeles since the 2000 Census. In Orange County, the population remains smaller and constitutes a smaller, but still substantial, percentage of the population, 33.7% in 2010. The Latino population growth in Orange County has seen far greater than in Los Angeles, four fold since 1970. Asian American population growth in the Southland has been meteoric. In 1960, Asian Americans represented 1.8% and .8% of Los Angeles and Orange Counties, respectively. By 2010, Asian American populations accounted for 13.5% of Los Angeles County and 17.7% of Orange County (LA Almanac 1998-2014; OC Almanac 2004-2006a, 2004-2006b; US Census 2010).

The overall racial landscape of Los Angeles and Orange Counties allows for a greater understanding of how Japanese Americans are viewed and view themselves within their local surroundings. California has always been a racial crucible pushing society and scholars to think beyond the black-white racial paradigm; a racial borderlands bringing whites, blacks, Latinos, Asians, and native populations into direct contact (Almaguer 1994). However, this study

examines the racial crucible under difference circumstances: the dramatic population growth and suburbanization of the Southland.

While the previous discussion on the broader racial demographics provides an important baseline for insights into how cross-racial interactions impact community building for Japanese Americans, understanding the context and impacts of the growing ethnic diversity within the Asian American population is equally important. Certainly, the enumeration of ethnic categories on the US Census is an imprecise means of examining the presence of ethnic groups. However, the Census does provide a rough outline of ethnic and racial diversity in a particular geographic area.

In the state of California, Japanese Americans were the largest Asian American population through the 1970 Census (OC Almanac 2004-2006a). Prior to 1970, the Japanese American population grew steadily, producing multiple generations due to provisions of the 1908 Gentlemen's Agreement. This was in stark contrast to Chinese and Filipino American communities, which produced fewer later generations due to harsher immigration restrictions. In 1960, Japanese Americans made up 71.1% of all Asian Americans in Los Angeles County and 75.6% of Orange County (LA Almanac 1998-2014; OC Almanac 2004-2006a). They continued to be the majority of all Asian Americans through 1970, when they accounted for 55% and 56%, respectively (LA Almanac 1998-2014; OC Almanac 2004-2006a). In Orange County and Los Angeles County, Japanese Americans continued to be the largest Asian American group, but no longer the majority, through the 1980 Census. From 1990 into the present, Japanese Americans have represented a decreasing proportion of the Asian American population. In 2010, Japanese Americans were the fourth largest Asian American ethnic group in both Los Angeles and Orange

Counties and accounted for 6.8% and 5.4 % of all Asian Americans in each county (US Census 2010).

In the 1960s, when many sansei were coming of age, Japanese Americans were by far the predominant Asian American ethnic group in the Los Angeles/Orange County region. To be Asian was to be Japanese in the Southland. There was little need to assert a distinct Japanese American ethnic identity. By the 1980s and 1990s, when most yonsei moved into adolescences and adulthood, Japanese Americans were one of many Asian American ethnic groups present in the local area. Asian American came to mean many things and Japanese Americans respond by asserting their particular ethnic identity.

In addition to the changing ethnic representation, the 1965 Immigration Act also led to a shift in the generational breakdowns of the Asian American population. While the Japanese American population had been predominantly native born since the 1930s, Asian Americans entering after 1965 began to shift the nativity balance back toward the foreign-born. Japanese Americans shared certain racial characteristics with other Asian Americans, but the predominance of foreign-born individuals was not among them. Until 1970, the majority of the aggregated Asian American population in Los Angeles and Orange Counties and throughout the state were native-born. However, in 1970, Japanese Americans remained predominantly native-born, but the rest of the Asian America returned to a predominantly foreign-born population. From 1980 forward, the total population of Asian Americans was predominantly foreign-born (Nakano 2013).

In calling attention to this demographic shift in nativity within a broader discussion of substantive citizenship, I do not intend to privilege the position of native-born Americans as more deserving of full citizenship than foreign-born Americans. Nor do I mean to give credence

to the persistent perception of Asian Americans as forever foreigners. Rather, I wish to call attention to one of the ways in which Japanese Americans differ from fellow Asian Americans. The predominance of native-born individuals and later generations within the Japanese American community produces a different ethnic lived experience. This difference does not go unnoticed by Japanese Americans themselves, as my interviews reveal (also see Tuan 1999). Nonetheless, Japanese Americans view themselves within the broader Asian American umbrella, but continue to understand their racial positioning in both congruence and opposition to other Asian American communities.

JAPANESE AMERICANS IN CONTEMPORARY LOS ANGELES AND ORANGE COUNTIES: A DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

In closing this chapter, I turn more specifically to an overview of the contemporary demographics of the Japanese American population in Los Angeles and Orange Counties. It is an unfortunate truth that federal statistics and privately funded national surveys do not collect the necessary variables or sample broadly enough to capture significant numbers of smaller ethnic populations. This section attempts to piece together existing federal statistics to tell the story of contemporary Japanese Americans from 1950 to 2010 in terms of generation and multiraciality. Unfortunately, these two characteristics, both central to the shifting demographic reality of the Japanese American community, do not appear together in any federal database. The US Census collected data on mother's and father's birthplace until 1970. I am able to tabulate the third plus generation of Japanese Americans with some accuracy by coupling parental birthplace with respondent nativity. Disaggregating between sansei and yonsei, however, becomes less precise

and is based upon birth year ranges of the third and fourth generations.[19] The multiraciality and multiethnicity of this population, however, is unknown as the Census did not begin to track multiracial identification until 2000.

By 1970, over 76% of Japanese Americans were native born in the US. Similar percentages existed in Los Angeles and Orange Counties with 77% and 79%, respectively. Among the native born in Los Angeles and Orange Counties, 62% and 56%, respectively, were Nisei in 1970. The sansei had already become 36% of Los Angeles County's and 43% on Orange County's total Japanese American populations stemming from pre-1924 immigration. If we estimate that yonsei begin being born in 1965, they made up a small, but certainly growing, portion of the Southland Japanese American population.

After 1970, without the collection of parental birthplace data, it becomes impossible to disaggregate the native-born population among nisei, sansei, yonsei, and increasingly the native-born progeny of postwar immigrants. However, these demographics gleaned from the 1970 Census, coupled with knowledge of fairly minimal postwar immigration from Japan and a continuing native-born majority, provide a strong indication that the later generations of the Japanese American population make up a large, if not majority, share of the contemporary Japanese American population in the Southland.

1970 Census figures and the derivations offered above paint an informative, but still incomplete, picture of the Japanese American community from the postwar to the present. What is conspicuously missing from these data are counts for multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans. Outmarriage among Japanese Americans has been on the rise and reached 49% in Los Angeles County by 1972 (Kikumura & Kitano 1973). It is only logical to assume that such

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[19] Birth year ranges are estimated based upon accepted conventions of the birth year ranges for Nisei and Sansei and the birth years of my own research subjects (Petersen 1971; Glenn 1988; Nakano 2014). I estimate that Sansei are born between 1940-1964. Yonsei are estimated to be born between 1965-2004.

unions produced multiracial and multiethnic offspring. Up until 2000, when the Census began allowing multiple responses for racial identification, multiracial and multiethnic individuals were forced to choose racial identification allegiances and were left hidden within various single racial categories. It is likely, but difficult if not impossible to prove, that the 1970s Japanese American population was larger than recorded. With the addition of multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans, the native-born and later generation segments of the population should be augmented.

The 2000 and 2010 Censuses allow me to ascertain the multiracial and multiethnic make up of the Japanese American population, albeit without insight into generational status beyond nativity. In 2000, multiethnic and multiracial individuals accounted for 19.3% of Los Angeles County's Japanese American population and 25.1% of Orange County Japanese Americans. By 2010, these figures grew to 26.4% and 33%, respectively. The multiethnic and multiracial population is even more native-born than Japanese Americans as a whole.[20] In Los Angeles County, 87.7% of multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans were native-born in 2010 compared to 89.1% of Orange County's population. Furthermore, multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans account for 33% of Orange County and 27.2% of Los Angeles County native-born Japanese Americans.

This study explores the communal relationships built by Japanese Americans within the historical and demographic context in Los Angeles and Orange Counties from the postwar period to the present day. In this chapter, I have outlined how Cold War logics, the hauntings of World War II internment, and demographic shifts create a unique context within which Japanese Americans create ethnic and racial communities and position their claims on substantive

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[20] Estimates for nativity and multiethnicity/multiraciality are based on IPUMS ACS data.

citizenship. In the chapters that follow, I explore how Japanese Americans conceptualize and build community within these sociohistorical contexts as well as how community belonging ultimately enables stronger claims on substantive citizenship.

CHAPTER TWO

Shifting Conceptions of Persistent Community: Suburban Ethnic Dispersal and the Racial Replenishment of Ethnicity

I begin with the concept of community as the foundation for substantive citizenship. Community is useful as it may function on multiple scales, from the local to the national, even global. It serves as a colloquial stand-in for describing the boundaries of membership. In short, community means belonging. In this chapter, I explore the shifting conceptions of community to understand how citizenship is constructed through the mundane micro-interactions of everyday life. Following the example of Glenn, I focus attention on the local as substantive citizenship remains "a matter of belonging…a fluid status that is produced through everyday practices and struggles" (2011: 1). Community is the location where such practices and struggles occur. Exploring the community formation practices of later generation Japanese Americans, I find that ethnic community persists despite the forces of assimilation and suburbanization that should produce the opposite outcome.

ASSIMILATION'S VIEW OF COMMUNITY

In the foundational assimilation text, *Assimilation in American Life*, Gordon (1964) outlines seven stages of assimilation: cultural assimilation, structural assimilation, attitude-receptional assimilation, behavior-receptional assimilation, marital assimilation, identificational assimilation, and civic assimilation. While Gordon states that cultural assimilation, or acculturation, will occur first and is an inevitable outcome for any groups that come into close and prolonged contact with each other, he focuses on structural assimilation as "the keystone in the arch of assimilation" (Gordon 1964; 81). For Gordon, structural assimilation includes "large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions…on the primary group level" (71).

Contemporary studies of immigrant incorporation have come to focus on socioeconomic and residential integration as measures of structural assimilation (Alba & Nee 2003; Brown 2007; Charles 2007). Massey and Denton (1993) bring together socioeconomic mobility and residential integration under the framework of spatial assimilation theory. This theory posits that individuals accrue socioeconomic capital and upward mobility which they are able to convert into better housing, most commonly associated with leaving ethnically concentrated urban neighborhoods to suburban neighborhoods with predominantly white residents (Massey & Denton 1993; Charles 2007). Spatial assimilation relies on the assumption of residential integration and physical proximity as a proxy measure for social distance, which dates back to the early work of Robert Park (1924) and the Chicago School. Structural assimilation serves as the tipping point for other stages of assimilation because it demonstrates a minimization of social distance. With residential integration should come increased social interaction between various collocated ethnic and racial groups. Connecting structural assimilation with the central concept of substantive citizenship, reduced social distance should beget a strong sense of belonging as greater similarity is found with neighbors along lines of lived experience, social position, and geography. Structural assimilation, particularly in its spatial assimilation instantiation, can be viewed as an observation of community formation practices. Community building with whites equals assimilation. Community building with co-ethnics does not.

Given the postulates of spatial assimilation theory, suburban later generation Japanese Americans present a puzzling case. Residing in Orange County and south Los Angeles County, my respondents described their neighborhoods as predominantly white, sometimes with substantial portions of Latino and Asian American neighbors. Save the few who grew up in the Japanese American enclaves of Gardena and the Crenshaw district, none reported a notable

number of Japanese Americans living in their vicinity. As hypothesized by spatial assimilation theory, Japanese American residential integration and movement to the suburbs is an outgrowth of their upward socioeconomic mobility. Most observers would rightfully find that Japanese Americans have achieved spatial assimilation. Although my respondents reported participation within "cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society," they did not consistently report a strong sense of belonging with such institutions or the disappearance of co-ethnic community bonds (Gordon 1964). Rather, my respondents consistently discussed a conscious seeking of ethnic community outside of their proximate neighborhoods. The persistent desire for ethnic community hardly describes the path lit by structural assimilation's hypotheses. While I recognize the residential integration and socioeconomic mobility for many Japanese Americans, and certainly for those represented in my study, I argue their experiences and effort to seek out ethnic community call into question the assumption of resulting social proximity and sense of local belonging. It would seem later generation Japanese Americans have not achieved full structural assimilation as described by assimilation scholars. As I argue throughout this study, persistent racialized difference is a root cause of the limited structural assimilation and persistent ethnic identity and community formation for Japanese Americans across multiple generations.

The Failure of Spatial Assimilation

Other scholars have similarly found that increased racial diversity with decreased spatial distance does not lead to an equal decrease in social distance and perceived racial difference (Bratter and Zuberi 2001; Lacy 2007). Bratter and Zuberi (2001) examine the impact of increased social contact with racial diversity on interracial marriage patterns, another proxy for social distance, and determine that increases in racial diversity decreases the likelihood of

African American-white, Native American-white, and Latino-white interracial unions. Similar trends were found for Asian American-white unions, but with insignificant results. Lacy (2007) demonstrates that middle-class African Americans seek out co-ethnic community out of a desire for a safe place away from their daily interactions in predominantly white spaces but also because such communities are pleasurable in themselves. Moving into suburban Southern California, Japanese Americans placed themselves increasingly within predominantly white spaces and certainly added to the racial diversity of south Los Angeles and Orange Counties in the postwar period. However, the increased interaction and reduced physical distance did not allow Japanese Americans to eliminate the social distance between themselves and their white neighbors.

Through the life experiences of my respondents, I find that residentially integrated later generation Japanese Americans do not find a fulfilling sense of belonging within their local communities and neighborhoods, as spatial assimilation would predict. This is not to say that Japanese Americans are ultimately marginalized. However, Japanese Americans actively seek out co-ethnic community in order to build their feeling of substantive citizenship. In this chapter, I examine the community building practices of sansei and yonsei from the 1950s into the present day. As Japanese Americans continue to form ethnically based communities, I offer a critique of spatial assimilation theory and its relationship with structural assimilation. The suburbanization of Southern California has dispersed the urban center and the Japanese American population along with it. In understanding suburban Japanese America as a spatially dispersed and residentially integrated population within this region, I am interested in how Japanese Americans come together and form community in the absence of proximity. In particular, I examine how

Japanese Americans build community in light of two structural shifts occurring in Southern California in the postwar period: (1) suburbanization and (2) ethnic demographic change.

In terms of suburbanization, I find that third and fourth generation Japanese Americans employ creative strategies to form community given their ethnic dispersion and residential integration. As occurs in concentrated urban areas, local ethnic institutions continue to bring Japanese Americans together. However, in the suburban context, Japanese Americans must travel farther distances to participate in such institutions. Extended travel times highlights the conscious effort made by later generation Japanese Americans to find co-ethnics despite the ready access to more local, non-ethnic community and institutions. Even as Japanese Americans participate in local community institutions, they continue to find each other and form relationships in such non-ethnic specific spaces (e.g., school, athletic organizations, and places of employment). Lastly, Japanese Americans maintain strong collective memories of previous communities based upon past experiences and relationships with co-ethnics to maintain a sense of belonging they once possessed.

Importantly, postwar American suburbanization was accompanied by major ethnic and racial demographic changes, which also impacts practices of community formation. Postwar immigration reform beginning in 1943, the end of Chinese immigrant exclusion, and culminating in 1965, the end of the national-origins quota system, led to mass immigration from Asia and Latin America. Such reform was followed by subsequent legislation in the 1970s and 1980s allowing for the entry of refugees from war torn Southeast Asia. Such changes greatly impacted the racial and ethnic demographics of the nation, and Southern California in particular.

I observe how the racial and ethnic demographic shift, particularly the exponential growth of Asian immigrants of other ethnic backgrounds, impacts the racialization and

conceptualization of community for later generation Japanese Americans in Southern California. Mainstream society continues to view all Asian Americans as an undifferentiated racial group, regardless of ethnic diversity and generational status. I argue this racial lumping is, at least in part, attributable to the large-scale arrival of similarly racialized immigrants from Asia. Building upon Tomas Jimenez's concept of immigrant replenishment of ethnicity (2009), I find that the post-1965 rise of immigration from Asia led to a racial replenishment of ethnicity, or the replenished racialization, for Japanese Americans. I argue that such replenishment impacts conceptions and formations of community for Japanese Americans in two ways. First, the growing ethnic diversity within the Asian American population in Southern California and persistent racial lumping leads later generation Japanese Americans to assert their ethnic identity in order to differentiate themselves from other Asian Americans. Second, respondents also recognize the common racialized experience they share with other Asian Americans. While Japanese American ethnic identity remains salient and important to my respondents, they also look beyond ethnic boundaries toward a racial form of membership and belonging. However, common racialization and racialized experience is only one factor that brings Japanese Americans and other Asian Americans into community. Japanese Americans find commonality and build community with "Asians like me" who both share common racialized experiences in the US context and are perceived to be similarly acculturated. Reinforcing the impact of ethnic demographic change in over postwar period, yonsei are more likely than sansei to form panethnic relationships and community and sansei are more likely to form panethnic relationships and community later in life. This temporal and generational trend reflects the growing ethnic diversity in Southern California across the lifetime of the sansei and during the formative years of the yonsei.

COMMUNITY STUDIES IN ETHNIC REVIEW

Community is a fraught and often broad referent within the social sciences. As historian Spencer Olin has said, "community means almost nothing—or almost everything—but certainly nothing specific" (1989; 138). Despite its analytical imprecision, community studies have held a central place within American sociology stretching back to the Chicago School and across multiple subdisciplines, not least of which include race/ethnicity and immigrant incorporation. Keeping with the Chicago School focus on community spatial distribution, scholars of ethnic communities most often examine spatial concentrations and proximities such as within ethnic enclaves (Zhou 1992; Pattillo-McCoy 1999; Vo 2000; Lacy 2007; Aguilar-San Juan 2009; Li 2009; Maira 2009; W. Cheng 2013) or communities built through affiliation with various ethnic institutions (Rudrappa 2004; Vo 2004; Das Gupta 2006). Spatial concentrations within residential neighborhoods and ethnic business districts within urban centers have received the most attention (Zhou 1992; Li 2009; Aguilar-San Juan 2009). Studies specific to Japanese American communities have largely followed suit by focusing on urban metropolises: Los Angeles (Fugita & O'Brien 1994; Kurashige 2002; King-O'Riain 2006; Kurashige 2007), San Francisco (Glenn 1988; King-O'Riain 2006), Sacramento (Fugita & O'Brien 1994); Honolulu (King-O'Riain 2006; Yano 2006); Seattle (Yanagisako 1992; King-O'Riain 2006); and Chicago (Harden 2003; a notable exception to the urban focus is Matsumoto 1993, focusing on a multigenerational rural community in Central California).

Slowly, ethnic community studies have begun to broaden their urban focus to include examination of suburban ethnic developments (Fong 1994; Saito 1998; Vo 2000; Ochoa 2004; Lacy 2007; Toyota 2010; Aguilar-San Juan 2009). Geographer Wei Li (2009) coined the term *ethnoburb* to describe the development of suburban ethnic residential and business clusters

beginning in the 1960s. Li argues that ethnoburbs are usually multiethnic communities. However, one ethnic group holds a significant concentration, but not necessarily a majority. While Li focuses on the Chinese American ethnoburb of Monterey Park in Los Angeles' San Gabriel Valley, she notes that ethnoburbs are springing forth across the nation and across racial and ethnic groups.

While Japanese Americans have achieved upward socioeconomic mobility and certainly moved into the suburbs, Japanese American community studies have not followed the examples of Li and other scholars exploring the suburban shift in other ethnic communities. Reasons for such stagnation in Japanese American community studies is multifold. First, Japanese Americans are seen as a shrinking population due to a lack of immigration and high rates of outmarriage. While historically Japanese Americans were a common subject of sociologists and Asian Americanists, scholars have moved their attentions to larger and newer ethnic populations. As second reason for sociology's lack of interest in Japanese Americans is their outward appearance of full assimilation based upon quantitative measures of incorporation. As an assimilation success story, Japanese Americans are an ethnic group whose story has already been told. Lastly, as mentioned previously, Japanese Americans in suburbia do not live in residential clusters. They are a dispersed ethnic group, partially filling the promise of spatial assimilation. Given their dispersion, Japanese Americans lie outside the purview of scholars interested in the formation of ethnoburbs.

Regardless of the lack of contemporary scholarship on Japanese American communities, I believe they are an ideal case for understanding different aspects of ethnic community formation in the suburban context. The dispersed nature of the suburban Japanese American population mirrors understandings of suburbanization and the emergence of the *postsuburb*. In

fact, contemporary Orange County is the model for understanding the postsuburb (Kling et al 1991). In describing the development of Orange County in the postwar period, Kling et al view Orange County as a traditional suburban appendage of Los Angeles in the 1960s but developed economic and cultural autonomy by the 1980s. As Hansen and Ryan (1991) point out, the decentralization and division of social spaces creates a new contexts for the formation of community and fosters new practices and forms of community. The impacts of distance were even more exaggerated for Japanese-Americans in Orange County attempting to build ethnic community, as the vast majority did not live in neighborhood clusters as they had prior to their World War II incarceration. In seeking and building community, postsuburban Japanese Americans have been creative and become accustomed to traveling significant distances and utilizing decentralized community institutions to fulfill social necessities rather than rely on their immediate vicinity. These necessities continue to include social connections, often of the ethnic variety.

FINDING COMMUNITY IN SUBURBIA

Following the mass 1950s migration of white flight, upwardly mobile Japanese Americans took advantage of the new residential developments on the urban periphery participating in the suburbanization of Southern California. Between 1950 and 1960, the Japanese American population in Orange County more than tripled from 1,186 to 3,890. The population continued to grow rapidly to 10,645 in 1970 and 21,841 in 1980 (OC Almanac 2004-2006a). As immigration from Japan did not significantly increase following the end of the US ban on Japanese immigration in 1952, the vast majority of this growth was due to domestic

migration into the county's new suburban developments. Importantly, Japanese Americans were the largest ethnic minority population in the county through 1970 (OC Almanac 2004-2006a).

Despite the growing size of the Japanese American population in Orange County throughout the postwar period, residential clusters of Japanese Americans did not develop. Movement into the suburbs of south Los Angeles and Orange Counties resulted in the dispersal of the Japanese American community into predominantly white neighborhoods. While such trends may be marked as successful spatial assimilation, such dispersion and residential integration did not negate concerted efforts on the part of Japanese Americans to maintain local ethnic community ties. Japanese Americans in south Los Angeles County and Orange County have reacted to their residential integration and the dispersed reality of their local ethnic community in a number of ways. First, similar to their urban counterparts, suburban Japanese Americans rely on local ethnic institutions to bring them together (Kurashige 2002; Matsumoto 2014). While they may not share neighborhoods, my respondents reported traveling rather significant distances to interact with other Japanese Americans through community institutions and organizations. Second, Japanese Americans were also able to find each other through non-ethnic specific means. Whether through "mainstream" community organizations, school, or places of employment, Japanese Americans gravitated toward each other due to perceived commonalities in experience and culture. Here, I pay particular attention to one workplace, Japanese Village and Deer Park, where many sansei youth were employed from 1967-1974. Third and last, I find that Japanese Americans construct for themselves semi-imagined communities. I draw upon the work of Benedict Anderson (1991) to demonstrate how my respondents reflect upon their past, but no longer maintained, relationships to construct imagined co-ethnic communities helping them to maintain a sense of substantive citizenship.

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Traveling to Ethnic Institutions

Reflecting their postsuburban context, Japanese Americans in south Los Angeles and Orange Counties have become accustomed to traveling significant distances and utilizing decentralized community institutions to fulfill social necessities rather than rely on their immediate vicinity. These necessities continue to include social connections, often of the ethnic variety. Many Japanese Americans traveled considerable distances across the postsuburb to join other Japanese Americans in ethnic organizations and institutions. Most prominent among respondent recollections were Japanese American religious institutions such as Anaheim Free Methodist Church, Wintersburg Presbyterian Church, and Orange County Buddhist Church, and community organizations such as the local Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) chapter, Suburban Optimists Club, and Orange Coast Optimists. Through these various organizations, many respondents also shared their memories participating in Japanese American sports leagues, particularly basketball. While ethnic institutions existed within the postsuburban development of Orange and southern Los Angeles Counties, their service areas were much wider than their urban counterparts due to their more geographically dispersed memberships.

Respondents also noted the ethnically concentrated Japanese Americans communities in Los Angeles County, such as Gardena, the Crenshaw district, and Little Tokyo, as sites of ethnic connection. For respondents who grew up in or near these urban centers, local churches, temples, sports leagues, organizations, and hang outs provided venues for contact with fellow Japanese Americans. Notably in the Crenshaw district, the Holiday Bowl served as a diverse, but particularly Japanese American, gathering place and community hub (Kurashige 2002). For respondents who grew up further into the greater Los Angeles postsuburban development, the ethnically concentrated communities only served as destination for the occasional day trip to

stock up on Japanese foodstuffs or participate in annual festivals or sporting events. These communities were too far to serve as consistent hubs for ethnic community interaction. Rather, Japanese Americans in the postsuburbs relied upon institutions and organizations located relatively closer to their homes.

Laura, a sansei whose family moved to the suburbs during her adolescence in the late 1960s, related the importance of ethnic institutions in shaping her identity and community.

> In Cerritos, they weren't too many Asians living there at that time back in 1969. Cerritos was pretty much a rural community. So the only Japanese Americans in my junior high were myself, my cousin, and one other girl, that was it…So I found myself really wondering, you know, what am I? And then, when I went into high school…I got involved with the JACL in Orange County. It was nice to make that connection because, you know, I was starting to wonder what my identity was. And so that kind of reaffirmed that we do have a Japanese heritage.

In her local neighborhood and school, Laura did not have access to Japanese American community or institutions. She had to wait until high school and then had to travel a significant distance to attend the meetings of the nearest JACL chapter. The absence of population concentrations of Japanese Americans translates to a lower density of ethnic institutions. Ethnic institutions are spread further apart and are required to serve Japanese Americans who reside throughout a much broader geographic region. The lower institutional density also means longer travel times for participation.

Laura's participation of ethnic institutions continued throughout her life allowing her to form relationships and community with other Japanese Americans in college, adulthood, and for her daughter. Laura shared her participation in various churches, finally settling into a Japanese American church some thirty miles away from their home.

> Laura: The church we go to in Anaheim, Anaheim Free Methodist is primarily Asian. Most of our friends there are Asian. We went to church [near our home]. Mostly those friends are a mix, Mexicans, and I'm still very close to those friends.

Interviewer: And what made you interested I guess in traveling to a church all the way in Anaheim?

Laura: My daughter made some friends there. She went to a church camp, it was predominantly Asian, and she met some friends from Anaheim. She visited the church and we just kept visiting that church. So we ended up going there primarily, and it's because I think she felt a part of the community more. I think, growing up around here, she didn't think of herself as really being Asian as part of her identity so much, except for family things. And then she started to build that part of her identity. The next generation, they seek to discover, and then to further that goal of identity. They still want to feel close and feel comfortable that those that have some other background.

During childhood and adulthood, Laura did not live in a dense Japanese American residential clustering. She relied on traveling considerable distances to find community with other Japanese Americans and continues to do so to enable similar community formation for her daughter. Such intentional seeking of co-ethnics, speaks to the limited structural assimilation and substantive citizenship of later generation Japanese Americans regardless of their spatial assimilation. As Laura stated, she is will to commute such distances to join ethnic institutions membered by Japanese Americans and other Asian Americans to feel more part of the community. Community has a continued importance for her own sense of identity as well as for the sense of identity and community for her yonsei daughter.

Many yonsei respondents focused on ethnic sports leagues as a key location for meeting other Japanese Americans. Two sports, basketball and bowling, were most common.

