ETHNIC IDENTITY AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE: A CASE STUDY OF THIRD GENERATION JAPANESE-CANADIANS IN TORONTO

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
Graduate Department of Education
University of Toronto

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Abstract

Ethnic Identity and Language Maintenance:
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the Degree of Masters of Arts
1993
Aoi Okuno
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The purpose of this study is to explore issues about third generation Japanese-Canadian (Sansei) ethnic identity and language maintenance through an interactive collaborative interview process. "The Canadian Ethnocultural Questionnaire" (Feuerverger, 1991) was used as a vehicle for discussion. The salient themes that emerged are: (1) A pattern towards assimilation into the mainstream society; a rupture between Nisei and Sansei regarding the transmission of Japanese culture and language; (2) Ethnic rediscovery as a result of pride in the fact that Japan is a more powerful economic force in the world; (3) A problematic and ambivalent relationship to ethnic language maintenance; (4) Lack of community cohesiveness; high intermarriage rate; (5) A relationship between the psychological consequences of the war experience of Nisei and a weakening of ethnic identity; (6) A perception that Japanese Language School has little status. Sansei perceive that their Japanese identity does not necessarily depend on language per se. Rather, it depends more on their individual choices, learning opportunities at home and in society.
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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Background

In the beginning of this century, the general attitude in Canadian society was that minority groups were to be assimilated into the dominant culture and become good English-speaking Canadians. Children who had a minority background were encouraged to leave their ethnicity at home and learn English and Canadian social manners (Canadian Education Association, 1991: 1). This was easier for children who could learn English at home and who visually resembled the dominant group - white Anglo-Canadians. However, it was not so for the other children who visibly differed from the dominant group, even if they could speak English and "behaved as a Canadian." It has thus always been a controversial issue whether ethnic groups should maintain their ancestral languages or abandon them, in order to become accepted into the mainstream of Canadian society. One source of this controversy is that some parents (the first immigrants) simply thought that children have a limited capacity to learn more than one language at the same time.

Current research\(^1\) has shown that learning more than one language does not

crowd out the first language, but rather leads to increased facility in the acquisition of a new language (Canadian Education Association, 1991). Such research has changed people's, and especially the government's attitudes toward ethnic groups and their ethnic languages. The swing has been from negative views of maintaining ethnic languages to the recent positive belief that preserving one's ethnic identity is a desirable aspect of Canada's multicultural society. But what has happened to ethnic groups which had to forfeit their ancestral culture and language to be Anglo-Canadianized? Isajiw describes how difficult it is to maintain one's ethnicity through time:

By the third generation, members of an ethnic group have become, in some manner, incorporated into larger society and their ethnic identity has gone through a process of transformation (1990: 34).

This observation certainly applies to third generation Japanese-Canadians. Kobayashi (1988) shows that according to census figures, over 80 percent of them use English as a home language. Yet this figure includes pre-war immigrants (the first immigrant - - Issei), successive generations2, called Japanese-Canadians, and post-war immigrants and their families called Shin Imin or Shin Ijyusha (new immigrants).

The history of former immigrants -- Issei -- began in 1877, when the first Japanese immigrant to Canada, Manzo Nagano reached the west coast of British Columbia (Shinpo, 1975; Adachi, 1976). Japanese emigration overseas did not really begin until 1867, however, when the Japanese government relax their borders. More

Learning, 27: 279-313.

2 In Japanese language, Ichi means 'first', Ni does 'second', San does 'third', and Yon does 'forth'. Sei indicates 'generation(s)'. 
than half of Japanese emigrants in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century went to Hawaii: one thousand Japanese in 1855 (Odo and Sasadou, 1985), both North and South America, and the remainder to China (mainly Manchouko [Manchuria]) and South East Asia (Young and Reid, 1933). This was so because there were few job opportunities and few chances to be successful in Japan, especially for those from rural areas with limited educational background. As for the later post-war emigrants -- Shin Imin or Shin Ijusya -- most came to Canada after WWII in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s during the economic boom as professional employees with their families.

This case study therefore focuses on pre-war immigrants and their successive generation "Japanese-Canadians." The reality is that more than 80% of Japanese-Canadians use English as a home language, without including the post-war immigrants’ rate. This means that almost all third generation (age 20-40) at present use English as a first language, without maintaining Japanese as their ethnic language.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

For the most part, Japanese immigrants and their successive generations in North America have been assimilated into the dominant society -- rather than maintaining their ethnic characteristic (e.g. culture, language, religion, custom) -- to a greater degree than such ethnic minorities as other Asians, Jewish, or Southern Europeans. For example, they have sacrificed homogeneity for the sake of their social
mobility (occupation, education, living area) and have commonly intermarried\(^3\). They need not use Japanese as a living language as the Issei had depended on Japanese. Second and third generations -- Nisei and Sansei -- do not have any difficulties conducting their everyday lives in English: English is their first language. Furthermore, it might not have been necessary for them to maintain the Japanese language to live in an English dominant society.

Feuerverger's (1991) quantitative research in heritage language learning and ethnic identity among university students shows clearly how Japanese students (N=12) had the lowest scores in the four sections: 'Ethnic Language Maintenance', 'Language and the Degree of Ethnic identity Strength', 'Language and Identification with the Ethnic Homeland', and 'Perceptions about heritage Language Programs'. However their identification as a "Canadian" was highest among other students such


as Italian (N=40), Portuguese (N=26), Chinese (N=12), Korean (N=16), Hebrew (N=16), Ukrainian (N=21) and Yiddish (N=5).

Why did the Japanese-Canadian students in Feuerverger's research score these higher results? She points out that "Sansei were not exposed to their language and ethnic culture or to their ethnic institutions" (1991: 669). She commented this effect among Sansei is caused because of the Issei and Nisei (their parents' generation) experiences in forced internment, dispersion from west coast during and after WWII, and resettlement in the eastern Canada.

However, if it is still possible for any ethnic groups to apply Isajiw's (1990: 34) quotation (cited previously p. 2), it might be reasonable to ask about why the third generation of Japanese-Canadians does not put a higher value on their ethnic identity as their descendants did, instead of identifying themselves as a "Canadian." Neither do they remain loyal to the Japanese language. The central question of my research in terms of finding the correlation between ethnic identity and language maintenance is: In order to be a "Canadian", do Sansei still need to learn and transmit Japanese to the next generations? Does one have to speak Japanese to be a Japanese descendant? Or, does a person need to speak Japanese in order to identify himself/herself as Japanese?

Even before the experiences during WWII, Japanese immigrants also had to face racism to live in white society from the beginning of their immigration to North America. There was a higher degree of discrimination against Asians in British Columbia in the pre-war period⁴. Especially since the Japanese became quite

competitive in getting jobs with the white-race, they were legally and publicly attacked for "stealing" jobs and could not have the same legal and political rights as white Canadians.

The further point to explore in this case study is: In what way, are Japanese-Canadians creating their own ethnic identity, as a Japanese, as a Japanese-Canadian, or as a Canadian, given the 125 year history in Canada that separate Japanese-Canadians from recent Japanese immigrants?

Before investigating these questions through the case study, three theoretical positions must be formulated regarding the correlation between ethnic identity and language. These three categories are typified by the following statements:

**Position 1. Ethnic Identity = Language**

At the most general level, the indexical, symbolic, and enactive links between language and its associates culture always make that language a prime factor in the formation of a corresponding cultural identity. (Fishman, 1989: 475)

**Position 2. Ethnic Identity \ Language**

Reese and I (1989) have suggested that ethnic identity does not always coincide with the language used. We argued that the relationship between a language and an ethnic identity is one of association. A particular 'associated language' is a necessary component of ethnic identity but the language usage associate ourselves with need not to be one we use in our day to live. (Eastman, 1984: 259)

**Position 3. Ethnic Identity \| Language**


Some forms of identity may place a strong emphasis on ethnic friendship or endogamous marriage, but not necessarily ethnic language or customs. Other forms may place strong emphasis on language, but less on marriage. (Isajiw, 1990: 34-35)

Regarding the above different positions, this thesis will use a narrative methodology to enrich the study with a collaborative, reflective approach. Connely and Clandinin (1990: 2) state as follows:

The main claim for the use of narrative in educational research is that humans are storytelling organisms who, individually and socially, lead stories lives. The study of narrative, therefore, is the study of the ways humans experience the world.

As a participant, the interviewer will be in "a process of collaboration involving mutual storytelling and restorying as the research proceeds" (1990: 4). This means that both interviewer and interviewees will be able to establish a research relationship — "a relationship in which both practitioners and researchers feel cared for and have a voice with which to tell their stories" (1990: 4). By means of this method, this case study seeks to contribute to the literature empirically and experientially. The focus of this study is to present each participant’s experience and life story.

1.3. Significance of the Study and Assumptions

The purpose of this case study is to explore how participants regard their
ethnic identity and Japanese language maintenance through their experiences and life stories as third generation Japanese-Canadians. Basically, the research is intended to be exploratory and therefore leaves any assumptions open, rather than citing an a priori hypotheses. Conducting the research this way will help shed light and further elaborate on findings from Feuerverger’s (1991) research.

1.4. Methodology

This study will employ a qualitative approach involving a combination of narrative inquiry and life history research. It will apply principles from that undertaken in Feuerverger’s study (1991) in the "University Students’ Perceptions of Heritage Language Learning and Ethnic Identity Maintenance" to an in-depth case study of exclusively third generation Japanese-Canadians. Furthermore, this methodology is elaborated as reflective and narrative rather than fixing the data into "theoretical boxes" which can do little to explain a human being’s life experiences. The participants will not only fill out the questionnaire, but also speak out their cultural experiences in greater detail through open-ended interviewing.

Subjects

Four Japanese Canadians who live in Toronto are interviewed to talk about

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their experiences and life stories (two female and two male). They are aged between late twenties and late thirties, and were born in Toronto. They received most of their higher education in Toronto as well (Ph. D, Masters, Bachelor, and College degrees). The relationship between the interviewer and participants had already been established well before the interviewing process began.

**Instruments**

After each interviewee filled out Feuerverger's "The Canadian Ethnocultural Questionnaire," in-depth interviews were conducted around each separate component identified by Feuerverger: (1) SE: Socioethnic, (2) EL: Ethnolinguistic, (3) LS: Language Studies, and (4) EL: Ethnic Identity. This questionnaire is in Appendix A.

I interviewed these four participants after they had filled out the questionnaire. Therefore, they had some time (about a week) to think about each component. For example, in Part II: Ethnic Component, question 2 (question is about how important the reason is for learning ethnic language): If an informant responded either 'unimportant' or 'very important' to the answer "because I'm interested in travelling to my ethnic homeland", I would ask them again why they answered so.

**Procedure**

First, "The Canadian Ethnocultural Questionnaire" was mailed to each interviewee. A week after they received the questionnaire form the interviews began. A total of four interviews were conducted for each participant. Each interview took one and a half hours to two hours. In total, approximately five to ten hours were spent with each participant.
Interviews were semi-structured based on "The Canadian Ethnocultural Questionnaire." Although I followed some questionnaire items in order to proceed systematically and comparatively, I discussed issues with the participants in detail and in an open-style. The justification for this open-style is that I expected the interviewee's personal experiences and life stories to further contribute to the research on ethnic identity and language maintenance in a more human way. The method assumes then that interviewees would not only discuss their own experiences and life stories, but that the interviewer would interact with them and develop a research story, collaboratively and reflectively, as a participant/observer.

1.5. Outline of Chapters

In chapter 2, I focus on the history of Japanese-Canadians over twentieth century. In chapter 3, in addition to understanding this case study historically, I examine theoretical positions regarding the correlation between ethnic identity and language maintenance. The above processes will render it easier to understand the experiences and life stories of this case study's participants. Such a method does not fit somebody's experiences or life stories into one theory, but understands them in wider ways.

In chapter 4, this case study's research design is described. Chapter 5 presents the data and discusses the results of the interviews in this case study. It proceeds, component by component, according to Feuerverger's "The Canadian Ethnocultural Questionnaire." Also, in each component, the four interviewers' experiences and life stories are comparatively discussed. Finally, chapter 6 provides a summary and
concluding remarks. I discuss the disparity between theory and practice in ethnic identity and language maintenance among third generation Japanese-Canadians in this chapter. In addition, this chapter includes suggestions for further research on how the concept of ethnicity and the individual's place in it cannot be examined in a rigid manner but rather in a more exploratory, open-ended approach.
Chapter 2. Japanese Immigrants and their Children in Canada

2.1. Introduction

Over 125 years have passed since the Tokugawa Shogunate restored imperial rule to the Meiji new government and legitimized the beginning of Japanese emigration. Before the Meiji government’s opening of Japan’s door to foreign countries, emigration was severely prohibited because of seclusionism -- Sakokusyugi. Under Sakokusyugi, anyone caught attempting to emigrate or having contact with foreigners received the death penalty. These policies were reversed during the Meiji government’s era.

Rather than penalize emigration by death, policy under the Meiji government actively encouraged emigration. The Japanese government was fascinated with western modernization and industrialization while Japan, closed to the outside, was becoming economically backward. It sought to catch up with western countries by opening governmental and non-governmental sectors to the West. Its new policy, called Fukoku Kyouhei (enrich the country and strengthen the military), industrialized the domestic economy and encouraged young men to go abroad for work and bring foreign currency back home.

By the close of nineteenth century, many rural areas in Japan had suffered poor harvests and famine for decades. In addition, some prefectures, such as Shiga prefecture, Toyama prefecture and Nagasaki prefecture, engaged farmers’ and women’s movements to protest high tax payments and a serious shortage of food for
local people. Also, this era's class system \(^1\) was so structured that no one could achieve a social status beyond their family background. Furthermore, it was even worse for a female to become independent from her family and society. Since marriages were pre-arranged by the parents, she had no choice regarding whom she married. Once married, her life was determined by the male's family.

Therefore, from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, emigration was generally viewed as the only way for young energetic men willing to risk overseas employment to escape this stiff social structure. It was a particularly good opportunity for the second sons in local large families because, in this era, it was common for a family's first son to inherit the family name and property. Many were willing to take the risk, since it was as great a risk to stay home as to go overseas.

The above view of pre-Meiji Japanese society provides the context within which to understand why many Japanese, including the government, found it necessary to encourage emigration. Economic and political factors had driven these local people to emigrate, settle down, and establish their own history in Canada.

This chapter will attempt to discover and understand how today's Japanese-Canadians construct an identity relating to their history in Canada. The chapter is composed of three parts. Part one is an introduction to the social background of Japan, when the prohibition of emigration ceased. Part two will briefly recount the

\(^1\) In 1871, three years after the Meiji restoration opened Japan's door to the rest of the world, the emancipation edict removed the Tokugawa divisions of social caste. From 1898, under the Meiji government, with the emperor at the summit, society was now divided into royalty (the emperor's extended family), nobility, former samurai, and commoners. Those included in the "commoners" group were former artisans, merchants, and farmers. In addition, there was another class, called "new commoners" who had belonged to the "non-persons" relegated to the bottom of the social pyramid during the Tokugawa period.
immigration history of Japanese-Canadians. Finally, part three focuses on the history of education for Japanese immigrants' Canadian-born children. As the present situation in this part, the last section describes the Japanese Language Schools (later, JLSs) in Toronto, because all the interviewees in this case study received their education in Toronto. It focuses particularly on why Japanese language education became the major concern among parents of Japanese descent.

2.2. The Immigration History of Japanese-Canadians

Following Shimpo's (1975: 8) categorization of the social history of Japanese-Canadians² from their immigration to the settlement after World War II, this part is composed of four sections. Section one involves the period from 1877 to 1907, which Shimpo identified as the period of "Free Immigration." It was in 1877 that the first Japanese immigrant arrived in British Columbia. Until 1908, there was no legal restriction on Japanese immigrants; thus 1907 marks the close of "Free Arrival". Section two covers the year from 1908 to 1940, the period of "Controlled Immigration." The year 1908 marks the first time the number of Japanese immigrants was regulated by both Canadian and Japanese governments. During this period, females came to Canada from Japan as brides and the second generation, Nisei, were born. Of particular significance is how the life styles of single Japanese male immigrants changed with the formation of families. In particular, a family centered life developed

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which had its roots in Canada. 1940 was the last year Japanese immigrants were allowed to stay on the West Coast of British Columbia. Until the mass evacuation of 1949, about 97 per cent of Japanese immigrants and their Canadian-born children in Canada resided in British Columbia. Before 1942, their history centered on the west coast of Canada (Adachi, 1976). Section three involves the period from 1941 to 1948, which Shimpo calls the period of "Deprived Civil Rights." 1941 was the year when Japanese immigrants and their Canadian-born children were legally treated as "An Enemy Alien." They were forced to move a minimum of 100 miles from the coast line in British Columbia to the east over the Rocky Mountains. This section presents the time of their evacuation until 1949, when they finally received the right to vote. Section four covers the years from 1949, when Japanese-Canadians were regarded as Canadian citizens with full citizenship rights, until the present (1993). This period Shimpo labels as the period of "Restored Civil Rights."

2.2. (A). Section One: 1877 - 1907 (the Period of "Free Immigration")

The earliest recorded landing of the Japanese in Canada was in 1833 when three sailors carried by the Kuroshio (the Black current) across the Pacific Ocean landed on the shores of the Queen Charlotte Islands after weeks at sea. After capture by Indians, they were rescued by a ship from the Hudson' Bay Company and returned to the Orient (Takata, 1983).

Manzo Nagano was the first Japanese immigrant to Canada. This 19-year-old sailor arrived at New Westminster, British Columbia in 1877 (Nakayama, 1984). However, until the beginning of twentieth century, not many immigrants came to Canada (see Table 2.1.). From the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, the
number of immigrants from Japan increased dramatically, especially in British Columbia (also see Table 2.2.). All immigrants from Japan came to British Columbia by ship for various geographic reasons. Some of them came to Canada via the west coast in the United States. Therefore, primarily the Japanese newcomers developed a part of downtown Vancouver, called "Little Tokyo".

Table 2.1. Immigration to Canada, 1900 - 1945*

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<th>Total Canada</th>
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<td>1928</td>
<td>535</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* Fiscal years from 1900-1901 to 1907-1908, calendar years from 1908 to 1941.
Source: Division of Immigration, Department of Manpower and Immigration. Annual
statistics on Japanese immigration prior to 1900 were not recorded. Arrivals in British Columbia, as distinct from immigrants, were estimated to total 12,788 from 1986 to 1900. See Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration, Ottawa, 1902.
** No Japanese entry from 1942 to 1945
(Adapted from Adachi, 1976: 422)

Table 2.2. Major Urban Centres of Japanese Population, 1911-1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1941</th>
<th>1951</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calgary</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamilton</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>918</td>
<td>1,029</td>
<td>935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lethbridge</td>
<td>(*)</td>
<td>(*)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montreal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>35 (42)**</td>
<td>797 (*)</td>
<td>809 (*)</td>
<td>705 (1,670)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster</td>
<td>(*)</td>
<td>424</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>566</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>105 (135)</td>
<td>4,633 (*)</td>
<td>4,407 (*)</td>
<td>3,880 (*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver</td>
<td>2,036</td>
<td>4,246</td>
<td>8,328</td>
<td>8,458 (9,299)</td>
<td>873 (*)</td>
<td>3,132 (*)</td>
<td>5,045 (9,050)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winnipeg</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Not available
** Figures shown in parentheses are population figures for census metropolitan areas.
Source: Censuses of Canada.
(Adapted from Adachi, 1976: 423)

Little Tokyo provided most services needed by Japanese immigrants in Japanese, such as shipping companies, job information centres, doctors, hotels, laundries, small shops, English tutors, and so on (see Appendix B). Newcomers depended on the Japanese papers to make their lives easier with tips on everyday
living, as well as news from Japan in Japanese. The fishing town of Steveston, just 10 miles south from Vancouver, also developed as a Japanese community. Thus these two cities, Vancouver and Steveston, became the core Japanese communities in British Columbia (Krauter, 1978).

At the beginning of Japanese immigration, the majority of immigrants were single males seeking jobs. They worked as cheap laborers for the Canadian Pacific Railway company and in saw mills, fisheries, and lumber and mining camps. Most of them came to Canada because someone from their home town prefecture was already working in Canada. This kinship basis to immigration was facilitated by the many intermediate Japanese bosses who rounded up work crews in Japan from the Kunimoto (people from the same village or prefecture). Residing with kin and friends, they did not face a serious language problem under Japanese bosses, who acted as intermediaries with white employers (Adachi, 1977).

As immigrants came to Canada, Japanese institutions arose in British Columbia. For example, the General Consulate of Japan was founded in Vancouver in 1889. In 1897, the first weekly Japanese newspaper, The Vancouver Syuho, was established by Reverend Goro Kaburagi. He initially started this paper for his Japanese Methodist Church members. However, in 1904 he increased this publication from a weekly to a daily newspaper, renaming it The Syuho. There were also Japanese Buddhists and temples in the Vancouver area. Basically, they disagreed with Kaburagi’s assimilation plan, which was western centered, for Japanese immigrants. In 1907, in opposition to Kaburagi’s The Syuho, a founder of the first Buddhist church in Vancouver, Yae Sasaki, started The Tairiku Nippo. This paper advocated anti-assimilation, the opposite position from The Syuho. In 1909, another
Japanese newspaper began its circulation in Vancouver -- *The Kanada Mainichi Shinbun*. This newspaper was run by young Japanese writers who were interested in the labor conditions and unions of Japanese immigrants (Simpo, Tamura, and Shiramizu, 1991). As for Japanese immigrants' children, the first full-time school opened in Vancouver at the beginning of the twentieth century.

To cope with racial discrimination in a predominantly "white" country, in addition to Japanese newspapers (see Appendix C), associations were founded by Japanese immigrants. For example, in 1897, a Japanese Steveston Fishermen's Association was founded to provide community care, including a hospital and school for families and children. The establishment of this association later functioned primarily as a source of encouragement for Japanese immigrants. In 1909 the Canada Japanese Association, and in 1920 the Canada Japanese workers' union, were founded in Vancouver.

In 1869, Canada's first Immigration Act was passed. From the late 1870's onwards, provinces had no jurisdiction over immigration; only the federal government did. However, the provincial government in British Columbia became concerned with the flood of immigrants from Asia at the beginning of the twentieth century. Much of this concern was characterized by racist, simplistic thinking. In particular, competition for jobs, allegedly a result of immigration, was a major factor contributing to such racist attitudes toward Japanese among the white working class. Members

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3 Private or volunteer part-time classes already existed in Vancouver at the end of the nineteenth century in Vancouver.

of the middle and upper-classes in British Columbia also felt that the burgeoning Oriental population represented a long-term threat to the province's white character. Many white people anticipated an end to white homogeneity in British Columbia with dread. Furthermore Orientals, few of whom spoke English, appeared to whites to be incapable of assimilation (*A Dream of Riches*, 1977).

In the early twentieth century, some legal 'Oriental Exclusion' prohibited Orientals from entering British Columbia. The most prominent debate concerned the Natal act, which remained under consideration for years by the government of British Columbia:

The Natal act was essentially a language test named after Natal, the British colony in Southern Africa, which had limited Asian immigration by requiring intending immigrants to pass an examination in a European language. British Columbians tended to use the Natal act to describe any sort of language test whether it concerned the right to work in certain occupations or the right to enter the country as an immigrant. As an immigration law the Natal act offered many advantages, including flexibility since it would permit the entry of well-educated Japanese such as traders and exclude laborers and artisans who were unlikely to be literate in a European language. (Roy, 1989: 103)

It was almost impossible for the first generation of immigrant Japanese -- Issei -- to master English as native speakers, for they had received little foreign language education before coming to Canada, or while living and working in Canada. Although this Natal act was finally disallowed by the Federal Government in 1908, it was actively pursued by the Provincial Government with similar legislation in 1902, 1903, 1905, 1907, and 1908. Because British Columbia was so eager to approve the Natal act, the lawyer sent by the Federal Government finally concluded this Natal act
debate by making clear that Japan was an ally of the British. This meant Canada was also an ally of Japan (Shimpo, 1975). In addition to the Natal act, Issei had to face many disadvantageous regulations in British Columbia such as non-vote, limited jobs, and less pay.

By the turn of twentieth century, Anti-Orientalism was entrenched in the political culture of British Columbia. It was especially supported by public opinion and political speeches, and was fuelled by Japan's emergence as an industrial power during the late nineteenth century. Thus public attitudes were turning increasingly against the Japanese in British Columbia. Even if the Chinese and Japanese were both categorized as Orientals, the treatment of Japanese become more serious and hostile than that of the Chinese (Adachi, 1976). In the Sino-Japanese War 1894-95, Japan easily defeated China and established itself as a military power. As well, Japan's triumph in the Russian-Japanese War 1904-05 alarmed western nations, for it was the first victory of an Asiatic nation in a world war. These events enhanced the negative way in which the Japanese in Canada were perceived. They came to be regarded as more enterprising, competitive, ambitious, and hostile than other Orientals, much like Japan itself. These military triumphs, however, did nothing for the Japanese immigrants once they arrived in British Columbia. In response, the legislature passed yet another statute to limit Japanese entry into British Columbia in 1907. This period Ujimoto (1983: 127) describes as follows:

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6 The provincial Election Act of British Columbia at that time stated "No Chinamen, East Indian, and Japanese shall have his name placed on the Register of Voters for any Electoral District, or entitled to vote at any election."
The high degree of social organization which characterized the Japanese
Canadian community at this time may have been perceived quite
differently by the members of the white community who did not fully
appreciate the Japanese system of social relations, which emphasized
one's strong sense of duty, loyalty, and mutual obligations. Instead, the
highly organized Japanese Canadian community was perceived as an
economic and political threat and consequently, the traditional colonial
ideology of the survival of the fittest at the expense of the interior
became untenable when the dominant white group was suddenly
threatened.

On the 24th of July, 1907 over one thousand Japanese arrived in British
Columbia from Hawaii after they had been denied entry there. Tension and
antagonism against the Japanese mounted. As well, rumors spread in public that
"white" British Columbia would soon be overrun by great masses of "little brown
men." Opinions were swayed by hysterical assertions. Even the Attorney General of
British Columbia joined in, falsely warning the legislature that as many as 50,000
Japanese were at the moment preparing to embark for Canada. In reality, only 8,000
Japanese arrived at Vancouver on the way to entering the U.S.\(^7\). Social animosity
toward the Japanese grew powerful. For example, the Vancouver Trades and Labor
Council met to establish a Vancouver Anti-Asiatics Exclusionists' League in August
1907. As Ward (1978: 69) points out, the upsurge in Asian immigration in the
summer of 1907 had three important effects:

- It stimulated racial tensions always latent in west coast society, it
  raised again the question of the province's cultural destiny, and it
  demonstrated the inadequacy of previous solutions to the Oriental
  problem. Furthermore, federal recalcitrance and provincial impotence
  had led many whites to conclude that there was no political agency
  which would now cope with the sudden immigrant threat.

