

Ishino, Iwao. Papers.

[unlabeled binder - notes for a paper about social dynamics of Kobayashi family, 1952, Kobayashi family genealogy, correspondence 1993-2000, article Linguistic Cultural Identity of Okinawans in the U.S. by Ishihara Masahide, article Skills for Japanese Learners in EFL by Brant Kresovich, 1988]

Folder 31

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THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE PAPER

1. Introduction: describe ~~first~~ first the father and mother. Then give a brief descriptive account of the ~~farm~~ farm with reference to neighbors, nearness to highways, the buildings and their conditions, the approximate cost, etc.
2. ~~Then~~ Brief personal history of each son (This is written in draft form)
3. Next consider the collectivity ~~as~~ as an "expressively oriented" ~~g~~ action group. This involves the consideration of:
 - a) The problem of social objects as appropriately receptive (note here the 4-way classification of "love", "approval", "esteem", and "receptiveness-responsiveness" attitudes)
 - b) the problem of social objects as appropriately responsive.
 - c) the problem of appropriate context of occasions (involving third parties)
 - d) the problem of expressive loyalty (involving cathetic attachment and loyalty symbolism)

Describe the KB group from the standpoint of the Economic paradigm: i.e., write a paragraph or so on each of the following points:

- 1) the problem of remuneration
- 2) the problem of cooperation
- 3) the problem of disposal
- 4) the problem of access to facilities

These 4 problems have to be analyzed on two levels: a) from the standpoint of Roy as ego, etc: and b) from the standpoint of the ~~group~~ collectivity.

Manifest - Latent Functions of the System
What are the functional prerequisites for the system?

1. There is a need ~~is~~ for at least one son and his family to live with the old folks. To some extent, the respective brothers are ~~managing the~~ collectively handling this problem.

2. There is a problem of finding an occupation for each of the brothers. To a very important extent, the family enterprise provides definite advantages in fulfilling this requirement, as can be seen, for example, for their very satisfactory standard of living.

3. No one brother or ~~the~~ conjugal family has enough capital to start a farm such as the one they hold in common. ~~This~~

4. Since no one brother has enough other specialized training or experience, the "farm" is looked upon as an insurance to fall back upon if a "rainy" day ~~xxxxxx~~ falls upon ~~them~~ him.

5. By each brother coming to the farm, he and his brother has assumed a definite obligation to the collectivity and to those ~~xxxxxx~~ siblings who have not returned to family homestead. There is an inherent obligation for each to work to the best of his ability.

Related to the above point,

6. /~~There~~ is a direct obligation on the part of each brother to consult others in such ~~in~~ matters as the building a house, purchasing a household equipment, and even to the extent of whether or not to have a baby.* This does not simply arise out of the fact that such expenditures must come out of the common ~~family~~ household budget, but it goes deeper than that. There is a matter of jealousy between brother's families (purchases in one sense a symbols of prestige) and in the case of having babies, one potential worker is decreased from the labor pool and therefore others must take up the slack. If each brother were living on his own, such requirements to consult other would not be present.

**** In Nob's case, of "trying for a baby" was quickly broadcast throughout the family, both ~~in~~ to members living in ~~the~~ Santa Ana as well as those elsewhere. The same was true with Bill and Bette's last baby. Announcing the fact that one is "trying for a baby" in the society at large is particularly a "secret" and "personal matter"; hence the fact that it is not so in this family indicates the importance of the obligations involved here.

7. There is the problem of how to allocate "economically" the different roles each members of the household is to take. There is a definite strain between a "universalistic and a particularistic standard; to what extent should the roles be ascribed and to what extent achieved?

8. How are the "facilities" to be distributed.

9. How are the "rewards" to be made "equitably".

10. How are motivations to be governed.

11. What value-orientations do they ~~follow~~ seek; and which are in conflict with each other?

12. Are roles allocated by "appointment" or by "selection"?

13. What are the mechanisms of social control; deviant behavior.

14. How does the family-oriented pattern variables interfere with the instrumentally ~~required~~ patterns required?; how ~~do these strains~~ do these strains manifest themselves (any symptom?, eg. psychosomatic illness?; escape by "feinting" illness, recreational outlets; the function of TV; why do the folks not ~~participate~~ interact with all of them; what is the meaning of mother's aggressions toward Bette; why does Bette envy?; do ~~the~~ bearing and the raising of so many kids have anything to do with this? does Bette's refusal to talk to Nes have anything ~~to~~ with this?; Does Roy's criticism of Bill, Jr. have anything to do with his? Why did Bill blow up one day?; why was it the first time in a long that the whole family got together for a meal when Mary and I ~~was~~ was there?; why is the bookkeeping so loused up and why do they overdraw so often?

KB group is collectivity-oriented

Whatever may be the personal feelings of each individual member of the family, his role is clearly defined as "collectivity-oriented". That is whatever he does is done for the good of the group. In some ways this is taken care of by the fact no "wages" are given to each brother. Each brother's family gets an "allotment" of \$50 a month/ Food, of course, comes out of the ~~for~~ household budget; ~~so~~ so did certain purchases as a TV set, a refrigerator, an automobile, etc. The individual "profit motive" cannot be important, because there is no incentive for higher wages, no matter how hard each brother works.

KB group is functionally-diffuse

Though both Bill and Roy have gone to ~~primary~~ school to learn poultry husbandry and have a degree of competence required for such business, they are required by the nature of the situation to not limit their activities to such a narrow field. They are required to do menial tasks as feeding the chickens, repair water pipes, build chicken cages, do the bookkeeping, do the shopping, etc. They are expected to handle all phases of the business, including the ~~fixing~~ work and planning of the vegetable farming enterprise. Division of labor is very weak. Some of it is noticeable, because Roy does the killing and generally he is the only one that does it. However, on special occasions as during the holidays seasons when extra help is needed, Bill pitches in. Outsiders ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ (e.g., feed salesmen) who have to deal with this family business have often stated how confusing it was. Sometimes, they have to see Roy about it; ^{at} othertimes, Bill. Buck-passing is common. Something, like ~~xxx~~ fixing a roof, is needed to be done. Bill passes the buck to Roy and Roy does the same. The roof is not fixed until it becomes critical and one or the other grudging does it.

The allocation of special tasks is done haphazardly. It seems to be done on the basis "whoever happens to be free" at the time, or whoever has the poorest excuse for not doing it (in the case where the job is unpleasant). (over)

Another ~~illustration~~ example illustrates the point well. In July, Fred, the third son, came down to visit the folks in Santa Ana. He, as well as others, felt there was a need to run the farm on a more business-like basis, especially with the problem of dividing up the tasks more equitably and efficiently. Roy ~~was to handle the bookkeeping~~ particular assignment was to handle the bookkeeping; Bill was to be the general farm foreman ~~and~~ to handle the hired help and to supervise repairs and ~~also~~ additional building requirements; James was to handle the truck farming; etc. At the end of each, a general meeting was to be held and each person was to make a report on what he has been doing for the past month. Well, nothing was done about this, although everyone at the meeting decided it was good idea.

work

KB group/is affectively positive

There are definite commitments for Roy, ~~and~~ Bill, James, and ~~his~~ their father to do their job as if their life and livelihood depended upon it. That is to say, each job and their daily tasks are not to be considered lightly, but are thought of as if the entire household depended upon it.