Somebody asked us "Do you bowl? We're in the Japanese league, do you wanna bowl?" And I was like, "Okay. You know, sure, I'll try it." But then I got there like I think the first night, I already felt like I belonged there. It just seemed like I knew many people. It just felt comfortable.

Natalie, yonsei

I grew up playing SEYO (Southeast Youth Organization, a Japanese American League) basketball. I still have friends from there when I was a teenager...If you're a Yonsei, you play basketball. If you grew up in Orange County, that's pretty much it.

Similar to Laura's participation in the JACL and her church, Natalie and Henry's athletic

participation require considerable travel time within the Orange County postsuburb. To attend

games, practices, and tournaments, Natalie and Henry's travel time ranged from fifteen to forty-

five minutes, well outside the immediate neighborhoods they grew up in. Natalie and Henry

joined these organizations and became part of the ethnic community. Natalie came across the

Japanese American bowling league by happenstance, but once there felt an immediate sense of

comfort and belonging. Henry, who played in a Japanese American basketball league throughout

his childhood, went so far as to equate playing basketball with being Japanese American. This is

a sentiment shared by many of my yonsei respondents, speaking to the ubiquity of such leagues

and ethnic community in the experience of fourth generation Japanese Americans in the suburbs.

For Henry, the decision to play in the Japanese American basketball league was not due to the

lack of recreational leagues available to him closer to home. Rather, he continued to play with

his Japanese American team due to the deep sense of community that developed; a community

lacking in more local leagues.

Institution, such as those utilized by Laura, Natalie, and Henry, are noted throughout my

sample and across sansei and yonsei who grew up in the Orange County suburbs from the late

1950s through the 1990s. While these institutions have certainly undergone internal changes

across the time period, their remarkable longevity speaks to the continued interest and need for

such organization by dispersed suburban Japanese Americans. The long-term existence and

continued participation by sansei and yonsei in ethnic-specific organizations with the intended

purpose of cultivating ethnic community and identity further reinforces the shortcomings of their

structural assimilation. Some scholars have noted that some processes of assimilation may be

delayed for some ethnic and racial minority groups, but will occur eventually (Bean & Stevens 2003; Brown 2007). While this statement may be utilized to allay fears of the unassimilable minority, it remains important to recognize the structural and institutional factors that lead such delays to occur along racial lines.

Japanese Village and Deer Park and Non-Ethnic Paths to Ethnic Community

While the majority of my respondents participated in Japanese American organizations or institutions in some fashion as a way to connect with co-ethnics, these spaces were by not means the only locations for ethnic community building. Alongside participation in Japanese American organizations and institutions, many sansei and yonsei were simultaneously active in mainstream, or predominantly white, organizations both within their communities and through school. However, even within these predominantly white spaces, Japanese Americans found each other. My respondents note that they gravitated toward the other Japanese Americans they came into contact with by happenstance. Kristina, a multiracial yonsei, highlights this trend:

> I played soccer in junior college and this is where I met Tracy [another Japanese American] and played soccer with her, and I'd say we kind of hit it off right away. So just like okay you play soccer and we're like, two or three Asian girls on the team so, you know, you tend to bond right away. So she was probably one of the first Japanese American people that I stayed in touch with for most of my life, for a good amount of years. Almost eight years later, you know, she's one of the longer friends that I've had.

Ethnic background coupled with the common interest in soccer and personality provides Kristina and Tracy an additional layer of commonality that lead to a lasting relationship originating in a non-ethnic connection, a college soccer team. Kristina could relate to Tracy through their common interest in soccer and as teammates, but was able to create a stronger and more lasting relationship with Tracy in comparison to other, non-Japanese American, women on the team. Kristina's reflection on her friendship with Tracy demonstrates that even within participation in

mainstream organizations and cliques, a hallmark of structural assimilation, race continues to matter for Japanese Americans. They continue to be drawn to each other with an additional sense of similarity.

Similar connections based on common ethnicity and interests were also built by sansei in non-ethnic spaces. Here, I focus on Japanese Village and Deer Park, a common place of employment for most of the sansei in my sample. Community building at Deer Park, as it is affectionately known by former employees, will be the focus of a later chapter of the dissertation. However, I will briefly discuss Deer Park employment here as it represents an important non-ethnic path to ethnic community building. Despite its name, Japanese Village and Deer Park was not a Japanese American institution. It was a Japanese-themed amusement park owned and operated by a white entrepreneur and predominantly white management. The goal of Deer Park was financial and to expose the American vacationing public to the culture of ancient Japan. It did not view itself as a location for building Japanese American community and identity. However, in order to maintain the park's façade, management hired hundreds of sansei youth from the communities surrounding the park's home in Buena Park, part of the Orange County amusement corridor. Regardless of the park's intentions, sansei, who often lived isolated from other Japanese Americans, found each other at Deer Park and built a community.

Certainly, the Japanese-theme of the park drew sansei to the employment opportunity. As Jill shared, "I felt like there was some cultural there [at Deer Park] that I would gain, just because it was, you know, Japanese, and I was comfortable with that." Prior to beginning work at the park, many sansei employees echoed Jill's sentiment of trying to recapture cultural knowledge they felt was not passed down by the US-born Nisei parents. However, employees did not have

any expectation of finding community and lasting relationships among fellow sansei. They found

community anyways.

Darren and Lisa, both former Deer Park employees, spoke on the formation of such

relationships that were largely missing prior to their employment at the park.

> [Before Deer Park,] I had never been around as many Japanese people in my life that I didn't personally know from family. And so yeah, that was—it was great. I mean, I made some very good friendships there.

Darren

> It seemed like a nice place to work. And there were people like me! Young people, we had common interests. My friend worked there and her sister, so you kinda already knew people who worked there. And then the people who were working with me at Disneyland, they left that job and came over to Deer Park. It was the camaraderie and friendships. That's kind of the core of it all, really… It was an experience that I don't think anyone would have given up.

Lisa

What former employees found at Deer Park among their fellow sansei coworkers was much

more than connection to an ancestral culture. They made meaningful connections with each other

based in common interests and experiences growing up sansei in the suburbs of Southern

California. The seeking of ethnic community or realization of the importance of ethnic

community by sansei working at Deer Park, regardless of the initial motivations, demonstrates

the persistent marginalization Japanese Americans felt in other spaces they found themselves in

their residentially integrated lives. Furthermore, as Deer Park was not intended to bring Japanese

American youth together in a social capacity, it serves as a shining example of how Japanese

Americans were able to find one another within an ethnically dispersed suburban context through

non-ethnic specific institutions.

Names in the Ether: Constructing Semi-Imagined Ethnic Community

The suburban reality of the postwar Japanese American population in Southern California made community it more difficult to form, but no less important. As seen in the two previous sections, later generation Japanese Americans navigate the difficulties posed by dispersion and residential integration by traveling longer distances to participate in ethnic institutions and finding co-ethnics through non-ethnic means. Here, I explore another way in which Japanese Americans continue a sense of community within a dispersed suburbia even in the absence of physical, face-to-face interaction. Beyond the maintained relationships that were formed at Deer Park, ethnic community remained salient in the minds former employees. Such salience was evident in interviews as we discussed long-term friendships, community organizations, and intimate relationships. However, an additional intriguing finding came up outside the standard set of interview questions. At the end of every interview, I asked respondents if they know of other former employees who might also be interested in participating in the study. Without fail, this question would initiate a litany of names of former employees, which department they worked in, who they dated, and who they married. However, when probed further about an email address, phone number, or even mailing address, respondents were unable to provide such information for the vast majority of names.

To be sure, nearly all former employees interviewed continue to maintain close friendships with a few of their former coworkers. However, they had not maintained contact or sustained relationships with as many individuals they were able to name as part of their extended Deer Park community. As the post-interview discussion progressed, it became apparent that my respondents continued to feel a close connection with these individuals with whom they had clearly lost touch. In their descriptions of these individuals, they clearly conceived of the life

course of the individuals attached to these ethereal names as similar to their own. They were imagining for themselves the continuation a once real community, what I term a semi-imagined community.

I borrow the concept of an imagined community from Benedict Anderson (1991) and his work on the origins and spread of nationalism. Anderson argues that the nation is an imagined community as "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (6). Despite the lack of face-to-face contact, a community is constructed in the minds of individuals and conceived of as a "deep, horizontal comradeship" regardless of the actual differences that may exist in the realities of perceived community members.

Unlike Anderson's complete lack of ability to have face-to-face interaction with those in a shared national community, the community built by former Deer Park employees is not completely imagined. I conceptualize the communities constructed in the minds of former Deer Park employees as *semi*-imagined because they are based upon actual relationships and face-to-face interactions that existed in the past. Members of the community, then, have met at one point, but are not long in contact. The current imaginings of the community are based upon the tangible commonalities observed during periods of proximity in the past. Additionally, this semi-imagined community continues to have some basis in reality as some relationships have been maintained through close friendships and marriage. Furthermore, respondents often noted that they occasionally run into other former Deer Park employees in random locations such as the mall, grocery store, or their children's sporting events where they are able to briefly catch up on each others' lives. Through various networks, they also hear about the lives of other former

employees through mutual friends and relatives. As such, this semi-imagined community is not purely imagined and has some basis in reality, both in the past and the present.

This semi-imagined community is remarkably consistent among respondents. I argue that the name references made by respondents demonstrate how a community of belonging, such as Deer Park, continues to be important for sansei into the present day. As Cynthia, a former Deer Park employee states, "The best friends I have are the friends I made at Deer Park. Even though we may not see each other very often…I still feel a really strong connection to everybody." Similar to the role played by the Deer Park community in their youth, there is a continued need and desire for such a community of belonging. This community is constructed by bringing the community of the past into the present in an individual's imagination. The sense of local belonging felt within the context of Deer Park is maintained by imagining the continuation of this workplace community. As their lives had been so similar in their youths, respondents continued to think of other former employees as having similar ethnic, racial, generational, and regional life experiences throughout the rest of their lives. The semi-imagined community allows third generation Japanese Americans to continue to see their experiences, not as aberrations, but as part of a racialized local and uniquely American set of lived experiences. This once more marks the persistent importance of ethnic community to later generation Japanese Americans and the conscious effort made to maintain this basis for local belonging within their suburban and residentially integrated lives.

DEMOGRAPHIC SHIFT AND RACIAL REPLENISHMENT

The postwar suburbanization of Southern California occurred contemporaneously with federal immigration reforms and resulting ethnic demographic shifts in the local population due

to the influx of new immigrants. This influx of new immigrants included vast numbers of immigrants from Asia dramatically increasing the ethnic diversity of the Asian American population and shifting the population from predominantly native-born to a majority foreign-born population by 1980. Due to its postwar economic growth, Japan did not send a significant number of immigrants within this new flow. Nonetheless, I argue that the influx of Asian immigrants is intimately tied to the persistent ethnic community and identification among Japanese Americans.

While Japanese Americans have multigenerational lineages in the US and are an acculturated population, they continue to be racialized as forever foreigners along with other Asian Americans (Tuan 1999). I assert here that this persistent racialization as foreign and un-American is related to the rise in Asian immigration in the later part of the twentieth century. Shifting demographics, both nationally and locally, resulting from immigration reform in 1965 also greatly impacted how Japanese Americans conceptualize and build community. Increased diversity shifted the Asian American population into a more variegated group based on ethnicity and also shifted the population from predominantly native-born to predominantly foreign-born (Nakano 2013). The diversity of the local Asian American population in Southern California increased greatly after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965. This law reopened the golden doors of American immigration to Asian immigrants. In 1960, Asian Americans represented 1.8% and .8% of Los Angeles and Orange Counties, respectively. By 2010, Asian American populations accounted for 13.5% of Los Angeles County and 17.7% of Orange County. Ethnic diversity has also grown tremendously. In 1950, the Census enumerated 3 Asian ethnic categories: Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese. This ethnic group count remained steady until 1970, the first Census following the monumental immigration change ushered in by the Hart-Cellar

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Immigration Act of 1965. The Hart-Celler Act, which reopened the golden doors to immigrants from Asia, and subsequent reforms in the 1970s and 1980s opening the doors for refugees from war-torn Southeast Asia, brought about an unprecedented growth in size and diversity within the Asian American population. In the 1970 Census, the enumerated ethnic categories rose to 4. By 1990, this number grew to 17 and, by 2010, 19 ethnicities were listed (Nakano 2013).

Recall that in the state of California, Japanese Americans constituted the majority of the Asian American population through the 1970s. While no longer the majority, Japanese Americans continued to be the largest Asian American group in both counties through the 1980 Census. From 1990 into the present, Japanese Americans have been a decreasing proportion of the Asian American population due to large-scale immigration from other Asian nations and by 2010, Japanese Americans dropped to the fourth largest Asian American ethnic group in both Los Angeles and Orange Counties. How has this dramatic demographic shift and growth of Asian American diversity impacted Japanese Americans in Southern California? Such shifting demographics forced Japanese Americans to think about themselves in relationship to these new immigrants and the forever foreigner racialization they shared. I argue that postwar demographic shifts in the broader local Asian American population and common racialization impact Japanese American community formation in two ways: (1) strengthening Japanese American ethnic identification to distinguish themselves from other, more recently arrived Asian American ethnic groups and (2) increasing panethnic community formations due to shared racialized lived experience.

I build upon the work of Tomas Jimenez and his conceptualization of immigrant replenishment of ethnicity. Jimenez (2009) finds that among later generation Mexican Americans, ethnicity persists due to a consistent flow of immigration from Mexico resulting in a

cultural replenishment. The continuous historical migration and large waves of contemporary

migration from Mexico, leads to increases in the nativist attitudes of non-Mexican Americans

that also impacts Mexican American experiences. These experiences with nativist and racist

sentiments serve to heighten later generation Mexican Americans' awareness of their persistent

racialized difference and their self-identification as an ethnic minority. While immigration from

Mexico is responsible for the ethnic replenishment, Japanese Americans have not experienced

the same phenomenon as the US government banned immigration from Japan from 1924 to

1952. Furthermore, Japanese immigration did not follow the pattern of immigration from other

Asian nations following the Hart-Celler Act of 1965 due to the strength of the postwar Japanese

economy. Clearly, ethnic replenishment through recurring waves of immigration from Japan

cannot explain the persistence of ethnicity among later generation Japanese Americans.

The shifting ethnic diversity of the Asian American population has important

implications for the shaping of community by later generation Japanese Americans. As Japanese

Americans are racialized as Asian, the Asian American milieu surrounding them impacts how

they view themselves and how they understand how others view them. The renewed flow of

other Asian immigrants and the inability of mainstream America to distinguish among different

Asian American ethnic groups leads to a persistent salience and replenishment of ethnic and

racial identification and community for later generation Japanese Americans.

The Racial Replenishment of Ethnicity

Both sansei and yonsei respondents were well aware of the growing size and diversity of

the Asian American population in the Southland. Sansei, who grew up in the 1950s and 1960s

when Japanese Americans dominated the relatively small Asian American population,

experienced this demographic shift first hand. Yonsei, on the other hand, grew up in the 1980s and 1990s within a diverse Asian American population. Doug and Janet, a sansei couple, noted this demographic shift when describing their neighborhood on the border of Los Angeles and Orange Counties.

> Doug: Out of our whole track of two hundred some odd, we were like one or two Asian families when we moved in here in '83 but now it's like 65 and 80 percent mostly Chinese and Korean, but---
>
> Janet: All the whites moved out.
>
> Doug: Yeah, you just feel like a minority. It's so weird how our kids grew up, one generation removed. I was actually talking to some of my friends. When we were going to school it's like, oh they're Chinese…I mean you had friends that were Chinese or Korean whatever, but you always knew the differentiation between Asian groups. Whereas nowadays, man, the kids. I mean my son's friends are Chinese, Korean. I mean, we've been invited to like eight or nine weddings and it's like Chinese, Koreans, whatever. It's like the kids don't think about ethnicity anymore.

Doug and Janet speak the increasing presence of other Asian American ethnicities in the shifting demographics of their local community and how that has impacted the way their children form relationships. The local neighborhood and school shifted from predominantly white to increasingly Asian, although not Japanese. As a result, their children have formed friendships and found community among a panethnic array of neighbors and classmates.

Within the context of the growing Asian American population and stagnation of the Japanese American segment of that population, sansei and yonsei recognize the ways mainstream society lumps all Asian American ethnicities into a singular racial category. Regardless of generation and assimilation successes, Japanese Americans are faced with the same stereotypes and discrimination as other Asian Americans. Tracy, a yonsei, and Donna, a sansei, stated succinctly:

I think that to people who were not Asian, they felt like we [Japanese Americans] were kind of just clumped in with all the other Asian groups, which is not necessarily true, like, we didn't have a lot of similarities with each Asian group, Chinese, Korean, Vietnamese. It was all a little bit different. But we were always just kind of clumped in with those groups.

<div align="right">Tracy</div>

I think people confuse Japanese Americans with...they lump you together with all the different Asians. And they lump *American* Japanese in with *non-American* Asians. So, with the coming of non-American Asians, like immigrants, that's what people are saying.

<div align="right">Donna</div>

Tracy and Donna both demonstrate a strong awareness of the racial lumping of Asian Americans of diverse ethnic backgrounds by non-Asian observers. Donna takes lumping a step further by observing that not only are Japanese Americans lumped with other Asian Americans, but they are lumped with Asians of different generational statuses, particularly immigrants. Asians in general continue to be perceived as forever foreigners (Tuan 1999). While such perceptions have existed throughout the history of Asian in the US, their persistence is certainly tied to the large-scale migration from Asia beginning in the 1970s and continuing into the present day. As later generation Japanese Americans are lumped other Asian Americans without consideration of their generational status, they are similarly perceived as immigrants, forever foreigners, and not belonging.

In recognizing the position of Japanese Americans within the growing ethnically diverse Asian American population, later generation Japanese Americans do not lose sight of the distinctiveness of Japanese American ethnicity and experience. Despite Doug and Janet's earlier assertion that their children "don't think about ethnicity anymore," each of their children reported a strong awareness of the differences in history, generation, and acculturation between Japanese Americans and other Asian Americans. Doug and Janet's daughter Stacey recalled interactions with her Korean American friends that highlighted ethnic difference.

I remember some of my Korean friends would say, "Oh, my grandmother wouldn't like you." Because I would date Korean guys, but I wouldn't meet their families. It was kind of weird that way because of the history [of Japanese war crime against Koreans during WWII].

Stacey also noted acculturative differences between herself, as a yonsei, and her other Asian American friends.

Among my friends, they are mostly first or second generation, so they are more with their culture than with American culture. Like a lot of their parents only speak Korean or Chinese.

Stacey, along with her siblings, notes the differences between themselves and other Asian Americans highlighting the ethnic boundaries between them, rather than the erasure of such boundaries as alluded to by her parents. The interethnic interaction serves to remind Stacey and her siblings of Japanese American uniqueness within the Asian American racial label and helps to strengthen their sense of ethnic identity. Other respondents share such sentiments as well.

I think Japanese Americans have been here longer than a lot of the other Asian Americans; they're more assimilated with maybe American culture. I see Japanese Americans marrying a lot of different types of ethnicities now, especially fourth generation, whereas other Asian Americans, like Chinese or Koreans, kind of stay within their community, which is good or bad or whatever, but really, it's because they're a first- or second-generation community as opposed to a fourth-generation community.

Todd, yonsei

Overall, the words of my respondents consistently demonstrate an awareness of the racial lumping of Japanese Americans with other Asian American ethnic groups as well as a heightened sense of ethnic distinctness in reaction to such lumping. Hence, a racial demographic shift is, at least in part, responsible for the replenished ethnicity of later generation Japanese Americans. The persistence of the forever foreigner stereotype for Asian Americans resulting from the renewed and large-scale immigration from Asia is akin to the continuing nativist sentiments directed toward later generation Mexican Americans due to continuing immigration

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from Mexico (Jimenez 2009). However, the Mexican American case provides an example of ethnic replenishment, as the entering immigrants share the same ethnicity as the later generation individuals they impact. The Asian American case does not have an equivalent ethnic match, particularly in the case of Japanese Americans. Additionally, unlike the Mexican American case, Japanese Americans do not receive a cultural replenishment from newly arrived immigrants. The replenishment for Japanese Americans occurs in purely racial terms.

The continuing immigration of Asian in general, impacts the way that Japanese Americans, regardless of generation, are perceived. The perceived racial similarity with Asian immigrants marks Japanese Americans as forever foreigners. In this way, the Japanese American experience and impact of Asian immigration moves beyond Jimenez's concept of immigrant replenishment of ethnicity and provides an example of a racial replenishment of ethnicity. Under the rubric of racial replenishment of ethnicity, large-scale immigration of individuals of similar racial background leads to the persistent racialization of US-born, or long-term resident, counterparts as forever foreigners. In response to this persistent and common racialization, the ethnic identity of US-born, and particularly later generation, individuals is heightened in order to differentiate themselves from other Asian Americans.

Panethnic Community Formation with Asians Like Me

Racial replenishment not only impacts Japanese American community and identity formation in ethnic terms, but racial terms as well. As the growing diversity of the Asian American population and racial lumping lead to a strengthening of ethnic identification, it also leads to the possibility of panethnic community formations. As alluded to previously, Japanese Americans are aware of their common racialization with other Asian Americans and also

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understand how such racialization creates similar lived experiences for all Asian American regardless of ethnicity and generation. Mainstream lumping all Asian Americans into a single racialized category does not go unnoticed by later generation Japanese Americans. As such, Japanese Americans in post-1965 Southern California increasingly look toward other Asian Americans to build communities of belonging. Such panethnic community seeking, however, is not conducted based on race alone. Rather, the later generation Japanese Americans in this study speak of panethnically oriented communities based not only upon common racialized experience but also a similar level of acculturation and upbringing within the distinct racial landscape of Southern California and US.

Importantly, many of my respondents recognize their linked fate with other Asian Americans due to their common racialization in political terms (Espiritu 1992). In particular, the more politically active members of my sample often made reference to Vincent Chin, who was murdered in 1982 by two white men who had been laid off by an American auto factory due to declining sales stemming from the rise of the Japanese auto industry. Chin, a Chinese American, was mistaken as Japanese (Espiritu 1992; Zia 2001). Crystal, a multiracial yonsei, related this watershed moment in Asian American history:

> I think the reason we [Asian American activists] always bring that incident up is because it was a very high-profile incident of a Chinese American man being killed because people thought that he was Japanese, because people just can't tell Asians apart. They don't know the difference. They don't care to know the difference.

Vincent Chin's murder is a gruesome reminder of the potential violence that may arise from racial lumping and racist notions of Asian Americans as forever foreigners. This case of mistaken identity demonstrates for Japanese Americans how, in racial terms and from the perspective of mainstream society, any Asian American can be an "Asian like me." It serves as a

beacon and rallying point for the need of panethnic Asian American community building, particularly within the political realm.

While political contexts may require a broader recognition of "Asians like me," within more mundane, non-political social interaction, levels of acculturation and growing up within the US racial context are a main factor in constructing panethnic Asian American communities. Respondents in my study not only identified similar racial stereotypes faced by Asian Americans, but also reflected on how growing up racialized as Asian American and forever foreign produced a particular shared experience for Asian Americans regardless of ethnic background. This reflection on "Asians like me" was particularly poignant among other US-born Asian Americans who were perceived as being more acculturated and Americanized in a similar way to later generation Japanese Americans. Multiethnic yonsei, Jennifer shared this sentiment within her relationships two ways: her organizational participation in high school and her group of close friends.

> There wasn't a lot of non-international Asian guys in high school, because of the makeup of the school. Anyone who was second or above generation was part of the Chinese student organization. Also, there were just a lot more Chinese people. It's a bigger and more developed club than the Japanese club is on campus. They tend to be louder and more gregarious, and I think that appeals to me more to be among loud and gregarious people.

Jennifer draws a distinction between international students and second and later generation Asian American students, findings greater affinity with US-born Asian Americans. Her preference is not based upon birthplace alone. She also attaches to generational status a more "American" set of behaviors, "louder and more gregarious," which she sees as more similar to herself. The loud and gregarious second generation Chinese Americans were "Asians like me." Speaking about her friends more generally, Jennifer added:

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My group of friends would be, like, 70% Asian. I don't know, that's a made-up number. My husband [who is white] would say when we first started dating that I had a lot of Asian friends, and I didn't even think about it. It was just people who I thought were just like me, and I don't really consider myself Asian or not Asian, I'm just an American citizen.

Again, for Jennifer, she found commonality with her friends across ethnic lines, but within the racialized boundary of being Asian. However, she saw her friends' racial characteristic as secondary. She just saw them as similar to herself, an American.

The process of seeing similarities between later generation Japanese American experiences and those of other Asian American ethnics continues to be intimately tied to the shifting demographic diversity of the Asian American population in Southern California. Importantly, the increasingly race-based community building is both temporal and generational. The increased diversity is a result of 1965 immigration changes. Sanseis who grew up largely in the 1960s did not see the impact of 1965 immigration law changes and did not readily conceptualize communities beyond their ethnic boundaries in their youth. However, as the sansei in my study began to enter adulthood in the 1970s, they experienced the demographic shift first hand. In their post-1965 adulthood, sansei increasingly saw community in racial terms reacting to the common racialization with a more diverse set of Asian ethnicities. This shift in conceptualization and formation of community in the life course of sansei demonstrates the temporal nature of the shift with the turnkey event of the 1965 Hart-Celler immigration act. In terms of generational shifts, yonsei came of age in the 1980s, well after the effects of 1965 immigration reform. They only knew a diverse Asian America within Southern California throughout their lives. The different engagement with community along racial and ethnic lines between sansei and yonsei represents the generational difference in conceptualization of community.

To be sure, when speaking about experiences and interactions with non-Japanese Asian Americans in adulthood, sansei made clear distinctions between other Asian Americans and Japanese Americans. Still, sanseis recognize the common racialization shared with other Asian American ethnicities. However, in terms of community building, sansei do not seek out relationships with other Asian Americans based on similar phenotype alone. In relating the experiences of building relationships and individuals with whom they felt the greatest commonality, sansei respondents would make frequent references to "Asians like me." Returning to the words of Mary:

> The American-born ones probably have similar experiences to what I have. Like my good friend is Chinese...I mean American Chinese, Chinese-American and she's had the same experience I had when we were younger about being made fun of because you're Asian. But we don't talk about it a lot...but we probably have mentioned it once because I think that I remember saying something like that.

Faith and Angela, both sanseis, echoed Mary's remarks in describing "Asians like me" as similarly acculturated, without regard to actual generational status.

> We're all Asian. [laughs] I don't really see anything except that, other than the fact that some of the ones that were born and raised here are just as American, of course, as I am. They don't speak the language either.
>
> <div align="right">Faith</div>

> I think as far as the other Asians, it kind of depends on how long they've been here and how they have assimilated into the main culture.
>
> <div align="right">Angela</div>

Yonsei also recognized the common racialized experience of Asian Americans who grew up in the United States regardless of generation and ethnicity. Yonseis Andrew and Tracy note both racial appearance and culture as reasons for gravitating toward panethnic Asian American relationships and community:

It's interesting because the relationships that I built in college…my circle of friends is predominantly like Asian American. Yeah, it was almost 100% Asian and I just became okay with it, you know, at a certain point, because it's just easier to connect with them, you know. And yeah, I'm not going to like, give some like, political bullshit, "Oh you know, it's about like, building community" because it is, but I think more important for me, it is just more comfortable, you knew where I was coming from like, we had the same jokes, you know, similar cultures, right? And so I just connected with them…and sometimes they are unspoken reasons. Sometimes like, being Asian American I think just connects you to other Asian Americans naturally. For me, I just feel sometimes it's such a natural connection and this is just so easy, you know. And maybe it has everything to with, "Oh my god, I'm in a room full of white people, but phew, there's another Asian-American here."

