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Intergenerational Effects of the Japanese American Internment

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February 19 is called the Day of Remembrance for Japanese Americans throughout the United States. On that date in 1942, just 10 weeks after Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 authorizing the exclusion of all persons of Japanese ancestry from "prescribed military areas." The order led to the removal and incarceration of more than 110,000 individuals, over 90% of the Japanese American mainland population. The military considered the action necessary. Internment was presumably a precaution against the actions of any potentially disloyal Japanese near the Pacific. As a result, Japanese Americans living along the West Coast and portions of Arizona were ordered to leave their homes and move to concentration camps in desolate areas of the interior. Neither citizenship nor demonstrated loyalty mattered. Two-thirds of the interned were U.S. citizens. Surrounded by barbed wire and armed guards, the Japanese Americans were held in camps for an average of 2–3 years. The intergenerational effects of their ordeal are the focus of this chapter.

THE INTERNMENT AS TRAUMA

Japanese Americans underwent numerous traumata during their internment. Under the conditions of forced relocation, they feared for their safety and suffered severe economic losses and sudden unemployment. Many also experienced the destruction of social and family networks (Loo, 1993). The internment represented a significant trauma in other critical ways as well. First and foremost, it was based on racism. Although Germany and Italy were also at war with the United States, neither German Americans nor Italian Americans were subjected to such drastic measures as an entire group. Japanese Americans, easily identifiable and already the target of discrimination, were singled out for mass internment. The fact that the internment was a culturally based trauma has particular significance for the study of intergenerational processes since culturally based traumata "potentially serve as the axial point for group and generational self-understanding. . . . [T]hey define the parameters of communal

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conversations, thus providing the components from which collective identity is built" (Miller & Miller, 1991, p. 36).

Also significant is the fact that the internment resulted from intentional human design (Loo, 1993). The treatment of the Japanese Americans was deliberate and planned. Such traumata of human design can lead to more severe and prolonged posttraumatic stress disorder than trauma resulting from natural or accidental design (American Psychiatric Association, 1987). The forced nature of the uprooting, in combination with their minority status, placed Japanese Americans at risk. O'Sullivan and Handal (1988) note that while studies have shown any form of relocation, voluntary or compulsory, to be a significant stressor, the effects of compulsory relocation are significantly more detrimental to psychological functioning and social support. They also cite literature indicating that minority groups and community-oriented cultural groups are at particularly high risk for such negative effects under forced relocation, and that relocations that affect entire communities have more "profound and enduring effects" (p. 4).

The injustice of the internment can be seen as another aspect of trauma. Edward Ennis of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) referred to the internment as "the greatest deprivation of civil liberties by government in this country since slavery" (cited in Irons, 1983, p. 349). The rights of Japanese Americans were blatantly ignored in the move to intern. No charges were brought against them, nor were they granted the right to a trial, and the U.S. Supreme Court held that the exclusion was constitutionally permissible in the context of war (Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians [CWRIC], 1997). Fear, prejudice, and political motivations overrode facts that contradicted the justifications underlying internment decision (CWRIC, 1997). For example, although West Coast Japanese Americans were targeted for internment because of their proximity to Japan, barely 1% of Hawaiian Japanese were interned (Ogawa & Fox, 1986). In addition, intelligence reports from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and naval intelligence did not consider mass incarceration of Japanese Americans a military necessity (CWRIC, 1997). A formal investigation of the events surrounding the internment by the CWRIC concluded that there was no basis for the detention and that "a grave injustice was done to American citizens and resident aliens of Japanese ancestry" (p. 18). In fact, "not a single documented act of espionage, sabotage or fifth column activity was committed by an American citizen of Japanese ancestry or by a resident Japanese alien on the West Coast" (p. 3).

PREINTERNMENT CONDITIONS

The attack on Pearl Harbor provided a catalyst for the internment of Japanese Americans. However, preinternment social conditions set the stage for their removal, including a long-standing history of anti-Asian prejudice and discrimination. The Japanese were initially welcomed in the mid-1800s as a source of cheap labor on Hawaiian sugar plantations, following the Chinese, who had been recruited earlier for the same purpose (Daniels, 1988). By the 1900s, the Japanese were reruited from Hawaii to work on the mainland. But, as had been the case with the Chinese before them, the rise in the Japanese population was met with increased prejudice and fear from non-Asians. Anti-Japanese activist groups such as the Japanese Exclusion League (Asiatic Exclusion League) fought for school segregation and the boycotting of Japanese businesses, while anti-Asian legislation significantly restricted immigration from Japan (CWRIC, 1997). Additional laws prohibited the Japanese from intermarrying with whites, and the Alien Land Law of California (where most mainland Japanese

Americans lived) barred alien Japanese from purchasing land and owning property (CWRIC, 1997). Japanese immigrants were also barred from citizenship until 1952. Economic competition along the West Coast contributed to anti-Japanese tensions, as the success of Japanese American farmers threatened many white American groups (Daniels, 1988). Much of the anti-Japanese sentiment stemmed from the fear of the "yellow peril," that Asians would overrun California and the Pacific Coast, and claims of grossly overestimated birthrates among people of Japanese ancestry ran rampant (CWRIC, 1997).