There is a great deal of freedom -- and lack of overt discipline -- in the manner in which each ~~job~~ specific tasks on the farm gets done. That is to say, there are no institutionalized sanctions to see that a job gets done "according to Hoyle" or to any particular set of standards. Each member does his job more or less as "feels like it", as he ~~sees~~ thinks the job should be done. Roy, for example, often takes a nap in the afternoon, especially on those days particularly when he feels/tired or if he had been up late the previous night. Bill does the same thing. If it happens that there is a good football game on the TV both of them may come in from the field and sit for a couple of hours looking at the game. If one of them ~~needs~~ needs to do something for the JACL, he takes off "during working hours." Even the working hours are highly flexible. A good example of this was the time when the celery needed to be planted. It was a day after the rain (and this is considered a good time to plant; further more the seedlings had been ready for almost two weeks. Bill had planned to ~~not~~ plant it, but since there was a JACL bowling event, he couldn't ~~take it~~ ~~miss~~ miss it and the planting never got done ~~until~~ until several days later.

standards

KB group ~~work~~ is particularistic

The division of labor on the farm is made without general regards for universalistic standards, but depend on the particular case. Thus, functions and tasks are not meted out with any conscious attempt to be entirely fair. ~~Special jobs~~ Special jobs seem to be taken care of on the principle of "whoever happens to be free at that time". Roy's wife was supposed to have come down to handle the retail sales on a given day, but she gives some kind of excuse ("I got too much washing to do today" or we had company last night and I got

to do a lot of cleaning house today" so I can't come down, is a common excuse for not working).

Permissiveness is an element commonly found. The attitude of the parents is extremely permissive with regard to what Roy and Bill do. Bill, to a considerable extent, is permissive towards Roy as for example, of tolerating ~~approval~~ of the fact that Roy's wife is able to buy an automatic washing machine, a new refrigerator, whereas Bill wife has an old washing machine, old refrigerator, is living in crowded quarters, etc. On the other hand, Roy is considerably permissive towards Bill and tolerates a great deal of independent action which he takes in regard to the farm business. For example, though nominally, the kinds of crops to be planted is supposed to be a joint decision, Bill goes ahead on his own "hunch" and expends ~~his~~ effort and money to such endeavors. Obviously this element of permissiveness ~~(to a considerable extent)~~ is "functional" in the sense that ~~it~~ it permits in the long run an otherwise alienation of ~~attitude~~ effort and a breakdown of esprit de corp.

~~Permissiveness~~ There is, however, a limit to this permissiveness. It must be balanced by certain restrictions. These restrictions are manifested in many interesting ways. One is by means of gossip. ~~Since~~ When either Bill or Roy deems it necessary to place restrictions on the permissiveness, they sometimes "blow off" to their wives. The wives in turn tell their respective troubles to mutual friends and the friends function as ~~communication~~ channels by which these grievances are communicated to the proper recipients. The parents also function as these mutual friends do. Bill tells his father and father tactfully drops

a hint to Roy; and vice versa.

Another rather minor mechanism of social control which comes into play in connection with some of the above aspect is verbal aggressiveness. The members, especially the wives, are often "doing" and saying things which are more or less "out of line", such as by insinuation impugning ~~someones~~ someone's motive, or presuming too much. (For example, ~~Nesxxxxxxx~~ Bette ~~that~~ told ~~Bette~~ Mary when she was visiting the farm that "Nes probably had the baby in order to get away from the responsibilities of the farm work for awhile. The recent arrival, Nob has voiced similar statements to the effect that she wished she could have a baby so that she didn't to do the hard work for awhile). Some observation ~~will~~ have shown that others in the situation, often without being aware of its, tend to react to these minor deivances in such a way as to bring the deviant back "into line", by tactfully disagreeing with him, by a silence which underlines the fact that what has been said is not acceptable, & humor (e.g., by gross exaggeration of the agreement) or very often by ~~gross exaggeration (xxxxxxx)~~ as a tension-releaser. In the above case, Mary simply Bette that she heard from Nes that this last baby was an "accident".

Antoehr mechnism is ~~insult~~ ^{isolation} insulation. The fact that Bill and Roy are living

Wrong word. Parsons uses it to mean something like "exile" expectation, imprisonment, being sick.

in different houses is an extremely important mechanism for ~~min~~ social control.

Consider the situation where in ~~extravagant~~ ~~extensive~~ ~~family~~ ~~system~~ household

India and
system (as in/traditional China) where all the brothers and their respective
wives lived under one common roof and where often they would be required to

dine together. The fact that for certain hours, these ~~individual~~ ^{brother's} families
are isolated is a very important feature for promoting the stability of the

Bill's family
situation. Insofar as ~~Bill~~ ^{Bill's} by necessity, is living under the same
as the parental couple, obviously is a source of strain, especially on Betterxx,

Bill's wife.

1. On the problem of how to describe the network of relationships, consider some of the following points:

a. ~~Begin with the next six~~ Re: the relative status of the ~~three~~ wives of the three brothers. I can begin with the fundamental proposition that in the expressive sphere of orientation, nominally, Nes ~~is~~ has the superior status primarily because of the fact that she is Roy's (the eldest's) wife. Fortunately in this situation, the relative ages of Nes, Bette, and Nob rather nicely fit into this status ~~structure~~ structure. However, in the case of Bette and Nob the status differentiation is not as clear as between that of Nes and Bette. In the former case, Nob has considerably more education, came from a family which has ~~been~~ a better social standing in the eyes of all the KB, had been "abroad" (in Japan), has ~~extensive~~ more social sophistication (e.g., knowledge about the arts and ~~social~~ social amenities, etc), and a better social personality (e.g., more beguiling, less a country "bumpkin" in her mannerisms, interesting conversationalist, and perhaps, ~~better~~ prettier). In short, Nob has certain socially valued ⁱⁿ ascriptive qualities which are valued. ~~But~~ This ~~condition~~ situation, then, Bette's status vis a vis Nob's is a point of strain. However, from the standpoint of achievement, there is no question that Bette "works harder," faster, and accomplishes more for the family enterprise than either Nes or Nob. Insofar ~~that~~ as the general value-orientation of the collectivity is "ascriptively-oriented", however, ^{Bette} such "achievement-oriented" behavior ~~of Bette's~~ seems to be ~~underplayed~~ less important than would have been the case in a purely competitive field such as in ~~the~~ the business world.

b. Conditions upon which the noles are worked out. The successful performance of the roles which we will describe shortly is dependent upon certain conditions (functional requisites?). ~~These conditions are described~~ See ~~page~~ notes dated 6 Feb, p

The Problem of Social Control

It must be realized at the outset that the other side of the coin of social control is tendencies for deviant behavior. Both deviation and mechanisms of social control are relative to a) the given state of equilibrium of the social relationships system (defined in terms of normative patterns); and b) the balance of motivational forces relative to conformity with and deviance from these patterns.

There are several noticeable features ^{(mechanisms of social control operating} /in the KB system of social relations.

The first of these is support. To a greater or less degree, the wives of each brother function to give support to each brother, largely manifested in love attitudes, and their "understanding" of the situation. Support for each of the brother seems to come from these siblings which do not live on the farm and are not ~~involved~~ involved in the ~~household~~ anxieties which are created. Roy, for instance, seems to depend a great deal of support from ~~him~~ Joe, the eldest brother. (It is significant in this respect, that Roy and not Bill ~~is~~ regularly corresponds with Joe). Bill, on the contrary, through his wife draws support from Mary, the sister in the family. Mary in return seems to be ~~an~~ indicate an "understanding" for Bill's side in each specific instance. Similarly, Bill seems to be in communication with Fred a great deal more than Roy is. ~~with~~

The second feature ~~of~~ mechanism of social control ~~is~~ is permissiveness.

SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVIANT BEHAVIOR

1. In Parson's thinking, the problem of social change is not focused on simple mechanisms arising from "outside" of the social system (e.g., "diffusion", "culture contact") as the anthropologists do. Neither is his interest in the problem of change made from the standpoint of "cultural systems". (Remember the anthropologists have traditionally approached the problem of change by the use of such conceptual tools as ~~by the development of various concepts~~ "acculturation" process, "independent invention", "fashion changes", etc.).

Rather, Parsons' approach is from the standpoint of the functioning social system. He sees within the social system a number of "control mechanisms" ~~which~~ (e.g., socialization) which are continuously operating to keep the social system going as a system. At the same time, every empirical social system has ~~inherent~~ inherent in its situation, a number of tendencies for ~~deviation~~ deviation. Thus, ^{making} so to speak, there is a continual war going on between those forces/for ~~deviation~~ ^{making} deviation ~~and~~ or Alienation and those forces/conformity and stabilization. It is when these forces of ~~deviant~~ deviant tendencies get "out of hand" that social change takes place. In his words:

"Structured deviant behavior tendencies, which are not successfully coped with by the control mechanisms of the social system, constitute one of the principal sources of change in the structure of the social system."

2. To go deeper into this problem of deviation and social change, ~~fixate~~ for any given individual, ~~the~~ Parsons says, the tendency for deviance and the corresponding tendency for conformance begins ~~with~~ virtually with birth and continues throughout the life cycle in what is known as the socialization process. He states:

"The relevance of tendencies to deviance, and the corresponding relevance of mechanisms of social control, goes back to the beginning of the socialization process and continues throughout the life cycle."

~~Moreover, Parsons puts forth a number of propositions regarding this~~

Role of the Father

In a traditional family situation, it would be expected that the father, so long as he is ~~actively engaged in physical labor~~ physically capable to do so, would participate in the certain areas of the family enterprise. These may be ~~such as~~ made in such terms as helping to come to a decision on whether the family enterprise should be expanded, whether new equipment should be purchased, etc. One of the most interesting observations coming out of the role of the in the KB family group is the fact the father has structured his role in a very interesting manner. When certain to him, there has been definitely a conscious effort on the part of the father to not to make a decision or give even an opinion. He simply tells the boys, you are running the farm, boys, and I'll stick to whatever you say. The mother, is less inclined to withdraw from the problem of making a decision. She actively gives forth her opinion; but her technical knowledge of the operations of the farm ~~and~~ are limited and furthermore what she knows has been gained in the period when the farm was a very small operation. Thus, her opinions are in general discounted by the boys, except for the fact that they must reckon with her ~~and~~ "feelings" in the matter.

Now this ~~decision~~ attitude of the father not to give an opinion ~~or~~ to make a decision ~~is~~ may be much more than just a refusal to be "drawn" into

the ~~aff~~ administrative affairs of the enterprise. It may ~~be a~~

~~affair~~ ~~be~~ be a feeling that if he participated in such ^{decision-making} activities

too much, he would be jeopardizing the dignity and independence of his status.

In short it may be a way of ~~a~~ insulating himself from the particularistic

reciprocities of the ~~tax~~ ~~brother~~ sons.

The Problem of Role Conflicts

1. Ego-made role conflicts. To some extent, both Bill and Roy are involved in this because of the extent As

~~maximally~~ ~~regulate~~ a consequence, their roles ~~in~~ ~~their~~ with respect to their own families suffers. This is noticeable in many statements given by their wives and how they often envy ~~their own~~ ~~siblings~~ their own sister's husbands. Nes, for example is conscious of this when she compares herself with her sister Lilian?

2. Role conflicts arising out of the social ~~system~~ system. Fundamentally, there are role-conflicts arising out of the fact that role-expectations lie in two directions for each of the brothers. One is with respect to their own family, and one is with respect to the larger extended family. Where ^{agricultural} in cultures (like India, China, or ~~traditional~~ Japan), the ~~emphasis~~ ~~is~~ ~~on~~ ~~the~~ priority of emphasis is directed at the larger group, such conflicts tend to be minimized. (Find an example). The situation is that under American value system, primary obligation is to one's ~~own~~ nuclear family. (How this is resolved or reduced, should be clear from an analysis made with the aid of Conformity ~~and~~ or alienative dominance table ~~form~~ four, see Parsons p 259).

3. Mechanisms of social control in the social system.

Every social system has certain ~~structures~~ "mechanisms" of social control and the reduction of deviant behavior. These are:

a) From the standpoint of personality structure: The system has a number of obvious rewards for conformity and punishments for deviant behavior.

b) From the standpoint of the social system: there are number of mechanisms which may be subdivided into three classes:

1) those which "nip in the bud" tendencies to develop compulsive deviant motivation before they reach the critical stage (the ~~stage~~ "vicious circle stage" where deviant motivations become self-reinforcing).

--example, "ritual behavior" in situations of danger and threat (p 304)
-- "grief" at funeral ceremonies

2) those which insulate the bearers of ~~such~~ deviant motivation from influencing others

-- best ~~in~~ examples in ~~the~~ U.S. are ~~these~~ "crime" and "sickness"

3) these which reverse the "vicious circle processes" (~~which are~~) (He calls these mechanisms "secondary defenses").

-- "the re-equilibrating aspects are a special case of the learning process in that they involve the unlearning of the alienative elements of the motivational structure" (p 298).

-- (I suppose he means the elements of control: (pp 299-301)
support
permissiveness
restriction of permissiveness
manipulation of rewards (~~pp 299-301~~) (e.g., love, esteem)

-- example is the "youth culture", "rating and dating complex" (see p 305)

-- example "gambling" (307); "religious toleration in US" (p 308)

4. In the last analysis, the problem of social control, as Parsons looks at it, is a problem in the adjustment to strains. These strains may result in deviant motivation, or in a secondary strain which may have been introduced from a previous strain, i.e., a reaction to an earlier reaction to a strain. (2p8)

Status of Brothers;

It is interesting to note that there were many conflicts which arose from the fact that the relative status of each of the brothers were not well-defined. It is imagined that, on the one hand, the parents recognized the old-Jpse pattern of making the distinctions between older and younger. This is recognized by the fact that the two older brothers, Joe and Roy were given title to the farm and not any of the others. (Furthermore it is noteworthy that the parents knew from early high school days that Joe, the oldest, did not desire to take up farming and the parents sent him to art school).

Among the brothers, themselves, this respect for differences in age as a means of defining status is little recognized, except for the fact that the family farm is placed in the name of Roy. Insofar as competence, performance, or ability to handle the farm affairs is concerned, I think everybody concerned, recognize that Bill is the best. Hence, in certain respect his status as such is higher than Roy's. On the other hand, it is ~~xxxxxxxx~~ fact -- and a sore point -- that Roy (along with Joe) have been recognized by the parents to be the sole owners of the farm business. ~~xxxxxx~~ James is relatively a recent arrival and ~~xxxxxx~~ little can be said about him. But he wants to be recognized as having part ownership in the farm and have direct saying in its operations, as much as Roy has.

Not this ambiguity in the lack of absolute standards (e.g., age as is done in Japan) makes for conflict of roles and status, not only with respect to the parents vis a vis sons, but also vis a vis the wives of the brothers. The children of the second generation (grandchild) also suffer somewhat from this conflict, Over

but it is not as evident. Bill's
The "kids" do sometimes wonder why Roy's children
have something better than they do.

The KB family

1. Where it is

2. Description of the two places
a. nearer to Gg + SA + LA

b. Description of how makes
the place closer.

c. LA + SA paper delivered daily

d. TV

3. How long here = 40 years

4. Description of the sons + daughter
- family living in SA
" " outside SA

Division of Labor = Household

women

1. The two separate households
to maintain.

2. Child-bearing

3. Working on chickens

men

4. Men do the remaining
women help out in certain
things such as in vaccinating
birds

Division of Labor = Farm.