<div align="right">Andrew</div>

Culturally, we have more similarities than I do with an average white person. We come from the same background, so sometimes our parents are very similar…I do tend to gravitate more towards Asian Americans and feel more comfortable, just because I do see those similarities.

<div align="right">Tracy</div>

Yonsei members in my sample largely grew up during the 1980s and 1990s among the same growing Asian American diversity their sansei parents experienced in adulthood. By and large, yonsei have only experienced a diverse Asian American population where Japanese Americans are a declining minority. Similar to the relationships and community built by sansei in adulthood, many yonsei constructed panethnic Asian American communities and networks with "Asians like me," as demonstrated Andrew and Jennifer. While yonsei often mentioned shared "Asian" values and customs, commonalities were also strongly based in a shared racialized experience in the US.

"Asians like me" refers to the recognition of common racialized experience of Asian Americans who grew up or have substantial socialization in the US and are perceived as more "Americanized" or acculturated. They are Asian Americans who grew up in the same racial milieu of the United States; experienced what it meant to be racialized as Asian American. While respondents recognize their shared racial status with all Asians, they find a deeper commonality

and community among Asian Americans most fluent in a broader American culture. To be sure, the definition of "Americanized" was fuzzy at best. However, what remained clear was that sansei and yonsei felt both cultural and racial similarities remain important in building community within the contemporary ethnic and racial diversity of suburban Southern California.

Ethnic community in its multiple and shifting forms continues to be important for later generation Japanese Americans in the postsuburbs of Southern California. Third and fourth generation Japanese Americans in south Los Angeles and Orange Counties display the residential integration hypothesized by spatial assimilation. Unlike previous studies that have focused on ethnoburbs, or suburban ethnic concentrations, Japanese Americans are a residentially dispersed suburban ethnic group. Within their integrated neighborhoods, Japanese Americans continue to feel an incomplete sense of belonging to their local community and fall short of the promise of full structural assimilation. In this chapter, I demonstrate how Japanese Americans seek community and spaces of belonging among the co-ethnics as well as other Asian Americans due to similar experiences with racialization. The concerted efforts made by Japanese Americans to find community and build relationships with other Japanese Americans and Asian Americans calls into question the perception of Japanese Americans as a fully assimilated ethnic minority and the ability of assimilation to cross the color line.

In describing the conceptions and formations of community among later generation Japanese Americans, I have paid particular attention to the impact of two structural changes that have changed the landscape of postwar Southern California: suburbanization and ethnic demographic shifts due to changes in immigration law in 1965. Suburbanization has lead to the dispersed reality of Southern California sansei and yonsei and forced them to seek creative solutions for finding local belonging and building community. I observe that Japanese American

utilize ethnic institutions and organization, for which many have to travel considerable distances within the decentralized postsuburbs. However, Japanese Americans also gravitate toward and build lasting relationships with Japanese Americans they stumble upon in non-ethnic spaces, such as the case of Japanese Village and Deer Park. In addition, Japanese Americans construct semi-imagined communities that are based upon previous relationships built in face-to-face interactions, but are no longer maintained. Japanese Americans imagine other members of these communities as similar to themselves based upon their previous interactions. Such semi-imagined communities allow Japanese Americans to envision a sense of local and national belonging despite the absence of physical social interactions.

The Hart-Celler Act of 1965 reopened immigration from Asia and other parts of the world and led to a drastic growth in the Asian American population both in terms of sheer number as well as ethnic diversity. Japanese American recognize that they are racialized as forever foreigners in the same way as other Asian Americans regardless of generation. As such, the desire for ethnic community and identity for Japanese Americans is fueled by the racial replenishment of immigration from Asian, in general, not Japan specifically. Such demographic shifts also lead sansei and yonsei to reconceptualize their notions of community to move beyond ethnic boundaries to include other Asian Americans who share similar racialized experiences of growing up in the US and are perceived as more acculturated. Such Asian Americans are seen as "Asians like me" by Japanese Americans and are increasingly forming the foundation of communities of belonging for sansei and yonsei.

In total, the community seeking and building practices of later generation Japanese Americans forces sociologists to reconsider how we understand the persistent impact of race on processes of integration and how we conceptualize the end points of assimilation. While the

sansei and yonsei in my study certainly demonstrate upward socioeconomic mobility and residential integration, two major measures in contemporary studies of structural assimilation, they clearly have not abandoned the sense of desire and need for co-ethnic community and identity. As such, Japanese Americans, into the third and fourth generation, have not fulfilled the colorblind promise of assimilation. In the next chapter, I bring analytical attention to the concept of substantive citizenship in order to further illuminate the shortcomings of assimilation theory and offer a different conceptualization of how immigrant-origin communities of color may experience the end stages of assimilation and ultimately become American.

CHAPTER THREE

Substantive Citizenship through Ethnic Community: Marginalization and Local Belonging

Japanese Americans continue to seek ethnic and race-based community across multiple generations despite achieving measures of assimilative successes that would predict otherwise. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Japanese American community in the post-WWII period and into the present day has transformed itself across the dispersed geographic space of postsuburban Southern California. Although contemporary Japanese Americans rely less on an ethnically concentrated physical neighborhood, community as a base for ethnic connectedness persists. In this chapter, I explore why such ethnic connections and communities are sought out by sansei and yonsei and to what effect.

The persistence of ethnic community marks the failure of Japanese Americans to reach the "twilight of ethnicity" that should accompany their later generation status (Alba 1985). As alluded to in the previous chapter, persistent racialization begets a maintenance of ethnic identity. However, identity alone does not lead to a conscious effort toward ethnic community building. Lived racialized experience, everyday interracial interactions with the white racial majority, and subsequent feelings of social marginalization provide the motivation and make necessary the pursuit of ethnic community. Drawing upon the literature on reactive ethnicity, the racialization of Japanese Americans as forever foreigners represents what Portes and Rumbaut (2006) named a negative context of reception. Their self-awareness of their marginalized position leads to ethnic community formation as a means of finding a space of belonging.

In examining the community formation practices of later generation Japanese Americans, I am interested in the mundane interactions and practices that aid in the strengthening of local and national belonging within the ethnic community and beyond. In this way, this chapter

returns to this study's focus on the political concept of substantive citizenship. Ethnic

community, in its multiple forms, is a basis for the development for the sense of full belonging at

the local level entailed in substantive citizenship (Glenn 2002, 2011). The shaping of community

and relationships is fundamental to understanding citizenship as a lived experience and local

practice. Looking at the mundane experience of Japanese American in Los Angeles and Orange

counties, I have greater local focus on the subject of substantive citizenship as well as bring the

discussion into a contemporary racial context. While the first part of this chapter examines the

impetus for community formation, this second portion of the chapter will explore the impact of

ethnic community on the sense of belonging and substantive citizenship of Japanese Americans.

In this chapter, I would also like to expand on the idea of minority cultures of mobility by

offering a connection with racialized senses of belonging to local and national communities

(Neckerman et al. 1999; Lacy 2007; Aguis-Vallejo 2012). In discussing the racial

marginalization and marginal substantive citizenship of Japanese Americans, it is important to

bear in mind that later generation Japanese Americans continue to exercise agency in their claims

upon substantive citizenship and construction of local communities of belonging. Understanding

their racial position through lived experience, Japanese Americans continue to construct and rely

upon local ethnic and racial communities of belonging. Within the immigrant incorporation

literature, ethnic and racial communities are generally viewed as way stations for those segments

of the population that have not, or have not yet, made a successful transition into a white

mainstream norm. However, the formation of community with others of the same ethnicity or

racial background has long-term utility for racial communities that continue to face a

marginalized belonging. Lacy (2007) finds that diverse middle class African American

communities based in race and ethnicity exist because members enjoy the affinity. In exploring

how Japanese Americans also construct racial and ethnic communities, I wish to take this pleasurable advantage one step further to demonstrate a broader benefit for Japanese Americans and the nation as a whole. Within their ethnic and racial communities, Japanese Americans are better able to understand their position and claim upon substantive US citizenship allowing them the feel and participate as part of the nation. Stated differently, racial and ethnic communities provide a sense of belonging both locally and to the nation.

By introducing a nuanced understanding of citizenship, the experiences shared by both third and fourth generation Japanese Americans begin to reveal how differential racialization impacts processes of integration for communities of color (Almaguer 1994; Pulido 2006; W. Cheng 2013). In the pursuit of parity and equity throughout a diverse American population, the Japanese American case demonstrates the need to look beyond the standard quantitative metrics too often employed by immigration scholars as the end point of incorporation. Non-white minority communities, even in communities or segments of communities that achieve upward mobility, continue to face barriers to their substantive citizenship and claims to the full set of rights and opportunities accorded to that status.

MARGINALIZATION DESPITE ACCULTURATION

To what extent do later generation Japanese Americans feel they are substantive citizens and find belonging in their local and national communities? Third and fourth generation Japanese Americans, sansei and yonsei respectively, in this study are without question acculturated and accustomed to the U.S. mainstream. In terms of upbringing, sansei and yonsei both grew up in the U.S. and in households where their parents were also born and raised in the U.S, albeit in a different time period. The majority of respondents have never been to Japan and

many have not set foot outside the U.S. Those that have spent time in Japan did so in their adulthood and not during their formative years.

All of my respondents recognize that some of their cultural practices and behavior differ from their white counterparts. None, however, felt that these cultural differences affected their daily lives in significant ways or inhibited their ability to understand or be understood by non-Japanese Americans. Sansei and yonsei saw their culture as basically American and felt comfortable and integrated within the broader community. Brenda, a sansei, joked, "I'd forget I was Japanese, I'd forget I was not white until I looked in the mirror. Oh! I am not blonde!" However, such a comment should not be taken as a confusion of racial identity. Brenda was well aware of her Japanese ancestry and how that marked her as different from her white peers. In short, later generation Japanese Americans do not perceive culture as the main factor contributing to why they feel excluded from membership within the American national community. Regardless of the cultural compatibility sansei and yonsei felt among non-Japanese Americans, they continued to sense a social distance from their mostly white peers. Furthermore, unlike many previous findings on the cultural disjuncture between immigrant communities and mainstream America, Japanese Americans in my study do not feel a public and private divide between their American and ethnic selves. Both sansei and yonsei grew up in households where parents were also born and raised in the US and English was the predominant, if not only, language spoken at home. Nonetheless, despite their cultural assimilation and socioeconomic attainment, Japanese Americans do not think of themselves as racially white. Rather, they continue to feel the repercussions of their "racial uniform" and are made to feel racially distinct.

Within their local communities of residence and schooling, respondents are not surrounded by large concentrations of Japanese Americans. Both sansei and yonsei across my

sample shared their often-extensive participation in local mainstream organizations and institutions in their communities and schools; a form of integration immigration scholars refer to as structural assimilation (Gordon 1964). Such participation was frequently at a high level including long-term membership and holding leadership positions. Within my sample are former student body presidents, head cheerleaders, class presidents, honor society members, and college varsity athletes. Despite such evidence of structural assimilation, respondents often report a simultaneous sense of marginalization within their respective organizations. Tricia, a sansei, shared her experience as head cheerleader during high school in the 1960s.

> Where I grew up and went to high school, there were only like maybe, less than a handful of Asians[21] that went to my high school. And I kind of always feel alienated even though I was a cheerleader and stuff, I didn't really feel a part. So, you know, people think, "Oh head yell leader. She's probably really rowdy and did all these bad stuff with all the other cheerleaders do." I never did that. I just kind of stayed by myself.

Holding the position of head yell leader marks Tricia, and her Japanese American contemporaries by extension, as well integrated into their local communities and schools in Southern California. However, in the lived individual experience of Tricia as well as other sansei and yonsei respondents, participation in mainstream organizations did not automatically grant acceptance and camaraderie. Tricia went on to describe her sense of alienation as resulting from, at least in part, racial and cultural differences. While nominally members or leaders of mainstream organizations and institutions, Japanese Americans often describe a persistent racial positioning as outsiders.

The finding of marginalization despite acculturation mirrors many previous studies of immigrant-origin communities of color, the minority middle class, as well as Tuan's seminal

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[21] Sansei respondents used the term "Asian" differently depending on temporal context. When speaking of their childhood in the 1950s and 1960s, Asian is synonymous with Japanese American. During this time in Southern California, Japanese Americans were the predominant Asian ethnic group. However, when speaking about their experiences as adults, sansei used "Asian" to refer to Asian Americans of any ethnic background other than Japanese. This linguistic nuance was discovered through increasingly probing questions regarding ethnic demographics across the life course of my respondents.

study on later generation Asian Americans (1999). Similar to these previous studies, later

generation Japanese American marginalization from the white-dominant mainstream is most

frequently felt through experiences with prejudice, overt racism, and microaggressions. Sansei

and older yonsei were most likely to report experiences with overt racism and even violence.

Linda shared the most extreme case:

> I remember getting called "Jap" and "Nip" and I didn't even know what that meant. And I came home and asked my mom and dad…But otherwise, the only other huge thing is, one time they did burn it into our grass, the word "Nip."

Common across the lifetimes of all sansei and yonsei were reports of racial microaggressions.

Sue and colleagues (2007) define racial microaggressions as "brief and commonplace daily

verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that

communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color"

(271). For Asian Americans, microaggressions most frequently imply foreignness, lack of

acculturation, and racial lumping.

> They see someone who looks like a certain race. They don't see your ethnicity, your generation, your background, your family. All they see is your race. So they'll say things like, "We love the way she looks when you guys are ice-skating." Or "We love Panda Express." Or "Oh, have you ever had dim sum before?" And it's so funny, because they're not—I'll tell them that's not actually the right culture, but it's just, I think that that's the first thing people see.
>
> <div align="right">Jennifer, Multiethnic Yonsei</div>

> People ask you all the time, "What nationality are you? Where are you from?" You know where they say it a lot? (Vietnamese American employees at) The nail salon. They always ask me. "Oh, where are you from? What nationality are you? What country do you come from?" Sometimes people will think that I'm not born here, because most of them probably weren't born here, so they assume that I wasn't born here also.
>
> <div align="right">Carrie, Yonsei</div>

The first things is, everyone will ask you what you are. You tell them, "I'm half German, half Japanese." The first thing they always ask you is, "Were you born here?" Obviously I was born here, I think. Then they say, "Do you speak any Japanese?" "No." Then they go, "Were your parents born in Japan?" "No." "Do they speak any Japanese?" "No." "Do you know how to cook Japanese food?" "Kind of." It feels like the line of questioning, it happens from everyone, it's always the same questions. It's checklists trying to see exactly how Japanese you are...They expect you to have the same thing, that your parents were either first- or second-generation, and then they're just—I think the word is always—like, almost disappointed to hear you're not more of a functioning Japanese person.

<div align="right">Franklin, Multiracial Gosei</div>

Each of these respondents demonstrate frequently occurring assumptions faced by later generation Japanese Americans based solely on their race. As Jennifer states, race is all people can see. As Jennifer's experience demonstrates, this often leads to racial lumping and confusion with other Asian ethnic backgrounds. Importantly, Carrie's experience reveals how the racialization of Japanese Americans as forever foreigners is not only perpetrated by white Americans. Other Asian Americans, and other racial minorities, are often complicit in maintaining the existing racial hierarchy, which places Asian Americans at the margins. Similarly, Franklin, a multiracial fifth generation Japanese American, speaks of his interactions with Asian Americans, white Americans and individuals of other racial backgrounds and the consistent expectations of Japanese origin and knowledge. Such expectations continue even when people find out his generation and American upbringing. Highlighting the particular foreign mantle placed upon Japanese ethnicity, Franklin further explained that he is rarely asked if he speaks German or was born in Germany despite his equal heritage in Japan and Germany. German ethnicity is an acceptable variation within American substantive citizenship; Japanese ethnicity is not.

Participants in my study continue to claim an ethnic identity and community in part due to such microaggressive comments and the failure of others to recognize them as American due

to their non-white and non-black racial status. These findings are similar to those of Zhou and Lee (2007), who find that even second generation Asian Americans with formal birthright citizenship and would be deemed "successful" according to traditional assimilation measures continue to feel marginalized due to frequent social interactions that demonstrate how others do not view them as "American." Sansei and yonsei, despite their strong claims on American identity, are well aware of their continued racialization as a non-white racial other. As Andrew, a yonsei, put it:

> I guess I've always felt that, no matter what, no matter how I act, the job that I have, the clothes that I wear, I still always look Asian, you know, and I feel like that because you will always be treated like that. I feel like that for me, even if I became like a successful multimillionaire, right? I would be seen as like, "Oh that one Asian guy, you know, who is a successful multimillionaire"

Andrew's words echo those of Robert Park quoted at the beginning of the chapter. Just as Park observed the racial uniform worn by Japanese Americans in 1914, Andrew observes the same uniform continues to mark and stigmatize Japanese Americans nearly a century later. Similarly, Megan, a multiracial yonsei, discusses this racial othering: "I mean I didn't feel not American. I just felt like there was obviously something that stood out about me that people would ask me about." As Japanese Americans continue to wear this racial uniform regardless of their movement into the middle class, or even the highest echelons of wealth as hyperbolized by Andrew, they continue facing limitations on their membership in their local and national communities.

The desire for co-ethnic community stems from a persistent feeling of marginalization and non-belonging felt by Japanese Americans within their immediate, predominantly white communities even into the present day. My respondents reported experiencing racial microaggression in their daily lives, even more violent acts at times. While these actions were

generally hurled at respondents by strangers or racist acquaintances, messages of non-belonging

and marginalization also came from close friends. Recalling uncannily similar situations in two

different generations some 35 years apart, Darren, a sansei growing up in the 1960s, and Crystal,

a multiracial yonsei growing up in the 1990s, describe how they were romantically paired with

other Japanese Americans solely on the basis of race.

> One of my friends was throwing a party. They were going to invite all the guys that hung out together, and they were trying to come up with a list of girl to invite to the party, too. And then one of the kids said, "Well, you know, we'll invite this girl and that girl, but gee, there's no girl for Darren." Well, the difference was because they were all Caucasian. There wasn't a Japanese girl in my class, and I wouldn't be included.
>
> Darren
>
> There were mostly Latino and white students. I think sometimes there was just, like, myself and my brother who were the Asian students. Actually, no, there was one other Japanese American. We weren't friends; we were enemies. [laughs] I think we hated each other because people always were like, "Oh, you two should get married," and we were like, "Why, because we're Japanese?" and they were like, "Yes." I think that made us hate each other, which is really weird.
>
> Crystal

In these two contrasting time periods, Darren and Carrie are quarantined with other Japanese

Americans at the margins of their social circles where interracial relationships are unimaginable.

Regardless if such comments as well as the preceding microaggressions are read and interpreted

as innocent small talk proddings or playful jokes between friends, they continue to reinforce the

forever foreigner status and racial othering of Japanese Americans. Darren, Carrie, and other

Japanese Americans' experiences demonstrate that diverse friendship networks or intimate

relationships do not always equal post-racial acceptance. Rather, they highlight how an

individual can remain marginal and differentiated in racial terms even within spaces that should

mark belonging.

Certainly, sansei and yonsei are not debilitated by their racial uniform or their sense of marginalization within mainstream society. In fact, they often look for paths and entry points to belonging in both local and national communities. Greg, a yonsei, discussed the first Asian American to play in modern professional basketball in the National Basketball Association (NBA), Jeremy Lin. On this Greg stated:

> I think a lot of people don't understand that when you grow up an Asian kid, you don't really have too many role models to look up to, too many of examples of people doing things other than going to school and getting straight As, you know? And it was exciting to see someone who was showing that there was a more diverse kind of ability that Asians can embody. And it wasn't someone that looks like a seven-foot tall dude from China. It was someone that grew up in the U.S. like I did.

Lin's meteoric rise in notoriety and league successes in 2012 was seen as an expansion in the racial possibilities for belonging for Asian Americans. However, the reference to Lin in a discussion about Japanese American substantive citizenship reveals an interesting glimpse into the ways in which Japanese Americans attempt to find local, and ultimately national, belonging. The position of Lin in the NBA and the observed lack of Asian Americans in the league provide an example of how Asian Americans are depicted as not belonging within the nation through their absence and invisibility in national institutions. In his excitement over Lin's success, Greg demonstrates how Japanese and other Asian Americans strive to belong and be recognized as part of the national fabric. Attachment to Lin also demonstrates the explicitly racial path that might be taken to substantive citizenship. Lin, a Taiwanese American, can be heralded as a panethnic Asian American hero who can be celebrated by Japanese Americans. His success in the NBA, a clearly mainstream institution, and racial similarity with Japanese Americans is seen as promise for the potential expansion of belonging for Japanese American individuals like Greg. Greg's words and the example of Lin demonstrate one way in which race holds significant utility in establishing belonging and substantive citizenship.

FINDING LOCAL BELONGING IN ETHNIC/RACIAL COMMUNITY

Beyond the Lin example, Greg and other respondents also point to ethnic and racial communities as a path to establishing local communities of belonging, a key component of substantive citizenship. Again and again, sansei and yonsei spoke about the importance of forming relationships and communities with other Japanese Americans in helping them come to terms with their own ethnic identities and racial marginalization. Jack and Brenda, a married sansei couple, discuss the virtues of connecting with Japanese American communities:

Jack: You realize how alike we [Japanese Americans] are.

Brenda: I grew up in an all White area. So, you know, I just kind of---

Jack: It's amazing how similar everybody was. The way they think and how they acted. So you kind of fit in really easily, you know.

Brenda: I mean our backgrounds are the same, you know, our parents kind of all have the similar experiences. You know the war and, you know, the prejudice. Even now, we met another Japanese couple where we play golf and it's just… A camaraderie, huh?

Jack: You just feel actually comfortable with people.

Brenda: You know, with *hakujins* (white people), it's just a little bit of a---

Jack: They're different. I mean you don't realize they're different until you meet a lot of Japanese people and then think, "Oh my gosh! They're like me!"

Brenda: Yeah, I mean there were certain times growing up and thinking, you know, just feeling a little bit odd ball out…they were little instances that would happen, you just, it felt odd. Just like, you're not, I don't know what it was or it's just something, an odd feeling. So once you get into the group, it's like, oh you weren't odd at all. It's just, it's because you're Japanese, you know, you didn't realize that you felt this way.

Having grown up in predominantly white neighborhoods in 1960s suburban Southern California, both Brenda and Jack thought of their feelings of difference when interacting with white peers as natural and unavoidable. As they began to interact with more Japanese Americans in high school and college through their employment at Japanese Village and Deer Park, they came to realize

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that it was possible to find spaces and community that provide a sense of belonging and commonality. Jack and Brenda's realization of common racial marginalization in predominantly white spaces resonated among the rest of the respondents. Furthermore, this marginalization and sense of difference melted away when around Japanese American contemporaries. Finding common marginalization as well as commonality of familial and cultural experiences allowed Jack and Brenda to feel a stronger sense of belonging within their local surroundings. Such awakenings are predicated upon the formation of and interaction within a Japanese American ethnic community.

The theme of growing up in predominantly white spaces and relatively late exposure to Japanese Americans contemporaries is not unique to the sansei experience. Even yonsei coming of age in the 1990s and 2000s report similar awakenings as they became involved with Japanese American organizations and entered college. Clara, a multiracial yonsei, shared:

> For the most part, my mom didn't have to talk to me about it [being Japanese American]. It was just kind of like what I did, and then like, slowly I realized I lived like a basic Japanese American life. I went to the Japanese American museum and they have a wall of like 50 things, like if you're a Japanese American, it's like you do these things, and I did all of them and I was like, "Oh…" but it's like I didn't realize it was Japanese-American at that time.

Clara continued to describe how this realization was part of a larger metamorphosis as she began to feel a heightened level of comfort and belonging due to increased interaction with Japanese American peers. She built these relationships through her participation in a Japanese American basketball team and Japanese American organization in college. Clara said:

> With my Japanese American friends…I can act more like I do at home kind of like, I'll say a word in Japanese and you know what I'm talking about or like, make some rice guys and I'm making some rice, how much you want me to make or things like that. It was really like, comfortable and then with my other friends I'm not as. With Japanese friends, it's like more family and then like other friends it's kind of like, you're my friends, you're really my good friends, but I'm not going to act like I act at home.

College and organizational participation was also the entry point to an ethnically based space of belonging for Crystal, another multiracial yonsei.

> I didn't start doing Japanese American stuff until I did the Little Tokyo Internship Program [during college]. That was the first time I thought about being specifically Japanese American and what that meant and what Little Tokyo meant and how they're related to me…It was very lovely to find a community where even though I didn't feel like I fit at first, I kind of forced my way in. And I felt like it fit.

Later generation Japanese Americans across the third and fourth generations in my study stated, they felt a greater affinity and closeness with their Japanese American friends and within an ethnic-specific Japanese American community. Feelings of local belonging found in Japanese American communities among sansei and yonsei were lacking in the white-dominant communities where they grew up. For Japanese Americans, ethnicity continues to be a key-organizing characteristic upon which communities of local belonging are formed.

Finding Community at Deer Park: Sansei Experiences

Nowhere was ethnic affinity and sense of community clearer than among sansei who worked at Japanese Village and Deer Park. Affectionately remembered by former employees as "Deer Park," the Japanese-themed tourist attraction was a fixture within the Orange County amusement corridor in Buena Park, California from 1967 to 1974. In keeping with the façade of authenticity, the owner of Deer Park sought a staff that would match the "enchantment of old Japan." it is unsurprising that the proprietors, with the orientalist theme of the park, would want an ethnic Japanese staff, or at least a staff that was Asian in appearance. However, it is more surprising that sansei youth, who consistently described themselves as typical American teens, flocked to the employment opportunity. Nonetheless, the park's client-facing staff was almost entirely filled by high school and college-aged sansei from the greater Los Angeles Area. While

Deer Park was formally a workplace with no mission to foster Japanese American identity, it

also fostered social connections and community among Japanese American employees that

spread beyond normal business hours. The Japanese cultural theme of Deer Park was an initial

attraction for many prospective employees and made employment easy to secure. However,

culture played second fiddle to the importance of the people and relationships found at the park.

Former employees spoke of working at the park for several years, returning every summer to

reconnect and partake in the vibrant social scene.

For many of the employees, Deer Park was the first time that they associated with a large

number of Japanese Americans of their own age. Mary, a former Deer Park sansei employee,

reflected on her experience:

> People liked [Deer Park] so much there that they would punch out after work and then go back into the park just to socialize that was the kind of place. And, you know, I think now that I'm an adult, I could see that, for me, it was a chance to meet Japanese Americans. As I said earlier, it was a good experience to see all different kind of Japanese with different backgrounds and everything and a big group of them to kind of experience that because in high school, the few Japanese, they were in my class and there were like maybe 3 Japanese boys and that wasn't really a good experience of 3 Japanese boys because they were not [cool]...like at Deer Park, it was like, there was such a broad range of them. The ones in my high school, they were just 3 of them and they weren't very good examples of what even Japanese Americans could be like. So, this [Deer Park] gave me the opportunity to kind of see all the different kinds of people that were in Orange County.

Mary's experience mirrored the sentiments of the majority of former Deer Park employees

participating in this study. While most sansei were active participants in their communities and

school and generally felt well integrated, an equal number recalled a lingering and unshakable

sense of being different from their white peers. As Mary shared, for those sansei who had a

handful of other Japanese Americans in their schools, different interests or the perceived

"nerdiness" of sansei classmates kept many former employees from affiliating with other

Japanese Americans prior to Deer Park. Deer Park friendship provided something different.

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Bringing together a critical mass of sansei youth, Deer Park became a space where sansei were exposed to a great diversity of Japanese American peers and were able to find individuals similar to themselves. As another former employee joked, it was great to meet people who "ate with chopsticks and white rice all the time."