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Anti-Oriental feelings surfaced on the 7th of September, 1907, the day of the Powell Street riot. A crowd of some 5,000 gathered in front of the Vancouver City Hall to protest Oriental immigration, screaming "Down with the Japs" and demanding a "White Canada." The mob marched from City Hall first to China Town where they met little resistance. From there, the mob moved on to Little Tokyo. In contrast to the Chinese, the Japanese immigrants retaliated with full force. Being pre-warned by members of their community who had noticed the mob's approach, they actively defended their homes and property. They could pelt their attackers from the rooftops with bottles and clubs until the mob finally turned back. After this riot, the English-medium British Columbia press\textsuperscript{8} devoted additional coverage to the Oriental problem. For example, on the day following the Powell Street Riot, September 8th, 1907, \textit{The Time}'s headline on the front page read "Immigration of Oriental shall be lawful."

\textbf{2.2. (B). Section Two: 1908 - 1940 (the Period of "Controlled Immigration")}

There were few women in the early Japanese community in British Columbia. However, this situation changed after the Lemivex-Hayashi Agreement of 1908 between Canada and Japan, also known as the "Gentlemen's Agreement." This agreement severely limited the number of adult male Japanese immigrants to under 400 persons per year (10 years later, 150 persons per year). Yet, since there was no limit on the entry of wives and children, some men returned to their home towns in Japan to wed wives through arranged marriages which their families or communities had prepared for them. Other men, who did not have enough money to return to

\textsuperscript{8} At this time, \textit{The Daily Colonist (The Colonist)}, \textit{The Victoria Daily Times (The Times)}, and \textit{The Vancouver Province (The Province)} were main English newspapers in British Columbia.
Japan, arranged for brides to be sent from Japan through the exchange of photographs (Adachi, 1976).

The number of picture brides increased so rapidly that in 1913, some 300 or 400 women arrived through this arrangement (A Dream of Riches, 1977). During the next 20 years, picture brides comprised the majority of Japanese immigrants to Canada. Also, these picture brides dramatically changed the single male immigration to "family-based" workers (Kraulet and Davis, 1978). Although the Japanese government agreed to limit Japanese male emigration, the nature of Japanese emigration to Canada, primarily single young men, changed to the "family-based" and increased their population.

Some women, who arrived independently of normal immigration channels, were isolated from the mainstream Japanese immigrant community in Nelson, Cranbrook, and other mining and railroading towns. As early as 1890, they were brought to Canada specifically to serve in brothels. Most were illiterate young girls from villages, hoping to support their families in Japan. Some were kidnapped or cheated by Chinese or Japanese traders in Japan, then sent as prostitutes to North America and other destinations. They had no contact with other Japanese immigrants and were kept away from them (Shimpo, 1975).

The first Nisei was born in 1889. There were only 64 Canadian-born children before the beginning of twentieth century. By the end of 1920, however, over 4,000 Japanese children had been born in Canada — largely because of the increase in picture marriages (Takata, 1983). As with Japanese immigration, Japanese immigrants' high birth rate touched a public nerve and increased hostility toward both the first immigrants Issei and their Canadian-born children Nisei. Issei were
therefore burdened with a high birth rate, low wages, long hours of labor, a low standard of living, and inability to assimilate into the other non-Japanese community.

Japanese fishing communities experienced particular hardship. The fishing industry was of great importance to the Japanese, especially for those from Wakayama prefecture who had been fishermen before they came to Canada. The first immigrant from the Mio village in Wakayama came to Steveston in 1889. He was so excited by the uncountable salmon in the Fraser River that he sent a letter home. As a result, many more from Wakayama came to join him, even though they were not economically starved as other prefectures. A growing number of Japanese fishermen thus lived in Steveston at the mouth of Fraser River in the beginning of the twentieth century (Takata, 1983).

Japanese immigrants held 20 per cent of the salmon gill-net licenses issued in the province of British Columbia. In 1901 the rate rose to 40 per cent, and in 1919, half the salmon gill-net licenses issued in the province went to Japanese. However, at the insistence of the white fishermen, the Federal Department of Marine and Fisheries promised to gradually eliminate Orientals from the fishery. In addition, the Japanese were repeatedly harassed by both the provincial government and the public. For example, Japanese fishermen were banned from using gas-powered boats on the Skeena River and had to row their boats along the Skeena to the fishing grounds, while white and Indian fishermen owned power boats (A Dream of Riches, 1977). As Ward (1978: 119) has stated, especially in the Pacific Coast fisheries, "There the interplay of economic and psychological factors promoted an antipathy toward the Japanese which prevailed for half a century." These restrictive and severe measures allowed Japanese fishermen to change to agriculture, which was to become one of the
few occupations left open to them. Japanese immigrants therefore began to buy property privately, although it was forbidden by law to acquire Crown lands directly. In this way, they began to set up their mixed farms and soft fruit farms — largely in the Fraser and Okanagan valleys. By 1931, 20 per cent of all employed Japanese were in agriculture, working as farmers or farm labor (A Dream of Riches, 1977).

Both the federal and provincial governments' anti-Japanese attitude accelerated in the early 1920's. Especially in British Columbia, politicians believed no more Japanese should be allowed to come to Canada. Premier John Oliver of British Columbia urged Mackenzie King, Deputy Minister of Labor, to ban further Oriental immigration. In 1923, Mackenzie King brought in legislation to restrict Chinese immigration as an attempt to calm tension in the provincial government. Moreover, British Columbia politicians continued to press for legislation against Japanese immigration and for yet stronger measures, including repatriation to Japan. Premier Oliver's speech in 1927 argued that it was desirable for British Columbia to bring about the restriction and final elimination of Japanese immigration. In the same year, King finally took their comments seriously, and negotiated a new agreement with Japan. The next year, in May 1928, Japan agreed to limit emigration to Canada to 150 persons a year.

As well, no political party was prepared to urge the enfranchisement of the Japanese-Canadians and Chinese-Canadians until the advent of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (later, CCF) in 1933. The Regina Manifesto, the party platform adapted by the CCF in 1933, announced that the new party would seek "equal treatment before the law of all residents of Canada, irrespective of race, nationality or religious or political beliefs" (Berger, 1989). In 1935, J.S. Woodsworth,
a leader of the CCF, carried this policy to the House of Commons. However, the Liberals used it against the CCF in British Columbia in the Federal election of 1935 (Berger, 1987).

The Liberals, who opposed giving Orientals the vote, ran a newspaper advertisement saying, "A vote for any CCF candidate is a vote to give the Chinamen and the Japanese the same voting right as you have" (Berger, 1987). Then, in 1938, the conservative party in national convention passed a resolution in favor of the complete exclusion of all Orientals from Canada.

After the Japanese military invaded Manchuria in 1931 and China in 1937, Japan's menacing gestures were regarded as being directed against the U.S. and Britain. This reality crystallized and legitimated anti-Japanese feeling in British Columbia. Even the Chinese-Canadians resented the Japanese. For example, Chinese grocers refused to handle vegetables grown by Japanese farmers in the Fraser valley of British Columbia. Chinese consumers also boycotted Japanese merchants (A Dream of Riches, 1977). Japanese-Canadians were increasingly isolated from the rest of the people in British Columbia. Also, many politicians and members of the public demanded that Japanese-Canadians carry identification cards, that they be denied trade licenses, that their Japanese language schools be closed, and even that they be moved from the West Coast. During the 1930's, the stereotypes against Japanese in Canada were reinforced by Japanese militarism and by potential subversion. Ward (1978: 108) describes this as follows:

As self-fulfilling prophecies, racial stereotypes have the capacity to regenerate themselves, and these were no exception. Fed by such persistence as well as by social, economic, and psychological strains, this hostile image of the Japanese flourished for more than half a century in west coast popular thought.
The above statement also indicates that the racial stereotypes in the west coast produced negative images of Japanese-Canadian individuals or communities from very superficial reasons. As such attitudes prevailed among the public, it became harder for Japanese-Canadians to live with the white majority in British Columbia.

By this time, the second generation -- Nisei -- were adults increasingly active in their fight against anti-Oriental hostility. To cooperatively promote political and economic rights and social justice against discriminatory legislation, Nisei established the Japanese Canadian Citizen League, organized in 1936 by merging with a group in Vancouver called the Japanese Canadian Citizen Association. In 1938, the first English newspaper for the Japanese community, *The New Canadian*⁹, was established by Nisei. Also, *The Tairiku Nippo*, originally founded by Issei, began including an English page for young Nisei (see Appendix D). Unfortunately, Nisei’s efforts to overcome social unfairness in the 1930s failed because of increasing racial discrimination in British Columbia.

Kranter and Davis (1978: 66) argue that "Japanese was an ally of Britain, and the array of commercial and navigational treaties between the Empire and Japan proved a bulwark against discriminatory statutes passed by the British Columbia legislature. The Japanese government was openly successful in protesting these statutes through its ambassador in Ottawa"; Kranter and Davis thus comment that the "Japanese could also rely on the government of Japan for a certain amount of support." However, the reality was that Japanese immigrants and their children in

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⁹ Any other Japanese papers were prohibited from publishing as soon as Pearl Harbor was attacked by the Japanese Military in December, 1941. However, the federal government allowed *The New Canadian* to continue to be subscribed to as a bridge between government and the Japanese community, especially Issei who did not read English.
Canada had always had to face discrimination at the grassroots level of white society, even though Japan was doing well at the international level. These two factors, either as a nation at the international level or as an individual Japanese community outside Japan, were always separated from each other as different Japanese issues.

Canada declared war on Germany on the 10th of September, 1939. The Japanese-Canadians' national situation, needless to say, deteriorated after Canada joined World War II, as Japan was preparing to do so as well. Before long, the Japanese military attacked Pearl Harbor on the 7th of December, 1941. As will be discussed below, life became even more difficult for the Japanese-Canadians.

2.2. (C). Section Three: 1941 - 1948 (the Period of "Deprived Civil Rights")

As soon as the Japanese military bombed Pearl Harbor in December 1941 and Hong Kong in the following year, Canada formally declared war with Japan immediately (Sunahara, 1981). This news spread throughout country in one morning as an "important notice." Immediately, Prime Minister Mackenzie King commented that Japan had "wantonly" and "treacherously" attached British territory and that "Japan's action was a threat to the defence and freedom of Canada" (Adachi, 1976: 199). The situation in British Columbia against Japanese-Canadians grew subsequently worse. They became known as a most "problematic race" and were regarded as spies of the Japanese military. Not only political view points, but also public attitudes against Japanese-Canadians reached an ugly crescendo, once rumors prevailed in public which the majority of whites in British Columbia accepted as

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truth. Ward (1978: 157) comments on this from the psychological point of view as follows:

The outbreak of war with Japan had spread a grave sense of looming threat among west coast whites. Yet for all its immediacy the threat remained somewhat vague and nebulous. The enemy was identified; his whereabouts were not. Rumors helped resolve this ambiguity. They suggested that some of the enemy were very close at hand. While this in itself was cause for concern, it also helped to clarify the confusions of war with a distant, elusive power. Because rumors singled out the nearest available enemy, they helped reduce the ambiguity which had spawned them in the first place. Once in circulation, they too stirred the ever-widening eddies of hostility and alarm.

Ward's comment explains that Japanese-Canadians were the victim of rumors, which came from the stimulated hysteria of the war with Japan on existent racial discriminations.

Sunahara's study (1981) of governmental documents, however, suggests that the federal government under Mackenzie King had ordered that the Japanese be investigated and recorded as a problematic race at least three years before Canada formally declared war on Japan.

The federal government took quick action against Japanese-Canadians in British Columbia as follows (Simpo, 1975: 174):

1. Japanese, Japanese naturalized Canadian citizens, and Canadian-born Japanese were all categorized as "Enemy Aliens."

2. 38 Japanese were labelled as dangerous to national security because of their important positions within the community by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (later, RCMP).

3. 59 Japanese language schools in British Columbia were closed.

4. Japanese were prohibited from making long distance calls and from using the Japanese language over the telephone.
5. Japanese were prohibited from any fishery in the Pacific Ocean.

The fact was that before Pearl Harbor was attacked, on the 4th of March, 1941, the RCMP had already started to register all Japanese who lived in Canada, a task completed by the end of August.

On the 23rd of February, 1,300 Japanese men, ages 18 to 45, were removed to road camps as part of a partial evacuation. Three days after that order, the federal government ordered 22,000 Japanese-Canadians residing on the west coast of British Columbia to move 100 miles towards the Rockies as a total evacuation. In October 1942, at the end of the evacuation, more than a thousand Japanese had been transported to the interior of British Columbia. The rest were sent east of the Rockies. Japanese who resisted the evacuation order, hoping to remain with their families, were sent to a concentration camp in Angler, Ontario (A Dream of Riches, 1977).

Although they were ordered to move within 24 hours to Hastings Park, where Japanese-Canadians gathered without any arrangements for going to internment camps, they did not resist. They accepted this as a 'Sikataganai' (No one could help it), quietly and obediently. After they moved to each camp, they supported one another under impoverished living conditions.

About 22,000 Japanese, evacuated east of the Rockies to areas beyond British Columbia, had to leave their property and belongings in British Columbia. Like those remaining in British Columbia camps, these Japanese had to face difficult living conditions in camps or such other provinces as Alberta, Manitoba and Ontario (A Dream of Riches, 1977). Those who moved east of the Rockies during April to June, 1942 had to accept new restrictions, plus discrimination in other provinces in Eastern
Canada. Approximately 4,000 people moved to Alberta, Manitoba, and Ontario for the Sugar projects. The British Columbia Security Commission planned to remove any Japanese from British Columbia, particularly to compensate for a severe shortage of labor in the sugar beet fields during and after the war (*A Dream of Riches*, 1977).

Especially in Alberta and Ontario, powerful public opposition arose to the internment of Japanese in these provinces. The federal government formally decreed strict control over the evacuees in Alberta: "they were to be confined to the farms to which they were assigned, and removed from the province once the war was over" (*A Dream of Riches*, 1977). As for Ontario, in 1942 the Toronto Board of Control prohibited Japanese-Canadians from entering the city. In 1944, the Toronto police commission refused to issue business licenses to Canadian-born Japanese (*A Dream of Riches*, 1977). Ontario had to admit, however, that its sugar industry was indebted to Japanese evacuees for relieving the work shortage.

However, Manitoba did not enforce harsh regulations on the Japanese-Canadians, as did the other provinces. The Japanese were not forced to leave Manitoba after the war. Manitoba’s paper, *The Winnipeg Free Press*, even showed some sympathy for the misfortune of Japanese Canadians (Adachi, 1976).

After World War II, Japanese-Canadians were forced to choose either repatriation to Japan or moving further east from British Columbia. As Krauter and Davis (1971: 61) commented, plans for mass deportations were as "obviously motivated by a particular anti-Japanese racist bias which was not applied to the white Germans," although "Germany was Canada’s major enemy in the war. If the Japanese refused both choices, they were regarded as disloyal to Canada. This order was announced in 1945 by Mackenzie King who had just won the previous year’s
election: "It is a fact no person of Japanese race born in Canada has been charged with any act of sabotage or disloyalty during the year of war" (A Dream of Riches, 1977). Clearly, King exploited that Japanese-Canadians' weak position to win votes from a public aware of Canada's racial unfairness. However, after winning the election he turned, policy-wise, in a totally opposite direction. Over ten thousand Japanese who did not want to take family separation again, or who saw no hope in Canada, signed for deportation because the federal government promised those who signed that they would not loose their property. The repatriation began in May, 1946 and finished in December, 1946 (A Dream of Riches, 1977).

Nearly four thousand Japanese, many of whom changed their minds afterwards, left Canada before the deportation order was repealed in January, 1947. Of these, 65.7% were Canadian citizens and over half were Canadian-born Japanese - Nisei (Shimpo, 1975). At this same time in Ontario, over 65 per cent of the Japanese who signed for deportation were Canadian citizens. In response to this situation, Japanese-Canadian civil rights groups and the Co-operative committee on Japanese-Canadians, a Toronto-Based coalition of local and national organizations, vigorously protested against anti-Oriental government policies. As a result, more than half the people who had signed for deportation reconsidered their situation, and decided not to leave for Japan. Yet some young Nisei, taken to Japan by Issei without any hope in Canada, would face to another kind of discrimination living in Japan. After 1949 some Japanese-Canadians, who felt uncomfortable in Japan, came back to Canada where they had been born and had grown up (Adachi, 1976).

Even after the war ended, very few Japanese people returned to British Columbia. This is because all Japanese-Canadians' property and possessions had
already been liquidated in 1943 by the custodian of Alien Property, without notice to owners. Also, in 1944 a special bill was approved by the House of Commons according to which Japanese-Canadians who had already relocated outside British Columbia could not vote in federal elections (A Dream of Riches, 1977).

In 1947, the Provincial Election Act was revised in British Columbia. With this revision, voting rights were given to Chinese and East Indians, but once again not to Japanese.

2.2. (D). Section Four: 1949 - the present (the Period of "Restored Civil Rights")

On the 7th of March, 1949, the Japanese and Native people in British Columbia finally gained the right to vote. By the end of that month, Japanese-Canadians became free to vote in federal elections anywhere in Canada; their political discrimination in Canada had at last ended (Shimpo, 1975).

As for the Japanese newspapers, The Vancouver Shuho, The Tairiku Nippo, and The Kanada Mainichi Shinbun, all ceased their publication on the day Pearl Harbor was attacked. The New Canadian, which was started by Nisei in 1938 and which is published in both English and Japanese, is still published today (1993) in Toronto. At the end of 1949, The Tairiku Nippo started again with the name of The Tairiku Jiho, publishing in both English and Japanese. In 1983, The Tairiku Jiho changed its name to The Canada Times. Currently, then, The New Canadian and The Canada Times are the only two newspapers in Toronto published by Japanese-Canadians. Because of the war, both relocated from British Columbia to Toronto.

As a post-war paper, there is one more Japanese weekly in Toronto, called The Nikka Times, started in 1979. This paper is primarily for new immigrants from
Japan or for Japanese short-term residents around Ontario. There is now one both English and Japanese weekly paper in Vancouver, called The Vancouver Shinpou, started in 1979. This paper is also oriented toward new immigrants.

However, the Japanese never rebuilt their Little Tokyo in Canada. Rather than grouping, they tried not to be ethnically distinctive. Instead, they stressed assimilation with mainstream Canadian society. They remain scattered in cities, and do not look back.

2.3. The History of Education for Japanese Immigrants' Canadian-born Children

The last section described how Japanese immigrants came to Canada, then settled down and established families and communities. Education and the family are paramount factors in socializing children and establishing communities. It is a fundamental right for children to have equal formal education. However, British Columbia has had strong concerns about their children's education having a British influence (Adachi, 1976). If they wished to educate their children as Japanese, immigrants had to form their own Japanese school and work closely with the Ministry of Education in Japan.

Part two is composed of four sections. Based on the history of education for the pre-war Japanese immigrants' children in Canada, part two traces how their education progressively changed from the beginning of their immigration to the present and reflects the political and social climate of the time. The overall structure of this part will follow the periods as set in part one.

To understand the relationship between establishing ethnic identity as a
Japanese descendant and language maintenance, this part views the history of Japanese language education for Nisei, Sansei, and further generations of Japanese-Canadians. Section one and two examine how the Nisei's education was constructed in British Columbia. Section three describes Japanese language education during and after World War II, and section four considers how it was moved to eastern Canada. Especially because this study deals with interviewees from Toronto, section four also assesses the present condition of Japanese language education for Japanese-Canadians, particularly in Toronto.

2.3. (a). Section One: 1877 - 1907

At the beginning of Japanese immigration in Canada, young single males came without wives and children. Many families sent more than one family member overseas to work, especially those families in poor farming areas. Their initial intention was to work overseas, gain money during their temporary stay, then return to Japan after several years. For this reason, wives and children were not part of the initial wave of immigration.

However, under discriminatory labor practices, wealth was not so easily attained. They could not go back to Japan with anything. Therefore their stay in Canada grew longer and longer. The average age of Japanese males immigrants was around 22.8 years when they arrived at British Columbia. Over one fourth of them were between 15 and 19 years old. Over 98 percent had an above-literate educational level in Japanese. They had completed at least six years of compulsory education, because the universal elementary school education was adapted to educational systems in Japan in 1872. Only a very few had no education at all. Nevertheless,
most Japanese immigrants were "unable to read, write, or understand English" (Adachi, 1976). Without any choice, they had to depend on a bilingual Japanese Oyakata (boss) who would mediate between them and the English dominant society.

2.3. (b). Section Two: 1908 - 1940

As discussed in part one, it was during the period 1908 - 1940 that Japanese wives arrived in Canada and families were started. Thus, the Japanese immigrant lifestyle changed from that of a single/bachelor to that of a family. There were only 64 Canadian-born children in 1901, but were over 4,000 by the end of 1920 (Takata, 1983).

At the beginning of the 1900's, most Issei had dreamed of returning to Japan. They thus thought they should provide Japanese-style education for Nisei. They needed to establish some kind of educational institution among Japanese communities to fit in with most of the Issei's hopes and to accommodate the increasing number of Nisei. There were already small private classes for Nisei in the Japanese community in Vancouver in 1902. In order to teach a whole curriculum at school, the first Japanese school was founded on Alexandra Street in Vancouver in 1906 (Adachi, 1976).

This first school started with one teacher and 30 students (see Appendix E). Its curriculum was based on textbooks from the Ministry of Education in Japan (Sato, 1969). At this time, education for Nisei was considered only temporary until they would return to Japan. The curriculum included Japanese history, Japanese language, sciences, the national anthem, and an ethical education. This curriculum necessarily differed from the English-Canadian curriculum in terms of each country's
Around 1910, the Japanese schools began to have native-English teachers. The Japanese community became aware that Nisei had to reside in Canada to gain opportunities equalling those of a Canadian-born person without language difficulties. By the end of the 1920's, at least 7 Japanese schools were operating in British Columbia, run by the Japanese Communities and their parents.

However as Issei's plans to go back to Japan grew more remote, some Issei parents, especially those who lived outside of the Vancouver area, began sending their children to Canadian public schools. Issei, of course, did not speak, read, nor understand English. It thus became increasingly difficult for them to communicate with their children, whose main language changed from Japanese to English. Consequently the role of Japanese schools also began to change: their Japan-oriented curriculum inevitably shifting to a Japanese-language curriculum based on Canadian public schools. Yet these Japanese language schools still used text books from Japan and used a traditional Japanese curriculum. Adachi (1976: 127) described these Japanese language schools as follows:

The Japanese-language school was also an institutional device for reaffirming traditional Japanese values that attempted to perpetuate these values in the growing children.

Issei parents were satisfied with the Japanese schools, especially since they were too busy working to spend time with their children. They hoped that the Japanese language schools would provide Nisei with the moral discipline of the Japanese.

Most Nisei attended Japanese language schools from age 7 to 15 years. By 1935, there were 40 Japanese language schools in British Columbia with a combined
staff of 80 teachers and 3,283 students. The smallest school averaged about 12 students, meeting twice a week in the Fraser Valley; the largest had 967 students meeting daily for 2 hours at the Alexandra street school in Vancouver (Adachi, 1976).

Nisei children now attended Japanese school to learn Japanese language, in addition to public schools. Few Nisei children enjoyed going to Japanese language school after they had attended regular public school. Most children had little motivation to go, but they had to go because of their parents’ wishes. Many teachers in the Japanese language schools, who were from Japan and unable to speak English, could barely understand the mind and situation of Nisei children (Adachi, 1976). There was a huge gap between the values and life experiences of Canadian-born Nisei, and traditionally-orientated Japanese teachers.

Nisei children’s lack of motivation to learn the Japanese language meant that their learning ability was substantially lower than it should have been. Yet most of them advanced with the same classmates and tried to stay together. Despite attending and graduating from the Japanese language schools, most Nisei students could barely speak the Japanese language. The majority could not even read a Japanese newspaper or Japanese literature. The following presents a critical view of this situation:

Through the years, the Japanese had struggled to retain the language schools despite the unsettling knowledge that they were an admitted failure. The efforts to maintain them illustrated how high the symbolic value of language was, for on any pragmatic test of their success, the schools would have been abandoned. (Adachi, 1976: 129)

Unfortunately, the racist attitudes that prevailed in white Canadian society also infiltrated the schools. These attitudes did not come from the children, but from
their parents. In British Columbia some white parents became increasingly hysterical about non-whites, especially non-white children whose parents came from Asia.

In 1910, two events occurred that were directed against Asian children in British Columbia. The first instance involved white parents demanding that Japanese and Chinese children be segregated from the white students in British Columbia's public schools. The second event concerned the PTA (Parents' and Teachers' Association) of Vancouver's Henry Hudson school. They claimed that Japanese students were infected with skin diseases and trachoma because of their lower standard of living, and should thus be excluded from the school. The former situation was an emotional argument characterized by hysteria; the latter was a calculated maneuver of racism. Clearly, hostility against Asian immigrants and their children was escalating (Adachi, 1976).

In terms of the conflict of interests between Issei parents and regular public schools, some of the Japanese language schools' teachers and some Issei, who could speak English, helped to bridge the gap between Issei and Nisei (Sato, 1969). It was almost impossible to raise Canadian-born Nisei just like Japanese children in Japan, however, once Nisei began attending public schools in a white majority society. It was much more natural for them to assimilate, than to become Japanese. Once Nisei's main language became English, they spoke minimal Japanese with their parents at home. Issei did not put as much value on education as did Japanese in Japan, and communication between children and parents automatically declined. As Adachi (1976: 166) comments, "the children came to look upon themselves as Canadians of Japanese origin, persons who did not know how to speak, act or think like Japanese" He further explains:
The "proof" of assimilation was exemplified by the widening gulf, by the realization on the part of both generations that they were basically difficult. And like the "war" between British Columbia and the resident Japanese, this struggle was equally wasteful. (1976: 166)

At this stage, Nisei began building their own identity as Canadian-born Japanese descendants. Some acquired the Japanese language, yet many avoided such hallmarks of Japaneseness, such as language, religion, or culture.

Moreover, Issei parents were concerned about Nisei's education. Some Issei parents, who could afford to send their children to Japan for traditional education, took this opportunity. Usually Issei's parents or relatives in Japan took care of these children. While these children learned Japanese values and morals, however, this learning impeded their readjustment to life in Western Canadian when they returned. These children were called Kika-Nisei (return-Nisei).

On the other hand, there were many advantages to attending Japanese language schools or going to Japan for education. Closed or limited job opportunities for Nisei in Canada (even though they were Canadian-born citizens) meant that they had to find a job in a Japanese community in British Columbia run by Issei, or in Japanese colonies such as Manchuria, Taiwan, or Korea. Thus, if they wanted a job, Nisei had to use and understand Japanese. Otherwise, Nisei would face yet another form of discrimination, this time from within the Japanese community itself. Adachi (1976: 174) viewed the gap between Issei and Nisei as follows:

Working for Issei firms of businesses often meant that the traditional syndrome of obligations and indebtedness came into play. Employees found it difficult to leave a position because they felt that they were under an obligation not to leave, even if better opportunities arose. Conversely, employers might feel obligated, having taken on an individual through family friendship or reputation, not to fire the employee, despite his incompetence, to avoid a face-losing situation for
the employee's family. Not all Nisei employees were faced with these problems, and good employer-employee relationships were not unusual. But traditional attitudes died hard and generally, employment in the Issei business community was a dead end situation.