Home Life
+ Recreation
+ Religious

~~1. Patterns of~~

Ex. Role of family in community

1. Religious

2. Pattern of visiting

Parent-Child relationships

1. ~~Pattern~~ KB to sons

2. Each son to wife

January 17, 1998

Dear Bill:

As I promised, I am sending you this copy of Eastern Standard Time. Included also is a copy of the Table of Contents I put together for this book, inasmuch as the publishers failed to include it. I am sorry for the delay. The local bookstores were out of it and I had to special order it.

It was great seeing you again and it was nice to hear what you have been doing, especially with regard to the Rose Bowl committee work.

By the way, it would be nice if you can let your mother see the when you are through with it. You might also note that I am sending a copy of the book to your brother Don.

Regards,

Iwao

January 23,1998

Dear Jim:

At long last, I got around to making a copy of your parents' Koseki. The writings in English are those of Mary. She sat down one day with the grand daughter (Tomomi) of your mother's sister-in-law, Kitaya. This grand daughter visited us one time during her stay at Purdue University on some kind of a research project.

You told us that you might ask Ruby, Joe's wife, to do some translation work on these koseki documents. So I am sending you this copy I made. Would it help, if I made another copy for Ruby's use, or can you let her have this copy until she finishes her translation work? Please let me know. I also remember that Harriet expressed some interest in these documents. But I thought it would be better if we wait until we get Ruby's translation and that translation would make these complex documents more understandable for Harriet and her side of the family.

On another thing. I want to thank you for the materials you gave me at our last meeting. I was especially interested in reading Larry Abraham's "Call it Conspiracy." It was a real eye-opener.

Finally, how's that oral history project of Fullerton State coming along?

Well, sorry to be so late on the genealogy materials.

Best regards,

Iwao and Mary

for
Cathy

America's Kickoff for 1997

William Kobayashi serves as a member of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses executive committee.

By TAKESHI NAKAYAMA
RAFU ASSOCIATE EDITOR

It's time to stop and smell the roses.

William Noboru Kobayashi, Jr., not only takes time off from his busy management consulting job to enjoy life and smell the fragrant flower, but he works with roses as a member of the Tournament of Roses executive committee.

"The Rose Parade and the Rose Bowl game are 'America's celebration of New Year's Day. It's America's kickoff for 1997,'" declared Kobayashi.

The La Canada resident added, "It's an awesome feeling to be a part of it. It's amazing to know it is put on by volunteers, all volunteers. There is a paid executive staff, but the parade is put on mainly by volunteers."

An estimated million people go every year to the parade. This year there may be more because two schools who haven't been here in years—Arizona State University and Ohio State University—plan to bring large contingents of visitors, Kobayashi said.

Pointing out a Japanese connection, Kobayashi said that the past two years the parade has had bands from Japan. "Last year was the Mishima Girls School band. This year is another band from Japan. We try to have representatives from all over the world."

In addition, the Tournament of Roses has had a "wonderful" 30-year relationship with American Honda, Kobayashi said. "Now, Honda is the official vehicle for the parade this year. And we have had the opportunity to meet with Mr. Amemiya, president of American Honda."

"The Tournament of Roses is a boom for Pasadena's hotels and restaurants, for tourist activities and for the economy as a whole," Kobayashi said. "It provides mil-



William Kobayashi

lions and millions of dollars to Southern California in increased revenues. With the teams traveling here, it spills over even to Orange County, where the Big Ten team usually stays, in Newport Beach. It's not just the students and families, but thousands of alumni here and from out of state. Pasadena is not large enough to accommodate all of them so they spread out over all of Southern California."

Kobayashi, who first joined the Pasadena Tournament of Roses in 1982, urged Japanese Americans and Asian Americans to apply for membership on the volunteer organization that runs the Rose Bowl, the granddaddy of all football bowl games, and the Rose Parade, the largest and longest-running parade in the world.

"Minorities are in the minority," Kobayashi said. "But the Tournament of Roses is actively trying to solicit members from the community. There are very few Asians. I would like to see more Asians."

He said there are very few Japanese Americans or Japanese out of a total of 932 volunteer members. "I can think of only three Japanese Americans, including myself. There are a few more Chinese and Koreans than Japanese Americans. I would like to encourage Japanese Americans to apply."

The Tournament of Roses executive said he joined because "I wanted to be involved in the com-

munity. I wanted to give back to the community. And I'm involved with a great organization."

The executive committee, to which Kobayashi was appointed this past year for a two-year term, is the governing body of the Pasadena Tournament of Roses. It makes all executive decisions on the Rose Parade and Rose Bowl football game.

For example, this year the executive committee granted final approval for the Rose Bowl football game to join the Alliance and be part of the national championships.

"I feel excited and honored being on the executive committee (a two-year appointment)," he said.

Kobayashi's duties are to coordinate the equestrian committee. "I go to a lot of meetings, support the committee and provide feedback. Then I report to the executive committee regarding decisions to be made—such as the number of riders, the mix of riders and the finances."

Kobayashi said he likes the Tournament of Roses "very much," and added, "It's difficult not to feel you had something to do with it when the parade goes down Colorado Boulevard on New Year's Day. It's wonderful to be able to carry on the tradition for 108 years."

He won't be in the Rose Parade itself—only the president of the Tournament of Roses, William Johnstone, and his family will ride in it—but the 52-year-old Sansei will be at the parade and game. "It's part of our responsibilities," he said. "And, of course, we receive tickets as volunteers."

This will be the first time Kobayashi hasn't worked the parade. "I'm in a white suit every year," he said. "This year, I will just observe. All of our work will have been done the previous 12 months."

The Tournament of Roses volunteer was born in Olney, Maryland, where his parents, William Kobayashi, Sr., and Bette Kobayashi, relocated from a World War II internment camp for Japanese Americans at Poston, Arizona. His parents worked at a poultry farm owned by former major league baseball player Sam Rice.

"It was a difficult time for them, and it was a difficult time for most Japanese Americans," he said.

After three years in Maryland, the Kobayashi family returned to California and settled down to farm in Garden Grove.

Kobayashi, a graduate of San Jose State University with a bachelor's degree in marketing, is a retail management consultant, working with retail stores on financial management, sales, promotion and all aspects of running a retail operation.

Highlights of Kobayashi's involvement with the Tournament of Roses include "meeting, relating and becoming friends with the volunteers in the Tournament of Roses who are of a like mind. They give of their time. They are wonderful people who give their time and energy," he said. "And, there is a great

Please see Kobayashi, Page 3

Kobayashi

From Page 1
deal of camaraderie.

"Being involved as a volunteer to be apart of the parade, Kobayashi was able to serve on the Tournament of Roses Foundation (an independent body that gives donations to organizations in the greater Pasadena area for charities such as underprivileged children and other causes) as a board member and an officer for four years."

Currently, Kobayashi estimated that he will have spent 300-400 hours as a volunteer this year. Some volunteers spend just 30-40 hours.

"We give up our New Year's Eve and New Year's Day for this,"

he said. "I go home after the parade and game to eat *ozoni* and all that other Japanese New Year's food. Our family continues to celebrate New Year's Day. My mom and brother are in Orange County. My father is in Mexico."

Kobayashi and his wife, Betty, have three daughters, Jennifer, 24, who works at Warner Bros., and UCLA students, Stephanie, 21, and Kristin, 19.