More than the common cultural idiosyncrasies, Deer Park relationships provided an additional level of comfort and understanding. At Deer Park, sansei youth who had felt marginalized within white mainstream communities were able to see their experiences as part of a normative American story. Of the eye-opening experience and sense of comfort and belonging, sanseis Darren and Tricia shared:

> When I worked at Deer Park, it was just an eye-opening experience…I think that at that point, I really didn't have a sense of who I was. I had just begun to realize, like I said, at the beginning of high school that I was different. I don't think I was ever consciously aware that I was different. Physically I looked different, but I never thought of myself as being different.
>
> <div align="right">Darren</div>

> I don't know, for me it was comfortable. It was really different. I mean, I came from mostly white people, and then all of a sudden here's all these Japanese that were like me…But it was just…it just was different. You just felt more like you were a part of them.
>
> <div align="right">Tricia</div>

Deer Park employees shared the common experiences of growing up Japanese American in a still white-dominated society. Among Japanese American peers, sansei found a new sense of comfort that had previously been restricted to familial spaces. Within this new community belonging, sansei felt they had to explain less about themselves and their experiences because it seemed fellow sansei had an innate and intimate knowledge. Such knowledge was, of course, not innate but rather the result of common cultural backgrounds and racialized experiences growing up with a Japanese face in lily-white suburbia. Just as Jack and Brenda discussed previously, being around Japanese American contemporaries also made them more aware of the omnipresent

sense of difference between themselves and their white peers. Furthermore, Deer Park exposed sansei to a critical mass of other sansei with a diverse set of interests and personalities. Within this large population of fellow sansei, employees were able to find other Japanese Americans with similar interests and built strong, lasting relationships and sense of community. Finding commonality among fellow employees as well as a spectrum of diverse Japanese American experiences, interests, and personalities, sansei were able to locate themselves and find belonging within the Deer Park community. Within this community of belonging, many employees commented that they found themselves, realized they were not alone, and no less American.

Limits of Ethnic and Racial Belonging

While yonsei and sansei respondents frequently cited ethnicity and race as a basis for local belonging, respondents also offered some caveats to this ethnic- and racially-based community building. For some, ethnicity and race were seen as barriers to belonging. This was particularly true for some of the multiracial yonsei respondents. To be sure, multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans reported participation within Japanese American institutions at rates similar to their monoracial Japanese American peers. However, their interactions within these institutions often served to highlight their racial difference. Franklin, who spoke about not having a recognizably Asian phenotype and often being mistaken for Latino, spoke of his experience of marginalization among Japanese Americans.

> Being half Japanese, I think if you experience someone who's full Japanese and they ask you, "Oh, you're Japanese?" initially they're surprised. And then they ask you things and you don't know. They kind of dismiss you as being Japanese. So I feel not that they didn't like me, but they didn't relate to me as being a Japanese person. So they found out and then it was kind of like, "You're not Japanese, really."

Despite this sense of dismissal by other Japanese Americans, Franklin stated that he also felt distance between himself and white peers. Just as he was not readily recognized as Japanese American, he was not readily perceived as racially white either. Other multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans had similar liminal feelings as Franklin regarding belonging to Japanese American and white communities. They also shared a similar story regarding the importance of shared racialized experience in community building. Amanda, a multiracial yonsei, shared of her sense of affinity with other multiracial individuals:

> I have a lot of half Asian friends. I think it's just a unique experience to be half Asian, so there are definitely similarities to identify with when I do meet another half Asian. Like, two of my closest friends at college are half Asian, and there definitely aren't many at all. I think people think it's funny that we found each other…I think there's a definite immediate bond since there aren't too many half Asians…It's definitely a conversation starter, at least, and sometimes further than that.

Multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans spoke of forming communities with other multiracial individuals; often those who are also part Asian. Similar to non-mixed Japanese Americans, multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans find a commonality of experience and racialization among those most similar to themselves.

Laying claim to their ethnic heritage, multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans also spoke about the expanding definition of Japanese American that is increasingly inclusive of the multiracial and multiethnic reality of the contemporary community. Clara went so far as to call multiracial Japanese Americans as the new norm among yonsei and future generations.

> The Japanese Americans are more mixed than most other Asians. It's like being mixed is part of being Japanese American for some people, like what's happening because like yonsei, right? Typically, most people who pass yonsei are mixed sometimes. It's like yonsei is mixed. But I feel it's more regular to see a half Japanese half white kid. But it's never been an issue like no one is really like alienated me for it. But I think they're just like, "oh that's cool" so let's moved on.

As the definitions of Japanese American community expand, multiracial and multiethnic

Japanese Americans are better able to relate and lay claim to membership and local belonging

within the ethnic community.

While such conceptual shifts provide promise for a reduced marginalization of

multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans, other respondents shared that race and ethnicity

alone, regardless of any boundary expansion, remains insufficient to enable a true sense of local

belonging. Mark, a monoracial yonsei, discussed his lack of racial and ethnic connection at

length.

> I mean, I know that I never really felt 100% comfortable with people who are Japanese
> American. I don't know, it just seems like a lot of the people around my age group aren't
> focused on academics, and as a high schooler especially, you know, I was really like…I
> just thought that, you know, academics was where I wanted to be and, you know, I knew
> that like that was my priority, and so, I also didn't like hanging out with people who
> didn't have that as their priority…I don't really only think they felt like a lot of Japanese
> Americans, even like in my cousins at that time, I just wasn't really seeing a lot of them
> striving for academic success...I think it was probably easier to make friends with people
> who are Asian American like at school. But at the same time, a lot of them were second
> generation or…I don't think any of them were first generation but, you know, most of
> them are second generation, so they are dealing with immigrating experiences, and their
> parents speaking different languages and having different, way different expectations at
> home. So, I think on that level was a little bit harder…definitely for some Asian
> Americans, you know, they wouldn't consider me Asian American. They'd be like, oh,
> no, you're whitewashed.

Not finding belonging among the non-studious Japanese Americans around him nor the first and

second generation Asian Americans of other ethnic backgrounds, Mark clearly demonstrates the

limitations of racial and ethnic forms of belonging. With regard to Japanese American peers,

Mark's sense of difference largely stems from differences in interest. Mark's experience with

Japanese American peers during his youth coupled with the words previously quoted by other

respondents demonstrate that while ethnic similarity is certainly important in shaping a sense of

local belonging, ethnicity alone is often insufficient for community building. Common interest,

such as academic success in the case of Mark, is also necessary in forming meaningful

connections and sense of belonging. Mark's comments mirror the sentiment of many former

Deer Park employees who felt that their Deer Park experience exposed them to a diverse

Japanese American community within which they were able to place themselves. As Deer Park,

they found individuals that shared both interests and ethnic, racialized experiences.

The cultural and familial differences Mark observes between himself and his Asian

American peers leads him to feel less "Asian." The distinctions drawn by Mark reflect the strong

boundary held between later generation Japanese American and other Asian Americans as well

as a means through which Japanese Americans attempt to claim a broader substantive

citizenship. This second point will be elaborated in the next section of this chapter. The first

point, however, draws upon the connectedness of sansei and yonsei with "Asians like me."

Community and belonging is most common among sansei, yonsei, and more acculturated Asian

Americans, regardless of generation. Mark's feeling of disconnect with second and first

generation peers, then can be understood as a lack of belonging with "Asians *not* like me." While

the words of Mark as well as those of multiracial and multiethnic yonsei in this study

demonstrate the limits of Japanese American ethnic community boundaries, they continue to

speak to the ways in which race and ethnicity shape substantive citizenship at the local level.

SUBSTANTIVE CITIZENSHIP WITHIN LOCAL ETHNIC/RACIAL COMMUNITY

Community and relationship building are examples of how individuals exercise local

practices of belonging and help to redefine citizenship not only as a contract between the

individual and the state, but also between individuals themselves through day-to-day interactions

(Glenn 2002). As demonstrated in the previous finding, later generation Japanese Americans find

belonging at the local level within American ethnic and racial communities, even while they may

not find direct and complete belonging within the broader community in the same local space.

For many sansei and yonsei in this study, ethnic and racial community belonging is often an

important stepping-stone toward a more complete sense of substantive citizenship on both the

local and the national levels. Local belonging paves the ways for a national sense of belonging.

Most directly related to community and citizenship practices, sansei and yonsei speak of

finding others who share a similar racial and ethnic experience as strengthening their sense of

self and confidence in claiming full membership in the US nation. Realizing their lives are not

aberrational but part of this broader and uniquely American racial and ethnic experience enables

them to be more active participants within their community beyond ethnic networks. Cynthia, a

yonsei who was a contemporary of the sansei in my sample, spoke about this very impact from

the connections and community she built as an employee at Deer Park.

> Up until that moment [of working at Deer Park], I don't think I really identified with
> being Japanese or anything. It's…I think…the thing is this once I started working at the
> park and became probably more aware of being Japanese and being so comfortable with
> all the people that I was meeting and the friends that I was making, I was much more
> comfortable talking to, you know, the customers and didn't feel self-conscious, didn't
> feel…I mean, because I felt like they were coming to visit some place where I belonged,
> you know, where I felt a sense of belonging that it really, you know, if anything I'd say
> the Deer Park probably brought out more of my own personality. I didn't feel as
> introverted and feel as awkward and feel, you know, I felt a lot more comfortable about
> expressing my opinion. I don't know how my life would have gone if I hadn't work at the
> park.

The sense of local belonging Cynthia found at Deer Park had a profound impact on her self-

esteem and view herself as a fuller member and citizen of her local community and society at

large. The impact of this local sense of belonging extended well outside of Deer Park, as she

continued:

> I mean, I was somewhat active in high school…I mean, I was in the – I started in the drill
> team and everything. I did that and that was actually because of a friend of mine from

my neighborhood in La Mirada who said, "You need to join the drill team! It's a lot of fun! You'll have a good time!" So, I did that, but I didn't really feel all that much a part of it. And then I started working at Deer Park and gained a lot of confidence from that and from there I just, then I ran for office and became a little bit more involved in high school...So, yeah, Deer Park gave me an identity. I mean I realized how important it was to be Japanese American and to be proud of that. I think it just, it made me aware of that, but it also made me feel – well, I don't know… Well other than I guess just a sense of belonging. And a place to bond, you know, somewhere where I belong and felt totally comfortable. I could be myself. People understood me.

Cynthia's Deer Park experience and the sense of belonging she found there enabled her to become a more active civic participant in her high school and community. Other respondents spoke about the impact of finding ethnic community at Deer Park extending beyond their high school and local experiences and into their later lives.

Glen, for instance, shared a similar sentiment to Cynthia of finding a community of belonging at Deer Park and the immediate impact such community had on his recognition of his racial minority status and strengthened sense of security and confidence. Following his time at Deer Park, Glen enrolled in a prestigious local university and related how the sense of confidence he built at Deer Park made him feel that his experiences were not anomalous but valid and worthy of sharing in his university courses. He felt increasingly comfortable speaking up in class to share his opinions both on racialized and non-race topics. Glen would later go on to attend law school and explained that finding people who had lived similar lives to him provided a foundation for a sense of belonging within a broader American community, within which he had the right the participate. Local ethnic community was a strong factor in Glen's decision and confidence to become an active member in his college courses and a civic actor as a lawyer. Mirroring Glen, Mary spoke about the far-reaching impact of her Deer Park days.

Oh, yeah. I think [Deer Park] really helped self-esteem because growing up in a period where there were not very many Japanese and Japanese-Americans...there was prejudice in the way you got treated where they kind of make fun of you for being Japanese in a school. But at Deer Park, I think the self-esteem, it's sort of like what I said about going to Hawaii where you're the majority rather than the minority. And so, Asians in Hawaii I think tend to have a different feeling about themselves. The self-esteem is different because you weren't made fun of for being Asian. You're the majority. When I was growing up, being Asian or Japanese-American, you're the minority and you're treated somewhat like that. So, Deer Park gave me an opportunity where here, a lot of Asians that are Japanese Americans that I'm now one of them and so, it's sort of like you're not the minority anymore…I think you get to carry that as you go along too that there's a little bit of Japanese American pride because you're around all these people where it's a good thing being Japanese American. I think it helps you going forward.

For Mary, finding a local ethnic community of belonging at Deer Park allowed her to not feel like such a minority in a white-dominant U.S. society. Rather, among other Japanese Americans, she realized that her experiences were, in fact, part of a broader and encompassing landscape of U.S. race relations.

Local communities that augment themselves into a broader sense of national belonging are not limited to ethnic communities. They may also reference race-based commonalities among Asian Americans. Mark, the yonsei who often felt marginalized among Japanese American peers, spoke of his growing understanding of his racialized experience as an Asian American.

College is when I sort of started to really thinking more critically about what it meant to be Asian American when before I had sort of rejected this Asian label, at least internally. But, when I was in college, it became more clear like, oh, there is something that can be Asian American…to me, that was cool because it encompassed my experience more than just someone saying I'm Asian. It was like, oh, you could be Asian American, which is sort of this own set of experiences that you experience while you're in America regardless of how long ago your family immigrated to the United States. So that was kind of interesting that it included me for the first time.

Coming to view Asian American experience as a racialized experience firmly rooted in the US, Mark explains a sense of belonging that applies not only to his local context but also his sense of belonging to the nation. Unlike standard theories of assimilation and incorporation which maintain that one must lose their ethnic identity or only maintain it symbolically in order to

become a full and unhyphenated American, the words of Cynthia, Mary, and Mark as well as the other sansei and yonsei participating in this study demonstrate the necessity and utility of a maintained connection ethnic-based community in finding substantive citizen and a full sense of belonging in a nation that continues to subordinate populations based upon race.

Later generation Japanese Americans conceptualize and practice substantive citizenship through ethnic and racial community. Japanese Americans, even into the fourth generation are not recognized as American due to their continuing non-white status. Japanese Americans do not recognize themselves, nor are they recognized by others as racially white leading to a sense of marginalization from their local communities and national belonging. Additionally, due to their persistent racialization as non-white, later generation Japanese Americans seek to build ethnic and racial communities with other later generation Japanese Americans or other more acculturated Asian Americans. Within these communities, later generation Japanese Americans find individuals with similar cultural and racialized experiences and come to feel a sense of belonging within their local communities. Lastly, this sense of belonging within a local community and the realization that an individual's experience is in common with other Japanese and Asian Americans and uniquely located within the US nation leads to a stronger claim on a broader belonging within the national citizenry. While their fellow Americans may still perceive them as forever foreigners, it is through ethnic community belonging that later generation Japanese Americans are able to see themselves and make claims upon substantive American citizenship.

It should be stated that the sansei and yonsei participants in my study, as well as Japanese Americans more generally, do not commonly view themselves as an ultimately oppressed and marginalized group. In fact, many continue to speak glowingly about the assimilative success of

Japanese Americans across generations particular following the mass incarceration of World War II. A subset of respondents in this study report their day-to-day lives are not strongly impacted by race and ethnicity. As Katie simply stated, "I think I just don't know the difference. I've lived my life, and to me that's what life is, so I don't know a lot of what it's like to be someone else, basically." Japanese Americans are simply living their lives, trying to survive. They choose not to dwell on the racial issues they feel cannot be readily altered. Andrew spoke at greater length about the normalization of being a minority:

> I think that when you're there, when you're in it, high school is your life. I mean, as much as I enjoyed it and as much as I think it was a great experience...It was really weird, and I realized later that there were some situations where I was like token Asian, you know, and you had to be the token Asian. You had to internalize to take all the microaggressions, you know, stuff that was being thrown your way. You marginalize yourself because it's funny for the group, you know? But then at the same time like, that's not really…I don't know…it's not really fitting in.

As Andrew speaks of his past internalization and complicity in his own marginalization within more mainstream spaces, he tells the story of countless other Japanese Americans or any minority status individuals. What is evident from this study, however, is that ethnic and racial communities of belonging help Japanese Americans to realize their own marginalization and gain a sense of belonging on their own terms. Perhaps then, the answer to issues of racial differences in belonging is not a cessation of discussions of race and racism or a naïve hope that ethnic differences will fade into assimilation's oblivion. Rather, racial and ethnic communities themselves have tremendous utility in allowing minority individuals to see their experiences are not oddities but are shared by others. As Mary put it, such communities can allow minorities to feel "like you're not the minority anymore."

CHAPTER FOUR

Meeting at Deer Park: Visual Citizenship and Ethnic Community Among Sansei

1968. Driving north on the Santa Ana Freeway making your way from Orange County to Los Angeles, you notice a revolving sign emerging above the mundane low-rise landscape on the south side of the highway at Knott Avenue. The sign reads "Japanese Deer Park" beckoning passers by to take a quick detour into an exotic oasis offering the authentic cuisine, entertainment, architecture, and landscaping of Japan all within the comforts of America's lilywhite suburbia. From 1967-1974, Japanese Village and Deer Park opened its gates as one of a growing number of Southland theme parks centering on the Orange County amusement corridor. The amusement corridor, spanning the cities of Anaheim and Buena Park, stretched along the Santa Ana Freeway from Disneyland and Anaheim in the east to Japanese Village and Deer Park in the west and Knott's Berry Farm falling in between.

Japanese Village and Deer Park was the brainchild of Allen Parkinson, a local businessman and owner of the nearby Movieland Wax Museum. Affectionately remembered by
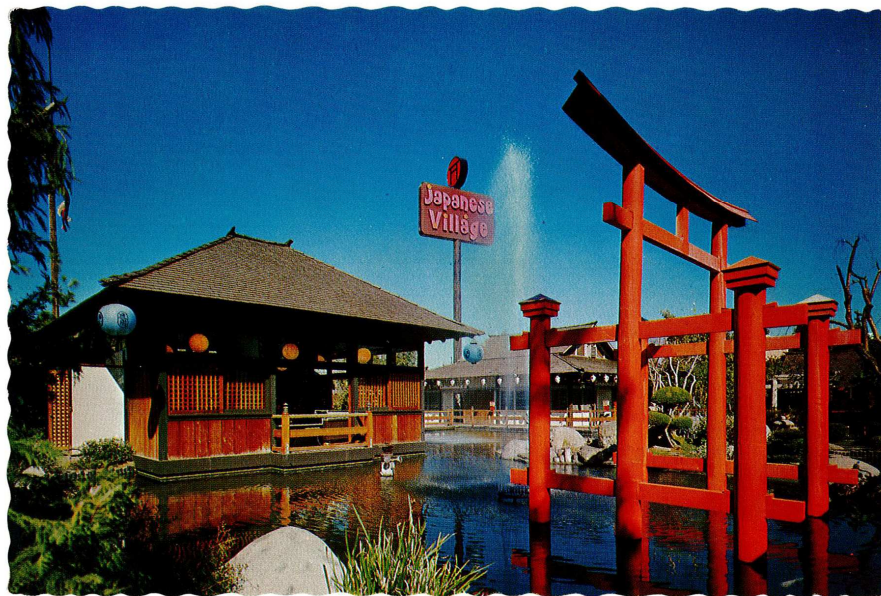
Figure 5.1. Japanese Village and Deer Park circa 1972

former employees as "Deer Park," Parkinson proclaimed his unique addition to Orange County tourism as "America's only authentic Japanese village." In the beginning, the park was little more than an enclosed pen with a small herd of sika deer gifted to Parkinson from associates in Japan. The deer pen was soon joined by teahouse eateries, gift shops, a dove pavilion, and a koi pond.

Figure 5.2. Early days of Japanese Village and Deer Park circa 1969

Upon entering the park, patrons were greeted by kimono-clad hostesses while walking under a torii gate and over a bridge spanning the koi-filled lagoon. Over its lifespan, Deer Park expanded to include a pearl diver lagoon and amphitheaters and stadiums for cultural performances as well as animal shows featuring sea lions, dolphins, bears, and tigers. Unlike most present day theme parks, Deer Park's attractions did not feature any rides or roller coasters. Rather, Deer Park's shows, including tea ceremony, dance, and martial arts, attempted to expose the largely white middle-class patrons to the authentic culture of a Japanese village. Such cultural shows, as well as the architecture and landscaping, offered some semblance of authenticity as Japan-trained

performers, architects, and gardeners helped to create the ambiance and entertainment. As Lisa, a sansei former employee who worked her way into a management position, recalls:

> Parkinson had an associate who was a designer who had also traveled to Japan a lot. They decided to build a little teahouse, a koi pond, and a little toy ship so they would have a place to keep the deer...It was a beautiful place because it was very authentic and they were careful to keep it authentic. So most of the building materials and everything came in from Japan…as you walked through everything was very beautiful, very authentic. Authentic Japanese gardens, the woods, the fabrics, the landscaping, everything in there was pretty much from Japan.

The authenticity of the cultural performances and built environment, however, stands in stark contrast to the animal shows which held strong entertainment value but little basis in the "enchantment of old Japan." Bears, sea lions, and dolphins were not the traditional Japanese court jesters. Additionally, the "Fuji Folk" costumed characters with their green skin and slanted eyes, added to the park's repertoire of attractions in the early 1970s, further caricatured Japanese people and culture.[22]

Similar to the park's entertainment, the park's staff also provided a dubious sense of authenticity. The proprietors of Deer Park sought a staff that was in keeping with the authentic façade of Japan and found a ready workforce among high school and college-aged Japanese Americans from the surrounding communities. Some of the performers, as well as the landscapers and chefs, were immigrants from Japan; however, nearly all the Deer Park staff regularly interacting with park guests were local third generation, or sansei, youth. While sansei employees certainly fit the part in terms of appearance, these third generation youth thought of themselves as "All-American" kids having grown up in the new suburban communities and farms in Orange County and South Los Angeles County.

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[22] The Fuji Folk were added to the park's entertainment amid much controversy and some protest by groups such as the Japanese American Citizens League due to the racist portrayal of Japanese people. The park stood by their new mascots claiming that the Fuji Folk were not intended to be representations of Japanese people but rather fantasy creatures who descended from Mount Fuji.
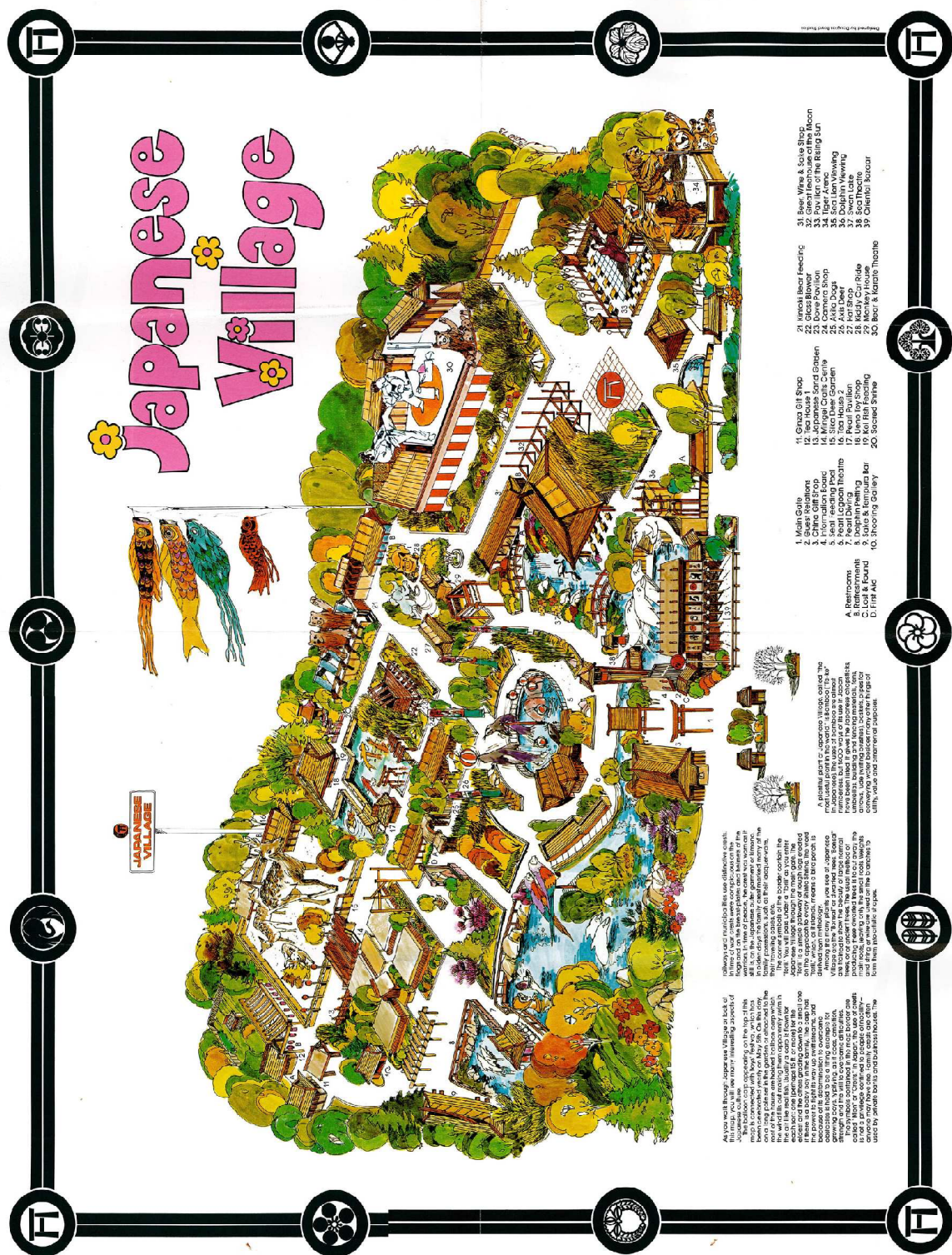
Figure 5.3. Map of Japanese Village and Deer Park circa 1972.
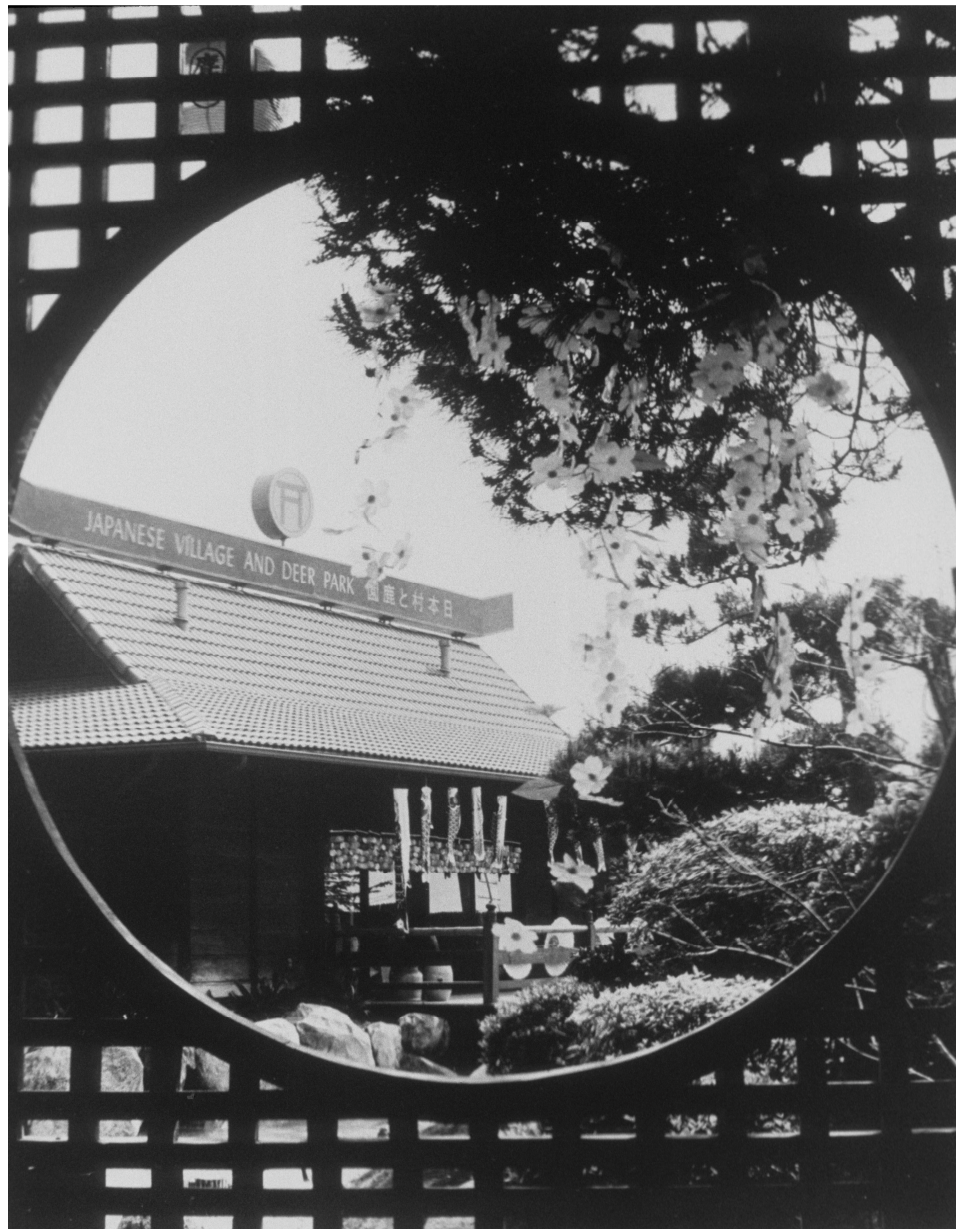
Figure 5.4. Japanese Village and Deer Park landscape and architecture.
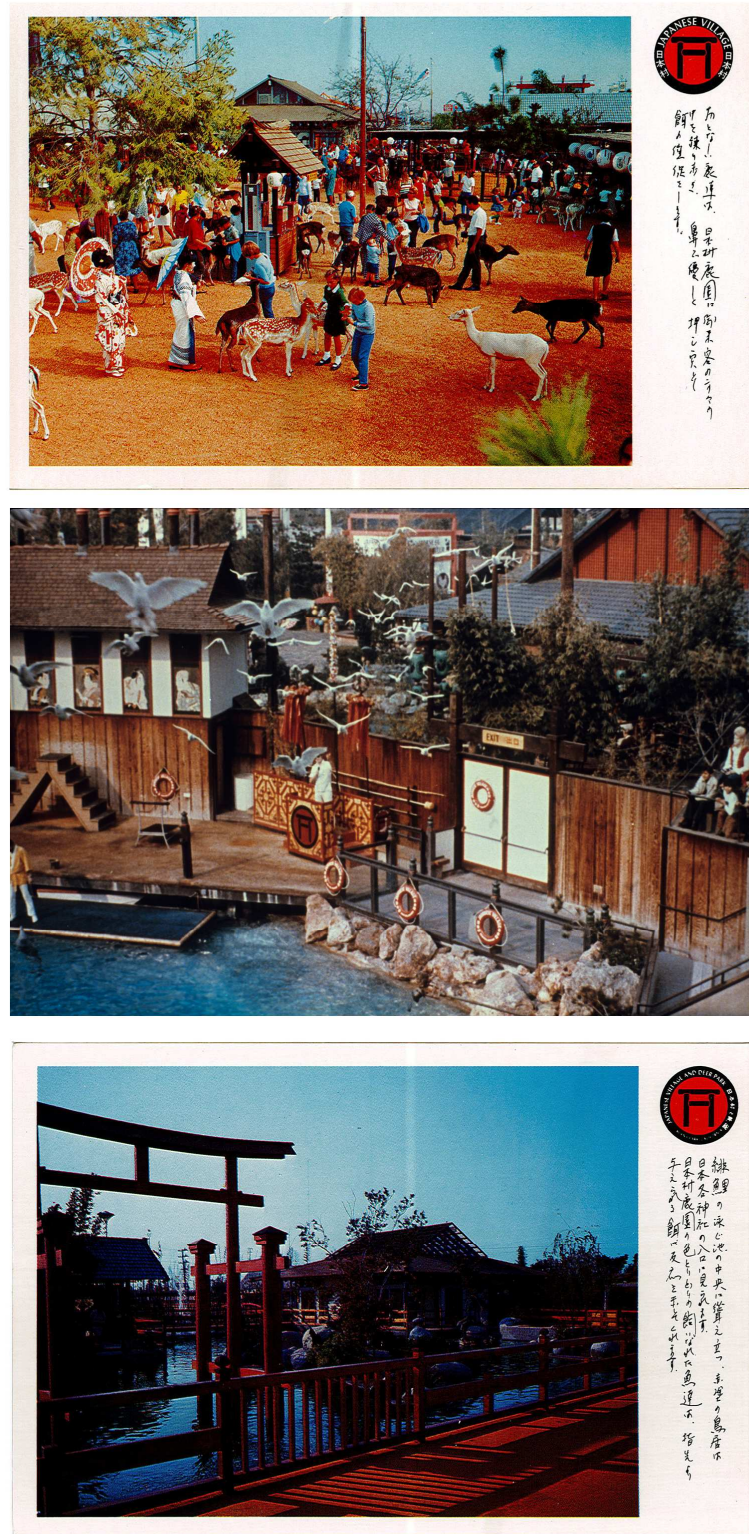
*Figure 5.5. Japanese Village and Deer Park postcards displaying the
built environment of the deer field, amphitheatre, architecture, and landscape*