The prohibition against naturalization of the first-generation Japanese immigrants (Issei) as well as Japanese customs, language, and an emphasis upon group cohesion contributed to political as well as social exclusion. As noted by the CWRIC (1997):

> The Japanese were a major focus of California politics in the fifty years before World War II. Their small numbers, their political impotence and the racial feelings of many Californians frequently combined with resentment at the immigrants' willingness to labor for low pay to make them a convenient target for demagogues or agitators. (p. 31)

THE INTERNMENT PROCESS

Although Executive Order 9066 was issued in February 1942, steps taken against the Japanese began immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor. On the night of the attack, the FBI arrested some 1,500 Japanese (Daniels, 1988). Fathers and husbands were abruptly taken from their homes, with no information as to their destination or how long they would be gone. Most were Issei leaders of the Japanese American communities, and protest against the government's actions was difficult since the second-generation children, Nisei, were significantly younger and less politically experienced (CWRIC, 1997). Japanese Americans lived in the post–Pearl Harbor weeks fearful about their families, communities, and future. Worried that possession of Japanese items would be viewed as evidence of disloyalty, many burned or buried any belongings that could be linked with Japan or its emperor. Irreplaceable heirlooms and mementos were destroyed as they anxiously awaited their fate.

The mass evacuation of Japanese Americans began soon after Executive Order 9066 was issued. Evacuees often had only a week's notice of their removal, giving them little time to dispose of their belongings. They took only what could be carried. Many prized possessions were sold for a fraction of their worth or had to be abandoned altogether. In addition, relocation was made even more difficult because the government would not provide information as to their future: Evacuees did not know what type of climate to expect or how long they would be gone from their homes.

The vast majority did not actively protest the evacuation orders. Japanese cultural values stressed deference to authority, and, for most, it would have been unthinkable to question a mandate from the U.S. Army. These values, combined with a void in community leadership, lack of political power, and an absence of information about the future made it unlikely that most Japanese Americans would resist. Also, having already been a population subjected to Anglo domination for years prior to the war, Japanese Americans were much more likely to respond in a conforming manner (Kitano, 1986). Nonetheless, it should be noted that a few individuals did challenge the internment (Irons, 1983), and there was disagreement within the community between those who advocated full compliance as a means of proving one's citizenship and patriotism and those who opposed this position (CWRIC, 1997; Spickard, 1983).

Most Japanese Americans endured two relocations; first, from their homes to a temporary "assembly center," and second, to one of the permanent "relocation centers." Each family was

identified by an impersonal, numbered tag in preparation for the evacuation. With the number, stated one former internee, "I lost my identity. . . . I lost my privacy and my dignity" (CWRIC, 1997, p. 135). Travel to the assembly centers, and later from assembly centers to the camps, often took place in buses or trains with shades drawn, adding further to fears and anxieties. The assembly centers were located primarily in California, at fairgrounds or racetracks hastily converted to house thousands of evacuees under communal conditions with little to no privacy. Many facilities still smelled of animal manure. There, under guard, Japanese Americans lived for an average of 3 months before being transferred to the more permanent internment camps (CWRIC, 1997).

The 10 permanent internment camps, euphemistically termed "relocation centers" by the government, were constructed in desolate areas of the interior, including the deserts of California, Arizona, and Utah, and the swamplands of Arkansas. Japanese Americans were prisoners behind barbed wire and armed guard towers. This time, they lived in barrack-style housing with communal mess halls, toilets, and bath facilities. The smallest camp housed 7,000, the largest, 18,000. Each family was assigned to a single room, ranging in size from 20 by 8 feet to 20 by 24 feet, depending upon family size (Daniels, 1988). In many of the camps, temperatures ranged from below zero in winter to 115 degrees in the summer (CWRIC, 1997). Internees spent up to 4 years living under these harsh conditions.