Kobayashi's past activities include serving as an officer in the La Canada girls' softball organization as a coach, as vice president of the La Canada Booster Club and vice president of the La Crescenta-La Canada Jaycees.

Reflecting on his current volunteer work with the Tournament of

Roses, Kobayashi declared, "It's very intense here. It's our crunch time. I'm looking forward to it. There's excitement in knowing that the work of the organization makes things happen and gets responses. It's an awesome feeling."

The Pasadena Tournament of Roses accepts applications from Jan. 2-March 1 for volunteers who want to share in the excitement. Contact their office at 391 S. Orange Grove Blvd., Pasadena, CA 91184; telephone (818) 449-4100, fax (818) 449-9066.

Feb 1996

FAMILY STATISTICS FOR OFFSPRINGS OF SAHICHIRO AND MISAO KOBAYASHI

NAME	BIRTHDAY	WEDDING	DEATH
SAHICHIRO KOBAYASHI	1-30-1889	1915(?)	12-10-65
Father: Mansaku Kobayashi			
Mother: Katsuyo (last name unknown)			
MISAO KITAYA KOBAYASHI	10-9-1892		4-10-83
JOE TORU KOBAYASHI	10-20-1916	6-1-47	
Ruby Shibata	8-7-20		
Gary Joel Kobayashi	10-11-51	8-24-85	
Anne Chueng	10-28-48		
Aaron Joel Kobayashi	5-25-88		
Patricia Elaine Kobayashi	7-3-50		
Joyce Naomi Kobayashi	4-3-53		
ROY SUSUMU KOBAYASHI	11-26-1917	2-13-43	12-16-84
Yasuko Endo	3-23-1914		
Kalia A. Kobayashi	3-25-46		
Janet S. Kobayashi	9-12-49	12-20-69	
Travis A. McNeal	4-1-70		
Gene L. Kobayashi	9-13-51		
FRED ISAO KOBAYASHI	2-23-1919	4-11-42	4-10-66
Barbara Yasuko Mitsui	4-15-1925		1-14-86
Harriet Jean Kobayashi Po	11-22-45	6-24-67	
Jonathan Bock-Seng Po	12-13-42		
Gregory Beng-Chuan Po	3-11-69		
Kimberly Yasuko Po	10-20-71		
Peggy Ann Kobayashi Imatani	8-15-48	9-25-71	
Edward Imatani	8-22-47		
Emily May Imatani	5-30-74		
Claire Ann Imatani	4-8-77		
Irene Rae Kobayashi Senzaki	12-30-49	7-28-73	
Paul Noboru Senzaki	2-15-49		
Kevin Kazuyoshi Senzaki	8-7-86		
Miya Elyse Senzaki	6-30-90		

NAME	BIRTHDAY	WEDDING	DEATH
WILLIAM NOBORU KOBAYASHI	9-5-1920	10-18-42	
Elizabeth L. Bette Kikuchi	12-6-1921		
William N. Kobayashi, Jr.	10-1-43	8-30-69	
— Betty Hattori	2-10-46		
Jennifer Kobayashi	7-25-70		
Stephani Kobayashi	6-24-75		
Kristin Kobayashi	9-16-77		
Georgia Lynn Kobayashi Yeager	1-19-47	9-26-70	
— Terry Yeager	3-10-45		
Grant Yeager	3-16-83		
Robert Steven Kobayashi	8-14-50	10-10-83	
— Judy Duran	11-7-63		
Brian Kobayashi	4-11-84		
Robbie Kobayashi	4-4-86		
Erick Kobayashi	6-17-88		
Melissa Ann Kobayashi	5-14-92		
Don Alan Kobayashi	5-14 4-17-54	4-12-86	
— Ruth Sanchez	11-2-58		
JAMES KIYOSHI KOBAYASHI	12-1-1921	8-19-44	
Nobu Yamasaki	7-22-22		
Donna Kobayashi Moorman	3-17-46	12-4-71	
— James Moorman	10-7-36		
Ryan Moorman	2-7-75		
Scott Moorman	5-10-78		
MARY TOMIKO KOBAYASHI ISHINO	2-22-23	6-18-44	
Iwao Ishino	3-10-21		
Marilyn Janice Ishino Hovis	4-24-48	7-12-80	
— James Charles Hovis	9-28-53		
William Geoffry Tanner	8 13-72		
Koby Lynn Hovis	1-29-87		
Kristen Laurel Hovis	7-19-89		
Catherine Jo Ishino	4-16-52	7-19-86	
Daniel Isaac Schechter	6-27-42		

NAME	BIRTHDAY	WEDDING	DEATH
Mary K. Ishino Family continued-			
Ellen Susan Ishino Rankart	4-25-56 5-9-54	7-18-81	
— William Scott Rankart	4-25-56		
Cara Ishino Rankart	12-6-82		
Gianna Kaiko Rankart	12-21-87		
Tomi Ruth Ishino Pecore	8-9-62	9-29-90	
— Joseph Paul Pecore	9-28-63		

September 2, 1998

Dear Jim:

Yesterday I attended a weekly meeting of retired faculty members at the University Club and heard an interesting talk by a well-known economist, Mordechai Kreinen, who is on the Michigan State staff. I thought he gave a good overview of the present stock markets.

Then when I got home, I saw in the mail an interesting article on the same subject in the National Forum magazine. Since this article made similar points that Kreinen made, I made copies for each of our daughters and one for you.

I want to thank you for the great stuff you've been sending me right along.

Mary and I have been very busy this summer. Our daughter Cathe got a job at the Univ. Of Minnesota at Duluth. So we spent a couple of weeks helping her pack her household items here and then unpack them in Duluth. After that we hosted a couple of people from Shiga prefecture as part of the Sister State relations between Michigan and Shiga. We were also heavily involved with a week long program that celebrated 30 years of cultural exchanges. [Wearing gifts of happi coats, we even did the Bon Odori dance with the large crowd near the State Capitol grounds in Lansing]. All this means that Mary did not get to play as much golf as she usually does. Now that the guests are gone she'll be back on schedule with bridge luncheons and golf three times a week.

Take care. Hope everything goes well with you and Nob.

1736 Ann Street
East Lansing, Michigan
48823

November 11, 1996

Professor Okifumi Komesu
4-7-2 Kakazu
Ginowan, Okinawa 901-22
JAPAN

Dear Oki:

It was great to see you and Mrs. K. after an absence of all these years. It was also wonderful to hear about developments taking place in Okinawa and it stimulates me to try to visit Ryudai again.

I talked with Gene DeBenko about your visit and he was very pleased to be remembered by you. I told him about the books you had written and the fact that the MSU library had at least two of them. Gene remembered that you were a Yeats scholar. I am sorry to report that he is not in good shape physically. He's been having some back problems and undergoing physical therapy. He walks with a very slow gait and has difficulty climbing the stairs.

I want to thank you for sending us those photographs and especially for the book, "Postwar Okinawa and America: Fifty Years of Cross-Cultural Contact." edited by Teruya and Yamazato. I like the central point you make in your article in this book, namely that the American occupation of Japan was quite different from the US occupation of Okinawa.

Today was the first day of serious snow and it appears that Winter is finally arriving. I must get my snow-blower in proper order and start thinking about winterizing our house. When it gets cold like this, I think of the warm days I spent on Okinawa.

I hope everything goes well with you and your family.