As Adachi comments, adolescent Nisei had already developed radically different attitudes and mentalities from Issei. Clearly, Nisei were caught in a double bind between a Canadian and Japanese identity.

In 1915, the PTA movement began in British Columbia. As a response to this movement, the Japanese PTA started with some white parents' participation (Shimpo, 1975). Also, in 1929, the Canada Japanese language school Association was established to make it easier to improve curriculum and teachers and gain better access among schools (Sato, 1969).

Halford Wilson11, Alderman on the Vancouver City Council and a member of the Rapid Native Sons of British Columbia, and Alderman Harry De Graves demanded that Japanese carry identification cards, that Japanese language schools be closed as a "menace to Canadian national life", and that part of the Oriental population be transferred out of British Columbia (Adachi, 1976). In 1941, before Pearl Harbor was attacked, Wilson suggested strongly that Ottawa outlaw Japanese language schools for two reasons: (1) they were evidence of loyalty to Tokyo, and (2) attendance imposed an "intolerable strain" on the health of immature children (Adachi, 1976: 187). Wilson clearly harbored racist fears not only of the Japanese military, but also of any Japanese, adult or child, in British Columbia. The Japanese Canadian Citizen League reacted to his comment rapidly, but World War II was too

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11 His father, the Reverend G.H. Wilson, was a chief speaker at the anti-Oriental rally of 1907.
close for anything to be done.

In September 1940, Maclean’s magazine severely attacked German and Italian language schools in North America. This article also brought up the controversy surrounding the Japanese language school. The principal of the Japanese language school at the Alexandra Street in Vancouver, Sato Tutsue, gathered together the other Japanese principals and teachers in Japanese language schools in British Columbia. On the 24th of November, 1940, they discussed what should be done to prevent racial discrimination against Japanese children’s education. They formulated the following four points:

1. To limit curriculum at Japanese language school to reading, spelling, writing and speaking Japanese.

2. To use text books which were edited in Canada for Nisei by teachers in Canada.

3. If Japanese language schools needed to use text books from Japan, these should be used carefully.

4. To make English pamphlets which explain Japanese language education in Canada, for distribution among the non-Japanese communities.

(Sato, 1969: 86)

This plan was passed for examination to the Ministry of Education in British Columbia on the 4th of December, 1940. However, as the war gained momentum, the paper was put aside in favour of the more imminent issues posed by war.

2.3. (c). Section Three: 1941 - 1948

Immediate actions were taken after Pearl Harbor was attacked by the Japanese military on the 7th of December, 1941. In the first place, the 59 Japanese language schools in British Columbia were immediately closed. The Canada Japanese
Language School Curriculum Committee had been trying to publish a text book for Canadian-born Nisei children since 1924. Their new text book had been officially approved by the Ministry of Education in British Columbia in 1940. It was promised major financial support from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after being approved by the Ministry of Education in Japan. Just as it reached the publication date, however, it had to be canceled because Canada had declared war on Japan (Sato, 1969).

When the Japanese were ordered to disperse across Canada, it was the Federal Government's plan that they would receive education in their respective provinces. The British Columbia Provincial Government rejected this plan. Ultimately, because compulsory education was guaranteed legally in Canada, the British Columbia Security Commission (later, BCSC) had to offer Japanese-Canadian children financial aid for education.

Japanese-Canadian children living around Vancouver went to the public schools until the summer of 1942. After they moved to internment camps, they attended school within the camps. In the intervals, however, while schools within the camps were still being built, no formal education was provided Japanese children. Since compulsory education covered only the first eight years of education, Japanese-Canadian children also had to continue their high school education through correspondence courses. Both in-camp and correspondence education were overseen by the Roman Catholic, Anglican, and United Churches (A Dream of Riches, 1977).

As well, the BCSC hired a few high school graduated Nisei as teachers in the camps. Since these high school graduates did not have enough experience to teach, there was much confusion among students (Shimpo, 1976), and poor education resulted. In addition to these regular schools, there were Japanese language schools
which existed in secret. The need for language schools was not only for Nisei children, but also for Issei parents in order to communicate with their children in Japanese.

By the end of June, 107 teachers instructed 2,348 children who attended school in the camps. However, by 1946, most of camps closed. Starting in April, 1947, Japanese-Canadian children were allowed to return to public schools (Adachi, 1976).

2.3. (d). Section Four: 1949 - the present (the Japanese Language Schools in Toronto)

Most Japanese-Canadians scattered in Eastern Canada. They tried not to form Japanese communities, hoping to avoid further racial discrimination in other provinces. After resettlement, the first Japanese language school opened in Toronto in 1949, followed by another in Vancouver (Sato, 1969).

The Toronto Nihongo Gakko (the Toronto Japanese Language School) was founded on Huron Street, downtown Toronto, in 1949. It was the first Japanese school in Eastern Canada. This school was founded for Japanese-Canadian descendants, to maintain their ancestral language and culture (AYUMI, 1989).

From the early 1950's to the early 1970's, however, the Japanese population in Toronto has rapidly increased, primarily for two reasons. Immigration law had become more lenient toward professionals, attracting many young Japanese with higher educations. In addition, the number of Japanese businessmen and their families transferred to overseas branches of Japanese companies, increased with the boom and success of the Japanese economy (Noro, 1987).

Yet instead of integrating, as had Japanese newcomers in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, these new arrivals began building their own communities as Shin Imin or Shin Ijyusya (new immigrants) and as short-term residents for companies. In addition,
there arose some disparity between Japanese newcomers — new immigrants and short-term residents, because of their different attitudes toward living in Canada. The Japanese community has thus been separated into three groups, depending on their purposes to live in Canada — Japanese-Canadians, new immigrants and short-term residents. Noro (1987: 10) described these Japanese groups accordingly: "Although these three groups seem much alike to outsiders, there are clear divisions according to social class, occupation and socio-historical background."

From the early 1970's, both new immigrants and a group for the families of short-term residents of companies became concerned about and established their children’s education in Canada. In 1974, the group of companies started a school providing the same curriculum as did the Ministry of Education in Japan. This school, called the Hoshuko (the Japanese School of Toronto Japanese Business Association), is more like Saturday classes supplementing a school curriculum in Ontario — enabling them to return to Japanese school without any problems.

In 1976, the group of new immigrants founded a school, called the Toronto Kokugo Kyoshitu (the Toronto Japanese Classroom), dedicated to helping people acquire correct Japanese language skills at home. Basically, this group did not agree with the policy of the Toronto Nihongo Gakko, because the Toronto Nihongo Gakko teaches Japanese as a second or a third language. However, new immigrants' parents wanted their children to learn Japanese as a home language. As the number of new immigrants increased, it grew difficult to have one policy which satisfied every parent and teacher at one school. Then the Nikka Gakuen was founded as an independent school from the Toronto Kokugo Kyoshitu, in 1978; and the Nisshu Gakuin was founded to be independent from the Toronto Kokugo Kyoshitu in 1986. The Heritage
Language Jesse Ketchum started in 1979, mainly for short-term residents who did not work for the company, but who were researchers or visiting scholars from Japan.

As for other Japanese schools, the Heritage Language program of the Board of Education has begun for the City of North York. At present, in Toronto, three schools have registered in the Heritage Language Program of the Toronto Board of Education. These school, the Toronto Kokugo Kyoshitu and the Nisshu Gakuin, teach on Saturday morning, from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m.. The Heritage Language Program in the Heritage Language Jesse Ketchum, which began enrolling any students after Japanese children left completely, offers class now after school. One also operates in North York, one in the East, and two in Peel.

As a non-registered Heritage Language Program, there are the Toronto Nihongo Gakko and the Nikka Gakuin in Toronto. They are not registered because of their policy and curriculum, which are different from the Heritage Language Program of the Board of Education. However, they are managed financially by communities without any supports from the Board of Education. Due to independent funding, it is thus no problem for them not to be non-registered schools.
Chapter 3. Ethnic Identity and Language

Unsettled arguments surround the correlation between ethnic identity and language. Among scholars in education, sociology, socio-linguistics, and psychology, a fundamental question is how each scholar presents and understands the definition of ethnicity itself\(^1\) or ethnic identity. There terms are not synonymous and therefore there is no one way to see both. But more often than not, ethnicity and ethnic identity are used interchangeably in the same context, rather than separately. It is not easy to place each scholar's study and quotation within one of the three categories discussed below. Some support positions ambiguously, or adopt more than one position at the same time.

This chapter intends to set forth different positions concerning the relationship between ethnic identity and language, using three categories: (1) ethnic identity is related to its language (Ethnic Identity = Language), (2) ethnic identity is not related to its language (Ethnic Identity \(\neq\) Language), and (3) ethnic identity can be or can not be related to its language (Ethnic Identity = / \(\neq\) Language). In each category, the different perspectives are reviewed and critiqued.

3.1. Ethnic Identity = Language

This position seems to prevail among many scholars regarding bilingualism issues. In the early 1930s, Sapir (1933: 159) indicated that language is not only a vehicle for the expression of thoughts, perceptions, sentiments, and values

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characteristic of the group, but also represents a fundamental mode of collective social identity.

The mere fact of a common speech serves as a peculiarly potent symbol of the social solidarity of those who speak the language. (ibid, Reitz, 1960: 112)

In the 1950s, Park (1950: 262) regarded language as fundamental to a "common community of purpose", Bram (1955: 23) described language as "a symbol of group identity through socialization," and Freeman (1958: 34) saw language as "the rough practical test of nationality."

Later, in the middle of 1960s, Shibutani and Kwan (1965: 59, 75) described language as "an essential part of culture and at the same time the instrument through which other aspects of culture are organized." As many studies regard language as an important factor within culture, ethnicity, socialization, Fishman et al. (1966) have begun to advocate ethnic language maintenance primarily the socio-linguistic perspective. Their study's analysis used the census data for language maintenance by the three generations in the United States -- the Melting-Pot social setting. It also set forth important questions about ethnic generations and suggestions about the different relationships of each ethnic generation to the society (Isajiw, 1990). Furthermore, in his later studies, Fishman (1977) associates ethnicity with its language as a crucial factor:

Anything can become symbolic of ethnicity (whether food, dress, shelter, land tenure, artifacts, work patterns of workship), but since language is the prime symbol system to begin with and since it is commonly relied upon so heavily (even if not exclusively) to enact, celebrate and "call forth" all ethnic activity, the likelihood that it will be recognized and singled out as symbolic of ethnicity is great indeed. (p. 25)
He explains that language can be the most salient symbol of ethnicity through transmitting feelings of ancestral chains to the future².

Like Fishman, de Vos (1975) links language with ethnic identity as an essential component.

Language is often cited as a major component in the maintenance of a separate ethnic identity, and it is undoubtedly true that language constitutes the single most characteristic feature of a separate ethnic identity. But ethnicity is frequently related more to the symbol of a separate language than to its actual use by all member of a group. (p. 15)

He develops this perspective from his study of Gaelic. His interpretation is that the Irish and the Scots use Gaelic as a symbol of their Celtic ethnicity, but not for speaking purposes.

Bourhis and Giles (1977) consider psycholinguistically that establishing a positive social and ethnic identity as a source of cultural pride encourages the ingroup to differ from other groups through language. Also, Giles and et al. (1977) relate language with ethnic identity and ethnicity as follows:

Language is a highly structured and sophisticated but flexible, subtle process which capitalizes on man's most significant resources including thought, symbolism and emotion.... We have seen that ingroup speech (and sometimes even ingroup-influenced outgroup speech) can serve as a symbol of ethnic identity and cultural solidarity; language is often the major embodiment of this ethnicity. It is used for reminding the group about its cultural heritage, for transmitting group feelings, and for excluding members of the outgroup from its internal transactions. (p. 307)

They systematize this position from "the many situational variables operating in a given intergroup situation which provide the important bases needed for any understanding of the course intergroup relations may take," to the three structural variable which most likely influence the vitality of ethnolinguistic group. These variables are the Status, Demographic, and Institutional Support factors (see Figure 3.1.).

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Figure 3.1. A Taxonomy of the Structural Variables Affecting Ethnolinguistic Vitality.

(Adapted from Giles et al, 1977: 309)

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3 The vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations." (1977: 308)
From this figure, they argue that ethnolinguistic minorities with little or no group vitality would disappear ultimately "as distinctive groups," while ethnolinguistic minorities with more vitality would survive and succeed "as a collective entity in an intergroup context" (1977: 308).

Feuerverger (1982) also found similar results with Giles et al. (1977) in her study of the ethnolinguistic vitality of Italo-Canadian students in Toronto. Some of her findings were that a relationship exists between greater access to L1 (ethnic language maintenance) and more positive perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality – and that the community subjectively assessed group vitality in a positive way. Another finding from her study was that home language patterns are related to subjective perceptions of ethnolinguistic vitality. Through examining various factors with Italo-Canadian students' ethnolinguistic vitality, Feuerverger (1982: 157) emphasized perceptions of ingroup ethnolinguistic vitality as follows:

It appears that perceptions of ingroup ELV (ethnolinguistic vitality) are associated not only with ethnic language maintenance, but also attitudes toward second and third language learning, attitudes toward multiculturalism, as well as toward the majority culture.

Significantly, ethnolinguistic vitality is made up of many variables (including language) that contribute to ethnic survival.

After the Official Language Act was created in the end of 1960s, the Royal Commission announced its intention to support ethnic languages, thus enabling Canada to remain multicultural and multilingual. This interpretation is based on the notion that a language can represent each ethnic group's uniqueness and prevent them from assimilating into the mainstream society (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1970: 13). Therefore, maintaining an ancestral
language may not only promote ethnic rediscovery, but also strengthen its ethnic identity. This is seen as beneficial for both the country and individuals (Cummins, 1979, 1981).

Feuerverger (1986), from her original quantitative research of ethnic identity and language maintenance, finds that the relationship between ethnic identity and language maintenance among Jewish-Canadian students is highly intimate. She concludes that students may have a stronger Jewish identification, when they have close access to Jewish institutions where they need to use their ethnic language.

Similarly, in her study of the role of language in the formation of ethnic identity, Heller (1987) regards language as an important means of entrance to the ethnic social network when ethnic identity flourishes. She comments further about the relation between language and ethnic identity as follows:

Shared language is basic to shared identity, but more than that, identity rests on shared ways of using language that reflect common patterns of thinking behaving, or shared culture. (1987: 181)

Flowing from the above point of view toward the correlation between ethnic identity and language, Dalley (1989: 42) describes her personal experience as a bilingual person:

Growing up, I was called French Frog and Tête Carrée. Neither group accepted my difference, therefore each identified me as belonging to the other linguistic community. As an adult, I accept that which makes me different (most of the time) and speak out for whichever group is under attack. Rarely is that the anglophobe community, therefore I am seen as a francophone by both linguistic groups. Being bilingual pushes me to wish for the preservation of both languages that are a part of me, that I am a part of. I am quite comfortable with my dual identity, yet society rejects it as being possible only in theory.
Dalley comments that both bilingualism and dual identity are vital components of her individual identity. She has grown up and built her own identity in her bilingual situation. Yet, she admits that the reality is acceptable only in theory. On the other hand, as an individual experience touches both language and her identity, she comments as follows (1989: 80):

As the child of two languages I felt the importance of them both to my identity. As the child-of-two-languages I felt the need for urgency to reunite those who brought out motherhood in me with their other language mother, la francophone. I left her time running out; her prestige had to be increased in the community so that her children would recognize her as part of them and themselves as part of her. Time was running out, soon she would be imprisoned by the cold.

3.2. Ethnic Identity | language

Eastman (1984) has a different perspective on the relationship between ethnic identity and language, from that we saw previously. She writes that:

When we compare language and ethnic identity we are comparing different levels of the structure of culture and language respectively.... ethnic identity is more a form of social behaviour represents variable use of knowledge. (p. 267)

She considers language as a form of linguistic knowledge, which anybody can learn, regardless of ethnicity. Ethnic identity is a social behaviour, however, which may develop into cultural differentiation (1984: 259-267). For Reese and Eastman (1981), then, the relationship between an ethnic identity and language is one of association, and not always coincide (see Figure 3.2.). Basically, they categorize ethnic identity and language as different factors; ethnic identity from cultural knowledge through behaviour, but language from linguistic knowledge through expression.
3.3. Ethnic Identity = / \ Language

Isajiw (1990: 37-6) has presented two analytical categories for ethnic identity: external and internal aspects of ethnic identity. Although both depend on each other, the former, which is objective, refers to observable behaviour, both cultural and social. The latter, which is subjective, refers to images, ideas, attitudes and feeling.

**External Aspects**

(1) speaking an ethnic language, practising ethnic traditions, and so on;
(2) participation in ethnic personal networks, such as family and friendship;
(3) participation in ethnic institutional organizations, such as churches, schools, enterprises, media;
(4) participation in ethnic voluntary associations, such as clubs, 'societies,' youth organization; and
(5) participation in functions sponsored by ethnic organizations such as picnics, concerts, public lectures, rallies, dances.
Internal Aspects

(1) cognitive: self-images and images of one's group; knowledge of one's group's heritage and its historical past; and knowledge of one's group's values
(2) moral: feelings of group obligations
(3) affective: a. feeling of security with and sympathy and associative preference for members of one's group as against members of other groups; and b. feeling of security and comfort with the cultural patterns of one's group as against the cultural patterns of other groups or societies (1990: 36-7)

Isajiw considers language as an external aspect of ethnicity. Like other scholars in this chapter, however, he does not define language as the most significant component for ethnic identity. On the contrary, he brought up questions about ethnic language maintenance, from the ethnicity level to individual's ethnic identity level, in the following four points:

1. Is the ethnic language the mother tongue for all those who report themselves as being of a specific ethnic origin?

2. Do those of any specific ethnic origin for whom English rather than the ethnic language is the mother tongue have any knowledge of their ethnic language?

3. How well is the language known by all those who have any knowledge of it?

4. How frequently do those who have a knowledge of their ethnic language use it in their everyday life? (1990: 49)

He finds in his group studies among Germans, Italians, Jews, and Ukrainians, that knowledge of the ethnic language becomes a more formal endeavour; this means that their mother tongue becomes English, not the ancestral language. In addition, except in the case of Jewish, third generation language maintenance, compared with the first
and second generations, shrinks dramatically (1990: 49-55). Isajiw also suggested from his studies of these successive generations that the language changes its function rather than being instrumental it becomes symbolic. That is; rather than being a means for practical communication, it becomes a symbol or means of identity reinforcement.\footnote{See Isajiw, W. (1975). "The Process of Maintenance of Ethnic Identity: The Canadian Context." In: P. Migus. (ed.). Sounds Canadian: Language and Cultures in Multi-Ethnic Society, pp. 129-38. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates.} He adds also that it may also apply to other prominent ethnic behaviours.

Edwards (1985: 10) attempts a definition of ethnic identity, taking into account the following four factors: (1) that ethnic identity need not be a minority phenomenon; (2) the continuation of perceived group boundaries, across generations which are likely to show significant changes in the cultural 'stuff' of their lives; (3) that objective, material trait descriptions do not fully encompass the phenomenon; and (4) the power of so-called 'symbolic' ethnicity, which can be too easily discounted.

His definition of ethnic identity is the following:

Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group - larger or small, socially dominant or subordinate - with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialisation or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of 'groupness', or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past. (1985: 10)

He thus includes language in the definition of ethnic identity as one among many shared objective characteristics which may create a group boundary.

According to Anderson (1980: 67), "if the linguistic factor is usually important
for most ethnic groups, it is not *always* an important, much less the *only*, component of ethnic identity." Anderson and Frideres (1981) include language in their objective definition of ethnic identity. They develop their perspective as follows:

Some ethnic groups have stressed retention of their traditional language, in which case they may be termed *ethno-linguistic* groups, while other have not. (1981: 38)

For example, Anderson (1980: 67-8) interprets the Gaelic language differently from de Vos (see p. 49). The latter explains that Irish and Scots still use Gaelic as a symbol of their ethnicity, but not as a tool of daily conversation. On the other hand, Anderson contends that they have little familiarity with the Gaelic language, but exhibit many folk tradition without the Gaelic language. Both view the Gaelic language differently, particularly whether it is as an important factor in composing ethnic identity or not. Anderson is far more open to the relationship between ethnic identity or language maintenance, depending on each ethnic group:

It is obvious that many Canadians take considerable interest in their ethnic background without speaking the traditional language, participating in a traditional religious affiliation to which most of their co-ethnic belong, or following certain folkways. (1981: 39)

To return to Isajiw's external aspects of ethnic identity (cited previously p. 55-6), language is one among many aspects of ethnic identity, as Anderson commented above. Clearly, many opportunities exist for people in Canada to pursue their own or any ethnic heritage, not only from ethnic language learning but also from other cultural participation.
3.4. Issues of Ethnic identity and Language in third generation Japanese-Canadians context

The following article by Sharon Omura, a Sansei Toronto lawyer, is from The Globe and Mail on April 30, 1993.

FACTS & ARGUMENTS

Friday, April 30, 1993

MULTICULTURAL VOICES / A Japanese Canadian says her parents assimilated so well into Canadian society that she feels about as Westernized as you can possibly be. But the sad thing is that she can't talk to her grandmother because of the language barrier.

Burnt bridges and a generation gap

The grandfather spoke slowly and carefully to his grandson. His grandson responded with a grunt. Again the grandfather spoke, choosing his words carefully. His grandson again responded with grunt, followed by a blank stare. More words followed,
again with a grunt and a blank stare as response. Finally growing impatient with this tiresome routine, the grandfather shouted out in one of the few English phrases he knew: "What's the matter? You stupid?"

This was the story my friend chose to tell at his grandfather's funeral. Earlier, my friend confessed that he didn't really know much about his grandfather. What he did know was that they had difficulty communicating. His grandfather spoke only Japanese and he spoke only English. Their common ground was the grunt-and-stare routine that he described so well.

I laughed at my friend's story, but it saddened me because of what it told me about the relationships between my generation and the generation of my grandparents. I too have difficulty communicating with my grandmother. For as long as I can remember, my grandmother and I have used exaggerated gestures and body language to communicate with each other. We point, use facial expressions, speak louder, slower or say simple things like "Hello," "How are you?" and "Goodbye." We have never had very sophisticated conversations.

Because of language barriers, my generation is unable to relate to our grandparents and learn of their thoughts, personal histories and experiences. After my grandmother's death, I will not have another chance to know her, just as my friend will not have another chance to know his grandfather. What happened in her life? What did she believe in? Dream of? Think of? There would be so many questions left unanswered.

I am a third-generation Japanese Canadian. My parents were born in Canada, as was I. My grandparents arrived in Canada when they were in their late teens and very early twenties. I am probably as Westernized and as assimilated as anyone in my generation could possibly become.

When I was growing up there wasn't much time or use for learning Japanese. Like a sponge, my family completely absorbed the mainstream culture in Canada. English was the only language my family spoke at home. We ate lots of Westernized foods and hardly ever used chopsticks. We went on family camping trips and had barbecues with our neighbours. We joined community hockey, soccer and baseball teams. We were Scouts and Girl Guides. We belonged to the Anglican Church. We lived in well-kept middle-class neighbourhoods. Our friends were all English-speaking, non-Japanese Canadians.

Some people point to the Japanese-Canadian community as an example of a great success story. The community is an example of an ethnic group that has integrated very successfully into Canadian life. They are a group of people who lost everything: their homes, means of livelihood, property and social standing after being interned during the Second World War, then rose above these losses to become well respected, successful contributors in their work and local communities. Pushing beyond the war experience, they escaped the psychological trap of being seen as victims, as poor, as the underclass.
But in putting the past behind them and fitting into the dominant culture it was necessary, or perhaps inevitable, that Japanese Canadians would lose their connection to things Japanese, including speaking Japanese.

Speaking English fluently without a trace of a foreign accent helped in being accepted by others. Over the telephone it was impossible for someone to detect that a Japanese Canadian was a person from a visible minority. Similarly, losing Japanese behaviour, manners, customs and ways of thinking helped in relating to others.

Now the children of my parent’s generation think, act, speak and believe in step with the dominant English-speaking, Western culture. This has had its benefits. Now language and cultural barriers do not stand in the way of our acceptance, although other barriers may still exist. My parents’ generation has passed on to its children the material gains and privileges that became theirs through assimilation.

But for this a price has been paid. The relationships between my generation and our grandparents have suffered. Not only this, we have lost the opportunity to understand the world from the perspective of our grandparents, who have a different history, culture and language.

I hope that we are living in a more tolerant society today than existed when my parents were struggling to raise their children. My parents’ generation felt that they and their children should assimilated as much as possible to live a secure and decent life in Canada.

I hope that refugees and immigrants arriving in Canada and their children will not find it so necessary to completely assimilate, to abandon their values and language so they can feel accepted, safe and secure.

Unfortunately, a language and cultural barrier will probably always stand between my grandmother and me, and for this I feel a profound sense of sadness.

As Ms. Omura mentioned in this article, a language and cultural barrier exists between her Sansei generation and her Issei grandparents. In the case of Japanese-Canadians, most Issei speak only Japanese with few English words; Sansei also speak only English. Nisei can handle both English and Japanese, depending on whom they talk to. Sansei have thus grown up in a consistently English environment.

The main reason for this she believes is, that the war experience drove Nisei to assimilate into the mainstream of Canadian society. Losing the ability to speak Japanese and other connections to things Japanese and speaking English fluently
without an accent enabled Japanese-Canadians to successfully integrate into the
dominant culture. She regards assimilation as having brought benefits. On the other
hand, other barriers may still exist, such as communication difficulties in their
ancestral language.

Demographically, as Kobayashi (1988) indicates, almost all Sansei use English
as their mother tongue. This is true because Sansei have grown up speaking English
at home, with neighbours, and at schools. They have socialized themselves in the
mainstream English culture of Canada.

Makabe (1976: 160) commented, from her study about ethnic identity of
Japanese-Canadians based in Toronto, why Sansei feel "it is inevitable to be
Canadian":

(1) They were born here in Toronto, and have lived all their life there,
(2) Their education, upbringing, values and outlook are totally
Canadian,
(3) The majority of their friends are non-Japanese,
(4) Their racial and cultural backgrounds have no relevant meaning to
them,

She continues, noting, that "other than the fact that they are racially classified as
Japanese-Canadians, they consider themselves as simply Canadian." As a result, she
(1976: 246) argues that "the heritage of culture from Japan is a dead issue" for Sansei,
"the Sansei had no distinctively Japanese Canadian outlook on Japan, Canada, or the
world," and "retention of Japanese culture and values by a small minority is
impossible."