LITERATURE ON THE EFFECTS OF THE INTERNMENT

Literature on the internment's effects spans several disciplines, including historical (e.g., Daniels, 1989, 1993; tenBroek, Barnhart, & Matson, 1968; Thomas & Nishimoto, 1969; Weglyn, 1976) and judicial analyses (Irons, 1983). Insights into the psychological impact of the camps and evacuation emerge from powerful autobiographical accounts of former internees (e.g., Hanson & Mitson, 1974; Tateishi, 1984) testimonies from the CWRIC (CWRIC, 1997; Rite of Passage, 1981), and Asian American writers (e.g., Inada, 1992; Mirikitani, 1987; Okada, 1976; Uchida, 1989). Recent books also cover the range of historical, sociological, economic, and psychological issues related to the internment (CWRIC, 1997; Daniels, Kitano, & Taylor, 1986). A key reference in this regard is the CWRIC's final report entitled *Personal Justice Denied,* originally published in 1982, and recently republished in 1997.

Mass (1986) has stated that "the psychological impact of the forced evacuation and detention was deep and devastating" (p. 160). Cramped conditions within the single-room barracks made privacy within the family nearly impossible, while shared toileting and bathing facilities made privacy equally difficult outside the barracks. At the same time, communal meals in the mess halls replaced mealtimes with the nuclear family and contributed to a breakdown in the traditional Japanese family structure (Kitano, 1986; Morishima, 1973). Parental authority diminished as children spent more time with peers, outside the confines of the families' room. Gender roles changed as Issei men lost their role as providers for their families and Issei women were relieved of previous obligations.

Events within the camps had critical psychological impact as well. One of the most significant was the government-imposed "loyalty oath" that required all internees, male and female, citizen and alien, 17 years or older, to declare complete loyalty to the United States and a willingness to serve in its armed forces. Those who did not answer affirmatively to the loyalty questions were segregated from other internees and sent to the Tule Lake camp. Answering the loyalty oath created tremendous conflict. In the words of one internee:

> The resulting infighting, beatings, and verbal abuses left families torn apart, parents against children, brothers against sisters, relatives against relatives, and friends against friends. So bitter was all this that even to this day, there are many amongst us who do not speak about that period for fear that the same harsh feelings might arise up again to the surface. (CWRIC, 1997, pp. 14–15)

Divisions stemming from the loyalty oath can still be observed within Japanese American communities today.

Many of the psychological effects of the internment varied depending on generational status. The Issei lost all that they had worked so hard to establish (Mass, 1986). Inside the camps, it was the Nisei, not the Issei, who were allowed positions of authority, reversing the power roles of children and parents. And already in their late 50s or 60s after the camps closed, most Issei never reestablished their prewar status. Many became dependent upon their children for the remainder of their lives (CWRIC, 1997). The Nisei, whose median age was 21 in 1942 (Daniels, 1993), suffered a different psychological blow. For them, the internment was a direct "assault on their expectations and identity" as citizens of the United States (CWRIC, 1997), a rejection by their own nation (Mass, 1986). Even as they left the camps to resettle, their ethnic identity was denigrated as they were advised not to live next to other Japanese Americans or to congregate in public with other former internees (CWRIC, 1997). Nisei reactions to this assault varied after the war. Many responded by avoiding discussion of their camp experiences. Others developed a mistrust of white America and associated only with other Japanese Americans, whereas some identified with the aggressor by refusing to be associated with anything Japanese or Japanese American (Mass, 1986). Feelings of shame and guilt were also observed. Like the victims of rape, Nisei felt somehow responsible for their fate, even though they had done nothing wrong, and internalized their anger (CWRIC, 1997; Hanson & Mitson, 1974; Mass, 1986). The response of many was compliance, noted Mass (1986), who suggested that "like the abused child who still wants his parents to love him and hopes by acting correctly he will be accepted, Japanese Americans chose the cooperative, obedient, quiet American facade to cope with an overly hostile, racist America during World War II" (p. 161). Even the identity and self-concept of the earliest members of the third generation (Sansei) who were either very young or born in camp were affected, as Sansei born in camp have reported a sense of shame associated with their birthplace (Mass, 1986; Nagata, 1993; Tomine, 1991).

EXPLORING THE INTERGENERATIONAL EFFECTS OF INTERNMENT: THE SANSEI RESEARCH PROJECT

Clearly, the internment had important consequences for those who directly experienced the camps. The challenges to identity, as well as the disruption of parental, gender, and generational roles, affected entire families, indeed whole communities. But would these effects also be evident intergenerationally, in the third-generation Sansei offspring born after the war to former internees? If so, in what ways? These were the primary questions that guided the Sansei Research Project.