Figure 5.6. Sampling of the more "authentic" Japanese cultural attractions and shows at Japanese Village and Deer Park

Figure 5.7. Samples of the animal shows of Japanese Village and Deer Park including sea lions, dolphins, tigers, and basketball playing bears.

Figure 5.8. The Fuji Folk, added to the park's repertoire circa 1971, caricatured Japanese people and culture in order to appeal to a younger demographic.

In this chapter, I leverage the case study of Deer Park to illuminate the persistence of ethnic community among later generation Japanese Americans, a process through which this community was formed, and the meaning such community had for sansei coming of age in the late 1960s and 1970s. I critically examine the paradoxical position of US-born and raised sansei employees "playing Japanese" within the setting of Deer Park. Despite being long-time residents in their local communities, Japanese Americans in Orange County had limited visibility as full members of the US nation and continue to be viewed as forever foreigners regardless of their generation and upbringing. I find that employees constructed their own local belonging and establish more confident claims on substantive US citizenship through their participation with co-ethnics at Deer Park. Japanese Americans become visible within the suburban Orange County landscape within the context of Deer Park that displays sansei employees as foreigners, residents of an authentic Japanese Village. Sansei are not visible are local residents of Orange and Los Angeles Counties. They are visible only through their foreign representations.

Moving beyond the forever foreigner label, this chapter explores more fully the negotiated process undertaken by Deer Park sansei given their paradoxical position between perceived foreignness and asserted local identity. Through promotional and personal photographic images from Deer Park as well as interviews with former Deer Park employees, I find that sansei employees assert their local belongingness and substantive citizenship through visual fashion cues and cultural practices rooted in local popular culture. While cultural and visual cues go largely unnoticed by park guests, such cues are centrally important in communicating "coolness" to fellow sansei employees. Through local mainstream visual and cultural practices, sansei become legible to each other opening the possibility of community building and forming the foundations of local substantive citizenship.

The presence of local Japanese American youth playing the role of Japanese villagers at Deer Park creates a critical opportunity to understand the racialized foreignness of ethnically Japanese faces and bodies and how Japanese Americans understood and navigated this perceived racialization. Due to its Japanese theme, and entertainment function as an amusement park, Deer Park provides a site of high levels of cross-racial interaction where Japanese American racialization, community building, and substantive citizenship claims can be given in-depth examination in light of the local context and broader structural and ideological milieu. Bringing together the visage of ancient Japan, local sansei employees, and predominantly white middle-class family visitors, Japanese Village and Deer Park provides an ideal, albeit peculiar, site to illuminate the relationship among foreignness, belonging, and visibility.

Previous scholarship has related foreignness and non-belonging to social and political invisibility. Nadia Kim (2008) argues Asian American foreignness goes beyond phenotypic difference from the white norm, but also results in being nonexistent and invisible in the national

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imagination. For Kim, foreignness and invisibility are mutually reinforcing as invisibility begets an unfamiliarity with and perceived foreignness of particular identities, which, in turn, serves to reinforce and maintain invisibility. Other scholars, however, have recognized the relegation of Asian Americans to the margins of US discourse as a form of visibility unto itself. Following a different intellectual path, Shimakawa (2002) describes this paradoxical state of integrated foreignness as "national abjection," where Asian American racialization as foreign is a necessary component in the formation of US national identity. Asian Americans are simultaneously circumscribed within and radically differentiated as foreign from the US nation. From this perspective, Asian Americans are visible and included only to the extent that they demarcate the margins of the nation. Building upon Shimakawa's concept of national abjection, I argue that the perceived foreignness of Asian American is a means through which they are visible. Asian Americans are only allowed to become visible and are only legible to the American public as foreign objects.

As an amusement park, Deer Park was intended as a spectacle showcasing Japan and Japanese culture with a heavy reliance on visual markers. The employment of young Japanese Americans from the local area played into the visual authenticity of the park by providing a match between "oriental" faces with "oriental" costume, landscape, and architecture. Popular culture historian Russell Nye (1981) describes eight ways to interpret the amusement, all of which revolve around leisure, escape, and unconventionality. For Nye, amusements parks are created and understood by patrons as a fantasy, a produced spectacle simultaneously dazzling every sense. Certainly, Deer Park, with its mimicry of an authentic ancient Japanese Village mixed with fanciful animal shows, fits Nye's definitions well. However, to say Deer Park was understood as purely fantasy and entirely separate from the world outside its gates would deny

that Japan, Japanese people, and Japanese Americans are real entities. To disconnect the park from the outside world would be to deny the preexisting ideologies circulating in and around the park shaping patrons understandings of park experience. In addition, separation of theme park and "real" worlds denies the presence of park employees for whom the park constitutes a part of their daily lives. Deer Park, with its focused theme on Japan and employment of local Japanese American youth, highlights the shortcomings of understanding the amusement park as simple fantasy and the ability of park patrons to fully separate their park experience with the real world. This fantastic journey to a foreign land also served to reinforce the perceptions of foreignness of Japanese American employees, despite being locally born and raised.

To be sure, Deer Park was not intended to take part in the reimagining of Japan in the eyes of the American public (Interview with former General Manager). However, perceptions of the park and the experience it offered were just as certainly informed by ideological underpinning of Cold War logics and the accompanying shift of Japan within the geopolitical imaginary from dangerous wartime foe to valued Cold War ally. As the imperatives of the Cold War necessitated the positive image of US democracy abroad, Asian Americans and Japanese Americans in particular we reenvisioned as "foreign friends" and model minorities; champions of the American Dream crossing the color line (Lee 1999; Brooks 2009; Cheng 2013; Wu 2014). On the homefront, a major public relations campaign was undertaken to shift US popular discourse and imagery on Japan from despised wartime enemy to prized ally against the spread of Communism (Shibusawa 2006; Kim 2010). Shibusawa (2006) demonstrates that the shift from enemy to ally was no easy task. It was a concerted effort on the part of American politicians, journalists, even filmmakers to spread a revised image of Japan to the US public. Deer Park, a theme park showcasing Japan, greatly benefited from the growth of the Cold War

relationship and shifting rhetoric as anti-Japanese sentiment remained high in the postwar period as former internees began returning to the West Coast (Kurashige 2002; Kurashige 2007; Spickard 2009). While Deer Park may have lacked the intention, its portrayal of a docile and friendly Japan certainly reinforced park guests growing acceptance of the reevaluated image of Japan and Japanese people within the broader national discourse.

Taking full advantage of the spectacle of Deer Park, this chapter differs from the other empirical chapters in this study by drawing upon two separate data sources: a subset of the full sample of in-depth interviews and a photographic archive. I draw from interviews conducted with former Deer Park employees, or 39 of 91 total interviews. The photographic archive was accrued from the personal collections of former Deer Park employees and consists of 404 unique Deer Park-related images. In utilizing photographs as a source of data and object of knowledge, I draw upon two traditions often overlooked in sociological studies: visual sociology and visual cultures. Both fields take seriously the role of the visual in expressing meaning and providing insight into the social world. Deer Park, as an amusement park, was filled with visual stimuli and relied heavily upon the visual to establish its authentic experience. Much of this visual imagery was captured on film in the form of promotional photographs appearing on postcards and other memorabilia as well as in press releases (209 of 404 total images). The visual aspects of society and culture present in and around Deer Park are also apparent in the personal photography taken and shared by former employees (195 of 404 total images). Coupling a visual analysis with in-depth interviews, this chapter recreates the visual context of Deer Park in order to understand how Japanese Americans were racially viewed within their local communities and daily-lived experiences. Taking visual culture seriously, I explore the ways in which Japanese American employees were exploited by and exploited visual imagery in navigating their claims on

community and substantive citizenship. The visual, as displayed through the photographic image, is an apt data source for understanding how Japanese Americans negotiate their belonging with their local community and the broader national imagination.

Beyond the utility of visual methodologies for this project, I also root this study in visual representations to highlight the common elision of the visual basis upon which racial and ethnic judgments are often made (also see Omi & Winant 1994; Knowles 2006). The vast majority of recent studies on race, particularly those dealing with Asian American integration continue to rely upon ideological measures such as stereotypes and prejudice or socioeconomic outcomes. Given Asian Americans upward mobility, many scholars conceive of Asian Americans as undergoing a process of racial whitening (Warren & Twine 1997; Yancey 2003; Lee & Bean 2010). Such arguments seem plausible if we understand race to be a purely cognitive social construction with little basis in the visual. Certainly, this is not the case. We must also take into consideration that, in our interpersonal interactions, racial and ethnic cues are often visually stimulated. In this way, visual sociology and cultures and the reviewing photographs of Japanese American employees at Deer Park can provide additional insight into the importance of displays and visions of race.

Drawing from visual sociological methods, this study examines preexisting photographs taken by social actors in the everyday context and understands the practices of looking as a social process (Harper 1988; Sturken & Cartwright 2009). As such, photographs are social objects that "reflect the lifeworlds and social relations of their makers and users" and "hold documentary information about their subjects" (Caulfield 1996: 57). I understand photographs as "arrested moments" within a particular historical narrative (Knowles 2006: 512). Simultaneously, I am mindful of the "myth of photographic truth" and the need investigate more fully the encoded and

decoded meanings embedded within the image (Sturken & Cartwright 2009: 16; also see Slater 1995, Hall 1993). Caulfield (1996) understands viewing and interpreting the photograph as a discursive practice. The photograph is viewed and constructed from different vantage points: the photographer, intended audience, and the photographic subject. Each of these actors attempts to use the photograph to convey a particular message in relationship to one another. In this way, Caulfield builds on the earlier insights of Roland Barthes on the embedded meanings within an image (Barthes 1977; also see Chavez 2001). Barthes (1977) delineates two forms of meaning: denoted and connoted messages. Denoted messages relays the image as reality. What you see is what you get. Connoted messages, however, take into account the signs and symbols embedded within the image and read them within a particular historical, social, and institutional context. Taking Caulfield and Barthes together, I focus on the discursive practices of viewing and creating photography taking into consideration the relevant historical timeframe, social structures, ideologies, and institutional constraints.

In analyzing the photographs, I first divided the photographs by photographer positionality and intended audience: professional/promotional and amateur/personal. Personal photographs were further disaggregated by location of the photograph: workplace and non-workplace. I treat each image as a text and open code them for common themes as they pertain to the various levels of analysis. Importantly, I examine each group of photographs as a set and do not provide an in-depth analysis of any singular photograph. The images included in this chapter were chosen as representative samples of the full sets similar to selections of quotations from text documents or interview transcripts. In describing the visual culture portrayed in Deer Park photographs, I focus upon the foreign and local representations of self by Deer Park employees. I argue that the foreign and the local are perceived realities that must be negotiated by Japanese

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Americans and are often simultaneously displayed in attempts to form communities of belonging and claim substantive citizenship.

"PART OF THE LANDSCAPE": PLAYING GENDER AND FOREIGNNESS AT DEER PARK

There is no getting around the necessity of performative Japaneseness by sansei employees at Deer Park given the amusement park's central theme. Getting hired at Deer Park, employees were expected to portray the role of an authentic Japanese villager. Many former employees remember being hired on the spot, often attributing their quick hire to their Japanese surnames and appearance. Costumes, in addition to the racialized (and gendered) bodies of Japanese Americans, formed an integral part of Deer Park's ability to effectively present "America's only authentic Japanese village" by reinforcing the Japanese-themed architecture and landscaping. As such, Employees became the inhabitants of this exotic fantasyland and were seen by park guests as foreign to the "real" America that stood just outside the park gates.

At Deer Park, male and female employees demonstrate the differential visual representations that mirror differential processes of racialization and assimilation experienced by Asian American men and women across history (Glenn 1988, 2002; Espiritu 2000; Espana-Maram 2006; Lim 2005; Kim 2010; Matsumoto 2014). For Asian Americans, women in particular have often played a central role in the representation and recuperation of Asia and Asian American identity (Lim 2005; Shibusawa 2006; Kim 2010; Matsumoto 2014). The intersections of race and gender were particularly visible for Japanese Americans during the postwar and Cold War periods. As Asia became transformed in US public and political imagination into a prime target for communist expansion, Cold War logics reconfigured Japan's image in a highly gendered way (Kim 2010; Shibusawa 2006). Jodi Kim (2010) describes the

shift of Japan's image from one of dangerous militaristic aggression, generally read as masculine, to a re-gendering of Japan as a docile and peaceful ally, portrayed through feminine imagery. Kim argues this "gendered racial rehabilitation paternalistically attempts to produce properly assimilated and anti-communist liberal Japanese and Japanese American citizen-subjects," who served as local representatives of a "tamed and demilitarized" Japanese nation-state (99). For Kim, gendered racial rehabilitation is key to understanding how Japanese Americans were transformed from enemy aliens to model minorities (also see Simpson 2001; Kang 2002 on gendered representations of Asian and Asian American women).

Deer Park was a gendered project in that, from the recollections of former employees, the gender balance among Deer Park employees was skewed toward females. Dress codes were another clear demonstration of Deer Park as a simultaneously racial and gendered project. Depending on gender and, somewhat, on department, employees at Deer Park were provided a yukata (cotton kimono) or happi coat. Maintenance staff, who were a mix of Japanese American and Mexican American men, were provided with standard work shirts with a Deer Park logo. Dress code policies were more comprehensive and restrictive for female employees than for their male counterparts. Women throughout the park, save those working as pearl divers or part of the sea life shows, were required to wear yukatas, which was a full head-to-toe uniform necessitating tremendous preparation time, and have their hair off the shoulder in either an up-do or short haircut. Employees could not recall any explicit policy regarding face make-up. Male employees had more variation on their uniform based on department. As mentioned previously, maintenance staff wore a provided work shirt. Most other male employees wore happi coats of varying colors depending on department. Other than the happi coat and work shirts, all other aspects of male work attire was loosely governed and supplied by the employees. Similar to women, men were

also required to keep hair off their shoulders, but longer male hairstyles remained common. The more stringent dress code policies towards female employees and gender imbalance among the employee population demonstrates the leveraging of a particularly feminine image of Japan at Deer Park. Such imagery was in keeping with the broader ideological shifts associated with the gendered racial rehabilitation in the reimagining of Japan.

The gendered dress code and provision of work uniforms were constructed to maintain a professional appearance all while keeping up the façade of old Japan. The authenticity of the work garb mandated by Deer Park, however, was a façade in more ways than one. Yukatas and happi coats were not the daily attire of contemporary or ancient Japan. Nor are yukatas and happi coats gendered in the way Deer Park categorized them. Yukatas are, in fact, light cotton kimonos occasionally worn during the hot summer months and have both male and female variations. Happi coats were traditionally worn my house servants or during festivals and used to demarcate familial or village affiliations. Nonetheless, yukatas and happi coats were certainly visibly foreign to the predominantly white middle-class patrons of Deer Park. Given this lack of familiarity, the yukatas and happi coats were plausibly authentic to ill-informed audiences.

Such plausible authenticity of employee costume is common among theme parks. However, Deer Park took costume an additional step by hiring ethnic Japanese employees, who matched the foreign scenery and theme of the park (corroborated by former General Manager). Female employees, particularly in the early days of the park, were almost exclusively Japanese American. Male employees, on the other hand, included employees of other racial backgrounds, although remained predominantly Japanese American. Non-Japanese American male employees were generally relegated to positions that were not seen by park guests, such a maintenance or kitchen staff. For sansei employees, their inescapable Japanese faces and bodies became part of

the work uniform. Sansei employees at Deer Park wore a literal embodiment of what Robert Park references as a racial uniform, a racially coded phenotype.

Sansei employees were not oblivious to their racial uniform, whether at work or in their local communities. Steve recalled when he was hired at the park, "they said, 'Here, you can dress like your ancestors.' So you got to play the part of being the Japanese of Asian background. Because you looked the part, so you could play the part." Another sansei employee, Denise worked as a pearl diver bringing oysters to park guests waiting by the side of the lagoon. She was instructed by management, "Don't speak, don't speak, because we want the illusion that you're from Japan. So you couldn't talk."

Figure 5.9. Kimonos were mandatory work attire for women at Japanese Village and Deer Park, even for those working in administrative positions away from park guests.

The leveraging of the racial uniform was not only apparent in the direct communication between management and staff, but also inscribed in corporate policies. The lax policy on hair and make-up, standing in stark contrast to stricter clothing policies, speaks to the intention of

Deer Park management to leverage the physical racial attributes of sansei employees as part of the authentic appearance of the park. Female employees working as hostesses in the deer field, working in the gift shops, and even those working behind high counters at the teahouse eateries or working administrative jobs behind the scenes were required to wear kimonos. Angela recalled her experiences working in the teahouse:

> All the girls had to wear kimonos. So umm, you have to wear the undergarment and the kimono and then you had the ties that bound you and then the obi, and then because I worked in food service, I have to wear a white apron, the Japanese kind over all of that. Oh, and then you had to wear tabis, the little socks, and then some like slippers, and that got really, really hot in the summertime, especially in the kitchen where there's all these heat being created, you know, from all the food production. So, it was pretty uncomfortable and I often wondered why, we, in the tea house had to wear the kimonos, you know because there wasn't much that they could see from the chest up maybe from over the counter.

Despite the overzealous kimono mandate, other wardrobe policies were conspicuously more lax. Former employees and the former general manager only recalled employees being required to keep a tidy appearance and hair off the shoulders. There was no expectation of female or male employees to don authentic hairstyles and make-up of ancient Japan. While no policy was explicitly stated, the description by employees and photographic images of park staff demonstrate how the Japanese faces and bodies of sansei employees were part of costume as much as any piece of clothing. Given the sanseis' innate Japanese look, policies regarding hair and make-up were deemed unnecessary.

In hiring sansei and leveraging their racial uniform to bolster the park's authenticity, Deer Park played upon and reinforced the perceived foreignness of Japanese Americans within the domestic US context. Further highlighting the expectation of foreignness of sansei employees, former employees recall a number of interactions with park guests who were shocked by their unaccented English. In one interaction, Tricia shared:

What's funny is the tourists that came here, you know, they were pretty ignorant. [Laughs] They would look at us and they'd go, "You speak English?" And we're going, "Yeah." And they look at our tabis (Japanese socks with a split between big toe and other toes) and go, "Do you only have two toes?" "No, that's just a Japanese sock."

Other former employees echoed Tricia's experience with patrons' microaggressions of assumed foreignness.

Every once in a while you would get a Caucasian guy who spoke Japanese and we would go, "Hey! We don't know what you're saying!"

Robert

We talked to people. They kind of expect you to speak Japanese and I didn't speak any Japanese. So I learned how to say "I don't know how to speak Japanese" [in Japanese].

Patricia

We would joke, because there were a lot of people that, because we were wearing kimonos, they thought we didn't know English, so they made hand gestures about, "Where do I find the bathroom or a place to eat?"

Michelle

Underscoring Deer Park management's successful leveraging the sanseis' racial uniform, Jill stated, "I guess they [patrons] thought we were authentic because we looked the part. I looked the part." Brenda and Jack, a sansei couple who met while working at Deer Park, similarly commented on how natural and convincing their racial uniform was for park guests:

Brenda: They [patrons] probably thought we're from Japan, even though we spoke perfect English.

Jack: We were probably just as Americanized as they were, I think sometimes they did approach me and go, "Do you speak English?" Yes I do.

Brenda: I don't think they saw us as Americans. They saw us as…

Jack: Part of the landscape.

Brenda: People from Japan, imported to work.

Jack: Kind of role playing a little bit, you know, it's like, when you put on the Japanese costume, you put on the Japanese facade and you know you become Japanese.

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Brenda: We put our hair up and we had little, you know, ornaments in our hair and you know, so you kind of put on your costume so to speak…you really didn't have to do too much because you look the part. You were Japanese and I think maybe that's why they wanted it to be authentic Japanese people who work there because you didn't have to play a part, you just…

Jack: You just have to look the part.

Brenda: Yeah and which we already did, I mean, that's part of our heritage.
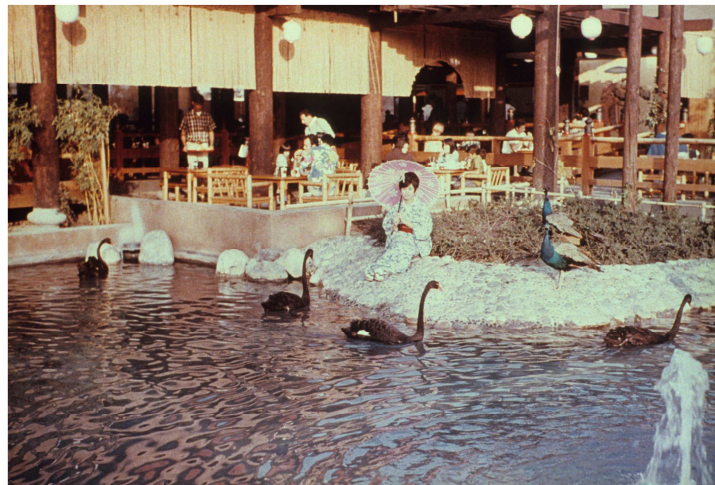
Figure 5.10. Comparative example of promotional and souvenir images of Japanese Village and Deer Park demonstrating the ornamental positioning of Japanese American female employees within the landscape

The promotional photographs generated by Deer Park, which have a heavy representation

of young ethnically Japanese women, confirm the ways that employees became "part of the

landscape." Traditionally dressed, these women were utilized in promotional photography to reinforce the authenticity of the park's Japaneseness as seen in the architecture and other aspects of the built environment. While their presence is certainly visible, they are not autonomous subjects in any of these photographs. Women held demure poses complete with parasols and traditional Japanese kimono keeping with the western image of the feminine East (Kang 2002). They serve as thematic lagoon-side decoration, sit amongst rock gardens, and serve as dispensaries for deer or dove feed. In this way, Japanese American women literally become inseparably embedded in the built foreign landscape.

Figure 5.11. Photograph from a press kit featuring a visit from
Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and his family posing with a kimono-clad woman

Figure 5.12. Another comparative example of Japanese American female employees displaye in promotional and souvenir materials as part of the landscape.

Ethnic Japanese men appear far less frequently in promotional photography than women. The images containing male subjects do not have them fading into the background, but continue to dehumanize them as show performers (See Figure 5.6). A handful of images show both white and Japanese American male animal trainers (See Figure 5.7). In these images, people are not the main focus, however, the high frequency of white men in these pictures suggests a racial hierarchy in occupational status within the park. Skilled positions, such as animal trainers, were reserved for white male employees with a few Japanese Americans mixed in. Japanese male imagery dominates in the promotional photographs of the cultural shows featuring martial arts. Such male depictions may seem to work against the reimagining of Japan as a demilitarized and docile ally, however, such performances were couched within an array of shows demonstrating the art and beauty of ancient Japanese culture rather than aggression (Skidmore 1991; Krug 2001). The samurai sword fight show was ornately costumed and categorized with performances such as the tea ceremony, traditional dance, and kabuki (Skidmore 1991). The karate show was introduced into the park in recognition of the growing popularity of Japanese martial arts in the United States following World War II (Tan 2004). The popular discourse around Karate focusing on the peaceful and self-defense orientation of Japanese martial arts also held true in the Deer Park performances. In this way, these masculine portrayals of Japanese culture and people also underwent a process of gendered racial rehabilitation whereby even seemingly aggressive representations are reclassified as performative, artistic, and non-threatening.