Here is an answer from Professor Morton Weinfield, of the sociology department
at McGill University, on May 19, 1993.
For some time I have felt uncomfortable about the Multicultural Voices series featured regularly on the Facts and Arguments page, even though most of the articles have been insightful, empathetic accounts of the immigrant experience.

Many, if not most, of the articles seem to deal with tensions between an immigrant culture and mainstream Canadian society. Often this is described poignantly in terms of differences between generations within an ethnic group, where the younger generation is often more comfortable in Canada than are their immigrant parents or grandparents.

This may create an impression that Canadian multicultural diversity is plagued with problems.

In fact, for most Canadian-born children or grandchildren of immigrants, an ethnic heritage is of little significance in their daily lives, although it may play a role in ceremonial occasions. For others, it can continue to be a regular source of cultural enrichment, identity and satisfaction. But in both cases, there is no major problem.

A recent article in the series (Burnt Bridges And A Generation Gap, by Sharon Omura - April 30) is typical of complaints voiced by some descendants of immigrants that they have lost much of their ancestral language and culture - sold out, as it were, for a mess of Canadian pottage.

Ms. Omura, a third-generation Japanese Canadian, describes in moving terms her childhood geared toward a successful assimilation into "mainstream culture in Canada," replete with a loss of her Japanese culture and language. She is unable to communicate with her Japanese grandmother, and has lost the ability to "understand the world" from that cultural perspective.

These tensions between generations are nothing new. Most descendants of non-English and non-French immigrations have lost much of the culture and language of their ancestors. But this should not be construed as an indictment of Canada. In most case, this has been a result of free choice - from the initial decision to move to Canada to the choice of later generations to marry outside their group. They are trade-offs made by immigrants and their children.

True, for Japanese Canadians, assimilation was accelerated by the brutal forced relocation during the Second World War and the accompanying stigmas. And earlier in Canadian history, our educational system and intellectual elites helped the assimilation process by labelling all cultures and traditions other than English and French as inferior.

But for most immigrant groups, the basic freedoms and tolerance of Canadian society have meant that assimilation was not forced. Today, as in the past, immigrant groups routinely set up many of their own institutions - such as churches, social clubs or private schools - many assisted quite legitimately with public funds. If these gradually lost their appeal to the second and third generations it was more a result of natural, voluntary processes than of coercion.
Ms. Omura hopes that the newer waves of refugees and immigrants will not find it "so necessary to completely assimilate." In fact, no groups in Canada have to assimilate completely, although their old-country culture will inevitably be diluted over time. By and large, governments in Canada do not care what cultural practices people follow in their own homes, short of breaking the law. This is a remarkable degree of freedom.

The 1991 census offers some encouragement on that score. For practically every non-official language, we find many more Canadians able to speak it than those who claim it as their mother tongue, the language they first learned and still understand. For example, while only 30,000 Canadians claimed Japanese as their mother tongue, and less than 16,000 spoke it as their main language at home, about 45,000 claimed they could conduct a conversation in Japanese. A similar pattern was found for most other languages.

These additional speakers may have picked up the languages from family members, private schooling, neighbourhoods, travel, or language courses in high school or university.

So all is not lost for Ms. Omura, and any other minority Canadians who find themselves cut off from their roots. If she chooses, she can recapture what she has lost.

On Toronto, where she lives, there are presumably a number of places for intensive lessons in Japanese. Universities and museums may provide courses in Japanese culture and civilization. She can enjoy Japanese cuisine in restaurants and her own house. She can introduce Japanese art, music, and literature (in translation if needed), decor and customs into her home. She can integrate Japanese rituals and religious traditions into her spiritual life. If she has children, she can socialize them in part into Japanese culture through private schools, youth groups, exchanges with Japan and so forth.

All this may be difficult, but Canada places no roadblocks in her path. The choice is hers. If she makes the effort, she may still have time to talk with her grandmother.

For Ms. Omura's contention of a generation gap, Professor Weinfeld's answer is "these tensions between generations are nothing new. Most descendants of non-English and non-French immigrants have lost much of the culture and language of their ancestors... They are trade-offs made by immigrants and their children."

Although he concurs about the history of Japanese-Canadians, he assesses Ms. Omura's experience from the present point of view, a different time situation. If it is true that there were not so many Japanese language schools or classes such as the
Heritage Language Programs (1977, Government of Ontario), then the government and public perceptions toward Japan were different at that time. Seemingly, there are many opportunities to learn ancestral languages and culture in a multicultural-setting, such as in Toronto.

As some theories in this chapter and Professor Weinfield himself has argued, descendants of any immigrants inevitably lose their ancestral language and culture generation by generation. We might not be able to say "every ethnic group" has the same pattern as others, however. For example, Jewish identity has a history of discrimination over generations. As Feuerverger (1986: 10) observes about Jewish identity, "the majority of North American Jews sought therefore to shape a Jewishness that would remain faithful to the basic tenets of authentic Judaism while still attempting to fit into the general non-Jewish society."

On the other hand, as in the case of Japanese-Canadians, we have a far shorter history and totally different historical connections to compare. It is thus impossible to reconcile Weinfield's recent view of multicultural society, and Ms. Omura's personal experience as a member of a minority in the dominant English society of the time.

Clearly, we cannot classify one individual's experience, through personal history, as one theory or category of social phenomena. Ethnic identity in particular is a highly complex factor in the formation of individual identity. For this reason, no one can blame a victim who did not have the language opportunities during childhood which are more prevalent today in the form of HLPs. Ethnic identity and ethnic language maintenance should be explored with a humane understanding, bound within the context of historical experience.
Chapter 4. Research Design of the Case Study

4.1. Methodology

The present case study will employ Feuerverger's "The Canadian Ethnocultural Questionnaire" (see Appendix A) as a vehicle for in-depth interviews. The present study will focus on the interviewees' experiences and life stories, thus gaining more details about the relationship between ethnic identity and language maintenance — particularly in the case of third generation Japanese-Canadians. In terms of focusing on "experience and the qualities of life and education," a form of narrative inquiry is chosen as the appropriate research method. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) describe narrative inquiry as follows:

We are, in narrative inquiry, constructing narratives at several levels. At one level it is the personal narratives and the jointly shared and constructed narratives that are told in the research writing, but narrative researchers are compelled to move beyond the telling of the lived story to tell the research story.... Our concern is to have a place for the voice of each participant. The question of who is researcher and who is teacher becomes less important as we concern ourselves, with questions of collaboration, trust, and relationship as we live, story and restory our collaborative research life. (p. 10)

The purpose of this study is to explore issues about Japanese-Canadian ethnic identity and language maintenance through an interactive collaborative interview process. Therefore, this case study is intended to allow participants to develop their ideas, so that they may express their experience and life events to the interviewer, without any pressure and obligations. The interviewer has tried to use the questionnaire so that it encourages the interviewees to reflect on issues of language
and ethnicity and to share these reflections with her. The following is the initial position of narrative methodology:

In narrative inquiry it is important that the researcher listen first to the practitioner's story, that it is the practitioner who first tells his/her story. This does not mean that the researcher is silenced in the process of narrative inquiry. It does mean that the practitioner, who has long been silenced in the research relationship, is given the time and space to tell her/his story so that it too gains the authority and validity that the research story has long had. (Connelly and Clandinin, 1991: 127)

It will be the task of the interviewer to document her subjects' stories and to interpret them. In this case study of third generation Japanese-Canadians, then, the research is intended to be exploratory and leave assumptions open rather than citing a priori hypotheses and fixing the interview data into "theoretical boxes," which gives only a limited picture of human being's life experiences.

The task of the interviewer is thus to be a collaborative listener and to let interviewees talk reflectively and speak out about their views of the relationship between ethnic identity as third generation Japanese-Canadians and maintenance of the Japanese language. After the entire interviews for this case study are presented in the text, the data generated by "The Canadian Ethnocultural Questionnaire," are to be discussed comparatively by component: (1) SE: Socio-Ethnic, (2) EL: Ethnolinguistic, (3) LS: Ethnic Language Studies, and (4) EL: Ethnolinguistic Identity and Vitality.
4.2. Subjects

Four third generation Japanese-Canadians were selected from the interviewer's acquaintances. Two of them are her friends, while the other two were introduced by a middle person, whom the interviewees and interviewer each know well. Thus the relationship of interviewer and interviewees has been well established right at the beginning of the research process. This relationship allowed for a sense of safety and trust to be created in the interviewing. As Belfiore and Heller (1992: 239) have observed, "shared background knowledge is essential for collaborative relationships between counsellors and clients and for active participation in the decision-making process."

The four participants third generation Japanese-Canadians, who were born and live in Toronto. Their ages range from late twenties to late thirties. All of them have received higher education in Toronto after their high school degree, including college, university degrees and graduate studies. Not only have their backgrounds been shaped in Toronto, but their parents also have similar educational backgrounds.

4.3. Instruments

This case study is conducted with semi-structured interviews based on Feuerverger's (1991) "The Canadian Ethnocultural Questionnaire" (see Appendix A). The interview questions followed Feuerverger's questionnaire. However, there was freedom for each interviewee to speak about some topics in more detail focusing on their experiences and life stories. Each interview was conducted as a collaborative and reflective endeavour. Connelly and Clandinin (1990: 5) describe interviews in
narrative inquiry as follows:

Interviews are conducted between researcher and participant, transcripts are made, the meetings are made available for further discussion, and they become part of the ongoing narrative record.

Therefore, each interviewee had the same questionnaire and discussed each component. Yet they developed their own reflections using the questions as a vehicle, in collaboration with interviewer. Although there was a structure to the questionnaire, the interviews themselves encouraged each interviewee to elaborate on some questions and add their own perceptions. There is very little qualitative study that focuses on the Japanese-Canadian experience in Toronto.

4.4. Procedure

Some aspects of narrative inquiry were incorporated in the interviewing process. In narrative inquiry, scene and plot are considered as most important factors. Connelly and Clandinin (1990: 8) explain these two factors as follows:

Time and place become written constructions in the form of plot and scene respectively. Time and place, plot and scene, work together to create the experiential quality of narrative. They are not, in themselves, the interpretive nor the conceptual side. Nor are they on the side of narrative criticism. They are the thing itself.

**Scene:** place is where the action occurs, where characters are formed and live out their stories and where cultural and social context play constructing and enabling roles.

**Plot:** time is essential to plot... From the point of view of plot, the central structure of time is past-present-future. This common-sense way of thinking about time is informative of the temporal orientation taken in various lines of narrative and narratively oriented work.
Bearing this in mind, the interviewer will present her participants' stories narratively.

In March, April and May of 1993, the interviewer and each interviewee set up a time to meet after having spoken over the telephone. A week before the interviews started, four "Canadian Ethnocultural Questionnaires" were mailed to each interviewee's house. A week later, the interviews started. According to each schedule, each interviewee had either a one day-long interview or an interview scheduled over four days. The interviews themselves took 20 to 50 hours totally from the end of March 1993 to the mid May 1993.

All the interviews for this case study were taped and transcribed afterwards. This transcribed document and interviewer's notes during each interview were used to analyze data and compare with other interviews. These comparative findings were attained between May 1993 and July 1993. The transcribed interviews were analyzed and compared with each other in relation to each component.

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) suggest that narrative relies on criteria other than validity, reliability, and generalizability which characterize other qualitative methods:

It is important [they explain] not to squeeze the language of narrative criteria into a language created for other forms of research. The language and criteria for the conduct of narrative inquiry are under development in the research community. (p. 7)

The interviews evolved from question to discussion in this case study. It was essential to give the participants a sense that they could openly discuss these complex issues in an informal and "safe" environment. In this way, it was hoped that new reflections would be emerge that have not yet been documented in research studies on Japanese-Canadian ethnicity.
Chapter 5. The Presentation of Data and Discussion

In Chapter 5, the presentation of data and discussion of this case study are described. In order to compare and see the differences easily, the four interviews are displayed together in each component. Finally, the summary provides concluding remarks in chapter 6.

For this study, as mentioned in chapter 4, Feuerverger's "The Canadian Ethnocultural Questionnaire" (see Appendix A) was used as a backdrop for each interview. Filling out every single questionnaire was thus not important. Rather, talking about relevant questions in detail was emphasized more in order to explore the correlation between ethnic identity and language maintenance among third generation Japanese-Canadians – Sansei.

For example, one of interviewees did not fill out any questionnaire at all. However, he had a reason not to follow the questionnaire. He thought this questionnaire was not appropriate for him, for he did not inherit any ethnicity or language from his parents. Also, he sensed that this questionnaire was drawn up by a person who does not share the same background as Japanese-Canadians.

One of the interviewees did not answer any question in part three: Ethnic Language Studies Component. She said that it was impossible for her to answer, because she did not take any ethnic language courses during her childhood. Another one, also, stopped answering in this component after four questions, because she thought these questions were set up for the Heritage Language Program (later, HLP). However, she believes the Japanese Language School (later, JLS), which she attended, was not the HLP, but was a private language school. Therefore, she thought that it
was irrelevant to answer these questions. Also, two of the three interviewees who looked through the questionnaire did not answer the French Language Section in part two: Ethnolinguistic Component, because they considered French irrelevant to an interview regarding Japanese language maintenance and ethnic identity.

The following (see Table 5.1.) are the names of the interviewees and their self-definition of the word "group" which refers to the ethnic group into which they were born.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee: Name</th>
<th>the word &quot;group&quot; will refer to the ethnic group to which you are born</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mark Sato</td>
<td>Japanese-Canadian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nancy Suzuki</td>
<td>Japanese-Canadian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linda Yokoi</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Morita</td>
<td>Canadian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As mentioned above, one of the four interviewees, George, did not answer the questionnaire at all. As for George, his interview does not follow according to the sections of the questionnaire. Also, some of the others of them skipped parts of the questionnaire. Therefore, mainly interviews among Mark, Nancy, and Linda are discussed.

5.1. (A). Socio-Ethnic Component

In this component, mainly general attendance at ethnic activities are examined in the 28 questions. There questions are asked not only about the interviewees, but

1 The interviewees' names are changed to maintain their anonymity.
also regarding their parents. Also, they are related to the interviewee and her/his parents' language abilities in their ethnic language. In addition, some of these questions look at whether or not interviewees had felt or experienced prejudice or discrimination in their daily lives. Therefore, the questions do not only look at their present circumstances, but also their childhood, their neighbourhoods and their school.

In this chapter, we become familiar with each interviewee's background and their attitudes toward ethnic identity or ethnic language maintenance or learning.

Questions 1, 2, 3, 24, 27, 28 focus on the interviewee and their families' involvement in their ethnic activities in communities and the ethnic homeland.

Three interviewees out of four were or are involved with Japanese ethnic activities. All the interviewees' parents, Nisei, have been involved with some ethnic activities through the Japanese-Canadian Cultural Centre (later, JCCC).

Mark Sato, who is a doctoral student at the University of Toronto, has led the Student Association for three years as an executive and for one year as a president. Also, he has played ice hockey with the Canadian Japanese Hockey League for over ten years. The Student Association is not an activity exclusively for Japanese-Canadians. The Hockey League, by contrast, is mainly for Japanese-Canadian youth. The majority of the players are third generation Japanese-Canadians:

Q. 24. How involved do you feel your family is with the activities that go on in your local ethnic community? Could you give more explanations?
Well, when you say family, such is a arranged. Even though in our hockey league, I don't know whether it were necessarily Japanese guys there. We just know people, so played in it. It is not like we needed to be a part of Japanese community. We weren't involved in the JCCC and so on. I don't think my parents were involved so much with the JCCC. Nisei all know each other anyway...They are not like active people in the community.

Q. 27. How satisfied are you with the quality of the social activities in
your ethnic community? Could you give more explanations?
I guess it just doesn't make any difference for me what they do. I really don't care. I don't feel anything for them to do more. And at the same time, maybe just take for granted what's there. Maybe I should be happy that they have there what's going on.

Q. 28. Does your family have any involvement with your ancestral homeland (either visiting relatives, or involved in cultural activities)?
Yeah, we have some contact with relatives there, but it's minimum.
You have been to Japan tree times. Did you visit them whenever you went to Japan?
Yeah, each time I dropped by a few times. The first time in 1980, when I went to Japan through the Japanese Language School (JLS) for a graduation trip, my whole family went there. So, my mother kind of looked up and found out where they were so far. Because they were offsprings of my grandpas and grandmas. The ones who were living in Canada, we never even looked them up. On the second time, in 1982, I went to there from the Hockey League. Then, in 1986-89, I was there for my Master's program at K University; the first year I was a research student and the next two years I was in a Master's program. I stayed a few days for Osyogatsu (A New Year). It was funny to find that one of my relatives there was at the same university....but, I only saw him when I visited his family once or twice a year.

Do you know when your grandparents came to Canada?
No, I am not interested in it. Maybe, my mother knows. But, I didn't see any relevance to know in what year they came.

Weren't you interested in finding your family tree in Japan before?
No, I wasn't interested in that. They are relatives, so I talked to them. More as people, it's interesting to see them. Particularly because once they were my grandpa's brothers and sisters. And, they look like him. When I met them for the first time it was a very strange feeling to see people who you have never seen, but who look like people you know.

But don't you know personally why your grandparents came to Canada?
No my parents know sort of things. I guess I kind of know that things were rough there, so they came to Canada to make money. But, things didn't work out. So, they got stuck here. I think most Japanese people thought they could become rich here and then could go back to Japan.

Anyway, you enjoyed staying with your relative at your grandparents' homeland?
Oh, yeah. My relatives live in the country side. So, it was comfortable to stay in a big house for a couple of days. So, I could go their houses, because I am a relative of them. Otherwise, how would you do that. It was an opportunity for me to see how Japanese people live.

Did you remember about your grandparents often when you were there?
No, because I didn't have a good sense of my grandfather. And his wife died before I was born. My father's mother was still alive when I was born, but at that time I didn't speak Japanese. The grandparents I had any contacts with
were only my mother's father and my father's mother. But, I really didn't know them well enough to think of them in terms of personality and what they must have gone through. There is no deep connection.

As for Mark's parents, they have been involved with the PTA for the Japanese Language School, the dance club and bowling league. Both the dance club and bowling league are held in the JCCC. Mark describes his parents' involvements in these activities, especially the dance club and bowling league, as follows:

I think most Nisei do. All kind of people belong to it. But, It's funny... Is it only for Nisei? I don't know what the rules are, but I can't imagine Sansei would join. Mostly Nisei seniors are involved with it.

Nancy Suzuki, who is a secondary school teacher and is enrolled in a master's program in Education, answered "Yes" to belonging to any ethnic organizations or clubs. She belongs to the Church, and she categorizes her church as an ethnic group:

I would categorize my church, as it originally started, as an ethnic organization.
You mean the United Church? Well, because originally, now it is different you see, we had to share the building with another church. So, I put that because I believe membership to the church, as it was originally, was based not only on religion but was based on race. Not that I think that you would have been denied, but we were originally called Toronto Japanese United Church, you know what I mean. So, I don't think that you would have been denied if you said I want to go to this church and you happened to be whatever...Black. I don't think people would say 'No'. But, in an another sense, I think just purely from the name itself, and the way we organized ourselves, the language that we use at church, you know. We use both Japanese and English languages. When did that church start? Was it after World War II? Definitely, after the war. When did you start to go?
As soon as I was born. I was born, and baptised there. Then I was confirmed at age 16. I will be married there and I will be buried there.

Q. 2. Have you ever attended an ethnic summer camp? Is there some camp for the children of Japanese-Canadians?
Now, this is a problem. Our church had a camp. So, what I went to was a church camp, what I still categorize as an ethnic.
How many times and at which age did you go to church camps?
About 8 times, from age 8 to 16.

Q. 27. How satisfied are you with the quality of the social activities in your ethnic community? Could you give more explanations for this?
I don't know. I guess I really don't know a lot about the direction of our community. Whether we want to assimilate or not. Or how important is it for us to maintain an identity as a community. I really don't think it's that important now. I see activities from our community being motivated by, I guess, yeah sure wanting to celebrate, but wanting to teach other people. I don't see it as being an activity where it will help us sustaining our identity and language. I honestly don't.
Do you think the Japanese community would like to expand or share their culture with other communities rather than being homogeneous?
I think that the way it's going to go because of marriage. It's not that we don't take pride in what we are, I think it's gonna happen because of mixed marriages.
You seem to have a strong identity as a Japanese-Canadian, but don't you connect your identity with language?
I think what we have here, the Japanese-Canadian culture is different from the Japanese culture. To maintain Japanese-Canadian culture, I don't think it is necessary to maintain the Japanese language. For myself, to understand Japanese, the Japanese people living in Japan, you need to understand the language.
So as a Canadian living in the Japanese-Canadian community, Japanese is not necessary to learn. Yet you still preferred to learn Japanese in order to understand the Japanese there. So, Japanese is not the language in the Japanese-Canadian community any more?
Right, because...well in the Japanese-Canadian community we eat Japanese food for Osyogatsu (A New Year), but we don't need the language to do that. But, at least for me personally, to help me to understand Osyogatsu I need to know the language. Because,...here in our community, to a certain sense, it's kind of false...it's like a routine that you do. But for me, personally myself, I'd like to understand all the thing to Japanese people whatever. It's just a thing that we do on New Years day, here in Canada. And, maybe I am reading too much into what happens in Japan, it does have a deeper...it has a bit more different meaning to it. And to understand that I think you need to know Japanese. Because you need to speak to the people there. I guess it is the same thing with the Giri (duty.)
Q. 28. Does your family have any involvement with your ancestral homeland (either visiting relatives, or involved in cultural activities)? Could you give more explanations about your personal case, because you stayed in Japan for 8 months? Did you see your relatives in Japan while you were there?

No, I have an aunt who still has contact with Japan. But, I told my dad to ask her not to tell anybody there that I was coming. I did not want to feel pressure to go. Before I went, my mother was telling me it would be difficult, actually my both parents were telling me that. But, my mum was very much so. She was telling me, "It's gonna be difficult and you are going to be discriminated against, because you look Japanese but you don't know how to speak it." So, I didn't want to go through that, right? Nobody wants to go somewhere and look like a fool. I think it would be different from the Japanese people that I've met. And, I agree... the Japanese people that I met are different. Because one way or another, they wanted to meet foreign people. Like the Japanese people I have met, have been through school where I taught, so... all those people obviously wanted to learn English, they wanted to meet foreigner. Or else, I've met their friends and families, it's the same thing. They have an interest in it. However, I think they were very confused that genetically I am Japanese, but socially I am not. So, I don't have the customs. I don't have the language. I think that confuses some Japanese people. Because, they look at me, they wanted to speak Japanese to me. And every time, I don't understand what they're saying. But, I never met anybody who wasn't kind towards to me. I guess that's certainly the misconception that my mum had about it. And, I guess that why I didn't go. Because I was afraid that they wouldn't understand why I don't speak Japanese. I didn't go to Wakayama prefecture where my mother's family from. But, I went to Fukui prefecture where my father's family from. But I didn't meet anybody...

Did you decided to go to Fukui when you were still in Canada, or decided when you got there?

No, after I spent a couple of month in Japan.

So, what made you visit your ancestral place?

Because when I got there, I really didn't have any intention of learning the language. But, when I got there, I would say after a couple of month when everything settled down, you kind of think this is ridiculous. You could meet so many more people, you could understand so much more, if you spoke Japanese. So, of course I started to learn Japanese. Then, once I had a tutor and everything was going well... and of course my goal was... I love to go back and be able to talk to my grandmother face to face. And... when I talk to her, I wanted to say "I went to Fukui. What a beautiful place it was."

Did you talk to her when you came back to Toronto?

No, I couldn't. Because her health had deteriorated, so I really couldn't. But before I went to Japan, she knew that I was going. And, she was really thankful about that.
As for Nancy's parents, they donate to the Momiji Health Care Center (the Japanese Nursery Home) and help for the Caravan (the Japan Pavilion of the Cultural Festival during summer in Toronto), and belong to the dance club at the JCCC:

They are part of there (the JCCC). I think my parents have much closer ties with the community.

Your father has more close ties to the community than your mother does?

I'd say 'Yes'. Well, my father is the oldest boy and my mother is the youngest in her family, so it's a little different.

How about the dance club, do they still go? Lots of Nisei people seem to belong to dance clubs at the JCCC.

I know, isn't it weird? Because it is a social thing. They don't learn how they can dance, you know what I mean. Lots and lots of dance clubs are there for Nisei. I would say there are probably about four in Toronto, Japanese! That's how my dad knows all those people from the JCCC and stuff like that. Dance clubs, church and you know...the typical..."uh, Tanaka, now that Tanaka must be from"...you know. I don't know that just I met as a first time. But they say last things about Tanaka.

Q. 24. How involved do you feel your family is with the activities that go on in your local ethnic community? Could you explain more?

I think they support. I don't think that is an area where they would direct their energy. I think support wise they do an excellent job.

Linda Yokoi, is a housewife with two children, and is heavily involved with the JCCC. She spends her time and energy helping and organizing the activities at the JCCC. Her husband and her parents and parents-in-law are also involved with the JCCC. She regards the JCCC as a second home for herself and her family. She mentioned how she feels about the present situation of the JCCC in more detail as follows:

What was your initial reason for coming to the JCCC?
It started with the Bingo game on Wednesday night. At that time, I was just 15 or 16 years old. My mother used to come the JCCC with her friends. And I know I have friends and relatives who have been involved in the JCCC longer before I did. Then, I started to help for the Bingo hall and I met my husband there. Then, at the Caravan in June, my aunt and uncle were very involved with the JCCC, right from the beginning as well. My aunt just phoned me and
asked me to help, and I just came as a volunteer. That’s how it started. Then, anytime there was anything happening, I helped. It is almost 19 years since I have been solely involved with the JCCC.

So, you have seen lots of changes in the JCCC, haven’t you?
Yes, it’s very sad because there is just a handful of the Nisei who are willing to take the responsibility. Most Sansei are not interested.

Do you think most of them feel that volunteering here is work?
Because it is. It is a working commitment. I don’t think they want to make that commitment. That’s the problem with this particular organization. There isn’t really a community, a social community like maybe one of the Japanese churches. You would find a very different attitude. There are younger members. But, as far as the JCCC, they tend to stay away from it. Because they feel there’s gonna be work and commitment involved. And they don’t want to do that. Maybe they will do for one year, commit to a certain events or a function what’s going on. And after that, if you ask them the following year, they are not interested any more.

You must be a pretty rare case to be fully committed to the JCCC.
Oh, yeah. I would say only 20 people are fairly committed. It’s very sad. I think Nisei are a bit frightened that nobody will take over when they go, after they build up the JCCC. Also, I am quite afraid of that myself. Because, even as a Women’s Auxiliary President, there’s maybe 6 or 7 Sansei who are involved almost as much as I am. The rest of them, over 80%, are all Nisei. Even, Issei come and help.

How about Yonsei?
I think it’s really up to Sansei to push it. I know my parents never really pushed me to pursue my ethnic culture. I regret it not ever have been able to go to Japanese school or take abilities in any type of Martial Arts. Their attitude was very Canadian...