The pioneering work of Nobu Miyoshi (1980) provided an important basis for the project. Using the family systems theory of Boszormenyi-Nagy and Sparks (1973), Miyoshi was among the first to document how the camp experiences of the Nisei were transmitted to their Sansei offspring. The theory postulated that family relationships are accountable to the standards of loyalty and justice from previous generations. Family rules, credits for merits in

fulfilling obligations, and debits for unfilfilled obligations are passed on from one generation to the next (Miyoshi, 1980). Other family therapists have also discussed the process of intergenerational familial transmission with respect to family myths, loyalties, secrets, and expectations, noting that the uncompleted actions of past generations may impinge on relationships within the new generation (Hoopes, 1987; Kramer, 1985). Miyoshi hypothesized that "the Sansei are heir to ethnic values that have been passed down to them from their Issei grandparents through their Nisei parents" (p. 41). The internment-camp experience represented an important part of that legacy, and the lack of communication about the internment between the Nisei and Sansei (the majority of whom were born after the war), she theorized, "represents a symbol of an intergeneration ethnic and personal gap" (p. 41).

In addition to family systems theory, life-span development theory provided a useful framework for the Sansei Project. Therefore, project questions asked about perceptions of both the present and the past. Researchers such as Elder (1974) and Stewart and Healy (1989) have also noted the importance of individual differences within generational cohorts and the need to consider the age at which significant life events occur when evaluating the impact of such events. According to Stewart and Healy (1989), "The experience of psychologically significant social events at different stages of adulthood will have different consequences not only for the individual personally, but also for his or her children" (p. 33). This developmental perspective suggested that the project should also explore whether the age of a Nisei parent in camp mediated any intergenerational effects.

The empirical framework for the Sansei Research Project came from previous studies on the children of Holocaust survivors. These investigations have examined multiple aspects of the Holocaust trauma, including the transmission of disrupted family patterns, separation and individuation issues among children of survivors, patterns of family communication about the Holocaust experience, and ethnic identity among the children of survivors. Although studies on children of Holocaust survivors vary widely in terms of their methodological strength (see Solkoff, 1992, for an overview), they helped to identify key areas of exploration for the Sansei Project. In addition, they delineated a model for comparing individuals whose parents experienced a trauma with same-cohort individuals whose parents did not. One study specifically hypothesized a link between the intergenerational effects of the Holocaust and the internment. Heller (1981) reported that the stressful experiences of Holocaust survivors led to a heightened sensitivity to culture and ancestry among their children. He speculated that other victimized cultural groups who emphasize traditional ideals might reflect a similar posttrauma heightening of ethnic identity and noted that "the responses of the Japanese to internment resemble quite closely the responses of survivor children to the Jewish Holocaust" (p. 259). However, he did not empirically explore this observation.

Design and Methodology

Given the literature on the intergenerational effects of the Holocaust, it seemed likely that the internment might also have affected postwar Japanese Americans. Yet there were no empirical studies directly exploring the intergenerational effects of the internment. Therefore, the Sansei Research Project investigated the impact of the internment on Sansei born after the war whose parents had been interned. The project surveyed over 700 Sansei from across the United States and included semistructured, in-depth interviews with over 40 Sansei. Major findings from the study are summarized here. However, the reader is encouraged to refer to the book *Legacy of Injustice: Exploring the Cross-Generational Impact of the Japanese American In-*

ternment (Nagata, 1993) and Nagata (1990a) for a more extensive accounting of the project and its results.

Participants for the Sansei Project were recruited in 1987 with assistance from the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), directories of the Young Buddhists Association, and by word of mouth within the Japanese American community. Of the 1,250 surveys initially sent, 740 were returned, yielding an approximately 60% return rate. Seven of these were eventually excluded due to incompleteness or were returned too late for inclusion into the data analysis. Surveys from another 137 were excluded because the respondents were Sansei who were either born in a camp or had been interned at a young age. The data from Sansei who directly experienced the internment were analyzed as a separate study (Nagata, Trierweiler, & Talbot, 1997). Therefore, the survey data reported here are based on a sample of 596 Sansei respondents.