Sincerely yours,



UNIVERSITY OF THE RYUKYUS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH COLLEGE OF LAW AND LETTERS

1 Senbaru, Nishihara, Okinawa 903-01, Japan
Phone : (098)-895-2221 Ext. _____

〒903-01

沖縄県西原町千原 1

琉球大学法文学部英文学専攻

電話 (098)-895-2221 (代表) 内線: _____

October 24, 1996

Dear Dr. and Mrs. Ishino,

It was really exciting to see you folks again after so many years and renew our friendship. We were happy to find you and other friends of ours well and prosperous as ever.

We were overwhelmed with your kindness in taking us around to revisit the places of warm memories of our days in East Lansing. We had not expected to cover half the territory that we did in such a short stay. We thank you kindly for making our brief visit so very worthwhile. We also thank you for the buffet-style dinner and the tea at your home. For my part, I not only enjoyed the meal but also appreciated the opportunity to realize anew the real power of America's economy at the level of the people's daily living. Americans are still affluent and on top of the world (literally and figuratively).

Amateur observations aside, I'd like to thank Dr. Ishino for taking the trouble to give us a lift to the Lansing airport on the morning of our departure. It gave us ample time to have coffee and to shop before checking in. The plane flew to Chicago on schedule and we made our connection there without a hitch. But our flight to Tokyo was not as smooth. Our arrival in Narita was delayed and we had to stay overnight in Tokyo. The United Airlines reimbursed us for the hotel charges, so it was rather a welcome rest for me, as I was nearly exhausted after a long day from the Kellogg Center.

It was nice seeing you again in East Lansing, but we do want to see you in Okinawa next time. You should come back and see the changes that have taken place on the island. The Shuri Castle, partly restored on the former Ryudai campus, alone is something worth seeing. We hope that you will give us an opportunity to be of service to you in return for your kindness in East Lansing.

With warmest regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Chi Hansen".

P.S. I sent you a book a week or so ago. It is a collection of essays by the members of the Ryudai American Studies Society. The English résumé will give you some idea of its content.





Okifumi Komesu

4-7-2 Kakazu

Ginowan, Okinawa 901-22

JAPAN

BY AIR MAIL



Dr. & Mrs. Iwao Ishino

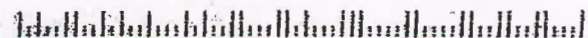
1736 Ann Street

East Lansing, MI 48823

U.S.A.



48823-3706 03





Japan Airlines
7-3, Marunouchi 2 chome
Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 100
Japan

September 27, 1993

Prof. Iwao Ishino
Michigan State University
1736 Ann Street
East Lansing
MI 48823
U.S.A.

Dear Professor Ishino,

Please allow me to write to you. I am father of Iwao Kobayashi whom you and your wife kindly met at the airport upon his first arrival on Aug. 21. Not only you took him to the place where he was to stay for years to come, but also most kindly you have encouraged him at several occasions at dinners in the last couple of weeks.

I wish to take this opportunity to most sincerely thank your kindness for looking after my son whom I love so much.


I am currently retained by Japan Airlines as a Special Advisor to Managing Director and Sr. Vice President, International Marketing. More exactly I served JAL for 37 years and retired officially from the position of Vice President, Industry Affairs at the end of July this year. Since August this year onwards, I am in the current position.

Iwao already graduated from the University of Tokyo Fishery last March and secured Bachelor Degree. He is eager to study further his own major at the MSU.

As a father, I consider it part of my obligation to allow him to meet his desire within my own capacity provided he should realize that the way he has opted is at his own choice and responsibility. He is still quite young and in fact not experienced and naturally he may need kind hands of people around him from time to time.

I and my wife would be most appreciative if you and your wife could render kind advices to my son whenever he might need such.

Cordially,

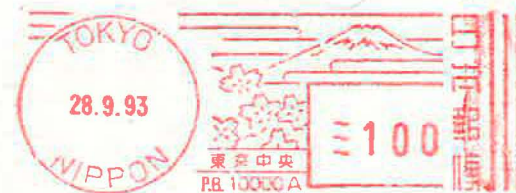

I. Kobayashi
Special Advisor
to Managing Director

YK/bmw



Japan Airlines

7-3, Marunouchi 2-chome
Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 100
Japan



Prof. Iwao Ishino
1736 Ann Street
East Lansing
MI 48823
U.S.A.

VIA AIR MAIL





KOSUGA & CO., LTD.

2-15-4, HIGASHI-NIHONBASHI, CHUO-KU, TOKYO, 103-0004 JAPAN
TEL: (03)3862-6711 FAX: (03)3862-6823 <http://www.kosuga.co.jp>

MERCHANDISE DPT.

TEL: (03)3862-6725
FAX: (03)3862-6826

Dear Sirs,

We regret to inform you that Ichiro Kosuga, our director counselor, passed away on December 30 in his house in Tokyo.

The funeral is to be held on February 1st, Thursday, from 1:00 to 3:00pm at Honganji Tukiji-betsuin Daini-dendoukaikan, 3-15-1, Tukiji, Chuo-ku, Tokyo. A private burial service has been taken beforehand.

We know you join in our prayers and in our sorrow.

Best regards,

Yasumasa Kosuga
President
Kosuga & Co., Ltd.

KOSUGA & CO., LTD.

15-4, 2-CHOME, HIGASHI NIHONBASHI,
CHUO-KU, TOKYO, 103 JAPAN

BY AIR MAIL

Dr. & Mrs. Iwao Ishino
1736 Ann Street, East Lansing,
Michigan 48823-3706
U.S.A.



AIR MAIL

488233706 03





KOSUGA & CO.,LTD.

2-15-4, HIGASHI-NIHONBASHI, CHUO-KU, TOKYO, 103-0004 JAPAN
TEL: (03)3862-6711 FAX: (03)3862-6823 <http://www.kosuga.co.jp>

YASUMASA KOSUGA
PRESIDENT
TEL: (03)3862-6711
FAX: (03)3862-6823

1st February, 2001

Dear Sirs,

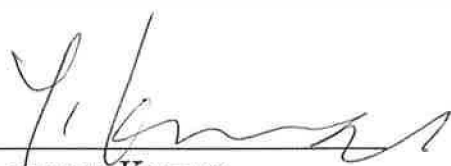
It is to be regretted indeed to inform you that my father, Ichiro Kosuga passed away 11:30 am on December 30, 2000. He had been very healthy and active until the morning of the day. Suddenly his heart attacked and the attack was so strong that no one could save his life. Only relief for us was he breathed his last in his bed with short period of pain.

He is becoming eighty-eight years old on February 13, 2001. Eighty-eight is the luckiest number for human life in Japan, so that we have planned a big party for him. All of our families are so disappointed he could not wait till the day.

In the past thirty years he enjoyed oil painting and drew five hundred paintings. Among those he was awarded a prize from our Prime Minister. Enclosed were five sheets of post card of his paintings for his memory.

All of my family join me in sending best regards to all of you.

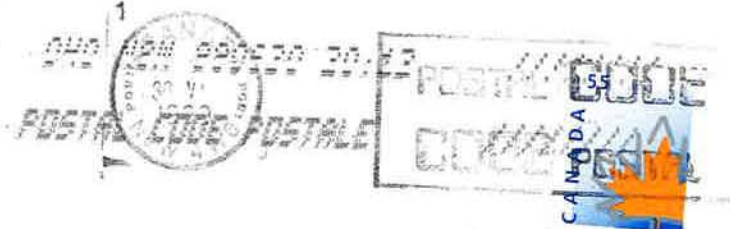
Sincerely yours,


Yasumasa Kosuga

Akira Kubota
1796 California Avenue
Windsor, Ontario N9B 3T5
CANADA
Tel.: 519-971-9523 !
Fax: 519-971-7680

←
10-10-ATT-1

Professor Iwao Ishino
1736 Ann St.,
East Lansing, MI 48823
U.S.A
Tel.: 517-351-8629



48823+3706



Akira Kubota

To: Ishino, Iwao
Cc: Kubota, uwindsor
Subject: Visit

Dear Professor Ishino:
(O0621ISH.INO WORD INCA60)

Thank you for your kind letter of June 12.