Through these photographs, Japanese Americans are rendered visible yet invisible. Their presence is surely visible and recognized as part of the park landscape. The audience's gaze upon these images or during a park visit would be wholly unaware that the employees pictured were US-born sansei from the local community. Sansei employees only reside and are only visible

within the confines of this foreign fantasy space. They are neither revealed nor understood as part of the local community. As such, they remain invisible in terms of belonging to the American nation and local community. Despite being the largest Asian American group during this time period, their third generation status, and being part of local Orange County communities, these Japanese American youth only become visible to park guests in their representation of a foreign culture.

The fading of Japanese American employees into the landscape of the park and becoming part of the attraction, is an example of the abjection of Japanese Americans as visible forever foreigners who are not perceived as members of the local Orange County community (Shimakawa 2002). As Deer Park was within the boundaries of the U.S. nation and brought middle-class Americans into contact with a culture they may have not otherwise encountered, Deer Park employees served as a tangible demarcation between the foreign and the domestic. Their very presence in the local community, as well as their ability to interact with park guest in culturally appropriate ways due to their local upbringing, marks them as within the national boundary. However, their portrayal as foreign continues to mark them as other. They become visible only through their legibility by park patrons as foreign objects.

NEGOTIATIONS OF VISIBLE BELONGING

Promotional photographs for sale as mementos of park visits or distributed to media outlets for marketing purposes attempted to maintain Deer Park's image as "America's only authentic Japanese village" through the predominant imagery of docile kimono-clad women and orientalized landscapes. However, the particular purpose of promotional photographs, which intentionally omits any possibility of local representations, cannot tell the full story of Deer Park

and the daily visual culture and agency practiced by park employees. Employees within Deer Park photographic images were not as docile and compliant as the picture may imply upon first glance. The visible foreignness seen through the gaze of the general public audience did not negate the inherent Americanness of sansei youth who grew up in the local communities and neighborhoods in Los Angeles and Orange Counties. As Lisa reminds us, "in our real lives we [sansei] grew up with all those people [in LA and Orange counties] anyways." Within personal photographs taken at the workplace, the local identities and belonging of male and female employees become visible within the confines of the dress code, which attempted to portray them as foreign.

Figure 5.13. Despite their inauthenticity, vibrantly colored kimonos and trendy contemporary hairstyles even in the promotional and souvenir imagery of Japanese Village and Deer Park.

Outside the park and out of their traditional Japanese garb, the style and actions of these youth would have been indistinguishable from any other American teen. The high school and college-aged sansei were exposed to the same television programs and read the same popular culture and fashion magazines as their white peers. Former employees recounted flipping

through the pages of *Tiger Beat* and *Seventeen Magazine* and sharing fashion and make-up tips during break times and after hours socializing. Such behaviors mirror those found among your nisei women prior to WWII who perused *Look* magazine, wore poodle skirts, Max Factor red lipstick, and permanent waves in the their hair (Lim 2005; Matsumoto 2014). In their own era, sansei drew upon the same popular trends and styles as the white American peers, implementing them upon Japanese American bodies. Certainly, these youth did not leave this American style at the park gate.

Personal photographs from the workplace are particularly informative in demonstrating how hairstyles and make-up all maintained a distinctly contemporary American flavor accompanying uniforms of "traditional" Japanese dress. Young men sported shaggy long hair in happi coats. Young women wore elaborate fashionable up-dos, simple make-up, and long eyelashes atop their kimonos. Even the kimonos drew from the vibrant color schemes popular during the late 1960s and early 1970s, rather than the more muted dye tones used in traditional silk kimonos. Teresa recounted, "The females could wear any colors that they wanted to. It wasn't – it can't be too outlandish. So, some of the females had really more ornate kimonos." As mentioned previously, the only dress code policies relevant to hair and make-up were women had to keep their hair off their shoulders with a short haircut or up-do and men had to be clean-shaven. For men, hair also could not extend beyond the shoulder. The relatively lax policies regarding hair and make-up provided space for creative expression among employees and employees drew creative inspiration from the youth culture that surrounded them as they grew up. The fashion accents of young men and women who were employed at Deer Park very much mirror the fashions depicted in the fashion, popular culture, and lifestyle magazines from the same period.

Figure 5.14. The trendy, contemporary, and legibly cool hairstyles and make-up of Japanese American female employees at work
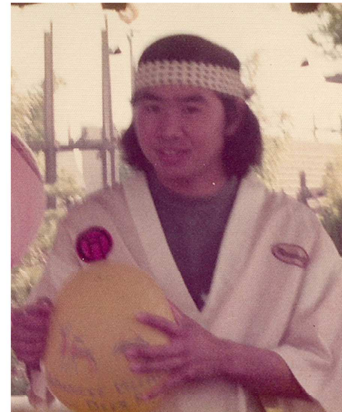
*Figure 5.15. The trendy, contemporary, and legibly cool hairstyles
of Japanese American male employees at work*

Within the space of Deer Park and despite their portrayal as foreign Japanese villagers, sansei employees demonstrated and claimed their belonging and citizenship within the local Orange County community and broader national imaginary through their fashion choices. In this way, the fashion practices of sansei employees can be understood as a variation of conspicuous consumption, to borrow a phrase from Veblen (1994[1899]). While Veblen's original conception of this term is rooted in social class inequalities, I suggest that conspicuous consumption is also useful in understanding the relationship between visual material culture and claims on citizenship. Most basically, Veblen demonstrates how individuals holding a subordinated position emulate the consumption patterns and displays artifacts of consumption of other individuals who hold positions higher in the social hierarchy. Individuals display "artifacts of consumption" in order to signal to others their membership within the higher social position (Triggs 2001: 101). In this way, Veblen's theory may be applicable to any hierarchically ordered social status. In a contemporary example, Park (2005) applies the concept of conspicuous consumption to the case of children of Asian American immigrant entrepreneurs. These second generation children lay claim to American citizenship and belonging through the consumption of status-laden material items, which are simultaneously recognized as achievement of higher social class and the American Dream. Matsumoto (2014) and Lim (2005) demonstrate that young nisei women in the pre- and postwar periods often deployed a conspicuous consumption of American fashion and activities in order to claim their place in their local community and US surroundings. Such fashion, culture, and activities were often hybridized with aspects of Japanese culture in order to form a uniquely Japanese American identity and space of belonging (also see Ruiz 1998 on cultural coalescence).

In the case of Deer Park employees, the relevant status sits at the intersection of race and citizenship. Full and recognized substantive citizenship holds the highest position within this hierarchy. Within the US context, this form of citizenship is more often associated and accessible to individuals recognized as racially white (Smith 1997; Glenn 2002; Cohen 2009). Importantly, the models and celebrities who were seen as the progenitors of American popular culture and fashion during the time of Deer Park were almost exclusively white. This reality tightened the relationship between whiteness and citizenship within the type of consumption sansei felt they had to conspicuously display in their claims on substantive citizenship. Sansei employees display markers of local culture in order to signal their belonging to the local community and American citizenry.

In stating that sansei youth at Deer Park were laying a claim on substantive citizenship through American fashion, I do not mean to claim any intentionality on the part of Deer Park employees. In fact, interviews with former employees revealed that they utilized contemporary American youth fashion because it was all they knew. Having grown up in Los Angeles and Orange Counties, American popular culture and fashion were the main exposures for these sansei. They did not even know how traditional Japanese hair and make-up would be styled. Regardless of intention, the practice of local culture in the fashion choices of sansei was a means through which sansei laid claim on substantive US citizenship and belonging within their local communities. However, such claims were not consistently recognized by broader society as represented by the park patrons. As mentioned earlier, park patrons were consistently surprised by the language abilities of sansei employees and, if they took the time to ask, were astounded to find out that they were born and raised in the communities surrounding Deer Park. All the while, these sansei had hairstyles and make-up that were no different than any other American teenager;

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perhaps, no different than the shocked patron. Suffice to say, the American fashion aesthetic of the Japanese American youth went largely unnoticed by park patrons.

The inability of park patrons to recognize the domestic aesthetic displayed by sansei employees, played well into the assumptions of Deer Park management who did not see a need to strongly regulate hair and make-up within the park's policies and procedures. The invisibility of American fashion and the lack of significance placed on policing such fashion on the part of management, speaks to the limitations of conspicuous consumption. Bourdieu (1984), in his seminal work *Distinction*, critiques and builds upon Veblen's theory by introducing the concept of taste as a means to differentiate between qualified membership and facades of such qualifications as well as police the boundary between those deemed qualified and unqualified to hold a particular high status. Taste enables individuals with high cultural capital and holding higher positions within the social hierarchy to safeguard their positions of status against those who attempt to gain equal status through supposedly false means. Applying these concepts to sansei employees at Deer Park, and Japanese Americans more broadly, the taste of white middle-class park patrons serve to distinguish Japanese American attempts to claim substantive citizenship through a lack of recognition of visual displays of local culture and fashion. Here, white middle-class patrons hold a higher position within the social hierarchy of citizenship and have a vested interest in protecting their privileged position from the encroachment of the heretofore perpetually foreign sansei. Under the hair and behind the make up remained a Japanese, and ultimately foreign, face. The invisibility of such domesticity and recognizing only foreignness speaks to the forever foreigner status experienced by Japanese Americans, as well as other Asian Americans regardless of generation status (Tuan 1999). The case of sansei at Deer

Park demonstrates how the visibility of racialized foreignness supersedes the visibility of the domestic aesthetic on the Japanese American body.

FINDING ETHNIC COMMUNITY THROUGH THE LEGIBLY COOL

As described above, sansei claims on substantive American citizenship were not readily recognized by Deer Park patrons or within the frames of promotional photography. While it would be a sufficient reason for sansei individuals to assert their local identities and citizenship through fashion choices for their individual benefit, I argue that such fashions acts also had a more specific socially communicative purpose. Despite their invisibility to park guests, American fashion cues were readily legible to other sansei employees. In fact, the way one implemented particular trends and presented oneself was the means through which sansei were recognized as "legibly cool" by fellow Deer Park employees. I introduce the concept of "legibly cool" to demonstrate how sansei signaled to one another their local identities and familiarity with American popular culture. While there are certainly many avenues to social acceptance, I define legible coolness with a particular orientation toward the context of Deer Park. At Deer Park, legible coolness meant displaying visual markers of contemporary American fashion through kimono color choice, hairstyle, make-up, as well as dress in non-work attire. The photographic images from the park demonstrate that clothing, hair, and make-up were important ways in which sansei were able to express this legible coolness to each other and these similarities in fashion aided in the construction of social bonds and community at Deer Park.

To say that Deer Park had a vibrant social scene is an understatement. During work hours, employees would socialize during break times and within their respective areas and departments of the park. Cynthia and Christine captured the social atmosphere during park hours.

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It seemed like a break the whole day because it was pretty – it was so much fun. Break time we would try to also, you know, like our friends, all of us, when we were some of the older ones that have been there for a while, we would try to work it, so that even if we were in different areas we would get our breaks at the same time. So, we would meet in the break area. We knew the guys in the kitchen. They would make special stuff for us. I mean it was really just social hour I think at break time, you know, we just go in there and have fun talking to everybody and then you know probably took a little bit of advantage of the park because they were so lax about a lot of things, so breaks, lunch times might have been a little longer than they were supposed to.

<div align="right">Cynthia</div>

We were all young then but it was probably the coolest job I have ever had, not because it was like partying all the time…but we would be rolling on the floor in our kimonos and laughing, you know, playing around with guys…it was just a ball!

<div align="right">Christine</div>

Figure 5.16. Employees socializing during work hours and break time at Japanese Village and Deer Park

Figure 5.17. Japanese Village and Deer Park was so central to the social lives of employees that many would return to the park after their shifts to hang out their friends still on the clock.

The socializing within Deer Park friends extended into personal time as well. Deer Park employees organized a bowling league, dances with live bands, sports nights, drag races, and numerous other events and activities. In fact, for many employees, the active social life surrounding the park was a deciding factor for joining the staff. Lisa expanded upon some of the social activities that sprang up in and around Deer Park.

> We actually, on Friday or Saturday nights, would bring bands and would have dances in the evenings. So, the kids would come back and we would have dances. There was a lot of activity geared towards families during the day and then at night, I think it was mainly the Asian kids that would come and dance to the bands of the era. It was neat. You go and meet people from different cities. That's where I met my husband. That's where Jack met Brenda. Where Diane met Nick. A lot of people met there at Japanese Village.

Figure 5.18. Weekend dance parties hosted at Japanese Village and Deer Park became a social hub for Southern California sansei youth.

Lisa also recalled how employees would spend nearly all their time with Deer Park friends during the summer months.

> After work, a lot of us got together after work…I remember my friend's house and we would all go out there to…maybe Cypress. Tons of us, we would just go there and play cards. They had a pool table. We'd play cards. Tons of us would drive there at night or after work and play pool till 12 or 1 o'clock then come home and go to work the next day. So you were with these people all the time.

For many employees and even their non-employee friends, Deer Park became the main hub of their social network and the main location where they were able to interact with other Japanese Americans in their age group. They formed their most meaningful friendships at Deer Park and often found potential dating partners and future spouses. Robert, who met his wife Lisa while working at Deer Park, commented on the building of romantic relationships within the Deer Park social network. When asked why he and his brothers decided to work at the park, he exclaimed:

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Check out all the girls! That's the only reason we worked there! It was a social gathering. You have to take into account how many people met and got married there… Before you went to Deer Park, most people probably didn't know a lot of Japanese people. Before I went there I don't think I ever dated someone Japanese."

Lisa expanded on this point to note that Deer Park and the marriages it facilitated had a profound impact on the Orange County Japanese American community and population. She stated, "Truly, the fourth generation would look totally different if not for Japanese Village"

Figure 5.19. Japanese Village and Deer Park employees organized sports nights at local gyms, which became social events for the broader Japanese American youth community in Southern California

Figure 5.20. Employees formed close friendships outside of the workplace and often vacationed together.

The primping seen in the personal photographs both from inside and outside the workplace can be read as an attempt to present an aesthetic that would be appealing and legible as contemporary cool to attract both friends and potential dates within these social spaces and activities. Deer Park was much more than just a workplace and a paycheck. Christine and her sister Julia, both worked at the park but…

Julia: Definitely weren't working there for the money.

Christine: No, and it was funny because by the time I stopped working there, sometimes I forget to pick up my paycheck.

Julia: Oh, we all did that.

Christine: I forgot to pick it up because…I don't know, it was like I'm over…making a lot of money, you know. It was just so much fun.

Time and again, former employees shared that one of the main reasons for coming to work at Deer Park, and especially continuing to work at the park across multiple years, was the vibrant social scene attached to the park.

For many of the employees who grew up in the overwhelming white suburbs of Orange County and south Los Angeles County, Deer Park was the first time that they associated with a large number of Japanese Americans of their own age. While most of these sansei were active participants in their home communities and schools and generally felt well integrated, the same individuals often recalled a lingering and unshakable sense of being different from their white peers despite friendships and similar interests. For those sansei who had a handful of other Japanese Americans in their schools and home neighborhoods, different interests or the perceived nerdiness and lack of "cool" of sansei classmates kept many former employees from affiliating with other Japanese Americans prior to Deer Park. Donna eloquently stated:

Deer Park was a chance to meet Japanese Americans. It was a good experience to see all different kind of Japanese with different backgrounds and everything and a big group of them. Because in high school, the few Asians, they were in my class and there were like maybe 3 Japanese boys and that wasn't really a good experience of 3 Japanese boys because they were not cool. But at Deer Park, it was like, there was such a broad range of them. The ones in my high school, they were just 3 of them and they weren't very good examples of what Japanese Americans could be like. So, this gave me the opportunity to kind of see all the different kinds of people that were in Orange County or who worked at Deer Park.

At Deer Park, sansei were exposed to a critical mass of "cool" sansei with a diverse set of interests and personalities. Within this large population of fellow sansei, employees were able to find other Japanese Americans with similar interests and built strong, lasting relationships and sense of community. Within this community, many employees commented that they found themselves and built their sense of self-esteem.

Importantly, former Deer Park employees consistently remarked that the ethnic background of fellow employees had a significant impact on the relationships. Many former employees commented that an interested in meeting more Japanese Americans their own age brought them to Deer Park in the first place. For these employees it was the combination of both ethnicity and legible cool that enabled the formation of community. To be sure, many sansei reported friendship with non-Japanese classmates and kids from their neighborhood based on similar interests. However, Deer Park friendship provided something different. Laura reflected on this ethnic bond:

I think, of course, I became much closer to those, you know, with the same background with me and same family-- yeah, family background; and the cultural, you know, sort of the American and Japanese culture combined, you know. So I think I have stayed friends with those people.

But more than the common cultural idiosyncrasies, Deer Park relationships provided an additional level of comfort and understanding. Deer Park employees shared the common experiences of growing up Japanese American in a still white-dominated society. Through Deer

Park, many sansei were able to find their community, a space of local belonging, and a basis

from which to build their substantive citizenship.

> Deer Park, that was my self esteem. I felt like I was okay. It was okay to be Japanese, and I was glad. I think I would've grown up wishing I was hakujin (white) if I did that differently. Everyone was everyone's friend. It was just like a utopia for sanseis.

<div align="right">Denise</div>

Deer Park employees report that many of their friendships have lasted into the present

day and remain some of their strongest relationships. Sharing a sense of connection with fellow

former employees despite long gaps in seeing each other, Michael said:

> Deer Park to me, it was always the lifelong friendships. In fact, that's one thing my daughter would always tell me when we go shopping or go anywhere. I have to stop and talk to somebody, say hi to an old friend. It's kind of a joke. "How many times is Dad going to stop and talk to somebody?" Wherever we go, I'll talk with somebody. I told them, "I'm rich with friends." I'm proud that I can go some place and say, "Hey, there's someone I can go talk to and get caught up."

As previously mentioned, many sansei met their future spouses at Deer Park built families and

laid the foundations for the fourth generation. As a testament to the lasting nature of Deer Park

relationships, a reunion was held in 1986, over 10 years after the park closed, with over 200

attendees including former employees, family, and friends. Such friendship were rooted in the

Deer Park experience where displays of visual culture mirroring the current and popular trends

enabled employees to be legible to each other as "cool."

Building on the arguments of Kim (2008), Kang (2002), and others, I find that for

Japanese Americans the relationship between visibility and recognition is a negotiated process.

Japanese Americans cannot be classified as simply visible or invisible. Different attributes of

visual culture are visible to different viewers. For Japanese Americans, the terms of visibility are

very much dependent upon the gaze of the audience. To park patrons and the broader public who

might view promotional photographs, sansei were only visible through their racialized

foreignness and placement within the Deer Park context. However, among their co-ethnic contemporaries, visibility was dependent upon American fashion. Sansei were visible, legible, and cool to their co-ethnic contemporaries through their deployment of American popular culture. Sansei attempts to make themselves visible as domestic subjects through their fashion choices at Deer Park seem to have fallen short of granting them recognized claim on substantive citizenship in the national imagination, but sansei were successful in making themselves visible to each other. This visibility was an important factor in enabling the formation of community among sansei in and around Deer Park. This community ultimately provided a local space of belonging.

While the assertion that visibility is a negotiated process may seem small, I believe it is an important distinction when considering how to achieve full substantive citizenship and recognition of Asian Americans as Americans. The corrective path cannot only address working to make Asian Americans visible within the national imaginary. The corrective path must change the way in which Asian Americans are visible; away from foreignness and toward legitimated domestic subjects.

CHAPTER 5

Ethnic History as American History: Claims on National Belonging

Thus far, this study has focused on local manifestations of belonging and substantive citizenship through ethnic community and relationships. However, sansei and yonsei negotiations of substantive citizenship extend beyond local belonging and move toward claims of national membership. In this chapter, I explore the rhetorical strategies deployed by sansei and yonsei to claim their place within America. Similar to their negotiations for local belonging, Japanese American claims on substantive citizenship at the national level rely explicitly upon the strategic deployment of their ethnicity.

> I think the Japanese, basically, are more established as they have been here longer, if you compare with the Vietnamese, or whatever else, who have been here a while. Japanese Americans suffered through the camps or whatever aspect in the 1940s and they're basically more established, where the Vietnamese are basically still, even though if it's from the 1970s, are still struggling.
>
> Steve, sansei

Steve speaks to the rhetorical strategies utilized by Japanese Americans to claim national belonging: (1) the long history of Japanese American in the United States; (2) the important role played by Japanese Americans in key US historical events, namely World War II; and (3) high levels of acculturation in comparison to other immigrant-origin communities. Steve comments on the Japanese American community as more established than other Asian American and immigrant communities. This firm grounding of the community is seen as a consequence of the longer history of Japanese Americans in US. Furthermore, Steve points to the World War II mass incarceration of Japanese Americans, through the euphemistic reference to "the camps," as evidence of Japanese American participation and presence within a broader US history. Such participation and presence marks a Japanese American claim to national belonging that sets them apart from other more recently arrived immigrants.

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While later generation Japanese Americans recognize their persistent stigma as forever foreigners, they do not question their own belonging to the US citizenry and nation-state. In the previous chapters, I explored the internal logics of later generation Japanese Americans ethnic community formation as integral to building a sense of substantive citizenship at the local level and providing a stepping stone to increased civic participation in their broader local communities. Such participation allows for a greater sense of belonging and substantive citizenship beyond the local and expanding to the national level. However, as demonstrated by Steve in the epigraph, later generation Japanese Americans also make direct claims upon substantive citizenship at the national level by asserting an ethnic lineage of participation in American history, in addition to local bases of substantive citizenship. Such claims are history-based, framing particular ethnic historical moments and facts as part of broader U.S. history to enable stronger claims on substantive citizenship.

To be sure, this path to substantive citizenship continues to centralize ethnicity and the ethnic community as a means to claim national belonging. As mentioned by Steve, among my later generation respondents, I find that Japanese Americans utilize history in two distinct ways to claim their Americanness: their national belonging and substantive citizenship. First, Japanese American have a strong awareness of and willingness to assert the long history of Japanese Americans with multiple generations in the United States, especially in juxtaposition to other Asian Americans and immigrant groups. Here, simple historical presence of family and the broader ethnic group within the national boundaries of the United States allows Japanese Americans to comfortably lay claim to an American identity and belonging. Second, later generation Japanese Americans highlight the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during the Second World War, otherwise known as Japanese American internment, as a key example of

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Japanese American centrality in an important episode in American history. Internment, a dark and well tread chapter in US history, serves as a touchstone for Japanese American claims of American historical participation and, hence, national belonging and substantive citizenship.

These two historical bases for national claims of belonging also give rise to a third rhetorical claim to substantive citizenship: comparative acculturation. Later generation Japanese Americans often reference their high level of acculturation and Americanization in comparison to other groups, other Asian Americans in particular. Such comparisons of acculturation continue to be rooted in the ethnic history of Japanese Americans in the United States. Japanese Americans are more Americanized, and hence more American, than other Asian Americans because of their longer history in the United States. Japanese American also reference the enduring impact of the internment experience in forcing Japanese Americans to relinquish their cultural and linguistic heritage further enhancing their acculturation, as compared to other ethnic groups who did not experience internment or a similar historical atrocity.

HISTORY MEANS BELONGING: ASSERTING JAPANESE AMERICAN HISTORICAL PRESENCE

In claiming national belonging, Japanese Americans often cite the long history of their families and the broader community in the United States. As my respondents are all third and fourth generation, their Japanese American families have been present in the United States since at least 1924, but most have histories extending into the late 1800s. Later generation Japanese Americans discuss this longevity of ethnic historical presence as a means to claim belonging to the broader nation and identify themselves as American. The long history of Japanese Americans becomes an integral part of how sansei and yonsei define themselves as an ethnic group and an American people. As Teresa, a sansei, states, "I think Japanese Americans are unique because we

are a community of Japanese that had been here so many generations." The long history and

resulting multiple generations make Japanese Americans unique among American ethnic groups,

particular compared to other Asian American ethnicities which whom Japanese Americans are

racially lumped. However, Japanese Americans do not only view this uniqueness in relationship

to other Asian Americans. Carrie described a frequent interaction and reaction to her

generational status, "Sometimes people are surprised. 'Oh you're fourth generation?! Oh, wow!

Some white people aren't even fourth generation.' But yeah, I get that a lot."

Japanese American utilize their later generation status to assert their Americanness even

above white people, who rarely have their belonging and substantive citizenship questioned in

racial terms. However, in asserting Americanness over some white people, sansei and yonsei do

not lose sight of their ethnic heritage. Yonsei siblings, Ashley and Matthew, demonstrate this

point:

> We were raised to be American. My mom made it a very strong point that we were
> American first and then Japanese American, to be specific. So, we were not any less
> American than anyone else.
>
> <div align="right">Ashley</div>

> I know where my family is from. We have these cultural things that we do. Many
> Americans, they know they are white but they can't distinguish what kind of European
> they are. They are just American. Whereas, for myself, I have my Japanese history.
>
> <div align="right">Matthew</div>

For Ashley and Matthew, being Japanese American is the means through which they claim full-

fledged Americanness. Claiming a Japanese American specificity does not detract from their

inherent Americanness. In fact, Ashley and Matthew take pride in being able to trace their

ancestry and knowing their ethnic history. Again, drawing a comparison between Japanese

Americans and white Americans, knowing and asserting Japanese American history provides an

additional legitimacy to their claims on national belonging; a less viable, and perhaps

unnecessary, claim for their white counterparts.

In the course of my interviews, respondents often made matter of fact statements

regarding the multiple generations and long history of Japanese Americans in the US without

further comment or explanation. However, as seen in Steve's epigraph, many respondents

expanded upon the more established community and progress made by Japanese Americans as a

result of their long tenure in the United States. Angela, a sansei, similarly states,

> Well, I think that they [other Asian Americans] see us as having been, kind of, the
> pioneers of being here. You know, the Chinese are probably the first of the Asians to
> come here, but probably the Japanese were the second, and then you have the later Asian
> immigrants, umm, coming later, the Koreans who are fairly new, Filipinos, Vietnamese,
> you know, all of the other Asians. So they probably see us a little bit more, umm, better
> established in the American society. Maybe we're not as ethnic as they are…and
> probably yeah, just a little bit more Americanized and we've – I don't know, we kind of
> are better established than they are.

The relationship between longer duration in the US and being more Americanized as well as the

comparisons made with other Asian American ethnicities will be discussed further in a later

section of this chapter. Nonetheless, Angela reinforces the long-term presence of Japanese

American in the US, the setting down of roots, and the establishing of place within the US

historical and racial landscape.

Lauren, a yonsei, offered two example of the tangible examples of the more established

nature of the Japanese American community. First, Lauren discussed the Little Tokyo

community and infrastructure in Los Angeles and how it serves as an example to other

immigrant communities. Lauren spoke of a Vietnamese American colleague who was highly

involved in Little Tokyo.

His reason for being active in all these things in Little Tokyo, even though he isn't Japanese American, is that he saw the Japanese American community as setting a precedent, and he was looking to see how the Japanese Americans have come as far as they did, and it was something that he could take and extrapolate and use in the Vietnamese American community. So, as assimilation and integration and upward mobility come more into play with his own community, he had this foresight of the Japanese American community. I don't know if it was just him, but I think that might be how some people might see it. They might look to Little Tokyo, historical preservation, cultural preservation. And by looking at the Japanese American National Museum, I think other communities might look to that to see a model of how a really strong institution can be built around ethnicity.