Survey participants fell into one of three groups: (1) those who had both parents interned (Two-Parent Sansei, $N = 323$), (2) those who had only one parent interned (One-Parent Sansei, $N = 168$), and (3) those who had neither parent interned (No-Camp Sansei, $N = 105$). Interviewees also fell into either the Two-Parent ($N = 26$), One-Parent ($N = 10$), or No-Camp ($N = 6$) groups. Comparisons between these groups provided a way to study how the effects of parental internment on the Sansei varied as a function of extensiveness of family contact with that experience. It should be noted that the use of the term *effects* in this research study suggests the identification of a causal relationship. However, it is, in reality, impossible to assess the specific effects of internment upon the Japanese Americans (Kitano, 1986), and caution should be used in interpreting the Sansei Project results.

Survey participants responded to a range of fixed-choice questions regarding family communication about the internment, level of interest and knowledge about the internment, sense of security about their rights, ethnic socialization and outmarriage, membership in Japanese American community groups, ability to understand the Japanese language, and anticipated reaction to a future internment. Interview questions covered similar areas of interest in an open-ended format. In addition, broader interview questions asked participants to describe what ways, if any, they felt their parent's internment had affected their own lives as well as their parents' lives. The survey data were analyzed using a variety of quantitative statistical techniques, whereas the interview questions were summarized using qualitative analyses.

Intergenerational Project Findings

Survey data from the Sansei project indicated that Sansei who had one or both parents interned did not differ significantly from Sansei with noninterned parents with respect to their rate of outmarriage, current level of interest in the internment, reported level of comfort in discussing the internment with parents, membership in Japanese American community groups, or their anticipated reaction to a future internment. Two-Parent Sansei did not report significantly more negative internment effects than One-Parent Sansei, and Sansei gender differences were few. In addition, contrary to expectations, parental age during internment and the length of their incarceration were generally uncorrelated with the Sanseis' survey responses.

However, the data revealed significant group differences in other areas of interest. One major area of interesting results occurred with respect to familial communication. Not surprisingly, Sansei who had one or both parents interned had significantly more frequent and longer conversations about the internment than did the Sansei who had neither parent interned. However, even those who had had a parent in camp indicated that there had actually

been very little familial discussion about the internment. Most reported having only about 10 such conversations in their lifetime with their parents, and the average length of these conversation was approximately 15–30 minutes. In addition, Sansei in the Two- and One-Parent groups indicated that the style in which their parents talked about the internment did not differ significantly from the style reported by the No-Camp group: Only one-third of all respondents felt that the camps had been the central topic of the discussion, compared with approximately 70% of each group who felt the camps were an incidental topic or merely a reference point in time. Interviewee comments also indicated a striking absence of conversation about the internment, referring to conversations with their parents as "cryptic," "oblique," "left-handed," "evasive," and "superficial." As one person stated, this absence became increasingly noticeable as they grew older:

> A lot of times you assume that your parents do not have a past when you're little and because you live in the present so much. The older I got . . . I would ask more and more about their lives—how they got married and how they met. Through those discussions, . . . discussion of camp were conspicuously absent. . . . So I really didn't learn about the camps through my parents. I got bits and pieces, . . . never a coherent story. (Nagata, 1993, p. 82).

The absence of knowledge about their parents' camp years led Sansei to feel sadness and a sense of incompleteness. As one interviewee revealed, it felt as if there was a "void in my personal history." Many experienced a shroud of secrecy surrounding the topic, and sensed they should not push their parents to discuss more. As another interviewee noted, "It's like a secret or maybe more like a skeleton in the closet—like a relative who's retarded or alcoholic. Everyone tiptoes around it, discussing it only when someone else brings it up, like a family scandal" (Nagata, 1993, p. vii). Other individuals were struck by the fact that their parents seemed more able to discuss their camp experience with Caucasian American acquaintances than with their own children, and One-Parent Sansei frequently reported that it was the noninterned parent who talked most about the camps.

When previously interned parents did speak, they often shared only positive aspects of their camp experience. Also striking was the lack of expressed bitterness. "When I've asked his feelings about the whole internment experience," stated one individual about his father, "he says he is not bitter. . . . The memories will always be with them, and I don't think I will ever really know the pain and degradation felt by my family" (Nagata, 1993, p. 87). The overall absence of communication may perhaps explain an additional finding. When asked 11 objective historical questions about the internment (e.g., the name of the President who signed Executive Order 9066, the number of people interned, and the proportion of U.S. citizens interned), Sansei whose parents were interned did not necessarily have more factual information about the internment than the No-Camp group.

Although it was relatively rare that parents raised the topic of the internment as a central focus for family discussion, brief exchanges between the Sansei and their parents were triggered by specific stimuli in their environment. Certain foods such as apple butter, gelatin, and Spam were reminders of camp and could spontaneously elicit comments by the Nisei. In other families, discussions were sparked by driving by the site of a former camp or assembly center.