Q. 27. How satisfied are you with the quality of the social activities in your ethnic community? Could you give more details than your comment ‘Sansei not interested in general’?
It’s OK for Nisei, but it’s not OK for Sansei. Depending on my point of view, it is very sad for my generation. There isn’t a real social gathering for Sansei. Anything associated with the JCCC, Sansei consider as a working, not as a friendly thing. They are working on it though, they are trying to bring the younger people together. But, this building is not really a good facility for...I mean obviously people, around my age, they have young families, but there’s nowhere for the children to go. So, Sansei can’t get together for social things. If you have Sansei friends around, do you think you will give information about what’s going on at the JCCC and take them there?
Yes, all of my friends go to the JCCC. If there’s anything social things going on, they are all here. They all know about what’s going on there. That’s why we’re together, because of our involvement.

So, you must feel comfortable about it.
Yes, very much. It’s our only place where we go, other than home. It’s a social thing. And the children consider it’s their second home, too. They’re very familiar with the place.
Questions 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 are about interviewees' learning ethnic language.

Mark went to the JSL from grade 3 to grade 12 (age 8-16) on Saturday morning. The interview concerning these questions is as follows:

Q. 4-8.
Did you go to the JLS?
Yes, when I was grade 3 to 12, I can't remember really when I started. But I joined until high school. I was too young to remember.

Was it part of a community program or the HLP?
Even now, I don't think it is a HLP, because it is not a credit course.

Q. 9-10.
You took French 9 years?
Yes, but I can't speak anything...

How do you feel about the French Immersion Program (FIP)?
Yeah, I think it's a reasonable thing to do. It seems that kids, who get through the FIP, are quite smart.

Why?
I don't know why. But, I think they generally have high standards. You know, obviously if they are learning French and another language at the same time, as well as other subjects, they got a big advantage. I think it would be useful, useful to them, and if you acquire a language without patternning to go to extra effort, it can't certainly be harm. It seems to be only a benefit.

But weren't you in the same position, attending the JLS? Because you learned Japanese in your early years.
No, it wasn't an Immersion Program. Taking only on Saturday is useless. Taking French at high school, what I did, everyday for one hour is also useless.

So, if you would have gone to the JLS every day, as an Immersion Program, it would have made you different?
Oh, yeah. In terms of learning a language, an Immersion Program is the only way to learn a language. And anything other than that is a decoration, as far as I'm concerned.

Nancy also attended the JLS from grade 4 to grade 8. She mentioned how it was difficult to go to the JLS on Saturday morning, and how that feeling changed after she stayed in Japan for 8 months. Nancy says:

Think about it, when you are 10 years old, going to learn another language. The only reason why you are going is that your parents want you to go. All my sisters and brother went, too.

Did you enjoy going?
Did I enjoy it? I don't want to say that...
Did you mind going on the Saturday morning?
Well, of course. All other kids watch cartoons on the Saturday morning, and you go to school. That is not exactly excitement. Why did you stop going afterwards? I would say because of other things. I mean, when you get to high school home work starts and I started to work part-time. So, all these kind of things started to take away from that. Partly I was busy and partly I didn't have a lot of interest in it. I think when you are young, if your friends aren't going, that it's difficult to motivate a young kid to go. Like if all kids are going to whatever it maybe, soccer practice on the Saturday morning, and you are going to school. That's not exactly a good motivation. But also, I think it's really a weird thing to be a Japanese-Canadian. Because at one time, it was really a negative thing...

When was it? Oh, I would say after the war. Not that I was around at that time. But certainly you can see the effects of that. There is almost a shame. How about your whole life? Is it still bothering you? Well, I don't think so now. Right now, I don't know if it's a benefit to a certain respect it is. There is no doubt in my mind that... I don't think that somebody would choose me because I am a female and because I am a visible minority. But there is no doubt in my mind that if I was graduate from Education, in some position doing something, they would be very happy with the fact that I am a female and I am a visible minority. I certainly hope somebody doesn't choose me because they say, "Oh well, she is a female and she is a visible minority, and that's what we need." But, certainly, if I was chosen, there's no doubt in my mind that they would say "Oh and by the way, she's also a female and a visible minority." It satisfies that political aspect of all.

Don't you think it is sad for your parents' generation, because they were in an opposite period? They had to suffer from being a minority... Also, you might have shown you didn't like to go to the JLS sometimes? I think in our situation, assimilation is what was required to survive. I think you had to. That's why...like our community doesn't have enough people...I mean there is a little Italy, Greek community, and there are China towns. I don't know if the number would allow it, but there certainly isn't any Japanese town. Certainly post-war, to assimilate was, whether or not you wanted to, that was the only way you were going to survive. Congregating in communities, all together, I don't think it would have been a benefit. Didn't you find learning language is kind of interfering these kinds of assimilation? That's a good question. I think if I really wanted to learn a language it would have been better if I had been surrounded by other Sansei. Like in my community, if I knew that also Sansei next door were going to language classes. That would have made it... perhaps I would have been motivated more to do it. I think assimilating or at least, spreading yourself out, makes it more difficult to learn the language. Well, in my situation, I didn't learn the language, probably that's why I did assimilate. Because I really didn't learn the language, so maybe that's why I did assimilate, yeah... that's a very good question. Let's me think now. Learning... well, it depends I guess, if you are
bilingual... then I don't think learning the language, if you are bilingual then you can hop in and out. much like my dad, you know what I mean. He can hop in and out of either community. That's what I like to be able to do. I'd like to be able to hop in and out.

So that means you want to keep your ethnicity as a Japanese?

Oh yeah, look at the way my life has gone.

Didn't you say maybe assimilation was stronger?

Yes, for sure when I was young, no doubt about it, because no kid wants to be different.

When you are grown up, and became interested in anti-racism education, maybe you are aware of your ethnic identity?

Well, I think there's been a numbers of things. But, certainly, there is no doubt about going to Japan has, you know what I mean, and just everything. Look at what people think of Japan now. I mean people are envious of Japan now.

After going to Japan, it has made you change, or before?

I would say definitely after.

Why did you choose to go to Japan? Because you took a working holiday visa from 1990 to 91?

I know, I would say...I went to Japan because out of all the places I could go, partly it was economics, Japan was a place where I hoped I could get a job. Definitely, haven't you been changed in terms of ethnic identity since you have been to Japan?

That's because I know what, I can't say I know, but I have an idea what Japan is, what Japanese people are, what Japanese philosophy is, like I have a sense of what it is to be...I am not saying I am Japanese. But, I have a sense of Japanese. But anyway, I don't think I would be as confident in calling myself Japanese-Canadian, in me calling myself. Not somebody else calling myself Japanese-Canadian, but in me calling myself. Me identifying myself as a Japanese-Canadian. Because now I say I had lived there, now I can say I have friends there, I had travelled through the country, I read some Japanese literatures, I feel like I know a bit about it. I can kind of understand the way Japanese people think.

What made you to go to Japan?

Well, I guess originally I wanted to travel. And, I wanted to travel for a length of time. If you travel for a length of time, you need money. So, I needed to go to a place where I could get a job. And then, obviously I mean if I'm gonna get somewhere, if you look up the choice, if you see Australia...no job in Australia. You know what I mean, so you can't go to Australia. I am a teacher, so perhaps something along with teaching, I mean things kinds of all into the place. OK...teaching English in Japan.

How about going to China or some other Asian countries, didn't you think?

No, by the time I got down to, I was going to somewhere they don't speak English. Then, obviously the choice would be Japan. Because of the other things. Certainly by the time I felt I think I had definite personal goals about Japan. When I decided, like lots of people said "Oh yeah, you are going back to roots." But, I really didn't think of it being a trip like that. But, afterwards,
it certainly came to be a trip like that. I mean almost like a spiritual trip. But originally, when I first decided to go to Japan it wasn't really like that. But obviously if I had to choose between China and Japan, I would say solely because that's the country of my grandparents came. That's why I went to there. But once I got there and once I lives there, I kind of set definite goals for myself and that became a much bigger motivate.

Unlike Mark or Nancy, Linda did not go to the JLS when she was young. Although she took a short course in Japanese at the JCCC when she became adult, it was not a serious class or formal course. The following interview shows her regret about the fact she had no opportunity to learn her heritage; neither the Japanese language nor other cultural factors:

I always wanted to learn. But once you get small children, it is very difficult to commit to learn another language. My parents' were not keen to send us to the JLS. Maybe they are very much Canadian. My parents were very hurt by the war. My mum was just in her early teens, and she really felt the sting of it, the prejudice and everything. My mother was in a Ghost Town and my father was in a prison camp. He was 18. You took some Japanese courses afterwards. Simply because you wanted to use?
Yes, I learned some very basic phrases, just for two months. Because I have young children and I am very involved with the JCCC, I can't really spare the time to go and take classes. I truly want to do that one day, but I am not ready yet. I would like my children to learn. When the time is right for them to start, I will probably go to the Japanese HLP, too. I think it's really important. I think it's like every parents, you want your children to have everything which you couldn't have. They may not want to go. But, just to try is important.

Questions 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 concern their home language and their and their parents' ethnic language abilities. Mark and Nancy answered their home language as both English and Japanese. But their as a mother tongue is English. Both of them said that parents spoke Japanese whenever they talked about Himitsu (secret). Linda's family use mainly English except when they had grandparents. Her parents now speak Japanese very rarely. She recalls when her
grandparents were still at home:

Who could talk to your grandparents?
Mainly, my father did. My father is older than my mother. So, he speaks better than her. Also, grandparents from the father's side lived with my family for the first five years of my life. They couldn't speak English. Neither I could say anything to them.

How about your mother's side?
Her father lived alone until he moved to a Japanese nursing home. But we visited him quite often, because my mother was his favourite child. Also, he always had family dinners at his house. He didn't speak English either.

We were so close grandparents, because they live they lived with us and our relatives came to our house. So, I have a very strong memory of them. But, there was no speaking, we were just playing. If we wanted something, we just made a motion...because they don't know English. I remember so much, I still can remember sitting on my grandfather's knee when I was very young... Just the smell of grandfather and that he said Senbei (Japanese cracker) and other little Japanese words. And when I walked in their rooms, his smell was there. They were always loving though, even though we couldn't speak. That's why I always wished I could talk to them.

When he died my heart was so broken. I was so sad even I was only ten years old. I don't know why... even I did see him often the last years before he died. Now, when I think about it, maybe if they were not old when they died I could have spend longer time with them when I got older. I could have learned Japanese, and could speak to them. But, I was still young at that time. It wasn't so important. I didn't realize that it would have been important later.

Questions 11, 12, and 13 ask about their experiences, being an ethnic minority, in their neighbour during childhood.

All interviewees lived in mixed neighbourhoods during childhood, even to the present, with very few Japanese families. Two of them, Nancy and Linda, answered "Yes" for the question 'having an experience when someone treated you badly because they knew you were not a member of the majority group culture?' Nancy described "racist comments from children in the school yard." in the space. Linda did "in elementary school, being picked on as being Chinese." Other two, Mark and George answered "No." All of them admitted they did not have to experience the severe or extreme prejudice which Nisei encountered.
However, they had to face some racist comments when they were in elementary schools, but this improved when they were grown up and entered high school. Each experience is discussed as follows:

**Mark**

Q. 12-13. Was there any racial discrimination at your schools?
Oh no, nothing like that. My friends were all caucasian.
Didn't you have any friends from a visible minority background?
Yeah, I had a Chinese friend. But, there were no problems.

Didn't you have any problem with having different cultural backgrounds from your caucasian friends? Or, did you see your friends have such a problem?
Well, I remember at junior high school some prejudice against an Indian guy, a fellow who was Sikh and his English wasn't good. I knew that he had a problem, because other people felt that way. I didn't have any problem with him. And personally, I didn't experience it myself.

You didn't have any experience that somebody treated you badly because of your cultural background?
Not because of my cultural background at all, perhaps because of my personality as an individual. I can get abuses as an individual. Or, maybe when I was small, because I was kind of fat, but not because of my cultural background.

What do you think of Japanese children who were born in Japan and came to Canada for maybe parents' reason, and go to school here from around eight years old? They are not like you, because they don't speak English well. But, in your case, you were born in Canada and grew up here and speak English as a mother tongue.
I don't know. I think it depends on their age. I can't really remember somebody having a problem like that. I look at kids now, they all look together and they don't seem to have a problem. You know, obviously if you don't speak the language, it can be a problem.

**Nancy**

Q. 11. You answered you had very few neighbours when you are small.
Did nobody go to the JLS with you except your brother and sisters?

Actually, people that lived right besides my parents were Japanese. But, they didn't know each other. They had two boys. Younger one is the same age with my brother, and my brother is six years older than me. And the older boy is a couple years older than them. So, they're kind of older than we are. They didn't go to language school. Even in the public school, there were just my brother and the younger one in the class picture. There were two Japanese boys, everybody else is white, not black people... no nothing else.

Q. 12. Have you ever had an experience when somebody treated you
badly because you are not white?
That's obvious, Yes.

Because the neighbourhood had very few visible minorities?
That's a good question and I don't know how to answer that one. Well, part of me believes that, if the visible minority's population is very very small, people don't notice you. Because what's one black person in a group of a hundred white people? You just don't see it.

Do you think it was part of the reason why you had bad treatments, that your neighbourhood was white? Would it have been less in downtown Toronto, let's say close to Chinatown?
Possibly, it may have been less. But, I don't think it would have meant that there wouldn't be any.

What kind of racist comments do you mean?
You know, usual things...like people imitating Chinese speaking, whatever.

Have you been treated badly as a Japanese?
No, as an Asian, not particularly as Japanese. I would think they misunderstood me as a Chinese. I guess that kind of stuff comes from..., I don't think being in a mixed neighbourhood would have meant that I wouldn't have been exposed to any kind of racist comments, because I think kids learn that from the media and all those other kinds of things. Like older kids. And it's there, and it's going to be there. So, whether or not you are the one person in a whole group of white people, or your group makes up 50% of the school population of whatever, I still think you are gonna have those kinds of comments. It's partly being a kid and not knowing right or wrong or wanting to hurt somebody and doing it.

How about when you went to high school?
No, I don't think in high school I can say that. It's different when you are older. If you look for something that's racist, it's a line of undercurrent, it is not so obvious. Maybe, you didn't get the scholarship or something. Those kind of things. I don't think those kind of things happened to me. But, if it happened because we are older, they can't running around saying things like that. But, they can do it in another way.

How about, let's say, other white minorities? For example, German, they were involved with WWII, also Italian... But you are one of very few visible minorities at your school.
Yeah, it makes you an easy target, without a doubt. Not only, think it's just teasing, but also I think that it's done with the intention of hurting somebody else. Let's say for example, somebody who is fat, you can kind of tease or joke about it. But, then you can also be very hurtful about it. And I think when they are talking about..., when I think about these kind of situations, that at least from my perspective it's done in a hurtful way. I really don't think, maybe just because of the political correctness about it now, but I just really don't think that you can make a racist or sexist joke, and being teasing about it. I really think that people are hurt by those kind of jokes. Even, if your original intention was to be humorous. I think it is very difficult to make a comment to somebody that it's humour using a sexist or racist thing and to make it come off as being funny rather than hurtful.

How often have you felt that is difficult to be Canadian and be
Japanese?

Whether or not I recognize that I am Japanese-Canadian, other people out there, for whatever reason, have chosen that to be a way of identifying people. And they will remind me of that, of the fact I am. Whether or not I want to, whether or not I believe it. It's the other people around us that remind us that we were or that tell us that we are. So, I don't think you can go, I don't think, in the time we are living in now, I do not believe that I could live my life without having somebody ask me where did you come from or where were you born. And people don't want to hear, maybe not where you were born, most often say where you are from. And people do not want to hear Scarborough. Like they don't want to hear I am from Toronto. Because they say "No, where are you from?" Like in the real sense, "Where are you from." And in the real sense, this is where I am from. I was born here.

You think people expect you to say you are from...

Japan! Or whatever, somewhere from Asia. It doesn't follow in their thinking that I really am from here. If they ask me where my ancestors are from, then I'd say Japan.

How do you describe yourself, Canadian, Japanese-Canadian or Japanese?

I think it depends on whom you are talking to. But, now I would say "I am Japanese-Canadian" after I went to Japan. But before I went to Japan, I would say "I am Canadian." Only because, like I say that now, because I feel very confident about the Japanese side of me, if there is one. I feel confident, I have lived there, I have travelled through there, whatever. I like food from there, festivals there and I like to go back there again and live there for a while. I try to convince myself that I understand something about Japanese. You share something with Japanese.

Yes.

Maybe your Japanese-ness is getting stronger after you went to Japan, felt something with them as a Japanese, and became confident being there?

If I said "I am Japanese-Canadian", before I lived in Japan, people would say "Oh, you speak the language?", No. "Oh, you've been there?", No. Like five years ago, yes I look like Japanese-Canadian, and yes we eat Japanese food for Oosogatsu (New Year). But, how much other than that do I really... It's almost like you try to convince somebody because the only thing, before I went to there, was that I share the physical characteristics of being Japanese. Now, I can say honestly, confidently, that I know the country... all those things. Like I understand what 'duty' means. When we talk about, like Japanese people say "It's my duty to do this", I don't think I completely understand, but I have deeper understanding of what they mean. When you somebody is very Yasashii (gentle and kind), I have an understanding of what they mean of what that kind of person is, to me talking about language, part of the language is living it. And really to understand what a Yasashii person is, is actually meet one, to have somebody take you in their home and give you a food, all those kinds of things.
Linda

Q. 11. I know three or four families that went to the same school in our whole community. And it turned one of them became my brother-in-law. He went to the same school with my younger sister and got married to my older sister. And there families were very Canadian, too.

Q. 12. I think they were just ignorant, they didn’t know. I think it hurt me more because... Just because I looked it, doesn’t mean that I was. But can I say that? I was born here, I am just as Canadian as you are. Why are you treating me different. Well, it wasn’t everyone, it was just the bad kids. You get bad kids no matter where you are.

Unlike the above three interviews, George Morita did not answer the Questionnaire at all. He did not feel it was relevant to his experience. However, in the interview, many of the questions from the Questionnaire were used as points of discussion:

Let’s say if you ask me what is my Japanese Heritages. I would say "Big Zero." I would say, look a few questionnaire and read them, to me that’s meaningless. Totally meaningless. Nothing here that I relate to. I have no Japanese heritage.

Don't you have anything like Japanese culture or Japaneseness which you got from your parents?

Japaneseness of excelling, yes. Honesty, yes. Honour, yes. Only these of them definitely. But, in terms of language and interesting Japanese general things...NO.

Simply, do you have an ethnic identity?

No. I would say Canadian. If you ask average Canadian, what ethnic identity is. What is it? That’s interesting things about Canada is that because it’s made up with so many different ethnic groups, we really don’t have an ethnic identity. it is not like the States. Americans are Americans. Up here Canadian, but I can be Indian-Canadian, Native-Canadian, Chinese-Canadian... There is not solid differentiation between like the U.S. and up here.

So... for you, you are just Canadian?

Yes, I am Canadian.

Have your parents ever sent you to the JLS?

Not, at all. You see, things happened to my generation, because of the war taking the place, I found when I was a kid growing up, I had one kid was a Japanese-Canadian in my school. Neither of us spoke Japanese by the way. But, what were beaten on us when we were kids by parents was that we were to blend in.. Not cause waves, not bring attentions to us, not to do this, and
not do to that. So in the around about the way, we didn't learn Japanese. Because, it wasn't worth while speaking at home. They didn't have an accents.
Do you think Nisei people are more quiet than Sansei not to talk about these harsh stories to Sansei or anybody in public?
They are. It's very painful for them in a couple of ways. when they are grown up as kids, two degree they were trying to blend into Canadian society as well.
And when the war hit, they were grabbed out from the schools and tossed into the camps, like grabbed animals and say "You are Japanese, you guys are not good. You are going to be in camps until the war is over." I think that really screwed up lots of people. we are kind of a paranoid becoming target now.
It must have been hard for Nisei...
It was very hard for the Japanese-Canadian people here, because they are Canadian. They are not Japanese. It was very typical what happened to British Columbia, all of that prejudice as well. My parents' parents had a farm, but taken away. Fishing boats and cars, everything was ceased. I think it was double for my dad, because being in the army and see does all happened. This is ridiculous. I guess that's why my generation don't really have lots of do with Japanese or heritage. They got a carved out because of the war. It was fact that there were lots of racism things over British Columbia before the war.
But, do you think the war is a main reason for Japanese-Canadians to abolish their heritage?
Oh, yeah. I think it was a good excuse for people in British Columbia to get rid of Japanese-Canadian there. They were doing quite well, they had farms and businesses, they were sort of look at "Hey, perfect opportunity to cease everything what they did", either these people into camps.
Do you think, as a Sansei, that the reason you are going to take intermarriage is because of your parents' influence?
Yeah, I think deep down inside, I always maintain that there isn't better in us than 'blend in.' That was a really important thing to blend in, not to be different. So, we just hate to get that logical step further. We are mixing...

By the way, I heard you have been to Japan twice before... Did you see your relatives there? Or does your family have a contact with them?
I went to there for my job. I didn't see none of them.
Do you still have contacts with them? Even your mother?
No, none what so ever. I guess we have relatives there, but I don't have any idea where they are.
She contacts with only relatives here in Canada... Do you think she is happy about it?
Well, I think my parents' generation of Japanese-Canadians were very bitter about what happened during the war. So, they divorce themselves many contacts with Japan. It's still bitter, too. If you look at the JCCC where they founded, now people from Japan are takeing it over. So, with their from the end of the war and all the sudden here this again.
Have you experienced some kinds of prejudice before?
In Canada? I have to say I have travelled on country to others, but not in Canada. In only one place where I sensed it more is in West. Especially in
Alberta. We are talking about an area what I would consider to quote "red-neck" territory, people there would be prejudice. I had no time to spend in British Columbia how bad it is there. For me, West, in some reasons, seems to be more prejudice than Toronto. 

Even Alberta has lots of tourist from Japan now? 
If you go to Banff, it's all Japanese. Again, because Japanese are taking over that region. So, there seem to have lots of resentments towards that with the general populations. Well, you know people are funny they get jealous when they see other people are going better than they do. Fact of life. It doesn't matter whether you are Japanese or black, who knows what.

How about your neighbour when you were child?
It was pretty white.

Did you have some problem at your school or in your neighbourhood? 
See, prejudice isn't something that you were born with, it is something you are taught. And I guess I was lucky. The place where I grew up, we weren't taught to be prejudicial towards blacks or whites or whomever. Neither were the kids I knew. People are more prejudicial because you do better that they do. I think that right now everyone is using 'racism' as a really good excuse to try get out whatever they can. But also, we are talked to blend in so well. We don't cause waves, which is blend in. These guys are always making or causing a trouble, because they are visible minorities. But, now they can get away with saying "I have been discriminated against", and people go on "You are poor guy." This is terrible. They don't sit and think for a second. This guy is a just slug. But people say "Oh, poor guy." I look at this, and read over, here we go again, this kind of study that really I think is kind of pointless. Sorry. It's probably someone from leading this that is not part of visible minorities... So, they really don't know what kinds of question they should ask.

5.1. (a). SE: Discussion

All four interviewees grew up in similar Japanese-Canadian families. Their family backgrounds are fairly similar: Their parents are Nisei who were born in British Columbia; had had the internment camp experiences during the war; have moved to Ontario after the war; are not so active in the community but still have contacts with it. Their families are very much Canadian, being in white neighbourhoods, speaking English at home, and having little Japanese culture in their daily lives.
Mark is involved with ethnic activities, but he does not belong to them due to the fact that they represent his ethnic group. He is more interested in the individual dimension, not in a group level. Nancy classifies her church as one of ethnic activities, because this particular church responds to the specific needs of the Japanese community in Toronto. Linda, by contrast, is highly involved with the JCCC. She feels very sad that other Sansei do not care about the community. George has never been involved with ethnic activities at all. With the exception of Linda, Mark, Nancy and George regard themselves as separated from the community and do not have any interests to put their energy on the community level beyond an individual one. Furthermore, Mark and Nancy see the Japanese-Canadian culture itself differently from the one in Japan. They thus do not consider it necessary to maintain a particularly Japanese language in the Japanese-Canadian community, because most Japanese-Canadians at present communicate in English. Yet they still learn Japanese, because they want to know the country, people and culture in Japan through the Japanese language. They think they can know and understand better through their language, should they want to know about these matters.

As for homeland or relatives in Japan, however, only Mark has seen his relatives in Japan although all the interviewees have been to Japan at least once before. Initially his mother maintained contacts with relatives in Japan. Then, he began visiting them from the first trip to Japan, when his family went together. They seem not to have strong attachments to, or personal connections with, relatives in Japan. Apparently, Nancy and Linda have some close feeling to Japan on an emotional level. However, Nancy and Linda mentioned that they cannot
communicate with their relatives in Japan because of the language barrier, even if they wanted to visit them. Nancy said that living in Japan helped her broaden her understanding of her ethnic culture in Canada. Yet Mark and George regard Japan as a separate entity from Canada.

Both Mark and Nancy attended JLSs when they were from eight to sixteen years old. They did not enjoy going on the Saturday morning. Both said that they went for their parents’ sake. Nancy mentioned that she would have had a higher motivation to attend the JLS if she had lived in a neighbourhood where other children attended the school. She added that she did not want to be different from other children in her neighbourhood. By and large it was almost impossible to heighten her motivation to learn Japanese, because like most Japanese-Canadians she grew up in a white neighbourhood: and so children around her did not go to JLS, and no child wants to be different. She mentioned also that she saw a negative side to being Japanese and learning Japanese, because of Japanese-Canadians’ history as a visible minority in Canada. The war experience made the Japanese-Canadians feel very vulnerable and negative about their ethnic identity. They decided the only way was assimilation into the mainstream. Mark began taking Japanese courses later; he wanted to master Japanese almost as a challenge after he met people in Japan. He regards the JLS, which he attended, as inferior to the French Immersion Program (FIP). He believes that the JLS should be like the FIP, if he really needed to learn another language. The JLS does not have the same status and program development as the FIP.

Linda, who did not go to the JLS when she was child, now regrets that she has not inherited any Japanese culture from her childhood. In particular, it is almost
painful for her not to be able to speak Japanese. She said she would widen her activities in the Japanese-Canadian community and among new immigrants if she could learn to speak Japanese.

As for racist experiences in their childhood, Nancy and Linda have recalled more racist incidents than Mark and George. However, Nancy and Linda recall that children did not tease them as a Japanese but as Asians in general, and they now consider those children from their childhood as ignorant to have made such comments.

Both Mark and George seem not to have any resentments about assimilation into the mainstream of Canadian society. They accept it as a natural thing. Nancy confesses that "In our situation, assimilation is what was required to survive" because of the unsettled Japanese community after the war. However, George does speak clearly about the war experience as a crucial factor to what happened to Nisei, as do both Nancy and Linda. George believes Nisei urged Sansei to "blend into" the mainstream society because of their war experience. The three of them think that what had happened to Japanese-Canadians during and after the war was a disgrace and a shame for Nisei. They believe Nisei had to assimilate into the Canadian mainstream in order to survive. It was a psychological disaster which destroyed their cohesiveness.