While Lauren speaks to the way Little Tokyo serves as an example for other Asian Americans, she also described the symbolic value of Little Tokyo as an embodiment of the historical presences of Japanese Americans in Los Angeles and the United States. This presence has enabled Japanese Americans to establish this community as well as institutions, such as the Japanese American National Museum, that are dedicated to "historical preservation, cultural preservation." Juxtaposing Little Tokyo and the Japanese American community with the more recently arrived Vietnamese American community further highlights the role of a long history and presence in the United States in claims of national belonging and American identity.

In the second example, Lauren described a campaign she participated in during college that sought to disaggregate ethnic specific data for Asian Americans on admission applications. Lauren and her Japanese American campus organization understood that the racial lumping of all Asian American students into a single racial category masked educational and admission disparities among different ethnicities. She explains,

I know there's a big disparity between Asian Americans, and sometimes it's just overlooked when you just lump them together. That was a whole part of our campus campaign to get the recognition and the resources for the Southeast Asian community that's desperately needed, and the Pacific Islander community…We [Japanese Americans] are recognizing where our privilege comes from. It's knowing that having been here a couple more generations, my grandparents having that struggle to get to where they are and get me to where I am, I stand on their shoulders. I'm aware of that generation difference between the communities.

Here, Lauren describes how the longstanding presence in the United States has enabled Japanese Americans to make gains in higher education, accrue various cultural and class based privileges, and establish themselves as part of the nation. Forgoing a discussion of the various forms of institutional racisms at play, Lauren understands the educational disparities among Asian American and Pacific Islander ethnic groups as a result of different lengths of history and number of generations. Japanese Americans have been able to make gains and establish prosperous communities in the US. However, Lauren notes how such gains were not made over a short duration and have been built across multiple generations. Importantly, Lauren also mentions that such gains were made through various struggles. Lauren later expanded this thought to say that such struggles, often rooted in discrimination and racism, is part of " what it means to be part of a minority" in the United States. Enduring such struggle helps to mark Japanese Americans as an American community belonging to the nation.

Japanese American = Internment

Lauren is not alone in her understanding of racial struggle through discrimination as part of a uniquely American experience. Both sansei and yonsei respondents draw upon more specific historical events in establishing Japanese American presence and legitimate claim to substantive citizenship. Most frequently referenced is the World War II experience and mass incarceration of Japanese Americans from the West Coast. The mass incarceration, otherwise known as internment, is by far the most common historical event mentioned by my respondents. It is a touchstone that represents not only the historical presence of Japanese American, but also involvement an infamous period of US history where Japanese Americans were clearly victims of US racism and experienced struggle. Emily and Jeremy highlight the struggles,

discrimination, and racism faced by earlier generations of Japanese Americans as both a means

to define the community and also as part of community claims of substantive citizenship:

> I think of Manzanar and World War II…I think of—I don't know, I just keep thinking of our culture nights, we have Nikkei Student Unions at different schools. All those Japanese American groups always emphasize—I don't know, they always emphasize the concentration camps. That's what I think of the most.
>
> Emily, yonsei

> They tried to give me some education, some background, on who my grandparents were and who there parents were and how we immigrated to this country through Maui and Hawaii. You hear a lot about camp, about the importance of the executive order and what my grandma went through going to Heart Mountain and her time there and how it changed our family dynamic. You hear a lot about the 442 and that involvement in the war.
>
> Jeremy, Multiracial Yonsei

My respondents may not all have an in-depth or scholarly knowledge of these dark

periods of US history, but all readily recognized it as part of US history and the obviously central

role that Japanese Americans and their families played. This history plays a strong role in how

Japanese Americans define themselves as an ethnic group and how they think about how they

belong to the US nation. Beyond knowing the atrocity occurred in the annals of Japanese

American and broader American histories, for most of my respondents, the internment

experience had a deeper resonance due to a familial connection to a former internees, most

commonly a grandparent. Ryan, a yonsei, was told about "camp" by his grandfather.

> I almost feel like, if my grandfather had never told me stories about the camps [I wouldn't think about being Japanese American as much]. It influences slightly in my head that there was a time when Japanese people were put in this bad situation. He is very upset about that whole era. So I kind of feel that anger within him…If I had never heard that, maybe my mentality would be different.

Knowing the experience of his grandfather led Ryan to have a stronger interest and connection to

his ethnic background and the history of his family and ethnic group. For Ryan, the internment

experience and his connection to it are central to his sense of being Japanese American.

Just as close familial connection to internment shapes Japanese American identity, some

respondents noted that the lack of knowledge of internment by other Japanese Americans came

as an utter shock. Charlene, a yonsei, relayed her interaction with a Japanese American co-

worker who had grown up on the East Coast.

> Joe didn't even know about…didn't know about internment until, like, really late in life. He grew up in areas where there weren't other Asian Americans, the complete opposite of me. That's so shocking to say out loud.

For Charlene and others, WWII mass incarceration is so central to the Japanese American

experience that it is almost unfathomable to claim Japanese American identity and belonging

without some understanding or knowledge on the historical event.

The historical gravity of the internment experience alone can clearly demonstrate why it

holds such a central place in the identity formation narratives of Japanese Americans. However,

it is important to remember that it is not the only notable historical event in Japanese American

history, nor is the hegemonic internment narrative of perseverance through adversity the only

possible storyline. To be sure, the hegemonic assimilationist internment narrative highlights the

miscarriage of justice, but also makes clear the peaceful cooperation of the Japanese American

community, loyalty proved through the military service, and upward mobility through model

minority hard work in the postwar period. This narrative can be read as a story of the American

Dream; a story of how Japanese American became Americans. The hegemonic narrative silences

other narratives of resistance and persistent hardship such as the no-no boys who refused their

draft orders from within the internment camps or the catastrophic economic, physical, and

mental impact that internment had on the lives of internees well after their release (Muller 2001;

Mimura 2009; Matsumoto 2014). The origin of Japanese American adherence to this narrative

lies in the narratives ability to recuperate the image of Japanese Americans and incorporate that image into the broader American historical narrative.

The historical atrocity of internment serves a dual purpose of placing Japanese Americans at the center of American history and providing the defining experience for Japanese American identity and belonging. The collective memory of internment serves an important component of Japanese American claims on national belonging. However, internment also serves as a driving force in the Americanization of the community. William, a sansei, clearly draws this connection.

> My dad was interned. His whole family was interned, so there was a bit of an assimilationist philosophy around the language, since he was in prison for just being who he was, basically. So, we didn't grow up with the language. Most of my sansei and yonsei friends, same thing. I think it's a big byproduct or negative consequence of the internment.

Following WWII and release from internment camps, many within the Japanese American community attempted to shed themselves and their families of any markers of cultural difference from the American mainstream. Nisei taught their sansei children to speak English only (Wilson & Hosokawa 1980; Spickard 2009). Interestingly, while the ethnic narrative of acculturation due to internment is widespread within the Japanese American community, the process of language loss by the third generation is not unique to the Japanese American experience. In fact, Rumbaut (2009) find that the US at large is a "language graveyard" where ethnic language retention rarely lasts beyond the second generation (as see Lopez 1978; Portes & Rumbaut 2006; Rumbaut, Massey, & Bean 2006). Pointing out such broad findings on immigrant incorporation is not to say that internment did not play an important role in curtailing intergenerational language and cultural transmission for Japanese Americans. Regardless of such empirical findings, the mere fact that Japanese Americans collectively assert internment's significance is a clear demonstration of an explicitly ethnic historical claim on acculturation and American identity.

The following section will explore the ways that, similar to the multiple generations of Japanese Americans in the US, the internment experience forms a historical basis for Japanese American acculturation and a differentiating factor when compared to other Asian American and immigrant communities.

MORE AMERICAN THAN THEM: HISTORY AND COMPARATIVE ACCULTURATION

Later generation Japanese Americans utilize their long ethnic history in the US and participation in key US historical events, such as WWII and internment, to define what it means to be Japanese American and substantive citizen. While the previous sections demonstrate how historical citations are deployed on their own, they are also seen as driving factors in a longer process of acculturation and Americanization. Furthermore, later generation Japanese Americans leverage historical presence and participation as a point of differentiation between themselves and more recently arrived immigrant groups. In particular, Japanese Americans differentiate themselves from other Asian Americans, with whom they are often racially lumped as forever foreigners. Drawing such comparisons also extends to the level of acculturation and Americanization. Due to the long history and experience with internment, later generation Japanese Americans see themselves as more acculturated and American.

Tracy, a yonsei, provides a clear demonstration of how long history, multiple generations, and internment led to acculturation for Japanese Americans.

As a fourth-generation, I was a lot more Americanized than a lot of my friends who were Korean first- or second-generation. So there was a little bit of a difference there. I never spoke another language. I didn't speak Japanese. They were speaking different languages with their parents. But obviously once you become a fourth-generation, it kind of dropped off…They'll ask me why I don't speak Japanese, and I'll let them know, all these things happened. We were interned. The Japanese Americans were trying to assimilate towards American culture, because they didn't want to be perceived as being different by speaking this other language. So, there's a lot of history behind why a lot of people don't speak Japanese any more. They were trying to be more American in an American's eyes. So I do sometimes go over that with people, because I get that question a lot, why I don't speak Japanese.

While history and internment are provided as reasons why Tracy and her family no longer speak the Japanese language, she does so by juxtaposing the Japanese American experience with that of other Asian Americans who are only first or second generation and did not go through the experience of internment. Tracy's assertion that the internment experience lead to the seemingly accelerated acculturation process of Japanese Americans echoes William's earlier quotation as well as the broadly accepted narrative of the Japanese American ethnic experience. Amber, another yonsei, also speaks of her lack of language ability in reference to meeting her husband's family.

When I met my husband's family—they're first generation here—his parents were like, "You don't speak your language?!" They can't wrap their head around me being full Japanese but not speaking my own language…So, they're realized, "Oh, wow, your family has been here a long time." I'm like, "Yeah."

Unlike Tracy, Amber does not directly attribute the tipping point of acculturation processes to the internment experience. Elsewhere in her interview, Amber discusses the importance of internment in defining the Japanese American experience. Similar to Tracy, Amber highlights the importance of time in the US, in this case generations, in leading to acculturation and language loss. Amber also relates her lack language ability in comparison to other Asian Americans, in this case her Filipino American in-laws.

Amber and Tracy also relay the expectation of language knowledge by others. For Amber, this is based on her "full Japanese" ethnic background. For Tracy, it would seem that other Asian Americans stereotype Japanese Americans to be of a similar generation and equipped with similar cultural knowledge. Both Amber and Tracy fall victim to the forever foreigner stigma as applied by other Asian Americans. Amber and Tracy make a conscious effort to assert the uniqueness of the Japanese American experience, through multiple generations and the internment experience, to differentiate themselves from these other Asian American ethnic groups with shorter histories in the US.

As an easily recognized and highly visible form of ethnic culture, it is not surprising that language is frequently commented upon by sansei and yonsei respondents. Language serves as a stand in for a broader set of cultural practices that have similarly attenuated over time or as a result of the internment experience. In addition to language and cultural loss, respondents also speak about the structural aspects of assimilation as impacted by the long history of Japanese Americans in the US. For instance, Megan, a multiracial yonsei, shared how she views the disappearance of Japantowns as a result of conscious assimilation following internment.

> Japanese American culture…I would think a lot of this assimilation stuff. That's the one thing I sort of understood from after WWII. Just trying to get in and be assimilated with the group, not stay apart. You know, there are not very many Japantowns or anything like that. There's little communities here and there but you never see or I don't feel like I see much of a grouping of Japanese people who aren't trying to sort of get out into the rest of the US.

The lack of ethnic enclaves is read as a sign of Japanese American assimilation, which is seen as hastened by the wartime internment. From Megan and other later generation Japanese Americans' point of view, Japanese Americans assimilated through residential dispersal and acculturation so they could not be singled out and targeted in the future.

Respondents also see the observed rates of out marriage, both intraracial and interracial, as result of Japanese American long historical presence.

> I think Japanese Americans have been here longer than a lot of the other Asian Americans; they're more assimilated with American culture. I see Japanese Americans marrying a lot of different types of ethnicities now, especially fourth generation, whereas other Asian Americans, like Chinese or Koreans, kind of stay within their community, which isn't good or bad or whatever. Really, it's because they're a first- or second-generation community as opposed to a fourth-generation community.
>
> Todd, yonsei

Leveraging multiple generations in the US, Todd marks the differences he between Japanese Americans and his first- and second generation Asian American peers through the higher prevalence of out marriage among Japanese Americans. Mirroring the logic of many assimilationist scholars, Todd views out marriage with other ethnic and racial groups as an expression in reduced difference and social distance (Lee & Bean 2010). In referencing out marriage, Todd includes both interracial and interethnic unions. Todd's wife is, in fact, Chinese American. Todd reframes acculturation and generation as a reason why Japanese Americans are better able to integrate into romantic social relationships across ethnic lines. Once again, Japanese Americans are described in contrast to other Asian Americans who are somehow less "American" due to their less prevalent out marriages.

For later generation Japanese Americans, issues of assimilation and acculturation are only salient as points of differentiation from other immigrant-origin communities, most frequently other Asian Americans. However, when thinking about their own status and culture, sansei and yonsei do not necessarily think of themselves as needing to go out of their way to prove their Americanness. For Japanese Americans, their claim on American identity and belonging is self-evident. Tammy, a sansei, discusses her first generation Chinese American friend's anxiety over assimilation:

I wonder if it's the generation…because we have a friend who came from Hong Kong, came here for the college. Her son went to Berkeley and joined an Asian fraternity. And she told us, "I didn't raise him to join the Asian fraternity." And so, you were saying like, she probably wants him to assimilate more with the Caucasians.

Tammy interpreted her friend's anger as a desire for her son to join a white fraternity, rather than an Asian one. Joining a white fraternity would signal a higher degree of assimilation and acculturation, which Tammy's friend thought she had instilled in her American raised son. For Tammy, this reaction was peculiar. She did not share her friend's concern over the type of fraternity and felt her friend had a heightened anxiety over portraying an assimilated visage due to her immigrant status. As a sansei, Tammy felt that she, or her children, should feel free to associate with organizations and individuals regardless of race. Tammy believed such social choices should not reflect upon her claims to national belonging reflecting a greater security in her American identity.

Racial Replenishment of Ethnicity Redux

While later generation Japanese Americans offered comparison between themselves and a broad spectrum of immigrant and racial groups in their assertions of national belonging, none were as prevalent as comparison with other Asian American ethnicities. The frequency of Asian American comparisons speaks to respondents' recognition of the common "Asian" racialization as forever foreigners. In marking themselves as distinct from other Asian American ethnic groups through assertions of historical presence and participation, sansei and yonsei are asserting the ethnic uniqueness of Japanese Americans. They are highlighting their ethnic background, rather than losing it to the "twilight of ethnicity" (Alba 1985).

Importantly, this persistent assertion in ethnicity is in reaction to the influx of similarly racialized immigrants from Asia. As discussed in Chapter 3, this is a prime example of the racial

replenishment of Japanese American ethnicity. Crystal, a multiracial yonsei, reiterates this point

through a discussion of here interaction with Asian Americans of other ethnic backgrounds.

> I tried to go to one Asian American club meeting [in college], and a lot of the other folks
> in the room were second generation, so when they were going around talking about
> issues, they were talking about being the children of immigrants, that experience, and
> assimilation and all these things. And as a fourth-generation Japanese American, you're
> just like, "I don't know. My dad grew up in LA. His dad grew up in Fresno and then LA.
> We are just like Californians." They were expecting me to contribute, and I'd be like, "I
> have nothing. I have nothing to talk about on these conversation points."

Crystal attended this club meeting due to the racial similarity she felt with other Asian

Americans. Upon arrival, however, she quickly realized that the commonality she felt with these

students ended with their similar racial phenotype. Crystal shared very little with here second

generation colleagues in terms of history and lived experience. Within this space, Crystal

realized the distinctness of the Japanese American experience from other Asian Americans,

making her feel like just a Californian. Placing herself in juxtaposition with other Asian

Americans ultimately led to an increased awareness and assertion of a particularly Japanese

American ethnic identity in contrast to other Asian Americans who had less generations in the

US. In short, her ethnicity was replenished through the interaction with others who were

similarly racialized but have very different lived experiences.

MOMENTS OF RECOGNITION & LEGITIMIZED CLAIMS OF NATIONAL BELONGING

Importantly, these findings only speak to the way that Japanese Americans make their

claims on substantive citizenship, but not how such claim frames are interpreted or accepted by

the broader national public. At particular historical moments, Japanese American claims of

national belonging have been recognized at the national level. As discussed in previous chapters,

the shifting global politics of the Cold War era allowed for a simultaneous shift in the image of

Japanese Americans from wartime enemy aliens to trusted allies and friends (Brooks 2009; Cheng 2013; Wu 2014). This new treatment of Japanese Americans, as well as other racial minorities, was a response to increasing Soviet propaganda exposing the inherent racism within US democracy. To combat such propaganda, the US began passing anti-racist legislation in housing, voting rights, and immigration culminating in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Dudziak 2000). Such expansion of rights demonstrates a greater recognition on the part of the US government of Japanese American membership and belonging within the nation. Beyond the expansion of social rights, the image of Japanese Americans also shifted as a result of Cold War politics. Due to their high levels of economic and educational success, Japanese Americans as well as Chinese Americans became the poster children of US anti-racism. This increasingly positive image painted Asian Americans as model minorities achieving American Dream success. Ultimately, the model minority imagery relates to assimilation and integration into US society reflecting a success completion of the process of becoming American.

Another example of recognition of Japanese American substantive citizenship is the redress and reparations movement within the Japanese American community in the 1970s and 1980s. The wartime incarceration experience was a taboo subject within the community in the immediate postwar period, euphemistically referenced as "camp." However, as the sansei came of age and became politicized through their college experiences and the Asian American Movement, they began to ask questions of their nisei parents about their wartime experiences. Such questions sparked a movement to seek redress and reparations on behalf of former internees from the federal government beginning in the 1970s (Maki et al 1999; Takezawa 1995). Through two decades of struggle, much Congressional debate and legislation, a federal commission, and 11 public hearings held in 10 cities across the US, redress was finally achieved with the passage

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and signing of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 (Maki et al 1999; Takezawa 1995). This act

provided each surviving internee with a formal letter of apology from the President of the United

States and a reparations payment of $20,000 (Maki et al 1999; Takezawa 1995). With the

passage of the redress bill, the federal government recognized its violation of the rights if citizens

and permanent residents as well as the membership and belonging of Japanese Americans to the

US nation. Interestingly, the redress movement helped to solidify Japanese Americans' own

sense of belonging and substantive citizenship through the demanding of rights afforded to

society members (Takezawa 1995). Redress simultaneously provided recognition of membership

by the state.

  While the Cold War, Redress Movement, as well as other events are important historical

points marking the improved racial status and recognition of belonging within the US, such

recognition and mobility remains inconsistent in the lived experience of Japanese Americans.

Persistent racialization as forever foreigners, daily microaggressions, and lingering prejudice and

discrimination serve as a more consistent reminder for Japanese Americans of their contingent

and sporadic acceptance into community membership. Importantly, even the two moments of

recognition described here were contingent upon broader US state and national security interests

more so than goodwill towards Japanese Americans as national community members. As stated

before, the shifting image of Japanese Americans during the Cold War was fundamentally tied to

the need to present a more positive image of US democracy to world to enhance the US's ability

to contain the Communist threat. Redress coming at the twilight of the Cold War can also be

understood as an attempt at redemption that had more to do with reviving moral superiority and

American exceptionalism that righting the wrong committed against Japanese American citizens

(Kozen 2012).

In the end, Japanese American claims on national belonging are only claims. clearly feel that they are deserving, and rightfully so. However, as Japanese Americans in this study continue to report that they feel racially othered as forever foreigners, it is apparent that their belonging to and within the US is still too often not recognized by others. At best, their claims are recognized and legitimated by the nation and its citizenry sporadically or at points in time when seen as beneficial to US state interests. Even at these moments of recognition, its seems Japanese Americans continue to be viewed as forever foreign or honorary Americans placed in a marginal position of inclusion, what Karen Shimakawa (2002) refers to as "national abjection." Japanese American presence in the US nation is only recognized as the periphery and demarcates the outer boundaries of membership within the US nation

While legitimation and recognition of belonging by fellow community members is a necessary component of true substantive citizenship as defined by Glenn, Japanese American claims provide them with their own sense of security and belonging to the US nation and its history. It places them in a position to expand the racial definition of US substantive citizenship in more meaningful ways. This position and self-supported sense of belonging is not achieved through a relinquishing of ethnicity as posited by assimilation theorists nor a maintenance of ancestral cultural practices as seen in multiculturalist discourses. Rather, Japanese Americans call upon an ethnic-specific history firmly rooted in an explicitly US-based context of racialization to achieve their sense of belonging to the nation.

ASSERTING HISTORY, EXPANDING AND LIMITING THE MEANING OF AMERICAN

Later generation Japanese Americans utilize their long history, multiple generations, and the familial connection to internment as a way to assert their national belonging. Such assertions,

however, are certainly flawed ways to claim Americanness in terms of a broader sense of justice and inclusion. To use historical presence and participation is to severely limit the boundaries of who can be considered an American. Japanese American deployment of such historical factors attempts to expand the definition of American, but ultimately rebuilds exclusionary walls in new locations. What is the requisite number of years necessary to legitimately claim an American identity? What degree of atrocity must be committed against an ethnic group before they can be recognized as part of the nation?

By asserting history, Japanese Americans expand the meaning of American but only enough to let themselves in. Importantly, none of my respondents stated that historical presence and participation were the only ways to claim national belonging. They only asserted them as Japanese American claims and claims that could not be similarly made by other Asian Americans. Potentially, other Asian Americans and other racial and ethnic groups may have other recourses to claim national belonging. Such claims may be unavailable to Japanese Americans. Unfortunately, this study is unable to reveal the full range of national belonging claims made by a diverse spectrum of ethnic and racial groups. However, the Japanese American case provides an example of how one such ethnic group claims national belonging and points to the need to expand the meaning and racial definition of American beyond its existing boundaries. To return to Carbado's concept of racial naturalization, racial and ethnic minorities must be allowed to naturalize into American citizenship in a way that does not place them in a subordinate position. The definition of American citizen must be rewritten to allow for substantive citizenship for all regardless of difference.

CONCLUSION

Race Matters: Citizenship, Belonging, and the Critique of Assimilation

And race matters for reasons that really are only skin deep, that cannot be discussed any other way, and that cannot be wished away… Race matters to a young woman's sense of self when she states her hometown, and then is pressed, "No, where are you really from?", regardless of how many generations her family has been in the country. Race matters to a young person addressed by a stranger in a foreign language, which he does not understand because only English was spoken at home. Race matters because of the slights, the snickers, the silent judgments that reinforce that most crippling of thoughts: "I do not belong here."

<div align="right">

Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor
Dissenting Opinion in *Schuette v. BAMN*, 572 U.S. ___ (2014)

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As I began thinking about the final chapter of my dissertation and the concluding message I wanted to convey as the capstone of my doctoral education, the US Supreme Court handed down a ruling upholding a Michigan state referendum banning race-based affirmative action in public university admission decisions. While the plurality's opinion focused on right of voters to define the decision making processes of government bodies, Justice Sotomayor penned a dissenting opinion, joined by Justice Ginsburg, reminding her colleagues of the persistent impact of race on the lived experience of minorities that will not simply disappear if we pretend it does not exist. Justice Sotomayor continued, "The way to stop discrimination on the basis of race is to speak openly and candidly on the subject of race" (*Schuette v. BAMN* 2014: 46).

Debates over affirmative action generally place Asian Americans in opposition to other people of color and Justice Sotomayor's quotation states no particular racial group. However, the vignettes of racialized experiences quoted in the epigraph could very well be the mundane microaggressions described by the later generation Japanese American respondents in my study. In her reference to assumed foreignness in terms of origin and language, Justice Sotomayor alludes to the persistence of racialization regardless of place of birth and acculturation; race trumps assimilation. Finally, Justice Sotomayor connects race to substantive citizenship as these

racialized experiences add up to a sense on non-belonging. Race matters and it matters for substantive citizenship and a sense of belonging.

Race matters for later generation Japanese Americans and their substantive citizenship as well. Race has mattered from the bleak 1914 prediction of Robert Park and the inescapable Japanese American racial uniform to World War II mass incarceration to the day-to-day experience of later generation Japanese American in the early twenty-first century; albeit in varied ways. Today, race continues to limit the ability of later generation Japanese Americans to achieve full membership in US society. The story told in this dissertation is one of persistent racialized difference, resulting limits on substantive citizenship, and the agentic social negotiations by later generation Japanese Americans to form their own sense of local and national belonging.

Race is also implicated in how Japanese Americans think about their own ethnicity. I argue that Japanese American ethnicity is replenished and augmented due the common racialization with other Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners. The forever foreigner racialization persists, in part, due to the return of large-scale migration from Asia following policy reforms beginning in 1965. Immigration from Japan, however, did not return in any significant numbers. As a result, the contemporary Japanese American population is the only Asian American ethnic group to be predominantly native-born and in the later generation. This fact does not go unnoticed by later generation Japanese Americans who assert their unique generational status and ethnic identity as a way to differentiate themselves from other, similarly racialized ethnic groups. From the perspective of later generation Japanese Americans respondents in this study: while the forever foreigner label might apply to other Asian Americans, it does not apply to Japanese Americans.

Similar to Jimenez's breakthrough study on the replenished ethnicity of later generation Mexican Americans, immigrants help to replenish the ethnicity of later generation Japanese Americans. However, the immigrants in Jimenez's study share the same ethnicity with later generation Mexican Americans and offer both cultural and identificational replenishment. For later generation Japanese Americans, the replenishing immigrants do not share the same ethnicity, but share a common racialization in the US context. To differentiate themselves from other similarly racialized "Asians," later generation Japanese Americans assert and practice their ethnicity in more pronounced ways. In particular, Japanese Americans negotiate their substantive citizenship through localized practices of ethnic and racial community formation. They rely on ethnic community to shape their sense of citizenship.

This dissertation has examined the case of later generation Japanese Americans to provide empirical proof of the limited scope of contemporary assimilation theory and the impact of race on the lived experiences of immigrant-origin community members who have come to embody assimilation success. Through explorations of persistent social marginalization, community formation practices, and history-based claims on national belonging, my dissertation shares its major take away point with Justice Sotomayor's dissent: race matters. In this concluding chapter, I would like to drive this point home further through a discussion of two subjects that have not yet been given proper focus. Through a more thorough discussion of symbolic ethnicity and the growing multiracial and multiethnic dimension of Japanese American communities, I hope to tie together the various findings and theoretical implications explained in the previous chapters. Symbolic ethnicity and multiraciality are yet two more social contexts where race matters for later generation Japanese Americans.

Also in 2014, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, an international peer-reviewed journal committed to social science research on race and ethnicity, published a review issue that included a symposium on "The Coming Darkness of Late Generation European Ethnicity." Fittingly, Herbert Gans, who authored the seminal piece on symbolic ethnicity also published in *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (Gans 1979), opens up the discussion among a who's who list of immigration scholars who have focused on later generations of various European ethnic groups.[23] In their own way, each author discusses the increasingly nostalgic, voluntary, and "in name only" ethnicity maintained with each passing generation. Unlike their immigrant ancestors, ethnicity does not structure the life choices, opportunities, or relationships of later generation European Americans, but is consciously asserted identity based in cultural symbols harkening back to the old country. Kasinitz (2014) reminds us that conspicuous displays of ethnicity, often associated with a third generation revival of ethnicity, are actually variations of symbolic ethnicity given their weak connection to ethnic substance. Waters (2014) comments on the growth and role of interracial marriage in increasing the availability of ethnic options and allowing symbolic ethnic practice to cross the color line. The symposium's collection of scholars concur that with each passing generation the salience of ethnicity, even of the symbolic variety, becomes increasingly tenuous for both white and non-white ethnics.