The absence of direct conversations about the internment did not diminish the Sanseis' level of interest in that event. Survey data showed that respondents from all of the study's groups expressed a high degree of current interest in the internment. In addition, the Two- and One-Parent Sansei reported significantly higher levels of interest than the No-Camp Sansei from the elementary school years through their young adulthood. Comments from inter-

viewees suggested that the void in family conversations about the camps signaled the presence of something too painful to discuss rather than the absence of something to talk about. In fact, interviewee and survey-respondent comments showed that many Sansei feel they carry an unspoken sense of sadness and anger for their parents.

From a life-span developmental perspective, it is interesting to note that Sansei within each of the three study groups reported increasing levels of interest in the internment over time. In addition, interview data showed that, over time, Sansei whose parents were in camp often had changed their own views about the lack of communication. Several individuals stated that they had moved from feeling angry and frustrated in their early 20s, to feeling an increased respect for their parents' silence today.

The communication findings revealed that even though there had been little overt communication about camp, the Sansei nonetheless felt affected by their parents' experience. This was reflected in their sense of security as well: Two- and One-Parent Sansei who were surveyed rated themselves as being significantly less confident in their rights in this country than the No-Camp Sansei, and although all respondents were split in the opinion of whether an internment of Japanese Americans could occur again, Two-Parent Sansei were most likely to see this as possible. Interviewee comments supported the survey results. Nearly half of those whose parents were interned believed an internment could happen again. As one stated, "I think it (the internment) has made me aware of the immense injustices that can occur in this society. It's made me cynical about government. . . . It's made me distrust power" (Nagata, 1993, p. 130).

The internment appeared to affect the Sanseis' self-esteem and ethnic identity. Survey respondents reported generally little understanding of the Japanese language, regardless of whether their parent was interned, and interviewees felt that the internment led to an accelerated loss of the Japanese language and culture. Many perceived their parents as minimizing their own and their children's Japanese identity, while at the same time emphasizing the importance of blending in and "acculturating" so as not to stick out and draw attention to themselves. For some, this resulted in feelings of shame and inferiority about their "Japaneseness." One interviewee commented, "I assume they (Caucasian Americans) are going to reject me because I'm Japanese since there was such rejection of my parents" (Nagata, 1993, p. 139). Such sensitivities may have contributed to survey findings that showed Two-Parent Sansei expressed a stronger preference for associating with other Japanese Americans than either the One-Parent or No-Camp Sansei. This preference did not, however, extend into outmarriage rates, which were similar between the three groups.

The concept of shame within Japanese culture is noteworthy in relation to the Sansei findings. Shame has a central role in traditional Japanese society, significantly shaping individual behavior (Benedict, 1946). "Failure to follow . . . explicit signposts of good behavior, a failure to balance obligations or to foresee contingencies is a shame (*haji*)" and public judgment of one's deeds is critical (p. 224). Hence, the shame generated by the unjust imprisonment and public degradation of internment was especially intense for Japanese Americans, whose culture emphasized the significance of shame and humiliation. And, although the third-generation Sansei have not lived in a traditional Japanese environment, they nonetheless retain remnants of their ethnic culture. Despite the absence of explicit instruction in traditional cultural values, "some values, such as respect for elders, *enryo* (reservation), *haji* (shame), and diligence, were passed on to the Sansei" (Takezawa, 1995, pp. 129–130). The fact that some Sansei feel the continued effects of shame from the internment is, in this context, not surprising.

The rich interview data yielded additional ways in which Sansei see their lives as being affected by the internment. Several chose a particular educational institution or career to finish the

uncompleted goals of a parent whose dreams were disrupted during the war. For others, the internment was a primary factor in choosing careers dedicated to community activism, the ministry, or law—careers that focused on concerns of justice. Many felt a special pressure from their parents to achieve and "prove" themselves to society. Some families, however, emphasized achievement for a different reason. Education was important because, although others may take away your freedom, they can never take away your ideas.

Furutani (1981) hypothesized that yet another effect of the internment was its impact on the interned Niseis' physical health. Preliminary data from the Sansei Research Project supported this hypothesis with respect to males. Although mothers did not differ significantly in early deaths, more than twice as many Sansei whose fathers were in camp died before the age of 60, compared to Sansei whose fathers were not interned. Interviewees whose fathers died early also speculated that the internment experience might have created unusual stressors that contributed to the premature deaths. "I really strongly believe that the trauma of incarceration had a physiological effect on them," commented one. "Most of my Japanese American friends' fathers have died before age 60" (Nagata, 1993, p. 141). The present data are based on a small sample and therefore are limited. However, one might speculate that there is a link between the early deaths of the Nisei fathers and their general reluctance to discuss the internment. Pennebaker, Barger, and Tiebout's (1989) research suggests that avoidance of discussing one's traumatic experience may negatively affect physical health, and Sansei in the present study reported that their Nisei fathers were much less likely to bring up the topic of internment than their mothers.