5.2. (B). Part Two: Ethnolinguistic Component

In this component, the Questionnaire asks to what extent it has been important in learning ethnic language. This component offers specific reasons why it is important for respondents to learn ethnic language. Then, each interviewee
answers on a scale of five degrees from unimportant to very important, or from not at all to very much so. There is each interviewees' answer in (n). Therefore, this part cites some interesting interviewees' answers and comments, proceeded by each question which is relevant for this case study. In this component, there is also a French Language Section. Since three interviewees did not answer and there are no relevant comments in Japanese language learning, this section is discussed here only in passing.

Q. 1. To be able to speak with my parents in that language

A. **Mark** (1): My parents speak English, so it's no use to speak Japanese.

    **Nancy** (3): No, because English is our home Language

    **Linda** (4): I always wanted to be able to. Whenever they were talking Japanese, I wished I did. If I could speak it fluently, I think I would try to speak it as much as possible. And, of course, that's the only way to be with other people if you speak it as well.

Do you think Japanese-Canadian culture is the same as the Japanese one?

No, well... they try. Japanese-Canadians try to be as Japanese as possible. But, of course, there is always a Canadian influence and everything.

Do you think it is important to maintain Japanese language, in terms of maintaining Japanese or Japanese-Canadian culture?

Anyone who take a class here at the JCCC doesn't need to know Japanese to take that class. Or, any type of cultural class. So, it doesn't matter what it is. But, there are Japanese words you must learn and Japanese way of doing it, as far as Martial Arts or any arts classes. You have to do it in the Japanese way. But, you don't have to speak it.

Is language not so important there?

No. Not in the JCCC.

Can you tell how important it is to know for your ethnic identity?

I wish I knew it. Yeah, I think it is very important. But, I feel guilty because I haven't tried to do it. I wish I did.

Do you think Japanese language can be far away from Japanese-Canadian culture?

I don't know. But, I think it's important to be able to try to learn the Japanese language. It would be an advantage. But, it's not absolutely what you have to do.

In order to be a Japanese-Canadian, is it important to learn or speak the language?
I am sort of half-way between it because if I thought it was really important I would have taken classes as an adult. But, obviously I haven't. It's very hypocritical for me to say that it is really important. Because I have not made the effort. But I want to one day. I think you need the commitment if you want to speak Japanese properly. You need to be committed to learn that. But, I can't make that commitment.

**Being Japanese-Canadian, if you have the chance is it still important to learn Japanese to maintain the Japanese-Canadian culture?**

Yes, If you are Japanese-Canadian you have to understand Japanese. Otherwise, I shouldn't be calling myself that. It's important, I know that.

**Reality is that English is enough for Sansei or Yonsei to communicate. But still learning Japanese is important?**

For me, I don't think as a general that lots of people feel the way I do. Lots of sansei don't want to learn. They don't care. But, I would like to. I feel for my children. If their parents don't insist on their ethnic background, they won't care at all. If you don't try to show them the way... But, there is always an excuse to do other things, like being busy. If I want to go to learn Japanese, I want to do it right and make sure I keep interest in it. I don't want to take it only for one year and then forget about it. Because that's really important, I think. I don't other Sansei feel it's important to them. I like to be proud of having a conversation, just a regular conversation in Japanese.

Q. 2. **Because I am interested in travelling to my ethnic homeland.**

A. **Mark** (1): My motivation was more individual. If I didn't go to Japan at the second time for hockey, I never developed my Japanese at university and didn't go to the master's program there. So, just other things would made me to do it. Although a lot have to do with the change that I went there for the hockey team. It's very ironical because when I went to Japanese school I skipped class for playing hockey. So, hockey was my first priority.

**Nancy** (5): That's for me. But, honestly I don't think a lot of other people would say that.

**Linda** (1): No, I don't learn Japanese just for travelling.

Q. 3. **As an expression of commitment to my heritage.**

A. **Mark** (3): Well, that is a biggest problem. I see such a big difference between people from Japan and Japanese-Canadians. I do not think my learning Japanese had anything to do with Japanese Canadians.

**Nancy** (4): But *again and again* you mentioned you felt far more able to maintain your heritage after you came back from Japan. So, do you feel more responsibility for it, personally, with respect to the next generations?
I think to a certain extent, yeah. But, I don't think I'd make my kids... I don't know, maybe I will. I'm not saying it was a bad experience, but certainly I went to the JLS for my parents, not necessarily for myself. I am not saying it was a bad thing, because obviously in the end it was a benefit for me. At least, I learned Hiragana (one of the Japanese characters). Because my parents sent me when I was young, so I appreciated that. I don't think that I would send my kids there. Certainly if they ask me, I will give them the opportunity.

Linda (2): If I answer it as me personally, I would choose (4). But, I don't expect anyone else to feel this way. If someday I was able to speak, I would feel much more on the Japanese side than on the Japanese-Canadian side. I think that would be great.

Q. 5. Because it is important to my parents.

A. Mark (1): I am not doing it to please my parents, no. But, probably they are pleased that I am doing it. But I am not doing it because of that reason.

Did you like to go to the JLS when you were small?

No, no, I wasn't interested in going. But we didn't have much choices. My mother said, "If you don't go you can't play hockey." So, it wasn't a question of, I mean, I can think back now they did a good thing for me, similarly my mother made us take piano lessons, I didn't like it either. But when I got older I appreciated it, because I still can play piano. It's kind of funny, because I think lots of people go through the stage where they think the various things their parents do were really stupid or something. But when I reach the point, in the high school where I went to, it was a bit unusual, I changed the way I thought about it. And I knew people who were interested in music at that time. So, I was glad I knew something about music. At that point, when I started high school, I just generally became interested in learning as a whole. And I started to take Japanese at school a little bit serious, just almost as a challenge. And as far as what happened, I kind of realised that my parents were smart, they knew what they were doing. I almost felt like I was deprived of my lessons because you are supposed to get mad at your parents. Nothings was stupid, but I kind of realised they were smart. So, it was like I was missing something.

Nancy (3): I think for my dad it was. My parents have different views on it. My mum still believes that assimilation is the best thing and just not be different from anybody else. I truly believe that's the way she thinks. I think my father is proud of his heritage. And I would say my mum is Canadian and my dad is Japanese-Canadian. So, he wants to talk about it. I think, in a certain sense, they would both be happy if we could speak Japanese. But I think my father would be very happy if we could.

Linda (3): We never talked about it when I was small.
Q. 6. Because it is important for the future of my ethnic culture in Canada.

A. Mark (1): Not at all.

Nancy (2): I don't know where it is going ahead. I don't think Japanese-Canadians are going to be around for very much longer because of intermarriage.

Linda (4): The Japanese population is definitely shrinking because of intermarriage, unless the new immigrants group expands. But the new immigrants come and go, so it's not really... it's a consistent number and they are different people all the time. We have very few contact with new immigrants...

Q. 7. To help me better understand my own ethnic background.

A. Mark (5): Well, I think in some sense. It means I can talk to Japanese people. Japanese people, although I remind you Japanese people and Japanese-Canadians are now in separate categories, they do have a common background. So, there will be similarities between how they think and how I have been brought up. And, I think I can learn about that better if I can speak their language. This is not the first reason I took it, but now I can speak Japanese it is very helpful that way.

So you think language is a tool, not a means of connection with your homeland?

Yeah, I think Japan is being something in a separate way. Regarding the distinction between group identity and individual relationship, I am more interested in the individual level rather than being a part of a group. I guess in a sense, it wasn't that I cared whether Japanese people understand me, I just wanted to understand them. So, the reason was not to explain myself, but to understand them.

Nancy (5): For my own personal reasons, not for the sake of the community.

Linda (4): Yes, I think so as a personal reason.

Q. 11. Because other members of my ethnic group will respect me more if I know my ethnic language.

A. Mark (1): I don't care how they think.

Nancy (4): I would say mostly in the Nisei population.

Linda (3): Well, we respect each other anyway. That's way I thought
'respect' wasn't the right word in this questionnaire, as far as how I would feel if I knew it. Although I think maybe the Nisei would respect that. I think they would be very proud of the fact I could communicate because as I said there are not many Sansei who can.

Q. 12. Because English Canadians will respect me more if I know my ethnic language.

A. Mark (2): When I was little... Canada's funny thing is that they respect everybody being an ethnic person. So when I was little, they asked me whether I spoke Japanese or not. When I said "No," one person particularly, I remember, seemed to be shocked and couldn't believe it. Was she or he a caucasian?

Yeah... it's funny because other Canadian expect you to speak Japanese, that why they want me to speak Japanese? Japanese-Canadians don't expect you to speak Japanese. But, I didn't learn it to impress people that way.

Nancy (1): I think most people are surprised when I say that I don't speak Japanese. But I don't know why. I think they are very surprised. But, I don't think it really matters to them. I don't think they would be impressed if I speak fluent Japanese. They'd say,"That's normal, you should be able to speak your language." Or "You should be able to speak the language of your ancestors." But they have no concept of that. I had one teacher asked me the same question "Have you ever had a racist comments directed towards you?" And I am thinking of course, how can you think that that would never happen, living in? I don't say Canada is a racist country, but a country a country where the majority is white. How can you not think that that would not happen? But, it is not in their thinking. Because I don't think they have ever experienced it. Not very often do you get a white person saying that they had a racist comment thrown towards them. They have no concept of "Gee, I wonder if I was a black person growing up in white South Africa", they have no concept of that. We read about it, but they just never think that would happen to them. Of course that happens. If we say English-Canadian, I am assuming English-Canadian means White. And if we are talking about white, nothing against them, but just I am saying they have never experienced it. So they have no understanding, like no idea that perhaps that might happen if you are not part of the white majority.

Linda (2): No. I mean we are all multi-ethnic anyway, multi-society. A lot of people have their own home language anyway.

Q. 26. Do you think your ethnic community feels positively about maintaining its ethnic language in Canada?

A. Mark (3): No, I don't think it's important to speak my ethnic language, but I think it's important to speak with people in their language. So, I wanted to
know how Japanese people think and make friends with Japanese people. So, it's important to speak Japanese average. My initial motivation earlier on was after I met people there. I was continuing Japanese because I wanted to write in Japanese to the people I met.

Do you think it is a proper way to use Japanese rather than English if you want to know Japanese people?

I think Japanese is. In particular, it is important to understand how they think. Because it seems to be tied up with how they speak. So, differences in language explain a lot about differences in thinking. And, I think that unless you study it you can't appreciate it.

Nancy (4): I think so...

Linda (3): Oh, yeah. This is what I am doing now. I guess it is possible. As for third generation Japanese-Canadians, do you think isn't it a transition in terms of what language they use at home or in their mind? For example, Issei use only Japanese, Nisei speak both, and Sansei speak only English...

Oh yes, right. As I said, because especially at the JCCC most of the Nisei talk in English. Only sometimes they say sentences in Japanese. Of course, then I don't know what they are saying in Japanese. But, it's almost all English they speak. I think when they make comments, they may say it in Japanese. But, how is it possible for Japanese-Canadians to keep Japanese culture with the English language?

I mean, when you learn about Japan at school it is all in English. You understand how Japanese people think or the way of life. Yeah, you can learn that all in English. You know, lots of Sansei are raised by Nisei. Because Nisei were raised by Issei parents, they retained a lot of the culture and passed it on to our generation. I can consider myself as half Nisei and half Sansei, because I have a lot of Nisei thinking in me. I think that's because I am going the JCCC and deal with Nisei people. I respect that. I resent Sansei think that they know things better than Nisei. It's not possible for me. If a Nisei person said, "This way would not work, but it must be in that way." It must be the Japanese way of doing things. It may not be fastest way or the most efficient way. But that is the way, I respect that and appreciate that. That's fine. Even with Japanese cookies, to me the way somebody cooks something I may not understand why they do it that way. It takes longer, but it tastes the same so why do it that way? Because that's the way they were thought to do it. So, I think that's the way it should be done.

Do you think Nisei have both ways in their minds? How about Sansei? Sansei tends to be more caucasian, more like the Canadian way of thinking, eating, and everything. If you inter-marry, you lose even more. I have a lot of friends, who are mixed married. Their Hakuin (White) spouse may dislike Japanese food. Everything of Japanese food they may hate it. So, the Japanese person will not retain because the wife or husband doesn't like it. Of course it effects children too, unless they have a direct influence from Nisei grandparents.
Q. 28. Do you think your ethnic community feels positively about maintaining its ethnic language in Canada?

A. Mark (3): I think Nisei are kind of sorry because it disappears, but Sansei are not concerned about it according to me. If you look well, there are only few Sansei speaking Japanese.

How do you think about it personally? Is it disappearing?

Yeah, it is disappearing, but I don't feel bad about it. It doesn't bother me at all. I think it just is. I think things evolved, and changed. And... that Japanese people became Japanese-Canadian, then assimilated. Right now, Japanese from Japan have nothing to do with Japanese-Canadians. It's like two different communities. There have been some continuities which seems to happen in the community, where new immigrants cooperate with old immigrants. But, the way things are now they are too different and the attitudes are too different. I don't see any virtue or struggling to keep together.

Nancy (2): I think so, partly because of what they went through. At one time, it was very negative to be Japanese, because of the war. You just didn't wanted to be. Like my parents had somebody came up, knocked on their door, and told them they didn't want Japanese people living in their neighbourhood, a long time ago. There was a time, when there was... And I don't think anybody is going to, like you take as much as you can get, but I don't think anybody is gonna go overboard. Something like maybe native people, they are really fighting to keep their ancestral identity. But, I think it's a different case here. The lesson learned is that... even though now it is probably positive to Japanese. Because when you think Japanese, we think hard-working, we think economically successful in 50 years as a country, we think co-operation and team-work, we think loyalty, all the positive things... about Japan. But, who knows whether it's gonna switch out turn around. There is no... I think because what of happened there isn't that, you know, we are gonna live and die for to save our identity of who we are.

Linda (4): Well, I think so, because we are losing it. I think that generally doesn't care about that. I would say the Sansei generally don't care about it that much.

Q. 29. My ethnic language has high status and prestige within Canadian society.

A. Mark (3): Well, I suppose that it's gonna become more important for strictly economic reasons.

2 From question 27 to 29, the positions of 'very much' and 'not at all' are revised in this case study.
Do you think if Japan didn’t become economically strong, Japanese language wouldn’t have become so popular as it is now?
Oh, yes. Definitely not. I think there are two main groups who want to learn Japanese. One is traditional culture. The other one is money. Of course, economic status is independent from traditional culture. So, there are some people who are interested in learning a language anyhow. The growth, in terms of people being interested in the Japanese language, is just gonna come from people who are interested in money, and certainly with support from government. If it happened at all, it will come because of economic reason but not because of any intellectual reason. I think most people are motivated by greed than anything else. So, it means making money. I think it’s pretty cynical. But it’s probably largely true. People are taking Japanese now, because it is seen as an increasing possibility to make money. Learning Japanese is too difficult to do just for fun. It has to do with another reason. It is not something you can do casually.

Nancy (4): Sure, because of recent economic change.
So, nothing like how Issei and Nisei worked for Canada?
No, at that time, obviously it wasn’t worth it, to be Japanese-Canadian. Now I think it’s worth it.

Linda (4): The Japanese business influences are getting powerful. It’s just like everywhere in the world. All the big companies are moving around.

5.2. (b). EL: Discussion
All interviewees agree that Sansei see no problem in speaking English at home. In particular none of their families lives with Issei grandparents any more. They rarely hear any Japanese among families, friends, and the community. Therefore, it might be natural for them to feel that way. Mark and Nancy feel a greater interest in learning Japanese in order to better understand Japanese culture. Yet they do not connect with Japanese-Canadian matters, except for learning about the beginning of Japanese-Canadian history. Furthermore, both Nancy and Linda believe that they can learn about Japan from schools and books in English.

Linda, however, feels that it is very important to maintain Japanese language and transmit cultural attitudes to the next generations, in order to remain close to
Japanese people from Japan. In this point, Mark agrees that the Japanese-Canadians in Toronto have few contacts with Japanese from Japan because of language difference: English or Japanese. In fact, it can add difficulties to Japanese-Canadians' future to do so, because so few Sansei speak fluent Japanese. The gap between the two communities thus grows larger and larger.

No matter how each person regards ethnic identity or language maintenance, all the interviewees mentioned that Nisei feel sadness to realize that the Japanese-Canadian community is losing its ethnic identity, language and culture. They concurred that Sansei do not feel this same sense of loss.

They assume that Nisei will not be surprised or disrespectful if Sansei speak Japanese, but that they would be impressed and appreciate it. On the other hand, Mark and Nancy mentioned strongly that other Canadians, especially English-speaking Canadian, expect them to speak Japanese as a natural thing simply because it is their ancestral language. Even some Canadians expect them to say not "I am Canadian," but to hyphenate their Canadianness with their ethnic origins.

The four of them think that the Japanese language itself has a higher status, especially because of Japan's economic status in the world. They agreed that learning Japanese language and culture has become popular in North America primarily for economic reasons.

5.3. (C). Part Three: Ethnic Language Studies Component

For this component, the questions focus mainly on ethnic language programs in elementary and high school years. Although two interviewees, Mark and Nancy,
had learned Japanese during elementary and high school years, only Mark answered the Questionnaire. Nancy did not answer for the reasons given below even though she went to the JLS. As well, two other interviewees, Linda and George, did not answer because they did not go to the Japanese Language School during these years. For this reason, only Nancy’s reason and Mark’s comments for these questions are described as follows:

Nancy

Could you tell me why you didn’t answer?
Well see, this is the problem I found with this question when I started to answer it, and I didn’t answer the rest of it. Because this question is set up for the Heritage Language School. And I don’t think what I went to was a Heritage Language School.

So... how do you describe your school?
As a private language school. See, I went to that during my elementary and high school years. But, with respect to speaking my ethnic language in high school obviously I didn’t do that. But maybe in the Heritage Language Classes, you do. But, it was different, like we just went in the Saturday morning. They happen to be in high school, but that was it. Like it was separated itself. So, it wasn’t like the way the Heritage Language Schools are set up now, where you go to school and then at some point in the school day, you go and you learn your ethnic language. It wasn’t set up like that. So it’s a little different.

Nancy implicitly makes a clear distinction between the integrated and non-integrated HLPs. Obviously the Japanese school is the non-integrated model.

In this component, Mark revealed that he had no interest in maintaining Japanese language. During elementary and high school, he did not enjoy learning Japanese. He never thought he would continue afterwards. However, he said that he started to study Japanese seriously in university, simply for personal reasons.

Here are his comments in questionnaire 5 and 11:

Q. 5. If I had had the opportunity to change the number of hours my ethnic language was taught in our school, I would have...
A. (c): decreased the amount of class hours required for each student. 
Well, you see, I found it difficult to answer these questions because it's set up. 
If I had to take the course in high school as a part of it, I wouldn't. I wasn't sure how I can answer it. So, just I assume that, given the way I did take the course when I was younger, I would have done anything to decrease the amount of the time I spent for studying. So, at that time, I could decreased the number. Now I could do something else. Maybe, increase...
Why did you write "decrease" the number of hours for learning Japanese during your elementary and high school?
Well, I didn't have to take the course according to the board of Education. But, I had to according to my mother. She was realistic. Because she knew if we didn't go to the JLS, we wouldn't learn anyway. But, at the same time, she felt it is important at least to give a chance to set up some opportunities. 
Now, do you think it was good for you to go to the JLS, even though you didn't like to go?
Oh, yeah, children don't know anything. So, they have to be forced to do things. I mean it's ridiculous to let kids do whatever they want. You see, they would eat cookies all the time and get sick. So, they need guidance.

Q. 11. If it would have been up to me whether or not to take the ethnic language classes, I...
A. (b). would have dropped them.
I think maybe, I started thinking of, in terms of a..., I wanted to learn Japanese. Because other people in my situation, other Sansei, didn't speak Japanese. Sometimes, I like to do what other people don't do. Usually I do what I think is right, not because it's different or the same as what other people do. Certainly, I do not think I do things because other people would do it, that's certainly true. Some people do different things just to be different. I don't necessarily do that.

Q. 13. If my ethnic language had not been taught in a formal setting, I...
A. (b). would not have bothered learning it at all. 
Which kind of ethnic language classes did you want to take?
When I was small, no class would have been of use. Simply, I wasn't interested in learning Japanese. I wasn't a matter of the format of the course. How about university courses?
I guess initially it was useful to be forced into a situation to study, because I don't think I would have had the self-discipline to study. Part of the reasons for me to go to Japan afterwards is, I know, that I force myself to learn. Because I didn't sit down and practice by myself. I knew that if I didn't put myself backwards against the wall, I wouldn't use it.
So, you needed formal instruction to learn Japanese. Was the JLS, where you went to, informal?
No, it was formal. Just I didn't study. I mean differences in motivation, I don't have motivation initially. It wasn't matter what kind of class it was. It
could have the best teacher in the world, but probably it wouldn't make me a difference.

Were university courses better to force you to study?

It wasn't better than when I was little. The only difference was that I was different. And, I think university set up their courses particularly well. So, basically your motivation was different since you came back from your first trip and decided to go on a second trip. I think, if I look back, it's good to have a formal class, which is at least structurally set up. Because it seems to me people who go to Japan and pick up the language can speak it fluently, but not grammatically well. I found because I studied much and knew what the basics were, it was easier for me to learn a new vocabulary and fit it into the structure.

5.3. (c). LS: Discussion

It is interesting that Nancy does not think the JLS, which she attended, was one of the HLPs. It is true that there was no heritage language offered by the Board of Education at that time when she was child. Hence, the JLS she attended at that time lacked credit courses which could be combined with the school curriculum, as does the recent HLP in Toronto.

Again, in this component, Mark explained how much he did not want to learn Japanese in the Saturday morning classes, and how personal circumstances brought him to learn Japanese at university afterwards. His experience highlights the concept of "ethnic discovery" which was developed by Isajiw (1975)³.

5.4. (D). Part Four: Ethnolinguistic identity and Vitality Component

The questions in this component were most useful in creating dialogue between interviewer and her participants. These questions are particularly concerned with

³ See, p.126 in chapter 6.
interviewees' comments relating to their ethnolinguistic identity and vitality. Each interviewee's answer is in (n), from not at all (1) to very much (5). Then each interviewee's comments come after.

Q. 1. Do you think that it is important that the next generation of your ethnic group will be able to speak its language?

Mark (1): Well, already I don't think it is important for me to speak Japanese. It was just a number of circumstances to let me think that way. On the whole, my language should be English.
Why should it be English?
Well, I live in Canada. I guess it won't hurt you to learn other languages, but it is certainly not what I consider to be important.
So, you don't think it is important for next generations.
No, it is not necessary. I mean if you look at Sansei, 90% are intermarriage. Some people are arguing that the Japanese community is getting bigger because of including other people. But, it is a ridiculous argument, because it is obviously diluting any attitude and any sense of identity. If you look in a mirror, and if you don't look Japanese, you are not going to think you are Japanese. Or you can tell yourself you are. It is not the same thing. And I don't think it is a bad thing, I think if it works toward having people all mixed together, then we can create a new culture rather than looking up the past over again.
You think Japanese language and culture are not important any more.
No, I don't think it is good to maintain distinctive separate groups.
At the same time, is language not important to maintain?
Not for those reasons, I mean it will be for economic reasons.

Nancy (2): I don't know if it worries me. I think it's already happening. And I guess marriage is just one way of assimilating.
Don't you mean you plan to intermarry because you want to be assimilated?
No, but because of the people I associate with, because we are not living in a Japanese-Canadian community like they do in Chinatown.
Is it hard to meet somebody from a Japanese background?
Yeah, because of the people I come in and contact with on a day to day basis. And even in my social activities, other than church, it could be anybody.

Linda (3): Well, realistically it's never gonna happen. Because Sansei are not interested in maintaining that in general. Just they are interested in ethnic culture,

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4 In this component, in question 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20's the positions of 'very much' and 'not at all' are reversed in this case study.
so... it would be a small percentage.

Personally, do you want to give your children an opportunity to maintain the Japanese language?

Yes, I think it is true that almost every parent wants to give his children all the opportunities he didn’t have. Obviously learning Japanese would have been very important to me that I wish I could have taken something. Once our children get older and we can make the commitment, we will all go. It must be wonderful, I think it would be fantastic. I don’t think I am going to give my children an option either and I am going to make me go, too. I think you can’t make your kids do something, if you can’t do it yourself. If I am forcing them to make the commitment, I have to do as well. So, I like to wait until they become older.

Q. 2. Are you concerned that if your culture becomes very involved in Canadian mainstream society, then it may become assimilated?

A. Mark (1): I think it is already is.

Do you think the Japanese-Canadian community is assimilated into the mainstream of Canadian society?

Yeah, most of them are still eating Gohan (rice) and Japanese food, so at their home, perhaps there are differences in terms of attitudes. By and large, they are becoming corporate. So, the eating habit is still Japanese, but they have more non-Japanese background friends, and assimilated.

If Japanese started to go to totally non-Japanese places in their lives, like schools, jobs, wherever, do you think their life values can be changed?

I think so, because you think yourself about the values and stuff like that come out discussion with some other people, and people you talk to have some other background and more likely show what they hope. I think there is probably some sense of identity at a certain level, in terms of behaviour how we can act to people. Maybe you are less likely to be particularly obnoxious if you are Japanese-Canadian. Maybe more modest. So, I think mixing with other influences influence you.

Nancy (2)

Linda (4): It’s sad. It’s too bad, but I don’t know what you can do. I think that a big push will be especially at the JCCC. There is a big concern about this among Nisei. Sansei, those of us who are very dedicated, I think that it is very important to bring the Sansei to the JCCC in a social environment, not in a working environment. To have their children looked after and just to socialize. From there, we can build the community back-up to get more people. At this point, there is nowhere to go to socialize and feel at home, unless you are involved with the church. And, if you have an inter-racial marriage, you are not going to there. But, if you are involved in the JCCC from that point of view, as a social place to go, then you could probably build quite well from that. And you can bring your caucasian wife or husband as well. And do some
fun things. Because, there is a Japanese-Canadian sky club, baseball... But now, there is nowhere to go after their activities or meetings. They don't stick together after they finish to play, just they go home. Where at the JCCC, there should be somewhere to go afterwards. Our hope is that there will be something like that in the future. that would maybe spark the interest in it. By that time Sansei will be a little bit older, maybe in 40's, and their children maybe are willing to learn something at that time. And you can have programs for the kids while the parents are doing some socially. That would be interesting and something different rather than just going to ordinary gatherings of children. It would be a Japanese oriented program. As you said the integrity of Japanese culture is lessening, so it must be difficult to orientate Sansei people. Yes, very difficult at this moment.