Within the symposium, the focus of each commentary is later generation European Americans, which could signal a tacit recognition of the different racial trajectory of non-white later generation Americans, such as Japanese Americans. However, Asian Americans, as well as Latinos, finally enter the discussion as part of the new wave of post-1965 immigrants. While

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[23] Participants in this symposium include: Herbert J. Gans, Mary C. Waters, Philip Kasinitz, Peter Kivisto, Werner Sollors, Richard Alba, Nancy Foner, Stephen Steinberg, and John Mollenkopf.

their non-white racial status is recognized, their assimilatory path is all but predetermined as authors note how their contemporary patterns of integration outpace those of European predecessors. Glossing over the subject, readers are left to believe that immigrants of color will assimilate all the same. In these discussions, there is no mention of Japanese Americans as an empirically valid case for knowledge production on the subject of later generation ethnicity. Later generation Japanese Americans only appear in a single sentence of Gans' final rebuttal as a largely ignored group that possibly should be studied.

Importantly, later generation Japanese Americans are not resisting assimilation, acculturation, or a more symbolic practice of ethnicity. The persistent racial othering of Japanese Americans prevent such full outcomes. It is also true that many aspects of Japanese American ethnic practice could be considered symbolic in the way described by Gans and others. However, I would argue that aspects of any ethnicity, such as food, holidays, and other celebrations, are symbolic even among the immigrant generations. Such symbolic practices aside, what I hope is clear from the preceding chapters is that the attachments, salience, and practices of Japanese American ethnicity in the later generations move far beyond the symbolic forms noted among later generation European Americans. For later generation Japanese Americans, their ethnicity coupled with their race continues to structure their lives and impact relationship building.

Examining the case of intermarriage, a prominent reference by immigration and race scholars in the rapid assimilation of non-white immigrant-origin communities and the lowering of racial boundaries, the more than symbolic natural of Japanese American ethnicity is apparent. Race and ethnicity play a heavy role in the marriage choices of my respondents, both those who out-married and those who in-married. Several respondents spoke about intentionally wanting and seeking a white spouse so their children would look less Japanese. Such words demonstrate a

reaction to a persistent racialization and othering of Japaneseness that such respondents wished to distance their children from through intermarriage and multiraciality. Conversely, respondents also spoke of wanting a Japanese American spouse due to perceived similarities in culture and experience. Such desires often expanded to potential Asian American spouses of other ethnicities. While mere ability and achievement of intermarriage may point to diminishing ethnic distinctness and reduced racial boundaries, examining the outcome alone overlooks the way in which race and ethnicity continue to bound and influence individual marital considerations that bring such outcomes. Such decisions are made in local and national contexts that continue to be governed by race.

It is within such racialized contexts that Japanese Americans continue to build ethnic community. These same contexts shape how people feel they belong to their local communities and the nation. Japanese American community formations represent another ethnic practice that moves beyond the symbolic for the later generations. To be clear, the formation of ethnic specific community spaces by Japanese Americans does not diminish the fact that they are often active participants in other, non-ethnic specific communities. They hold multiple community memberships. Nonetheless, ethnic community continues to be one of these multiple communities of membership for later generation Japanese Americans; one that has a significant impact on their lives. For later generation Japanese Americans, ethnicity and race continue to shape how they view themselves and interact within their neighborhoods, local communities, and within the broader national citizenry in ways that exceed the symbolic.

Symbolic Ethnicity and Minority Cultures of Mobility

In his initial essay on symbolic ethnicity, Gans (1979) ties the nostalgic practices of ethnicity to upward socioeconomic mobility, access to, and increased contact with the white middle class. As established in countless pervious studies and reinforced by my present study focused on suburban Southern California, Japanese Americans have on average achieved high levels of socioeconomic success and middle, if not upper middle, class status. Race-blind assimilation logic would follow that later generation Japanese Americans should only retain symbolic ethnicity. However, as previously established Japanese American ethnic continues to be more than symbolic. To understand the class analysis proposed by Gans and provide another way to understand the ethnic practices of later generation Japanese Americans, I would like to return to the work on minority cultures of mobility and the minority middle class (Neckerman et al 1999; Pattillo-McCoy 1999; Lacy 2007; Aguis Vallejo 2012).

Neckerman and colleagues (1999) introduced the concept of minority cultures of mobility as an expansion upon segment assimilation (Portes & Zhou 1993; Portes & Rumbaut 2006). In their original formation of segmented assimilation, Portes and Zhou (1993) posit three trajectories: (1) integration into a white-dominated middle class, (2) delayed assimilation with strategic retention of immigrant culture and community, and (3) downward assimilation into a racialized underclass. Conspicuously missing from this outline is a path for upwardly mobile ethnic and racial minorities. Minority cultures of mobility explains the unique cultural elements utilized by upwardly mobile minorities that arise in reaction to the distinct problems faced by middle class minorities. In the continuing context of racial discrimination and socioeconomic inequality, Neckerman et al argue that middle class minorities are faced with two problems: increased interracial interactions, particularly with whites, in public settings and inter-class

interactions within their own ethnic minority community. Minority cultures of mobility represent strategies for negotiating such problems present in middle class minorities' daily lives. Neckerman et al (1999) use the case of middle class African Americans as well as West Indian immigrants to illuminate one case of minority cultures of mobility that often include: ethnic specific social and professional organizations, conspicuous cultural displays of class status, and maintaining ethnic and racial ties in "private lives." Middle class blacks often utilize accomodationist tactics such as adopting white linguistic and interactional styles while in white-dominated spaces but maintain separate ethnic social spheres and cultural frameworks. Aguis Vallejo (2012) found variations of such practices among middle class Mexican Americans.

While aspects of minority cultures of mobility may be viewed as symbolic, overall ethnic and cultural practices by middle class minorities clearly impact and structure their daily lives in meaningful ways. Minority cultures of mobility, then, is not simply an extension of segmented assimilation theory but also offers a new way to understand how a consequential ethnicity persists among upwardly mobile minorities. I argue that later generation Japanese Americans are an important case to illuminate the intersection of these three literatures. In exploring the community formation practices of suburban Japanese Americans, this study provides another example of a culture of mobility of a middle class minority. Despite the frequent assertion that Asian Americans, in general, are upwardly mobile, the minority culture of mobility thesis has yet to be explicitly applied to an Asian American case. Focusing on the third and fourth generations of the Japanese American population, my study heeds Neckerman et al's assertion that cultures of mobility, like the oppositional cultures associated with Portes and Zhou's downward assimilation path, are a reaction to racialized conditions in the "host" county and are thus associated with minority groups with longer histories in the US. Looking at later generations also

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allows my study to examine a group that should be beyond the delayed assimilation path within segmented assimilation theory (Portes & Zhou 1993).

The Japanese American case diverges from the minority culture of mobility described by Neckerman et al in one significant way: interclass relations within the ethnic group. Unlike the examples provided by Neckerman et al and Aguis Vallejo, my respondents did not discuss significant interactions with individuals of different class backgrounds in their neighborhoods or within the broader ethnic community. In terms of neighborhoods, this finding points to Japanese Americans living in more class homogenous neighborhoods. This mirrors findings by other scholars who have found that Japanese Americans have high levels of residential integration. However, as discussed in chapter 3, residential integration does not signal the "twilight of ethnicity" for later generation Japanese Americans as they continue to make concerted efforts to maintain ethnic community outside of their immediate neighborhoods and often travel significant distances to do so.

By and large, my predominantly middle class respondents did not share frequent interactions with co-ethnic of lower class backgrounds. This is not to say that the Japanese American community lacks class diversity. Some of my sansei respondents, and a smaller number of yonsei, discussed growing up in working class circumstances and interacting with Japanese Americans of perceived higher-class backgrounds. However, members of my sample proved themselves to be upwardly mobile and at the time of the interview nearly all my respondents were solidly middle class. Certainly, this points to a limitation in my sample. Future studies may do well to explore the class diversity within the Japanese American population. However, the lack of interclass interaction may also point to a lower salience of class difference, in favor of ethnic cohesion, in the spaces and ways Japanese American interact with each other.

Stated another way, ethnic boundaries may be a more important factor in community formation than class boundaries. Such conjectures aside, my findings clearly demonstrate that ethnicity and race are important in shaping the middle class lives of Japanese Americans.

While diverging from the cultures of mobility of middle class African Americans and Mexican Americans in terms of interclass relations (Neckerman et al 1999: Pattillo-McCoy 1999: Lacy 2007; Aguis Vallejo 2012), Japanese American culture of mobility is most evident in terms of reaction to increased interactions with whites in public settings and their community formation practices with co-ethnics. In moving beyond symbolic practice of ethnicity, ethnic community formation practice among later generation Japanese Americans is an important aspect of their culture of mobility in terms of substantive citizenship. As demonstrated throughout this study, building community and relationships with other Japanese Americans and other Asian Americans remains important for my respondents' sense of self and place within US society. Connections with other later generation Japanese Americans allows respondents to understand their personal racialized experience with marginalization as part of a broader pattern of systemic racism rather than aberrations within a post-racial, colorblind nation. In this way, ethnic community and relationships are cultural practices that pave the way for an increased sense of belonging to both broader local and national communities.

On Ethnic Options and Racial Options

If symbolic ethnicity is a conscious assertion, then such an ethnic identity is an optional exercise. Waters (1990) in her seminal book, *Ethnic Options*, focuses on the optional nature of ethnicity, particularly for white Americans who have passed the third generation. She finds white ethnicity to be optional in two ways: (1) the option to claim any ethnic identity or just be

white/American and (2) the option to choose among multiple ethnic ancestries given their increasing multiethnic heritages. Waters (1990, 1996) argues that such ethnic options exist for white of European ancestry because they hold the numerical majority as well as sit atop the political and social hierarchies in the US. Under such circumstances, whiteness becomes synonymous with American (Water 1990, 1996; Tuan 1999; Kim 2007). Furthermore, identification with different European ethnic groups no longer accompanies significant discrimination making the choice the between them of negligible difference in terms of life chances. Given these specifications, it is unsurprising that Waters and other scholars have questioned the ability for non-whites to choose ethnicity in the same way (Waters 1990, 1996; Tuan 1999; Rumbaut 2009).

I have argued throughout this study that the Japanese American case is ideal for tackling some of the open questions on the functions of race and ethnicity in the later generation. Here, I focus my attention on ethnic options and find that the non-white case of later generation Japanese American reveals a need to reconceptualize Water's original assertion to make it applicable beyond white ethnics. In chapter 3, I introduce the concept of racial replenishment of ethnicity, borrowing from Jimenez's (2009) immigrant replenishment of ethnicity, to demonstrate how the persistent racialization of later generation Japanese Americans as undifferentiated "Asian" and perpetual foreigners leads to a maintenance and strengthening of ethnic identity. Similar to Jimenez's findings that consistent immigration from Mexico helps to replenish the ethnic identity and practices of later generation Mexican Americans, renewed large-scale immigration from Asia after 1965 reforms provides the impetus for the maintained ethnic identity of later generation Japanese Americans. However, unlike the Mexican American case, the catalytic immigrants in the Japanese American case do not share the same ethnic

background. Rather, the immigrants replenishing Japanese American ethnicity shared the same racialization. Japanese Americans assert their ethnicity in order to assert themselves as distinct from other Asian American ethnic groups, generally through an assertion of their later generation status.

As an asserted identity, Japanese American ethnicity can be seen as optionally exercised. The racial replenishment of ethnicity, however, demonstrates that Japanese American options are bounded by their persistent racialization. While Japanese American can choose whether or not to assert their ethnic identity, they will continue to be racialized as Asian and marginalized as forever foreign. Ethnic options may exist, but they are limited as ethnic options doe not equate with racial options. Ethnic options occur within racial categories.

The Japanese American case provides insight into the function of ethnic options of non-whites as well as draws attention to the way in which ethnic options can be understood to explain a fuller set of racial and ethnic experiences. Rather than view ethnicity being chosen from a neutral set of options, but chosen from a set of ethnic identities with varying levels of attached stigma. For Japanese Americans, the choice is between a default identity racialized as Asian and an ethnic specific identity. A Japanese American identity, which has come to be associated with more acculturation and assimilative success, is seen as less stigmatized than the forever foreigner image associated with Asianness. For the white ethnics in Waters' study (1990), their ethnic identity choices seem less limited and more symbolic than those available to Japanese Americans because those choices have equally low levels of stigma. However, even in the context of lower stigma, the ethnic options of whites are still contained within a single racial category, albeit a racial category that has been hegemonically associated with Americanness.

This reconceptualization of ethnic options that views ethnic choices as (1) within racial categories and (2) between identities carrying varying levels of stigma can also be seen in other studies on racial and ethnic identities. In her subsequent work, Waters (1999) explores the ability of immigrant and second generation West Indians in New York City to exercise their ethnicity given their similar phenotype to African Americans. The imposed racialization of blackness makes West Indian ethnicity invisible to the mainstream public, but also prompts West Indian Americans to make their ethnicity more conspicuous through the affect of accents, ethnic community formation, and asserting their ethnic identity. Jimenez (2009) and Tuan (1999) notes a similar phenomena among later generation Mexican Americans and Asian Americans respectively. Both groups face the stigma of perpetual foreignness due to the influx of immigrants of the same ethnic and racial background. In reaction to this racialization and stigma, both groups assert their later generation status as an integral part of their ethnic identity to distance themselves from the perception of foreignness. For black West Indians, later generation Mexican Americans, and later generation Asian Americans, ethnic identity is maintained in response to a broader pattern of racialization and is chosen because it carries less stigma then the respective default racialized categorizations. Importantly, these individuals have a limited set of ethnic options, but they cannot escape racialization. They do not have racial options.

In the 2014 *Ethnic and Racial Studies Review* symposium on later generation European Americans, Waters offers a refreshed perspective on symbolic ethnicity and ethnic options by positing that the increased levels of intermarriage and resulting multiracial/multiethnic population may lead to a more diverse set of ethnic and racial options. Certainly, the increased diversity of one's own heritage would provide for a broader set of choices for an individual's

asserted identity. Jennifer, a multiethnic yonsei of Korean and Japanese background, alludes to her ethnic options.

> I don't feel Korean at all. My mom's Japanese, and she's the one who instilled the most tradition, because she's the one who spent the most time with us as kids. On top of that, my dad being Korean, he's fourth-generation, but growing up, there weren't a lot of Koreans. So he would only hang out with Japanese Americans, because most Koreans were first-generation. He was fourth. The Japanese were third generation, and he felt more comfortable about it. So all of his friends are Japanese. They are Asian, and the majority of them are Japanese and Chinese. I don't think he has many Korean friends, so I don't really feel any kind of association to Korean people at all.

While Jennifer offers ample and plausible reasons as to why she feels less Korean than Japanese, the fact remains that she is able to opt out of her Korean ethnicity and claim only a Japanese American identity without notable social resistance. Importantly, the options of multiracial and multiethnic individuals will continue to be limited by their perceived racialized identity. Jennifer may be able to choose freely between a Japanese American and Korean American identity, but this is largely due to the similar racialized categorization of both ethnic groups. Her ethnic options are available because they do not violate other people's racial categorization of her. In other cases, perceived identity may or may not match one's asserted ethnic identity. Many of my multiracial respondents often spoke of being mistaken for Latino. For Jennifer and my multiracial respondents with mistaken racial identity, their options continue to be bounded by restrictive racial options.

In calling attention to the ethnic options available to people of color, limited as they may be, I do not mean to discount the meaningful ways in which their asserted ethnicity plays a role in their life that is more than symbolic in nature. The ethnic options exercised by later generation Japanese Americans are choices, but they are choices made within strict racial confines. There are the greater restriction and consequence of the ethnic choices for later generation Japanese Americans, as well as other communities of color, in comparison to white ethnics. As such, the

persistent racialization and asserted ethnic identities continue to structure the lives of later generation Japanese Americans. This study, in particular, has demonstrated the ways in which ethnicity forms the basis of community formation practices, relationship building, and claims on substantive citizenship on the local and national levels. Having ethnic options, then, are not racial options and ethnic options are not made simply between symbolic choices.

MULTIRACIAL/MULTIETHNIC FUTURES OF JAPANESE AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

As this study has been concerned with the community formation of later generation Japanese Americans, it is important to recognize that the practices and contexts of such communities are not static. The preceding chapters, looking from the 1960s to the present day, examine how Japanese Americans have negotiated and maintained community in light of suburbanization, residential integration, demographic shifts brought on by immigration, and persistent racialization as perpetual foreigners. Increasingly, Japanese Americans must negotiate the growing multiethnic and multiracial segments of their community as they draw and redraw ethnic boundaries. Multiethnic refers to individuals with Japanese American heritage as well as heritage in another Asian American ethnic group, but not necessarily heritage in a non-Asian racial category (e.g. an individual claiming both Japanese American and Chinese American heritage or Japanese American and Filipino American heritage). Multiracial individuals includes those who claim Japanese American heritage as well as heritage in another non-Asian racial category (e.g. an individual claiming Japanese American and white heritage or Japanese American and Latino heritage).

In the contemporary Japanese American population, just under one third identifies as multiracial or multiethnic (ACS 2012 5-year Aggregate). However, if we confine the population

to native-born Japanese Americans, this number jumps to 40% (ACS 2012 5-year Aggregate). Regardless of nativity, these numbers demonstrate that multiraciality and multiethnicity are not just future possibilities for Japanese American communities but a contemporary reality. When looking toward the future, Japanese American communities will become increasingly multiracial and multiethnic. Among native-born Japanese Americans under the age of 10, over 70% of this population segment is identified as multiracial or multiethnic (ACS 2012 5-year Aggregate). As this age cohort comes of age, they will represent the main contingent of a Japanese American community defined by a majority multiracial and multiethnic membership.

Previous studies have shown the relationship between the Japanese American community and its growing multiracial and multiethnic contingent to be fraught and contested (Nakashima 1992; Williams-Leon & Nakashima 2001). My respondents are very much aware of the shifting ethnic and racial demographics and the related tensions. Some sansei parents lament the perceived disappearance of Japanese American community as their yonsei children lack interaction with other Japanese Americans and choose spouses of other ethnic and racial backgrounds. Multiracial and multiethnic yonsei report being questioned on their Japanese American authenticity by their monoethnic peers. Such negative interaction and perceptions, however, do not stop multiracial and multiethnic Japanese American from claiming their membership within the Japanese American community. Japanese American ethnicity moves beyond an asserted identity for multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans, but also impacts their experiences and practices. Similar to their monoethnic peers, multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans find commonality in terms of familial cultural practices and ethnic community participation. Similarities even to racialization, as many multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans continue to be recognized as non-white and foreign. While some

respondent, mostly sansei, feared the demise of the Japanese American community due to the gradual dilution of ethnicity through intermarriage, many more respondents saw an alternative future where multiraciality and multiethnicity are normalized. To paraphrase an earlier quotation from Clara: to be yonsei is to be mixed. As an increasing proportion of the Japanese American community becomes racially and ethnically mixed with each successive generation, multiraciality and multiethnicity will become part of how the Japanese American community defines itself; perhaps, already does.

Similar shifts in ethnic boundaries have been observed in other ethnic populations with substantial percentages of multiracial and multiethnic members. In particular, scholars have noted the persistence of identity and community among Native Hawaiians (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler 2005), Pacific Islanders (Spickard & Fong 1995), and Native Americans (Liebler 2010). These groups report the multiracial and multiethnic segments of their population at over 46%. While Japanese Americans have not yet reached these levels, it is not inconceivable to imagine a future where Japanese American communities see similar numbers in their ranks.

In understanding the potential persistence of ethnic identity and community in the face of a growing multiracial and multiethnic reality, it is important to remember the function ethnic community continues to serve for later generation Japanese Americans in general. As demonstrated throughout this study, ethnic community provides a haven for Japanese Americans away from the persistent marginalization as perpetual foreigners faced in the daily interactions. Ethnic community is maintained in reaction to negative racialization in broader society. Substantive citizenship is denied later generation Japanese Americans due to race and ethnic community becomes a space to establish local and national senses of belonging.

If we are to believe the wisdom put forth by empirical studies on assimilation, ethnic community should be of declining importance with the rise in intermarriage. As intermarriage begets racial amalgamation, race and ethnicity will fade in salience. However, multiracial and multiethnic respondents in my study do not report a deracialized experience. Certainly, the racialized experience of each individual is dependent upon the social perception of the individual's race (Nishime 2014). For biracial Japanese American and white individuals who appear phenotypically white, they have greater flexibility in choosing to disassociate themselves from the Japanese American community. For multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans who continue to be racialized a non-white, their racial marginalization continues. In my study, the majority of multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans reported being readily recognized as non-white, although not always as Japanese American or Asian. Their racialization ultimately leads them to seek ethnic community in ways and for similar reason to monoethnic Japanese Americans.

Later generation Japanese Americans see a reenvisioning of the boundaries of Japanese American community to be more inclusive of, or perhaps even centralize, multiracial and multiethnic Japanese Americans. Despite the growing multiracial and multiethnic segment of the Japanese American community, the continuing racial marginalization of multiracial, multiethnic, and monoethnic Japanese American makes it unlikely that Japanese American ethnic community will lose its importance. The future of the Japanese Americans may in fact be a multiracial and multiethnic one, but the community looks to persist for generations to come.

THE PROMISE OF SUBSTANTIVE CITIZENSHIP: THEORY AND PRACTICE

The conceptual framework of substantive citizenship, as outline in this study, provides promising theoretical directions for the study of race relations and immigrant integration. Foremost, substantive citizenship allows for a critique of existing assimilation theories for their inadequate attention to race. As a whole, this dissertation project looks at the community building practices and identity formations of later generation Japanese Americans to reveal the ways that race continues to shape the lives of otherwise assimilated immigrant-origin communities of color. I assert that the lens of substantive citizenship broadens our perspective on the integration process in a way that better allows for the consideration of race in sociological analyses. Substantive citizenship does not only focus on the legal, economic, or other institutional aspects of citizenship. Substantive citizenship requires researchers to additionally consider how belonging and membership is experienced, claimed, and denied at the level of micro-interactions. Importantly, substantive citizenship as an analytical concept may also be useful in revealing the impact of other statuses beyond race on the integration process. Recall that the seminal work on substantive citizenship by Glenn (2002) was an intersectional study of race, gender, and class. While certainly statuses such as gender, social class, and sexual orientation will function differently than race in processes of integration, future research should examine how each impacts a sense of belonging individually and intersectionally.

Nonetheless, the Japanese American case, the lens of substantive citizenship highlights the way in which race continues to limit Japanese Americans' abilities to find full belonging within mainstream, predominantly white, spaces despite acculturative and socioeconomic success. Traditional and newer variants of assimilation theory have not observed persistent racialization as an obstacle to full integration for Japanese Americans given their quantified

success story. The study presented in the pages of this dissertation demonstrates substantive citizenship's promise to show how race matters. While this study focuses on the Japanese American case, it can also be useful to understand the integration progression of other communities that experience a racially marginalized status. While they do not explicitly use the language of substantive citizenship, I find that many previous studies on immigrant communities of color as well as the minority middle class implicitly reflect on the impact of race and sense of belonging as a key factors in integration (Waters 2000; Rudrappa 2004; Lacy 2007; Jimenez 2009; Maira 2009; Aguis-Vallejo 2012).

The evidence provided my study, along with the referenced studies, demonstrates the varied impacts of differential racialization on substantive citizenship across multiple communities. Such findings also support the theoretical framework of racial naturalization put forth by legal scholar Devon Carbado (2005). Whereas, legal naturalization is the process through which an individual gains legal membership as a citizen, racial naturalization is the process through which individuals find themselves or are placed into the hierarchical US racial landscape. In drawing this distinction, Carbado decouples American identity and American citizenship. It is possible to have an American identity without American citizenship and to have American citizenship but not be able to identify as an American. This dissonance is the result of the close and continuing association of American identity with whiteness (Kim 2007). For individuals identified as racially white, American identity may come before the legal process of naturalize. Their racial naturalization precedes their legal naturalization. For non-whites to racially naturalize is to experience racial inequality and their legal naturalization does not automatically grant an American identification. The examples of West Indian immigrants, later generation Mexican Americans, middle class people of color, South Asian immigrants, and later

generation Japanese Americans demonstrate how individuals from different racial backgrounds come to racially belong in the US at racially subordinated positions.

Unlike legal naturalization that only applies to immigrants seeking legal citizenship, racial naturalization is experienced by all individuals present in the US, immigrants and native-born citizens alike. In this way, racial naturalization adds an important the conceptual dimension to the understanding of later generation Japanese Americans and substantive citizenship. Japanese American formal birthright citizenship does not save them from a stigmatized racial identity within the US racial hierarchy. Racial naturalization helps to explain how later generation Japanese Americans come to experience marginal substantive citizenship. Racial naturalization marks the beginning of a process that begets differential substantive citizenship, which persists to produce minority cultures of mobility discussed earlier. Race structures these developments at every turn. Substantive citizenship is the conceptual bridge between these two theoretical concepts.

Substantive citizenship refocuses attention not only on the agentic success and actions of immigrants and racial minorities, but also on the behaviors and shifts occurring within society itself, what Portes and Rumbaut (2006) have long referenced as contexts of reception. An analysis of substantive citizenship requires an examination of how various status attributes are perceived by mainstream society and how immigrants and racial minorities are treated based upon those perceptions. As Glenn (2011) remarks in her definition of substantive citizenship as a matter of belonging, it requires the recognition of membership by other community members. Substantive citizenship further reveals how contexts of reception extend beyond the immigrant and second generation and form the contexts of racialization and substantive citizenship across multiple and later generations.

As substantive citizenship presents the durability of inequality beyond socioeconomic and acculturative success, it presents the potential to create a more just society. In this way, the concept of substantive citizenship has practical as well as theoretical promise. Sociologists and other social scientists have long been looked for explanations of social issues and asked to produce viable remedies via social practice and policy change. To date, on the topic of immigration and integration, assimilation scholars have pushed for programs and policies focusing on training and education, economic mobility, social welfare, and pathways to legal citizenship. Given their research agendas and publications, such recommendations make sense and have the ability to have great benefit for immigrant and minority populations, and the nation as a whole. By introducing the conceptual framework of substantive citizenship, I, along with other scholars, reveal that the implications of studies of immigrant incorporation from an assimilationist perspective do not go far enough. Even with the achievement of socioeconomic, educational, and intermarriage "success," the stigmas of race continue to impact the lives of racial and ethnic minorities. In particular, race continues to impact minorities as belonging and claims of an American identity continue to a strong association with whiteness (Kim 2007; Carbado 2005).

Central to the conceptual framework of substantive citizenship is the tie among a sense of belonging, recognition of belonging, and the legitimate claim on citizenship-based legal and social rights (Glenn 2002; Rudrappa 2004; Maira 2009; Tsuda 2014). Without the belonging provided by substantive citizenship, racial and ethnic minorities may be less likely to exercise their rights despite their legal availability. By expanding the empirical agenda of immigrant and racial integration to include substantive citizenship, society will be better able to address this

persistent form of inequality through an expanded definition of American and legitimate rights claim.

Later generation Japanese Americans, with their unique racial positioning, serve an important function in illuminating the need for substantive citizenship and its language of belonging in the literatures of immigrant incorporation and race and ethnic relations. Later generation Japanese Americans have assimilative success, but remain racially marginalized. Their racial marginalization differs from the standard tropes of a black/white paradigm by introducing notions of foreignness. As later generation Japanese American continue to be racialized as foreign, despite their long familial and ethnic history in the US, makes them an ideal case study to highlight how substantive citizenship is a necessary lens to understand the incorporation of various immigrant communities of color as a racialized process. In short, substantive citizenship is a demonstration of how race matters.

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