A few examples of days when I can drive up to East Lansing are:

Wednesday, July 8, Thursday, July 9
Wednesday, July 15, and Thursday, July 16

Should I come to your office in the University or your house?

Incidentally, I probably made a mistake in telling you my address. It is 1796 California Avenue and not 1976 California Avenue. Out local Canadian mailmen were kind enough to detect my error and delivered the mail at the correct address.

Yours sincerely,

Akira Kubota
Akira Kubota



Copy of the E-mail
sent on June 21.
Ivan called him on phone
11:45 -
agreed to meet
sometime in
mid-August

June 12, 1999

Dear Dr. Kubota:

Thanks very much for the pictures and the nice letter you sent me. Somehow your letter was misplaced and I have not seen until a few minutes ago.

Yes, I would be happy to talk about the oyabun-kobun relations with you. Please tell me when you would like to get together with me on this topic. Except for next week, my schedule is flexible.

As for your question about our recent work, here are the details. The book is titled: "Knowledge-Drive Work: Unexpected Lessons from Japanese and United States Work Practices." The principal author of the book is Joel Cutcher-Gershenfeld and the book is published by Oxford University Press, 1998. It is a part of Oxford's Japan Business and Economics Series.

By the way, I think you can reach me by email: [ishinoi @ pilot.msu.edu](mailto:ishinoi@pilot.msu.edu) Since I am just learning how to use my computer, I thought it best if I write this letter in the traditional way—by post office mail. Perhaps next time I can reach you through the email system.

Sincerely,

Iwao Ishino

1976 California Avenue,
Windsor, Ontario N9B 3T5
CANADA
Tel.: (519) 971-9523
Fax: (519) 971-7680
akubota@uwindsor.ca

Professor Iwao Ishino
1736 Ann At.,
East Lansing, MI 48823
U.S.A
Tel.: 517-351-8629

Dear Dr. Ishino:
(O0515ISH.INO WORD TOSHIBA86)

May 15, 1999

It was nice to see you at the JACL function a few months ago.

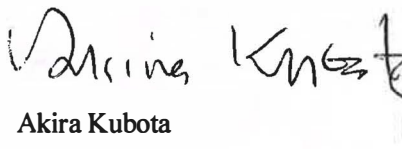
I just did not get around to sort my photographs until a few weeks. I am probably just too inefficient to take care of these things promptly.

At that meeting both you and wife kept referring to Okinawa. You were probably thinking about Dr. Akira Kobasigawa, a noted psychologist. He also once taught at the University of Windsor. Although he lately experienced a serious illness, I am told that he has nicely recovered.

I wonder if you can spare something like 30 minutes so that I can learn more about the book that you wrote with Dr. Bennett many decades ago. While I suspect that *oyabun-kobun* relations are no longer one of the topics in which you are currently deeply involved, it looks to me that it is still useful to talk with one of the authors of this book. I have been working the family-like structure of Japanese society for some years.

Incidentally, although I explored Internet, I could not identify a new book you talked about at the JACL meeting. Is it possible for you to send me a set of key bibliographic information on this publication.?

Yours sincerely,


Akira Kubota

PAR AVION

AIR MAIL

Akira Kubota
1796 California Avenue
Windsor, Ontario N9B 3T5
CANADA
Tel.: 519-971-9523
Fax: 519-971-7680



Professor Iwao Ishino
1736 Ann St.,
East Lansing, MI 48823
U.S.A
Tel.: 517-351-8629

AIR MAIL



Dear Dr. ISHINO

This is copies of my 'personal
Statement' I mailed to graduate
admission offices.

I really appreciate your help.

from IWAO KOBAYASHI

Graduate Coordinator
Department of Health Education & Recreation
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
Carbondale, IL 62901

Dear Professor:

I understand that Mr. Iwao Kobayashi from Tokyo University of Fisheries and from Michigan State is applying for admission to your program. I have gotten to know Mr. Kobayashi since last summer when I volunteered to host new students arriving from Japan. My wife and I took an immediate liking to him and we have had him to our home on a number of occasions. Although I have not had him in any of my classes, I have come to know him rather well and seen him develop both intellectually and socially during this academic year.

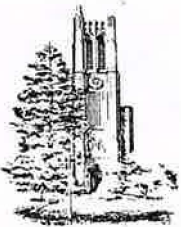
Mr. Kobayashi arrived on this campus with the purpose of improving his English language skills and to prepare for graduate work in the field of fisheries and wildlife. In the course of this academic term's work, having taken courses in "Natural Resources Planning and Policy," "Research and Environmental Economics," he has shifted his career interests somewhat from the basic research to more applied work. He now pictures himself as seeking a position in an agency which deals with the development of parks, recreation projects, and tourism--an agency that falls within Japan's Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries. To me this shift in his focus makes a lot of sense because I think there is a growing demand for endeavors in this applied area in Japan. I do not know to what extent this shift in focus was influenced by his father, a retired executive of Japan Air Lines, but I think his father would be pleased with this new direction.

Again, I must repeat that I did not have Mr. Kobayashi in any of my classes so I cannot judge his writing or other academic trait. But I regard him as a bright, well-mannered, and disciplined individual.

Sincerely yours,

Iwao Ishino
Professor Emeritus

file:
Biography



COLLEGE OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE

Department of
Anthropology

Michigan State University
Baker Hall
East Lansing, Michigan
48824-1118

517/353-2950
FAX: 517/336-2363

MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

January 18, 1995

Graduate Coordinator
Department of Health Education & Recreation
Southern Illinois University at Carbondale
Carbondale, IL 62901

Dear Professor:

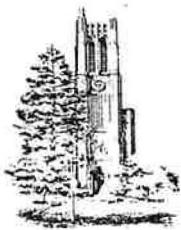
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Iwao Ishino
Professor Emeritus



COLLEGE OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE

Department of
Anthropology

Michigan State University
Baker Hall
East Lansing, Michigan
48824-1118
517/353-2950
FAX: 517/336-2363

Ishino
Bioethics

MICHIGAN STATE
U N I V E R S I T Y

January 18, 1995

Graduate Coordinator
Department of Recreation Management and Therapeutic Recreation
University of Wisconsin - La Crosse
Wittich Hall
La Cross, WI 54601

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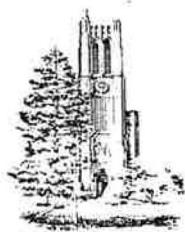
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Sincerely yours,



Iwao Ishino
Professor Emeritus



COLLEGE OF
SOCIAL SCIENCE

Department of
Anthropology

Michigan State University
Baker Hall
East Lansing, Michigan
48824-1118
517/353-2950
FAX: 517/336-2363

STATEMENT OF INTENT

January 8, 1995

IWAO KOBAYASHI

My career goals:

My career goals are to work globally, especially in Environmental Agency of the United Nations, the exact name of the organization of which is yet to be confirmed. Also, I would seek a job in the Environmental Agency, Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries of Japan, commercial enterprises which directly deal with developments of parks and recreational projects, health clubs or tourism agencies. I shall be willing and prepared to make myself available with any opportunities where my accomplishment in the Master's degree is effectively utilized.