Sansei whose fathers died early wonder how their futures might have been if their fathers were still alive. At the same time, both they and other Sansei wonder how their entire lives and the postwar lives of their parents might have been different without the internment. Interviewees questioned whether their parents might have been more assertive, more confident, or more expressive if they had never been in camp. How, also, might their life course have differed without the severe economic losses and lost careers? These "what if" questions haunt the Sansei long after the war.

The previous examples suggest a variety of negative postinternment consequences for the Sansei. However, although the Sansei saw the internment as unjust and traumatic, they were also able to identify some positive outcomes in their lives. They admire the postwar resilience of the Nisei and see them as valuable role models. Ironically, many also recognized that since their parents met in camp, they would never have been born had it not been for the internment. Others saw the internment as having sensitized them to issues of injustice for all groups whose rights are threatened. Several interviewees, for example, expressed concern upon hearing that proposals had been made to round up "suspicious" Iranian Americans during times of tension between Iran and the United States.

At the time of the Sansei Project, the movement to seek a governmental apology and monetary redress for surviving internees was strong but had not yet succeeded. Hence, the injustice of the internment was highly salient for most Japanese Americans. Survey results showed that although approximately equal percentages of Sansei (close to 80%) favored seeking redress, regardless of whether they had a parent interned, Two- and One-Parent Sansei expressed a significantly stronger level of agreement with the redress movement than the No-Camp Sansei. Interviewees who supported redress were clear that no amount of money could compensate for the injustice, loss, and hardships related to internment. However, they noted, "money talks" in the United States. Redress payments, in their eyes, symbolized one form of public recognition of significant wrongdoing on the part of the government. Substan-

tial monetary payment, suggested several Sansei, might also deter the government from repeating such injustices in the future.

The redress legislation was successfully passed in 1988, resulting in a one-time payment of $20,000 to each surviving internee and an official governmental apology. Preliminary analyses of data from a subset of the original Sansei Project participants suggest that, on the average, Sansei felt that the success of the redress movement created some feeling of relief and moderately increased their faith in the U.S. government. However, these actions had only a slight impact in reducing the negative feelings the Sansei held about the internment itself. Such initial data indicate that individual Sansei reactions to the success of the redress movement may not necessarily reflect a sense of closure. Other researchers, however, point out that the passage of the redress legislation has had significant positive effects for Japanese Americans as a larger group by lifting the psychological burden of distrust that had been carried for decades (Danieli, 1992; Takezawa, 1995). In addition, Takezawa (1995) observed that the redress movement strengthened intergenerational ties. "Because of the movement, the Nisei and Sansei began a true dialogue concerning the family and community history" (p. 173). One important benefit of the redress movement for the Sansei, in particular, was that it "triggered an appreciation and recognition of their ethnic history and a consciousness of racism in American society . . . (as well as) a positive reinterpretation of the past which enhances their ethnic pride" (Takezawa, 1995, p. 197).

LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The Sansei Research Project findings provide useful information in exploring the cross-generational impact of the internment. This research demonstrates the importance of assessing a wide range of potential intergenerational effects since some areas of interest revealed significant between group differences, while others did not. The combination of survey and in-depth interview methodologies was particularly useful in uncovering such a range. At the same time, several limitations of the research deserve mention. First, the results have limited generalizability to the general Sansei population. Most Sansei are not members of the Japanese American Citizens League, whereas many of those included in the project survey reported membership in this organization. Results are also limited by the fact that they are based upon data from only those who agreed to participate. Other sampling-related issues concern the No-Camp group. Although they were included as an approximation of a "control group" because they had neither parent in camp, they may have had "exposure" to internment effects through aunts or uncles who were interned. In a somewhat similar vein, it should be noted that although the Sansei Project focused upon the effects of parental internment, in almost all cases where a parent was interned, the grandparents were in camp as well. This means that the observed findings reflect Sanseis' status as both the children *and* grandchildren of internees.