Q. 3. I feel that my fate and future are bound up with that of my ethnic group.

A. Mark (2): Because now, since I speak Japanese, that influences my future. It could turn out I am just Japanese-Canadian. So, it is correlated. I suppose someone else, who has no Japanese background, studies Japanese for more specific reasons, in which case he would have a more stronger sense that he should be involved in their future. But, in my case, it was more just to see if I could do it. So, it wasn't because of my background. But, now I have it, it's possible to let it influence my future. It is not like I am tied to that.

Nancy (4): Again, going back to the idea of the fact that people out there will not let me forget the fact that I am Japanese-Canadian. For some reason, people expect me to be an expert on whatever it may be, Japanese culture. Partly because, well obviously more so, because I have lived there now. Well partly because they think I am Japanese. Even before I went. If somebody needed to know something about Japan, they would come and ask me. Now why they would come and ask me, I don't know. Because I wasn't born there, my parents weren't born there. And to a certain extent, why would I know more about Japan than Steve Smith who lives down the street. Because the only I would know really and truly about Japan would be from a book. The same book that Steve Smith would have perhaps read from the library. Maybe that's just something about our..., the way things evolved and the way that knowledge about your ancestral country were not passed along because of what happened in Canadian history. And I just don't know those things, I don't know.

Do you think stereotyping is dangerous? Because some people have an expectation of you that you are Japanese, having a Japanese background, you must speak Japanese, whatever... I think sometimes it's dangerous in the fact that, I don't know if offensive is the word, but I think why should somebody expect me to know that. Something with why should I know about some feminist author than anybody else in the world? Why? Because I am a female? I sometimes find... I mean
that's knowledge, anybody can access knowledge.

**Linda (4):** Especially, in my family orientation.

**Q. 4.** We would all be better off if everyone simply considered themselves **Canadian** as opposed to **hyphenated-Canadian**.

**A. Mark (1):** Well, I have no problem to say I am Japanese-Canadian. I mean, because genetically I can consider myself Japanese and psychologically Canadian, it seems to be relevant to say. It just seems to describe my situation and if you didn't put a hyphen, people ask you which background you have anyway. If they go around and live in Canada, saying I am Japanese or I am Greek and there is no Canadian part, then I will be bothered. Because there is definitely a lack of concern of Canada as a whole. Because people were so preoccupied by keeping their ethnicity.

**Don't you call yourself simply Canadian?**

Yeah, I think when somebody asked you, I guess it depends on the context. If I am in another country I would say I am Canadian. Then, people ask, "Aren't you Japanese?" Then, I would say "I am Japanese-Canadian." So, it depends on whom I talk to.

**Do you feel uncomfortable to hyphenate Japanese?**

No, it's more accurate. And people kind of expect it.

**Who expects that?**

I don't know. Almost anybody. People ask you your background. Then you answer you are Canadian. But this is not what people are waiting for.

**Who can be a Canadian? Who does not have to be hyphenated?**

Obviously, you have caucasians, and Anglo-saxons who have been here over generations. And they would say they are Canadian. And people even wouldn't ask about their background. So, I think when different races and cultures start, they intermarry more and blend more. People like Irish and Italian won't talk about their backgrounds and are all integrated. One of them obviously looks homogeneously along some background, then there is something else you can talk about.

**Do you think that visible minorities are expected to keep and express their backgrounds more than others?**

Obviously, in terms of expectation, if the father has a Japanese name and the children have a Japanese name. The questions come up quickly. "So, they are Japanese name, or they have a Japanese background." If they don't have a Japanese name, others can't tell what they are. So, if you have a Japanese name, then you would be forced to think about it more. Also, it depends on the family circumstances, I think the last one has a greater influence. It depends on the parents' mentality, what kind of feeling the children have.

**Nancy (1):** See, the reason I say, I cannot call myself a Canadian. And I keep on going back to this. Because everybody sees me as not being Canadian. And maybe because they see that maybe I don't act Canadian. So, I think it's impossible for me to call myself Canadian because everybody would say "Well
I know, but really where are you from?" I think people want that, people want... they don't want you say you are Canadian. They want you to say another country except Canada or white country. Would you take another number, suppose before you went to Japan? I would say 3 or 4.

Linda (2): Do you say sometimes simply Canadian? No, never. In order to show my identity or background. But people will know I am Canadian from my way of speaking anyway.

Q. 5. People in Canada should take advantage of the multicultural policy and learn about their cultural heritage.

A. Mark (4): They have it now. They didn't have it before, that's too bad. But, it is an opportunity.

Nancy (3): OK, I'd say from that point of view, I certainly think that from an economic point of view. We can, to a certain extent, sustain our own cultural goals. Have you ever seen Momiji (the Japanese Nursery Home)? It's beautiful, I think. Obviously the government gave a portion of that money. But, the community also put so much money into that... Do you mean the community could afford to do that? Yeah, the community can. I also think, to certain extent, I think redress says something about the political power, or the ability for the community to organize themselves politically. Those two things as well as, although I don't think they are really Japanese-Canadians. But, somehow we always get grouped into Japanese companies, like donations. Somehow, people make a connection between Japanese-Canadian community and Japanese companies, and those kinds of companies also play a role economically, politically, in what happens here.

Linda (4): For me, the real Canadians are native people. Unless you are not aboriginal, you are not really Canadian. But, what is Canadian? Caucasian people consider themselves to be Canadian. But, that is not true. I mean if you have a loyal commitment to Canada as being Canadian and support Canada in a Canadian way of life, you can still retain your ethnic background. There's nothing wrong with that. I admire that I think it makes the country more colourful. In my feeling, if we are in Canada you can have your ethnic culture as your being, but you are still Canadian.

Q. 9. Do you feel that your ethnic group will be strong and active in Canada 20-30 years from now?

A. Mark (2): I don't think it will exist as a viable entity as Japanese-Canadians. Once Nisei die off, I don't think there will be any without intermarriage. It doesn't make difference after that. I am not worried about
the group, as long as the individual can be happy in the long run.

Nancy (1): I don't think so. Despite the redress movement and being economically successful? No, even when you look at Momiji, with an architecturally obvious Japanese flavour to it, the majority of the residents are Japanese-Canadians. I would say, the way it's decorated, you know, you get a real sense of Japanese flavour to it. Maybe 20-30 years from now, but certainly I'd say 50-60 years now, it think it will just be a retirement home for anybody.

Linda (3): Our ethnic group itself is small, so... I have more fear about it. I feel we have to built up now.

Q. 10. Do you think that members of your ethnic community should only marry within their own group?

A. Mark (3): It depends on the individual. Some people who have interests in culturally related activities, naturally they are going to find similar people. Then, they can get married. And people who don't they don't have to. I think that the credit of Japanese-Canadian community generally is the absence of that kind of insistence that you have to marry within it. Perhaps, some people resent it more and are sad about it now. But, I think that kind of open mindless is generally needed. I think if we could create a society through many, it doesn't matter of blending everybody into one thing, but extracting from all this different cultures. So you can create something new. It does not matter if it's worn down, it is getting something else built up. That's what I see.

Nancy (1): It's not going to happen. I would like to, but I don't think it will play a major role in my life. In my parents' generation, yes, they should marry a Japanese-Canadian. The other thing is, the Japanese-Canadian males that I know are from the church. And I've known them since I was one month old. You know what I mean, it's kind of strange to grew up with people. You only saw them only once a week, so it's not like your close close close. But, knowing each other for long, it's kind of weird to go back and go out with them.

Linda (1): I still take it personal. I would think it is better for Japanese-Canadians to build up social facilities, but it doesn't mean homogeneous marriage is good for Japanese-Canadians. This is up to individual decisions.

Q. 12. Below are two scales representing identification of yourself as a member of your ethnic group and as Canadian. Please circle the most appropriate place for you on each scale.

A. Mark (3): You said you describe yourself as a Japanese-Canadian. But, if you have to take either which one would you keep?
So, it's like which arm will I cut off? Anyway, I found it much easier to live in Canada rather than to live in Japan.

**Nancy** (5, 5): I feel Japanese as much as I feel Canadian.

**Linda** (4, 5): I feel strong to both. More so Canadian than Japanese. I might feel differently if I spoke Japanese. But, because I don't... you know if I spoke Japanese, maybe I'd feel I more belong to the ethnic group because I can communicate.

**Let's say you speak Japanese living in Canada, but do you feel stronger to Japan?**

No, I'd feel stronger to the Japanese people in Canada. I may tend to reach out to the new immigrants, trying to make more friends or trying to be involved with their groups rather than just Japanese-Canadian friends. I can't associate with them now because I don't speak Japanese.

**But, if you have to take either, which one would you take?**

Definitely, Canadian.

**Q. 16. How important is your ethnic group identity to you?**

**A. Mark** (4): It is a large part of me. I think a large part of, I guess, the ethnic identity came from the fact my large family, so that I know lots of people who are Japanese-Canadians and it seemed just the way it was.

**Do you feel some kind of groupness as a Japanese-Canadian with having similar figure and height?**

Sure, they are related. Most of our relative live in this area, although we can't track all of them. But, still some of them are really close, and we have X'mas and other activities together. So, I think it's more based on relatives that I have the sense of being with Japanese-Canadians than being with the community at large.

**Nancy** (4): To my own identity, yes. I just don't know what I do with that identity beyond that. Within the community, there are people who have been there years and years. You just feel kind of odd about just hopping in one day, and say "Hi! I want to join your group." Realistically, can you do that?

**Linda** (5): Being Sansei, I am still learning a Japanese experience from Nisei.

**Q. 17. How important do you consider possession of the ethnic language to be for the continuity of group identity?**

**A. Mark** (4): Do you think language is a part of ethnic identity?

Yeah, I think so. Well, because it seems to me that within language, there are so many attitudes tied up with it. So, if you don't have it, then you are missing out those components. The way people are related with language so
far. Probably it is not absolutely necessary, but for example, I would say the
biggest reason for the discontinuity between Japanese from Japan and
Japanese-Canadians is the language. So, if Japanese-Canadians can speak
Japanese more, then they would be able to connect with people from Japan
more easily. But, then they don’t get a separation like now. I guess it depends
on what you talk about ethnic identity. I think there is a idea of Japanese-
Canadianess, because of history and so on. You can’t be passed down
separately from the language anyway. It becomes something separated, it’s
almost weird to call it ethnic, because it was developed within Canada. So, if
you want to link in terms of original source, it seems to me it has to be
connected with language.

Why language? Isn’t it OK to keep your ethnic identity through
cultural things, like Ikebana, Odori, Martial Arts, and so on?
As far as Martial Arts, it seems to be expanding. Because people can study
them without learning the language. Those things become entities on
themselves because people who have no Japanese background can easily study
Martial Arts. They are not doing that for ethnic identity. So, those things can
help you do those sources if you want to have some connection to them, if you
do have an ethnic background. It seems to me there is some debate over the
connection between thinking language. But in my personal experience with
Japanese, it seems that you have to change the way of thinking, and speak
Japanese. The thinking part is what is critical. So… relationship between
people, for good or bad, it’s very sensitive how you learn to be. That kind of
mentality is a part of ethnic identities. I think that when you are talking
about ethnic identity, it is not just keeping things in but also keeping things
out. So, like in science, it’s only half joking, but we say we develop jargon,
terminology, so that people who are actually studying it from a group and
people who are outside of the group don’t understand what we are talking
about. So you have a strong sense of being a group when there are people who
are obviously a part of that group. I think language, if it is connected with
being people who speak normally, creates outside and inside of people. So, I
am not saying it is a good thing if you want to maintain an ethnic identity, it
seems to me you have to have a means of excluding other people.

Do you think Japanese is needed to be a Japanese or to have an ethnic
identity as a Japanese?
Well, it’s kind of weird to set up these kinds of questions, because your sense
of identity has to be an evolution from since you were born. And, so you can’t
stick the language on later or add later. It’s kind of combination of things, of
the whole atmosphere. I don’t think you would have reason to learn Japanese
if there wasn’t anybody speaking it. If you live in the middle of the northwest
territories, and there is only Japanese person, studying Japanese with tapes
every night would not feel a Japanese-Canadian at all. I think you have to
be part of something. So, it seems to be kind of misleading just try to fragment
what is creating identity. But, I do think it is a part of it, if you want to feel
comfortable with your background.

Nancy (2): Why I didn’t put (1) is, I don’t know whether you can call it
language or just words, like we don’t walk around calling Omochi (rice cake.)
Like my niece and nephew call my parents grandpa and grandma. But, I
called my grandparents Ojichan (grandpa) and Obachan (grandma.) So, you
do need some language. There are something. Now, I guess I am changing my
answers here. I don't think you have to have a language, I think it would still
continue if you didn’t have the language, let me put that way. But, there is no
doubt there are some Japanese words that you do use for.

Linda (4): Yes, because we are constantly dealing with people from Japan.
Even though you said in the community you use English, it is still
needed to maintain Japanese, in order to keep contact with people
from Japan?
I think so. When it’s happening more and only Sansei would be there, but
most of us don’t speak it.

Q. 21. Do you think that attending Heritage Language programs
separates your ethnic peers from the rest of Canadian society?

A. Mark (5): As I said, the whole point of creating ethnic groups is to separate
yourself from other people. It says "I am in this group, and you are not." Well,
those ethnic wanted to maintain their cultural identity of something, that’s
why those people are screaming for it. And the educators are presumed more
seeing this public pressure. That’s why they did that. I don't think they had
any particular vision for implication of society. Although they should have
thought it more. I think there are lots of problems using public funding for
private interests. It’s like funding Catholic school. It is not fair.
Don't you think it is equal for everybody?
No, not at all. I don't know how the HLP works. The idea of Heritage
tradition is preserving something. I have a real problem with preserving
things. Because, I think it is opposite to creativity or creating something new.
That’s why it generally bothers me, that kind of mentality, sticking to what is
old. I think if you got people to study a language other than their own, then
you create multicultural people rather than a multicultural country. So, what
they are doing here is emphasizing little groups, so the whole may have the
idea of a multicultural country because of all the different people. But, each
one of them is mono-cultural. They only know their background. And I think
it is better off to have more understanding other groups rather than being
preoccupied with your own background. So, that’s my biggest concern how it
does works. But, in those sorts of idea it is always assumed that people are
more intelligent than they are. And so... I am realistic about it.
Don’t you think there are many interactions between ethnic groups?
No, unfortunately not much.

Nancy (1): I don't think it's a disadvantage because obviously they speak
English and they are learning second language. I can see the point being made
that perhaps it would draw them closer to their community, in the sense that
maybe they would try to find some kind of employment within their own
community. If you look for a job outside of your community, I think being
bilingual is a benefit.

Linda (2): No, I think there are all ethnic groups of the HL school in Canada. It wouldn’t be any different from anybody else, if you go to your ethnic class.

George: You never connect your identity with languages. You learn the language which you think is needed. As far as living in English part of Canada and of course with your background you don’t need to speak another language...

Yeah, that’s I feel about it. That sounds great. If I got a task for my job, living in Japan I will learn as much as fast I can. It’s more functional over there.

For example, whenever I visit some Japanese garden in North America I feel at home. In a same way, do you feel much close to European Culture?

Well, I really don’t call that home either. That’s the problem in my generation. We don’t have one. It was carved out of us because of the war.

Do you mean Japanese-Canadians generally?

See back, when we are disgraced by the war that they really felt it was urgent, like me, my friends, and relatives to blend in. Don’t make waves, loose your Japanese identity, don’t speak with accent, don’t talk Japanese. We are told all this. We are just like deprived all this. You know, parents didn’t speak Japanese at home, they spoke English. We could blend in more with society. So, what did they cause, loss of our heritage. Also, what did they cause... in around of way I think, it caused us to try inter-racially marriage. I am not quit sure it was conscious or subconscious. I think it was more subconscious. Because we are so heavily, this idea of blending in was so heavily bent in us. We take one step further. And perfectly we blend in is to marry outside of your own ethnic group, and you seriously and genetically integrate. You kind of lost the blood line. It seems that by the third generation there is a definite shift.

You think about Japanese-Canadians, it’s kind of dying, then is it still needed for community to do something about it?

I don’t feel any oppressing urgency to try’in maintain heritage. Because I guess personally I don’t feel that I have a heritage to protect. Simply because, I have been never really given in a first place.

You don’t link your identity with Japanese language at all?

No, particularly not. I look Japanese and I speak French, but I can be a Japanese-Canadian.

But, do you think that the war is a main reason for Japanese-Canadians to say why they didn’t maintain language or any Japanese heritage?

The war, in a way, it could be easy to make easier excuse, couldn’t it! That’s the feeling I got from my parents.

When I looked over questions quickly, when I hit the first question, this is not going nowhere as far as I am concerned. Plus, I think that questions in general are attempting to lead the purpose answering them to specific conclusion.
Do you take assimilation as positive or negative and what this person who made this questions expected? I definitely take as a positive, personally. I am a believer in the universal global community. So for me, this is a logical way to go. I think they expected to hear what they wanted to hear. So, they designed their questionnaire, so... they get what they wanted to hear.

5.4. (d). EL: Discussion

In this component, there seems to be some ambivalence on the part of the participants regarding their ethnic identity maintenance. Linda and George have a strong mind about its importance. However, what Mark and Nancy have said in this interview differs from what they said in the earlier interviews. It seems to demonstrate their own uncertainty in face of these complex difficult issues of ethnic identity. Yet the researcher would like to suggest two possible explanations to the discrepancy in their answers here. The first is inconsistency, which arises from ambivalence and conflict within themselves. The second explanation is a shift from the level of personal feeling to the level of what is required by the ethnic group – which initially appeared as a change in thinking. Mark and Nancy mentioned in the last components that speaking Japanese is not important in the Japanese-Canadian community because everything can be done in English. But here in this component, they answered that Japanese language is a part of their ethnic identity, on an individual level.

The common characteristic of the four participants is that they responded to questionnaire not as an ethnic group, but as individuals. For example, they think that the Japanese-Canadian community is shrinking and disappearing because of the high rate of intermarriage. However, they believe that such a choice is an individual matter. They keep separate the individual dimension from the ethnic group
dimension. Yet they agree that intermarriage is a part of the reason why the strength of Japanese-Canadian identity is declining generation by generation. **George** suggested that intermarriage arose from a subconscious wish to assimilate into mainstream English society and as a result of the psychological damage created by the war experience.

Three of the participants, **Mark**, **Nancy** and **Linda**, have very strong identities both as Canadian and Japanese. However, for them, it is very important to be Canadian. They thus cannot omit the Canadian dimension, but do not see a problem by hyphenating with Japanese. They think it can be easier to tell their identity or background. **George** however expresses himself simply as a Canadian, and he feels very comfortable about it.

As for the HLP, of the three interviewees who commented, there are two totally opposite views. **Mark** thinks that the HLP keeps the ethnic group segregated from the mainstream society. On the other hand, both **Nancy** and **Linda** see it as a positive program giving opportunities to those interested in studying ethnic languages, and maintaining their identity.

As **George** stressed throughout the questionnaire, there are limitations that the questionnaire has in terms of Japanese-Canadian needs. The strength of the questionnaire is in bringing to the surface issues of ethnic identity. Because ethnic identity is such a personal matter, the interview technique in this case study allows the interviewees to speak out and share their personal stories. These discussions are intended to offer some reflections by a group of individuals, and are not necessarily meant to generalize for the whole Japanese-Canadian group. They do, however, indicate a certain trend in thinking on the part of these Sansei participants.
Chapter 6. Summary and Concluding Remarks

6.1. Summary

In this study, many complex issues have arisen from the interview discussions. The salient themes that emerged are:

(1) A pattern towards assimilation into the mainstream society; a rupture between Nisei and Sansei regarding the transmission of Japanese culture and language;

(2) Attachment to ethnic homeland as a means of increasing ethnic self-esteem; ethnic rediscovery as a result of pride in the fact that Japan is a more powerful economic force in the world;

(3) A problematic and ambivalent relationship to ethnic language maintenance;

(4) Lack of community cohesiveness; high intermarriage rate;

(5) A relationship between the psychological consequences of the war experience of Nisei and a weakening of ethnic identity;

(6) A perception that Japanese Language School has less status in comparison to the integrated Heritage Language Programs and especially the French Immersion Program.

This brief chapter will discuss these selected points involving ethnic identity and language maintenance among third generation Japanese-Canadians. Throughout the study, each interviewee presented his or her own perspective, sharing their personal experiences and life stories.

To some degree, the word "group" in the first question refers to the each group into which one has been born. This fact alone conveyed some idea of each interviewee from the very beginning of data presentation. Mark and Nancy describes themselves as Japanese-Canadians. They have shown a complex perception of being Canadian
and Japanese, although each related a different process of discovering his or her ethnic identity. Needless to say, the way in which each participant identified or described himself or herself remains of profound interest to this study:

Mark: "Genetically, I am Japanese. **Psychologically** I am Canadian."

Nancy: "Genetically, I am Japanese, but **socially** I am not."

This case study attempted to use a more narrative and reflective approach to determine why Mark and Nancy created their self-definitions in this way. Each participant's comments can also be compared in psychological terms -- that of cognitive dissonance or ambivalence (McClure, 1991). Thus Mark and Nancy's self-definitions were characterized by considerable ambivalence in social expectation.

They assumed that it is more accurate to define their ethnic background by giving a hyphenated-Canadian designation. Clearly, they realize that people who ask, "Where are you from?" do not expect to hear, "I am Canadian" or "I am from Toronto." Nancy, in particular, remarked that such questions often reminded her of her status as a member of a visible minority.

Yet Mark and Nancy showed concern that people with no Japanese background were more likely to expect them to speak Japanese, than were other Japanese-Canadians. Both reported that people assume it as natural for those with a visibly distinct ethnic background to speak the language corresponding to that background. It can seem paradoxical that it is not then their Japanese-Canadian peers who have the highest expectations. But it is probably an almost universal experience that outsiders of ethnic groups judge them from appearances, rather than
understanding them with the empathy that their own members have.

Nancy, Linda and George show some sympathy regarding what happened to Nisei, as a result of the war experience, particularly racial discrimination, internment experiences, the liquidation of property and possessions, resettlement, and having to begin again with nothing in Eastern Canada. Mark, by contrast, seems to regard himself as distinct or separate from Nisei. He finds it natural that each generation must face different life circumstances, both inside and outside the community.

In sum, Nancy, Linda and George conclude that the Japanese-Canadians assimilated so well into mainstream white society primarily because of what their parents' generation, Nisei, experienced. These Nisei's war experiences compelled them to remain silent about themselves, thus avoiding conflicts with the white majority. Nancy admitted that even after the war, being a member of a visible minority and speaking her ethnic language in Canada, was a negative aspect of her life. Linda notes how what happened to her parents during the war abolished their wish to transmit their Japanese heritage to their children. Correspondingly, George recalls being told to "blend in" with mainstream white society.

Three interviewees, Nancy, Linda, and George, thus admitted they had been assimilated with a minimum of Japanese heritage because one or both parents displayed assimilationist tendencies. Furthermore, they cited this absence of ethnic awareness as a main reason for the fact that so many Sansei Japanese-Canadians have chosen to intermarry. This suggests that the integrity of the Japanese-Canadian community is severely threatened. An empirical study from the sociological perspective, Barron (ibid, Kurokawa, 1970: 72-3) concluded that four factors affect
intermarriage:

(1) Attitudinal (attitude toward intermarriage)
(2) Demographic (the sex ratio and numerical size of the group)
(3) Peremptory (clerical factor, parental factor, moral and legal factors)
(4) Propinquity and Similarity (economic and educational factors, cultural background, length of residence, recreational propinquity)

As Linda mentioned during her interview, choice of marriage partner affects everything from food, culture and customs to overall community involvement. A possible reason why she can commit herself to the Japanese Cultural Centre (later, JCCC) is that she had married a third generation Japanese-Canadian she met at the JCCC. She even regards herself as half Nisei and half Sansei, because she is in the community all the time.

Yet it remains difficult to determine to what degree the war experiences brought Japanese-Canadians to assimilate into mainstream Canadian society. All that is certain is that the war accelerated movement in a direction they might have taken even without these negative experiences. Certainly it is not at all easy to motivate children to learn a second language, especially one they do not use at home, in the neighbourhood, or at school. War or no war, this factor might have guaranteed that the Japanese would assimilate so rapidly. George cynically comments about this situation. He said that the war, in a way, was an easy excuse for assimilation, and that's the feeling he got from his parents. Sansei certainly have inherited this kind of feeling from Nisei parents. However, in a certain sense, there are other reasons why Sansei do less to maintain their ethnic language than third generations of other ethnic groups. Although Mark and Nancy had chances to attend the JLS, for example, they did not want to go when their parents sent them. Interestingly, as an
adult, Mark made his own decision and chose to learn the language. Perhaps the children were given some double messages by the parents on the surface the parents encouraged them to attend JLS, but on a deeper level they felt uneasy about it.

As for homeland, the four participants place Japan in a different position in their mind, although all have been to Japan before. For Mark and Nancy, being Canadian always comes first, although they would rather hyphenate their ethnic identity, depending on who they are talking to. Both think Japan is where their grandparents come from, but feel much closer to Canada as a "Canadian." Now they prefer to say "I am Japanese-Canadian" without hesitation because they have gained the confidence to do so. As a result of their visits to Japan, they see a positive dimension to being a Japanese descendant in Canada. Not surprisingly, they feel they cannot simply say "Canadian," because other Canadians, particularly English-speaking Canadians, ask questions which invariably remind them of their ethnic origin. Furthermore, George does not mind hyphenating anything with "Canadian." As he sees it, Canada has many ethnic peoples, and anybody can be a "Canadian." In contrast, Linda commented that "Japanese-Canadians try to be as Japanese as possible. But of course, there is always a Canadian influence and everything." She sees herself from a perspective closer to Japan, the others from a perspective closer to Canada. Linda may feel differently from other interviewees because she is married to a Japanese-Canadian and participates in the JCCC daily with Issei, Nisei and some Sansei who are also committed to the community.

As for Japanese language learning, each participant displays a viewpoint similar to that toward their homeland: by and large they have lost their Japanese language, or have a difficult relationship with it. Both Mark and Nancy attended
the Japanese Language School when they were from 8-16 years old. However, both also said that it had not been their first choice to study the ethnic language on Saturday mornings. However they appreciated this study later when they began to value their ethnic identity. They are now grateful to their parents as they realize how difficult it is to begin learning Japanese as an adult. Yet despite this gratitude, they remain uncertain whether to send their own children to the JLS for the sake of maintaining Japanese heritage. They said that they might offer an opportunity to go if their children are interested, but not exclusively for reasons involving heritage, this sense of ambivalence is very powerful.

It is noteworthy that Linda, who was not sent to the JLS by her parents, regrets not maintaining any Japanese heritage, especially language. She remembers a feeling of sadness at the absence of conversation between her grandparents and herself. At the same time, Mark and Nancy could not speak to their grandparents, even when they were attending the JLSs and their grandparents lived with them. Nancy recollects that after she visited Japan and became interested in Japan as her ancestral country, she learned Japanese and visited her grandparents' homeland. Unfortunately, when she returned to Toronto and was ready to speak to her grandmother, her grandmother's health did not allow her to do so.

It must be enormously difficult to motivate children to learn a second language they do not use at home or in the neighbourhood. It is an issue of how highly the ethnic group values language maintenance. It seems that in the case of Japanese-Canadians, Sansei feel that their Japanese language ability is not sufficient enough to be able to communicate, whether they attended the JLS or not. Another major factor is which kind of circumstances they have at home and whether they speak
Japanese at home or not, and in most cases they do not speak Japanese in the home. In reality it is difficult for Sansei to attain that level of proficiency living in white neighbourhoods and using English as a home language with Nisei parents.

Although Linda does not speak her ethnic language, she remains highly committed to the community. She fearfully anticipates the shrinking of the community when all Nisei have gone. Her fear is mirrored in the words of Taylor et al (1977):

The important role played by threat to identity was borne out in the regression analyses which indicated that those who felt their cultural identity to be threatened were less fluent in the second language. (Taylor, Menard, and Rheault, 1977: 116)

Finally, Mark notes how language proficiency or lack of it can exclude group members from the ethnic group: If one cannot speak its ethnic language, he or she cannot participate in that group. In this point, Weinstock (1969: 16) commented that it is "difficult to imagine how an ethnic group could maintain its solidarity without a language of its own." Furthermore, Lieberson (1970: 245-8) observes that language retention serves to powerfully maintain residential segregation.

Mark as well as Linda commented that Japanese-Canadians have a distance to overcome with new immigrants from Japan because of the language barrier. The former speak English as their first language; the latter, Japanese. However, in spite of this, in Toronto, group solidarity among Japanese-Canadians and new immigrants from Japan is considerable. As Reitz has contended (1975), language is a powerful symbol of group solidarity. Yet there is a disparity between Japanese-Canadians and new immigrants which complicates and highlights the following statements by Fishman (1977: 47):
Ethnic collectivities will exist as long as human societies exists, and indeed, new ethnic collectivities are constantly coming into being and old ones are continuously being rediscovered and refurbished. As long as this is so, languages will continue to be both symbolic of these collectives and instrumental for them, with respect to their self-concepts, their antagonisms and their cooperative potentials. For most of humanity most of the time, the "social condition" calls for both mention mankind in general, will just have to learn to live with both.

As had been discussed in Feuerverger (1991), all participants in this study mentioned that the Japanese language has become popular primarily because of Japan's strong position and status in the World economy. They note that the status of Japan in Canada has changed, compared with several decades ago. Obviously, these participants would have an entirely different attitude toward the Japanese language, had they grown up in a time when Japanese would have enjoyed such widespread positive status. This supports Lambert's (1967; 1977; 1978) concept of subtractive bilingualism: the replacement (or here, revaluation) of the first language (i.e. Japanese) to leave a space for the more "prestigious" second language (i.e. English). It would be a most interesting study to compare the third generation's language vitality with that of successive generations of Japanese-Canadians.

The central questions that emerge from the interview discussions are as follows. In order to be a "Canadian," (1) Do Sansei still need to learn and maintain Japanese to the next generation? (2) Does one have to speak Japanese to be considered a Japanese descendant? and (3) Does one have to speak Japanese to identify himself or herself as Japanese? In the case of these Sansei interviewees, Japanese functioned symbolically rather than as a language of communication. It thus need not function as a tool of communication in their daily life. At present,
Japanese-Canadians feel that they can live with English as a first language. True, they might benefit by using some Japanese words from day to day. Yet they perceive that this does not mean they must learn to speak Japanese, or insist that the next generation do so. All the interviewees emphasized individual decision-making in terms of identity and language maintenance. They are Japanese-Canadians, and they may choose what ethnic lifestyle they wish to pursue. One senses in the interviews an overwhelming feeling of ambivalence and unfinished business regarding their Japaneseanness and Canadianness.

6.2. Concluding Remarks

Clearly there are many differences among the generations regarding levels of ethnic identity, language maintenance and community commitment, even within this one ethnic group. A brief consideration of theories of generational change may be helpful here, since we have seen how differently the Sansei interviewees in this study described themselves as compared with their Nisei parents.

Hansen’s (1938: 9-10) hypothesis of the "principle of third-generation interest" proposed that "what the son wished to forget" about ethnicity, "the grandson wishes remember." This means that members of the second generation hesitate to explore their parents’ ethnic backgrounds, including culture, language, customs, religion and general way of life, and are eager to integrate into the host society. The third generation, however, who have grown up in the host society, become interested in ancestral roots and are willing to identify with their ethnic group. As Hansen explains, this is an "almost universal" trend (1938: 495).
Herberg (1956: 34-49) showed data indicating that the third generation in the United States value a dimension of personal and social identity other than being simply "American." Similarly, Isajiw (1975) also explained the process of ethnic group identity maintenance in Canada in three adaptation steps. The first is the Transplantation of the Old World culture to the New life in Canada by means of immigration. Second is a rebellious Rejection of Old World culture by the second generation, through adapting the host society. Third generation immigrants then experience Rediscovery of their ethno-racial-religious roots.

From a different perspective, Reitz (1980:124-130) explained an ethnic group's transformations with the concept of "life-cycle":

"life cycle' refers to an aggregate of individual experiences, to the process of immigrant adaptation over time and to the transition from the first or immigrant generation to the second generation and to subsequent generations... The pattern of change overtime, and the patterns of generational succession, will be examined in relation to ethnic cohesion using survey data for all groups. Then, group differences in cohesion are related to stage of life-cycle, and differences in life-cycles are identified.

He contended that each ethnic group has a "life-cycle" with the first arrival in Canada as an immigrant in the first stage. In the second stage, the "ethnic relativity" explains hypothesis that each ethno-racial-religious group becomes more involved with members of other groups. Therefore, non-group members may not necessarily see the unique elements of the ethnic group. Since Reitz focuses on "an aggregate of individual experience", it is difficult to categorize each ethnic group objectively.

Erikson (1963) argued that ethnic identity is only one of many aspects comprising individual identity. Such ethnic identity can help individuals establish
their own identifications, satisfying biological as well as cultural needs. This means that we can see the transformations of each ethnic group, generation by generation, in terms of ethnicity, but not in terms of individual ethnic identity.

In this study, we see consistently that Sansei interviewees have no problem acknowledging their Japanese ancestral background. However, each participant has different reasons for choosing his or her self-definition as either "Japanese-Canadian", "Japanese" or "Canadian." Significantly, the participants' individual personal responses differed from their comments regarding the ethnicity of their ethnic group. This phenomenon supports Erikson's (1963) notion that ethnic identity is one of many aspects comprising individual identity. One individual might focus on ethnic identity to constitute his or her individual identity, while another might find it less important and another may ignore it almost completely.

In the case of Japanese-Canadians, it might have been difficult for Nisei to distinguish between their ethnic group and themselves as individuals. Sansei now have the option to learn their heritage in the multicultural setting of Canada. The Heritage Language Program is one opportunity to learn one's ethnic language. However, Cummins and Danesi (1990) has pointed out that Heritage Language Program is not necessarily enough to support ethnocultural survival. They emphasizes the importance of such a program in at least offering an alternative to the assimilationist policy. The HLP can pave the way for future bilingualism, and higher academic performance.

In these concluding remarks and suggestions for further study, one must focus on the need to look at ethnic identity as one of many factors that compose individual identity. Language is a vital factor in constituting ethnicity. This does not always
mean that language is an inevitable component of ethnic identity, however. The participants in this study indicate that ethnic identity develops more on an individual level, just as ethnicity develops on a group level. For some individuals, ancestral languages are extremely important to acquire (e.g. in the Jewish case). For others, such as the Japanese-Canadian case, this may not as strongly apply. The importance of language thus remains dependent, as it has always been, on human individual choice and personal and collective life histories.

As Reitz (1974) has suggested, language is a powerful symbol of cultural survival, and maintaining language helps preserve ethnicity in a group. To repeat a central definition, ethnicity is "a group or category of persons who have common ancestral origin and the same cultural traits, who have a sense of people hood and Gemeinschaft type of relations, who are of immigrant background and have either minority or majority status within a larger society" (Isajiw, 1980: 13-25). We can thus consider ethnic identity differently from ethnicity, and as a more individual matter psychologically, although both definitions still indicate the complexity of the issue.

To gain a far more comprehensive vision relating to ethnic language policy -- and for further study of ethnic identity and language maintenance -- both pedagogical and psychological approaches should be pursued. Integrating two different approaches enables one to view ethnic identity as a far more flexible construct. We must consider that ethnic identity is a complex component of individual identity. As Isajiw explained (1977), ethnic identity have two basic aspects: an external one, which relates to observable behaviour patterns; and an internal one, which relates to images, ideas, attitudes and feelings. Moreover, we must remember that individual needs change according to life cycle, circumstance and era, in the normal evolution of human
in society.

In sum, this study suggests that the in-depth interview approach can create a space allowing each participant to reflect with the interviewer and to explore his/her perspective on the issue of ethnic identity maintenance. A research approach that is collaborative and interactive in nature may be most useful in examining these very difficult and complex issues of ethnic identity maintenance. It is hoped that this small study is a step in that direction.
References


Appendix A: The Canadian Ethnocultural Questionnaire

THE CANADIAN ETHNOCULTURAL QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is designed to examine attitudes and motivations towards different languages and cultures in this country. Your responses will be analyzed statistically and completely confidentially. Please try to answer all questions as quickly and completely as possible. Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. At the end of the questionnaire you will have an opportunity to say what you think about the questions. Your help is a very valuable part in this study.

This questionnaire instrument may not be copied in any form except with the written permission of the author.
General Background

All responses will be held confidential

In this questionnaire, the word "group" will refer to the ethnic group to which you are born. Please state your ethnic group.

Name: ____________________________

Birthdate: _________________________

Birthplace: _________________________

If not born in Canada, year arrived _________________________

Educational Institution Currently Attending: _________________________

City _________________________ Course: _________________________

Check One:   M ______  F ______

Father's Birthplace _________________________ if not born in Canada, year arrived ______

Mother's Birthplace _________________________ if not born in Canada, year arrived ______

Father's Occupation _________________________

Mother's Occupation _________________________

Level of Education completed by Father:

1 □ until grade school  2 □ high school  3 □ university  4 □ post-graduate

Level of Education completed by Mother:

1 □ until grade school  2 □ high school  3 □ university  4 □ post-graduate
Part One: Socio-Ethnic Component

1. Do you belong to any ethnic organizations or clubs? 
   If so, please state which ones.
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________

2. Have you ever attended an ethnic summer camp? Please check one box.
   1 □ never   2 □ once   3 □ more than once

3. Are your parents involved in ethnic activities and organizations? 
   Please list as many as you can think of.
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________
   ____________________________________________________________

4. Have you ever attended classes to study any language other than French and English? 
   1 □ Yes   2 □ No

5. If "yes", which languages?
   ____________________________________________________________

6. What grade(s) were you in when you attended classes in that language?
   ____________________________________________________________

7. Were they:
   1 □ community programs or   2 □ government sponsored heritage language programs?

8. Were the classes held on
   Weekends           1
   After school       2
   During regular school hours 3
   Other (please specify) 4

9. How many years of French have you taken? ____________________________

10. Have you been involved in a French Immersion program?
    1 □ Yes   2 □ No   What grades? ____________________________
11. Are the people who live in your neighbourhood from your own ethnic group?

1 almost all ☐ 2 mostly ☐ 3 mixed ☐
4 very few ☐ 5 don't know ☐

12. Have you ever had an experience when someone treated you badly because they knew you were not a member of the majority group culture? 1 Yes ☐ 2 No ☐
If yes, please describe it briefly:

13. How often have you felt that it is difficult (or a problem) to be both ethnic and Canadian at the same time?

1 often ☐ 2 occasionally ☐ 3 rarely ☐
4 never ☐ 5 don't know ☐

14. What is your mother tongue?

15. What language(s) are spoken in your home?

16. What language is most often used?

17. Which languages do you speak?

18. Where did you learn most of your ethnic language?
1 home ☐ 2 school ☐ 3 ethnic homeland ☐

19. Do you speak a dialect of your native language in addition to the standard language?
1 Yes ☐ 2 No ☐
If yes, which dialects?
20. Please indicate your ethnic language proficiency by checking one answer in each row.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 not at all</th>
<th>2 a little</th>
<th>3 fairly well</th>
<th>4 fluently</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. understand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. speak</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. read</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. write</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

21. Mother's skill in the ethnic language:

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>1 not at all</th>
<th>2 a little</th>
<th>3 fairly well</th>
<th>4 fluently</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. understands</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. speaks</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. reads</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d. writes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

22. Father's skill in the ethnic language:

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<th></th>
<th>1 not at all</th>
<th>2 a little</th>
<th>3 fairly well</th>
<th>4 fluently</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. understands</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. speaks</td>
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<tr>
<td>c. reads</td>
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<tr>
<td>d. writes</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
23. At home do you ever watch T.V., listen to the radio, or read in your ethnic language?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1 At least once a week</th>
<th>2 Less than once a week</th>
<th>3 Never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. watch T.V.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. listen to radio</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. read</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

24. How involved do you feel your family is with the activities that go on in your local ethnic community? (Please circle the most appropriate number on the scale.)

Not involved at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much involved

25. Please add any comments that you wish.

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

26. What languages (apart from English) do you think you will be able to speak when you leave university? (Please add appropriate check marks.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>1 Speak Well</th>
<th>2 Speak a Little</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ______</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ______</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ______</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27. How satisfied are you with the quality of the social activities in your ethnic community?

not satisfied at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much satisfied

Comments, if any:________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

28. Does your family have any involvement with your ancestral homeland (either visiting relatives, or involved in cultural activities)?

not involved at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much involved
Part Two: Ethnolinguistic Component

To what extent has each of the following reasons been important in your learning (or your interest in learning) your ethnic language? (Please circle the appropriate number.)

1. to be able to speak with my parents in that language
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

2. because I am interested in travelling to my ethnic homeland
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

3. as an expression of commitment to my heritage
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

4. to allow me to read newspapers and books in the ethnic language
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

5. because it is important to my parents
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

6. because it is important for the future of my ethnic culture in Canada
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

7. to help me better understand my own ethnic background
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

8. because I like to learn languages
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

9. because I would like to have an important position in my ethnic community in the future
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

10. because I may need it for my future career
    unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important
11. because other members of my ethnic group will respect me more if I know my ethnic language

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

12. because English Canadians will respect me more if I know my ethnic language

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

13. because all my friends are in the class

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

14. to be able to speak with members of my ethnic group in their native language

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

15. to allow me to participate more freely in ethnic-oriented activities

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

16. to help me broaden my understanding of my ethnic culture in Canada

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

17. to help me broaden my understanding of the culture in my ethnic homeland

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

18. because learning my ethnic language will help me to learn other languages

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

19. because members of my ethnic group may relate to me better if I have a knowledge of my ethnic language

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

20. to allow me to converse with members of my ethnic group in other parts of the world

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

21. because I may want to live in my ethnic homeland

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important
22. because I would like to get a job where I could use my ethnic language

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

23. because I need it in order to finish my studies

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

24. because I am thinking about studying in my ethnic homeland

unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

25. Do you think that it is advantageous to know more than one language?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much so

26. Do you think that it is possible to retain one's culture without knowing one's language?

not at all 1 2 3 4 5 very much so

27. I enjoy learning my ethnic language and take advantage of opportunities where I can use it.

very much so 1 2 3 4 5 not at all

28. Do you think your ethnic community feels positively about maintaining its ethnic language in Canada?

very much 1 2 3 4 5 not at all

29. My ethnic language has high status and prestige within Canadian society.

very much 1 2 3 4 5 not at all

30. Do you have any other reasons that have not been mentioned above for pursuing an ethnic language course at university?
French Language Section

If you have ever studied French, please answer these questions. To what extent is (was) each of the following reasons important in your learning (or interest in learning) French?

1. to be able to meet and converse with French speakers
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

2. because I may need it for my future career
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

3. because I needed it in order to finish high school
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

4. because I would like to get a job where I could use my French
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

5. to read books, magazines and/or watch T.V. or movies in French
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

6. How important is learning French to you?
   unimportant 1 2 3 4 5 very important

7. With respect to speaking French, I:
   feel confident 1 2 3 4 5 feel uncomfortable

8. I feel that the more I learn French the more interested I am in meeting French-Canadians:
   very much so 1 2 3 4 5 not at all

9. How satisfied are (were) you with your French classes?
   very much 1 2 3 4 5 not at all
10. Please indicate how you feel about your French language skills:

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11. I enjoy(ed) studying French and take advantage of opportunities to use French.

very much so 1 2 3 4 5 not at all

12. French has high status and prestige in English-speaking Canada.

strongly agree 1 2 3 4 5 strongly disagree

13. My parents have stressed the importance French will have for me when I enter the job market.

very much 1 2 3 4 5 not at all

14. How often do you socially meet with French-Canadians?

1 □ never  2 □ sometimes  3 □ a lot
Part Three: Ethnic Language Studies Component

These questions are intended as a retrospective look at your ethnic language program in your elementary and high school years.

1. Compared to the others in my ethnic language class, I think I:
   a. ______ studied less in this class than most of them.
   b. ______ studied about as much as most of them.
   c. ______ did more studying than most of them.

2. How important was learning the ethnic language to you?

   unimportant  1  2  3  4  5  very important

3. After I finished my program, I thought I would probably:
   a. ______ not want to continue with my ethnic language studies.
   b. ______ not have time or opportunity to continue with my ethnic language studies.
   c. ______ try to continue these studies.
   d. ______ definitely continue these studies.

4. Did you think that English Canadians supported the government sponsored Heritage Language Programs in a wholehearted way?

   not at all  1  2  3  4  5  very much

5. If I had had the opportunity to change the number of hours my ethnic language was taught in our school, I would have:
   a. ______ increased the amount of class hours required for each student.
   b. ______ kept the amount of class hours as it is.
   c. ______ decreased the amount of class hours required for each student.

   Are there any other changes that you would have suggested?

   _______________________________________________________

   _______________________________________________________

   _______________________________________________________
6. With respect to speaking my ethnic language in high school, I:

   felt confident 1 2 3 4 5 felt uncomfortable

7. Of all my classes, the ethnic language classes were my:

   least preferred 1 2 3 4 5 most preferred

8. I found my elementary ethnic language classes to be:

   extremely interesting 1 2 3 4 5 very boring

9. I found my high school ethnic language classes to be:

   extremely interesting 1 2 3 4 5 very boring

10. I find my university ethnic language course to be:

    extremely interesting 1 2 3 4 5 very boring

11. If it would have been up to me whether or not to take the ethnic language classes, I:

    a. _____ would definitely have taken them
    b. _____ would have dropped them
    c. _____ don't know whether I would have taken them or not

12. In a milieu of peers who could speak the ethnic language, I

    a. _____ never spoke the ethnic language with them
    b. _____ sometimes spoke the ethnic language with them
    c. _____ spoke the ethnic language with them as much as possible

13. If my ethnic language had not been taught in a formal setting, I

    a. _____ would only have used it at home
    b. _____ would not have bothered learning it at all
    c. _____ would have tried to obtain lessons somewhere else
Part Four:
Ethnolinguistic Identity and Vitality Component

This is a scale. Please circle the appropriate number.

1. Do you think that it is important that the next generation of your ethnic group will be able to speak its language?
   - not at all  1  2  3  4  5  definitely

2. Are you concerned that if your culture becomes very involved in Canadian mainstream society, then it may become assimilated?
   - not at all  1  2  3  4  5  very much so

3. I feel that my fate and future is bound up with that of my ethnic group.
   - strongly disagree  1  2  3  4  5  strongly agree

4. We would all be better off if everyone simply considered themselves Canadian as opposed to hyphenated-Canadian.
   - strongly disagree  1  2  3  4  5  strongly agree

5. People in Canada should take advantage of the multicultural policy and learn about their cultural heritage.
   - strongly disagree  1  2  3  4  5  strongly agree

6. How much political and economic power do you feel your ethnic group generally has in Canada?
   - none at all  1  2  3  4  5  very much

7. How much political and economic power do you feel that English Canadians generally have in Canada?
   - none at all  1  2  3  4  5  very much

8. How much political and economic power do you feel that French Canadians generally have in Canada?
   - none at all  1  2  3  4  5  very much
9. Do you feel that your ethnic group will be strong and active in Canada 20-30 years from now?
   not at all   1  2  3  4  5 very much so

10. Do you think that members of your ethnic community should only marry within their own group?
    no, I don't   1  2  3  4  5 yes, I do

11. Do you think that members of your ethnic group should live as a majority in their own neighbourhoods or live in more mixed neighbourhoods?
    Prefer own   1  2  3  4  5 Prefer mixed

12. Below are two scales representing identification of yourself as a member of your ethnic group and as a Canadian. Please circle the most appropriate place for you on each scale.

   A person with a strong feeling of belonging to my ethnic group 1 2 3 4 5
   a person with no feeling of belonging to my ethnic group

   A person with a strong feeling of being Canadian 1 2 3 4 5
   a person with no feeling of being Canadian

13. Most of my good friends are from within my ethnic group 1 Yes  2 No  3 equal

14. I feel that it is important for a child from my ethnic group growing up in Canada to learn French.
   strongly disagree 1  2  3  4  5 strongly agree

15. I believe my ethnic language and culture should be:
   a. ______ taught to all students of my ethnic group.
   b. ______ taught only to those students who wish to study it.
   c. ______ is not important enough to study in Canada.

16. How important is your ethnic group identity to you?
   very much   1  2  3  4  5 not at all
17. How important do you consider possession of the ethnic language to be for the continuity of group identity?
   very much  1 2 3 4 5 not at all

18. How "Canadian" do you feel yourself to be?
   extremely  1 2 3 4 5 not at all

19. How strongly do you feel yourself to belong to your ethnic group?
   extremely  1 2 3 4 5 not at all

20. With respect to speaking your ethnic language, you:
   feel confident  1 2 3 4 5 feel uncomfortable

21. Do you think that attending Heritage Language programs separates your ethnic peers from the rest of Canadian society?
   not at all  1 2 3 4 5 very much

22. Check the appropriate statement:
   a. _____ I feel more Canadian than a member of my ethnic group
   b. _____ I feel about equal
   c. _____ I feel more a member of my ethnic group than Canadian
Part Five: Open-Ended Questions

1. Do you think it is important to learn your ethnic language in Canada? Please explain.

2. Have you considered spending some time in your ancestral homeland? Please explain.

3. Do you feel that most Canadians feel positively about your ethnic language and culture?

4. Do you think that learning an ethnic language may have a negative effect on learning English or French?

5. What is your opinion about what the school system (government) is doing for Heritage Language Programs? Do you have any suggestions for improvement?

6. How do you feel about having an ethnic as well as a Canadian identity? Is one more important than the other? Please explain.

7. Some parts of your life deal with your ethnic identity and some deal with your Canadian identity. Is there any overlap or are they separate? Are there any conflicts? Are there any benefits?
8. In your opinion, what are some aspects of your ethnic group identity that differentiates you from other ethnic groups in Canada?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

9. Do you think that minority group efforts on behalf of their own language and culture are generally a good thing, or whether these might be potentially divisive within a society like Canada?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

10. What do you understand the current Canadian multiculturalism policy to be and how effective do you think it is?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

11. What do you think the policy of multiculturalism should be?

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

12. This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you for your cooperation. If you have any comments you wish to make, please feel free to do so in the space below.

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________
Efforts Parallel That Of Canadian Nisei

Hawaiian-born Nisei are turning out to be indefatigable patriots. There are numerous reasons for their patriotism. The local Nisei are deeply aware of the fact that the American way of life is much superior to any other form of government. They are reaffirming their faith in American democracy and pledging their unswerving loyalty to the government by supporting patriotic rallies on all the islands. They are volunteering eagerly to serve in the Pacific, the America Red Cross, American Legion and its Auxiliary, Hawaii Educational Association, Lions and Rotary clubs and many other Civic organizations.

As this is written, Governor Joseph B. Poindexter revealed that he has received from several clubs composed of Americans of Japanese parentage resolutions offering services of the members of their respective clubs to the government in any capacity in which they can be useful during the national emergency. In a signed statement, Governor Poindexter said: "All Americans, regardless of race have the duties to perform and their job is to do their bit during the current emergency. They would not single out any race or any group. We are all Americans and we do all our part.

At a recent blackout, the Japanese communities were highly commended for their cooperation by General Walter C. Short, commander of the Hawaiian Division of the U.S. Army. The blackout was conducted by all the police departments of the counties in the territory to check any capacity in which it is possible to be useful. In Oahu alone approximately fifty leading citizens of Japanese ancestry, by danger, were in time of national emergency. They have been sworn in with this in mind: The acute threat of sabotage or of any such actions by hostile elements of the local population prior to the duration of the war is a danger that would weaken the defense of the nation to an extent that the nation should not be permitted to happen.

These volunteers have unlimited police powers to cope with a situation of crisis. Our Fair has its place, too. The Nisei girls are admirably offering their services to the Ambulance Corps of Honolulu Women, Preparedness Committee of the Young Women's Christian Society. By enlisting in these services, they learn the latest first aid, are soon being assigned to ambulance training, while others are connected with the Womenvoice, the official organ of the American women's trade unions, and are also bringing news from the home front to the soldiers.

The Oahu Citizen's Committee for Home Defense—comprising representatives of all sorts of clubs whose members are Americans of Japanese parentage—is now sponsoring huge Bantam rallies which are to be held at the auditorium of the McKinley high school, the committee has planned to high-rank the army, as well as civic and territorial officials to speak. Resolutions will also be introduced to reaffirm the group's allegiance to the government in all ways, thus placing every cooperation in President Roosevelt's emergency policy, and defense efforts. As a result of this recent movement, the committee declared in the appeal for every cooperation in President Roosevelt's emergency program, that "as American's Japanese must take full intelligence to aid in the emergency that is upon us. We must cooperate with the government in every possible way.

The representatives of the committee are determined to instruct the Nisei in Hawaii to maintain their reputation of being peace-loving citizens; (2) dispel all fears of unscrupulous gossip; (3) cooperate with the government in all ways; (4) encourage friendly relations with the army and navy personnel by entertaining members of these groups.

In speaking about the word, "patriot," we agree that loyalty to one's country is natural and proper as loyalty to one's home and family to the citizens of this democracy. There is a special reason to be patriotic and loyal because it is not the waving of flags or the paying of obligations, but the feeling of being a partner in a splendid, prosperous concern, whose transactions are creating the greatest good to the greatest number.

Hawaiian Nisei Americans are cognizant of the duty of national safety and emergency.

The happier Nippon—U.S. relations

TOKIO — Again taking up the theme of America-Japan relations the New York Times editorially commented on that recent developments on both sides of the Pacific have created another chance for something preventing a conflict that neither Japan nor America wishes.