As mentioned previously, one also cannot assume that the reported "effects" from the study are causal since no true experimental design could possibly be applied to an investigation of this kind. Kitano (1986) aptly noted that

> the problem of measuring the results of an event that occurred over forty years ago is complicated by intervening years, a lack of relevant material, a complexity of the many interacting variables that affect behavior, the vagaries of memory, and the near impossibility of reconstructing an event not designed for evaluative purposes. (p. 152)

It is perhaps most useful to consider the Sansei Project data as reflecting Sanseis' perceived impact of the internment; that is, while we cannot directly measure an effect of a parent's internment, we can assess the ways in which the Sansei view the impact of that event on their current lives and their past. An additional limitation stems from the fact that, given the racial basis underlying the internment, all Japanese Americans were psychologically affected by its occurrence, even if they escaped incarceration during the war. In this sense, the term *No-Camp* is inaccurate (Nagata, 1993).

Given a life-span developmental framework, it is also likely that the perceptions shared by the Sansei in this research will change over time as both they, and their Nisei parents, move on to different stages of life. The Sansei are now parents themselves, and the Nisei are grandparents. In addition, many Nisei are in their final years. Danieli (1994a) notes that the aging process can interact with past trauma experiences to present uniquely challenging issues. Many Holocaust survivors, for example, "experience the normal phenomenon of old age as a recapitulation of Holocaust experiences" (p. 3). Feelings of abandonment, loneliness, and isolation that often accompany old age can be experienced as "a repetition of being shunned and dehumanized during and right after the Holocaust" (Danieli, 1994a, p. 3). Danieli (1994b) cites additional research documenting the implications of aging for other trauma populations, such as war veterans. How the Nisei negotiate the aging process and the degree to which the changes accompanying this process affect their postinternment lives are important questions that deserve attention. Similarly, an understanding of the ways in which the internment experience and the impact of redress are processed within and between the Nisei and Sansei generations will require ongoing research, sensitive to developmental processes.

The Sansei Project was not designed to tap psychopathology or clinical functioning. Nonetheless, several survey respondents and interviewees noted ways in which they perceived either themselves, other Sansei, or their interned parent to have suffered emotionally from the internment. One woman saw a correlation between Sansei who overdosed on drugs and their low self-esteem, which she believed stemmed from the negativity attached to their Japanese ancestry. Another described having had a recurring nightmare of being interned. In addition, a separate paper (Nagata, 1991) presents case studies in which the intergenerational impact of a parent's internment emerged. The paper also suggests factors to consider when exploring the potential impact of parental internment with Sansei clients. Family communication patterns (in particular, the role of silence about a parent's past), self-esteem, ethnic identity, and vocational choices may be related to a parent's internment experiences. In addition, Sansei concerns regarding assertiveness, independence, acceptance by others, and being uprooted or displaced (physically, socially, or psychologically) may also be linked to the internment.

Individual psychotherapy can provide one useful way for Sansei to understand the legacy of the internment. However, other forums for expression have also been therapeutic. These include group therapy (Tomine, 1991), the testimonies of Sansei who appeared before the CWRIC hearings in the early 1980s (CWRIC, 1997), and Sansei-focused and intergenerational support groups that encourage interchange around issues related to the internment. Research itself can also have a positive clinical impact by providing an outlet for unspoken feelings and concerns, and by legitimizing respondents' perceptions. Over half of the respondents in the Sansei Project wrote additional comments. Many of these were lengthy, extending for several pages, and shared personal stories and reactions. Their comments expressed gratitude to the author for conducting the study. The research let them know that they were not alone in the experience of silence or in their perceptions that their lives, too, were affected by the camps. This was not only affirming for the Sansei who participated but also demonstrated how research can be a tool for building a sense of community by linking the personal stories of individuals (Fine, 1983).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The Sansei Project supports the importance of investigating the internment's intergenerational impact. At the same time, it raises important methodological issues and additional areas for explorations (Nagata, 1990b, 1995). Many questions remain to be answered. How, for example, does sociohistorical context affect Sansei perceptions of the internment's significance? Economic friction between Japan and the United States, and conflict surrounding the Smithsonian Institute's exhibit of the atomic bomb, represent recent situations that generated tension and resulting anti-Japanese sentiments. To what extent do these dynamics reraise the internment legacy? Also, how has the success of the redress movement affected the place of the internment in the lives of the Nisei and the Sansei? Finally, as we look to the future, what cross-generational internment effects might emerge in the fourth- (Yonsei) and fifth-generation (Gosei) Japanese Americans, and to what extent will ongoing acculturative processes influence the positive and negative consequences of these effects? I hope that further research will study these and other issues to understand more fully the intergenerational consequences of the internment trauma.

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