My academic goals:

My objective is to be successfully awarded the Master's degree at CMU as a proof of my competence, guts and qualification for the future career. Also, I would like to have valuable experience carried with the programs that I can not get from anywhere else. To be honest, the programs offered at CMU seem to be the best suited to my interests; I am very interested in commercial and ecological management of natural resources for recreation, parks, & leisure services. Therefore, it is my strong desire to study the curricula on those areas. Through the programs, I expect to acquire leadership-taking, problem-solving skills, application of concepts into practical actions, and techniques to evaluate the outcomes.

Reasons I need to study Recreation, Parks, & Leisure Services Administration program (M.S.A.):

I have a strong belief that cultural and spiritual understandings among people is an ultimate key for especially different nationals to build truly creative and friendly partnership. And I think one of the effective way to bring such understanding is by means of weaving waves of recreation. The world today, where life seems to remain rather inhumane, if not at all compete lack of human touch, has universal diseases such as growing environmental problems, increasing crimes, and drug uses among the young generations. Recreation, parks, and leisure services, in my view, have a big place here to help people realize significant value of life and contribute to the communities.

For example, in Tokyo, Japan where I was born and grew up for over the two decades, I have observed environmental and economic changes this city has

progressed and those effects towards life style of the people. When I was a child, a lot of playgrounds were available where sound human nature could be fostered and friendship were grown. However, most of them have been replaced by office buildings or houses to reduce the number of playgrounds to the minimum. As a result, not only the children but the adults in Tokyo have very limited places and opportunity to spend their leisure time (outdoor).

Fortunately, my parents often took me to skiing, campings and trips abroad so that I could get new experiences and opportunities to personally see, touch and listen to another world than the ones I used to know by myself. They were truly unforgettable memories. Particularly, at the age of 14, my parents let me join a home-stay program and I stayed with an American family in N.H. for a month. It was a wonderful experience. At the same time, it gave me a clue for myself to consider what a human life should be. I might start appreciating how good and significant meaning a recreation has to one's life from here.

Therefore, I consider doing some activities at my leisure may be just more than pleasure or fun. Whether consciously or unconsciously, it creates positive effect on my sense of value. Interests towards this concept have grown up in my mind, prompting myself to enthusiastically study this field more in depth as I have noticed its important and positive roles towards human spiritual, emotional and physical aspects.

I have come to firm conclusion that outstanding level of philosophy, theory and applications I may learn at CMU could definitely help me satisfy my wishes and goals that I would pursue in the future. As I see it stands today, recreation is definitely in the area where 'its effect being so much important to human life and yet its appreciation is so vague' seems to prevail. This situation has to be changed.

Experiences I feel are relevant to studying Recreation, Parks, & Leisure Services Administration program (M.S.A.):

- 1) Studying at Tokyo University of Fisheries and at Michigan State University, I have acquired broad knowledge and skills about natural resources planning & policy, environmental issues, and specific biological concepts that are related to the field of Recreation, Parks, and Leisure Services Administration.
- 2) I was a member of an international exchange organization called 'LABO' (Japan) which promote cultural communications (plays, dances etc.)

among different nationals. Participating in home-stay program run by 4-H (U.S.) and LABO, I have very special interest in the field of recreation services.

- 3) I have communicated many people from different backgrounds through the activities I experienced (marathon, karate, judo, Japanese sword practices, mountain bicycling, and playing guitar etc.) and have appreciated positive impact of recreation on people.

Philosophy of mine:

I came to Michigan State University after I received bachelor's degree from Tokyo University of Fisheries. At that time, I planned to enroll first as an undergraduate student with Fisheries and Wildlife major, and then later go to graduate school as my English improves more.

However, as I study the field of Fisheries and Wildlife, I have found Recreation, Parks, and Leisure Services (RPLS) more useful for me to achieve my academic and future goals. Because;

- 1) RPLS gives me more qualified and eligible knowledge, skills and background for my desired workplaces.
- 2) RPLS serves the public more directly by making human and natural resources readily accessible and available in broader ways - commercially, educationally, academically, therapeutically, aesthetically, spiritually, and physically.
- 3) From my own experiences, appreciation of important role and effective use of recreation on my life has prompted me to study RPLS more in detail and in depth.

I understand that I do not have a bachelor's degree in RPLS. However, I have degree in Fisheries and acquired environmental sciences, management sciences, and other related applied fields that provide good background for graduate study.

In addition, I have been taking some interdepartmental courses (also considered as graduate study level) between Fisheries/Wildlife and RPLS. Therefore, I truly feel that I can achieve successful study in the graduate

school at CMU.

Just for your information, the interdisciplinary classes I am NOW taking are:

- Natural Resources Planning & Policy.
- Resource & Environmental Economics.
- Introduction to Parks, Recreation, and Leisure.

Dec. 13, 1997

Dear Dr. & Mrs. Ichino,

Thinking of you at this special time, I sincerely hope that the past year has been a prosperous and peaceful one for you.

Here things have been a bit hectic due to the current national financial turmoil and the local issues of U.S. military base. A number of major banks and securities firms have gone bankrupt and a fear of national financial breakdown is spreading among the people. Locally, the issue of constructing a floating air base along the coast of Henoko (in the north) is a current topic of hot debate dividing the opinions of the population and the sentiments of Gov. Ota himself. This proposed landing strip is to fill the gap which will be left by the proposed derequisition of Futenma M.C. airfield.

There has been some bright outlook, also. Okinawan literature has come to attract nation-wide attention. Our writers have recently won a number of nationally prestigious literary prizes including the much-coveted Akutagawa Prize which traveled south of Kagoshima over to Okinawa in two successive years since last year. Various nationally circulated newspapers and magazines are running feature stories about contemporary Okinawan literature. I'm rather skeptical about the real strength of our writers. I shall enclose an English translation of an essay I did for the Okinawa Times.

Tomiko and I are doing well. Tomiko has retired and is now a full-time housewife. I'm enjoying work at my new post (Okinawa Kokusai Daigaku).

We send you our best wishes for the season and a bright, healthy 1998.

Sincerely,
Oki & Tomiko Kameura



紅型カード

紅型（びんがた）は、海外交易で栄えた
琉球王国時代の伝統を今につないで、多彩、幽艶。

石野 朝季

BINGATA CARDS

BINGATA maintains the traditions of the Ryukyu Kingdom
that prospered by foreign trades.

Chōki Ishino

NBC
Made in Japan
NT-621

作：佐藤真佐子
「那覇港送迎の図：朝貢・冊封」

Okinawan Literature at a Crossroads

Okifumi Komesu

The glory of the 117th Akutagawa Prize went to Shun Medoruma on July 17, 1997. My hearty congratulations to him on the occasion of the honor.

The literary award has crossed the East China Sea to Okinawa for the fourth time and in two successive years, a situation inconceivable three decades ago when it was often bemoaned by the Okinawans that theirs was a land of literary sterility. Far from being denigrated in this way, Okinawa is even envied nowadays as a rich "literary mine" (*Bungakukai* [The Literary World], April 1997). The latest developments thus evoke a thousand emotions in the minds of those Okinawans who experienced a "Slough of Despond" in the 60's.

Those critics and writers in Tokyo who eulogize Okinawa as fertile literary ground unanimously mention Okinawa's peculiar culture and history. Indeed, they are commonly attracted to Okinawa's "deep soul stratum and vicious war experience" (Wahei Tatematu) as the powerful twin themes of current Okinawan literature.

Hearing such reactions, we suddenly become aware, on our part, of the fact that most of the prize-winning stories by our writers are woven around those two themes. Indeed, the tendency is so salient as to leave one with a disconcerting impression that our writers might have lapsed into a thematic stereotype that creative artists must make every effort to avoid.

I must confess, however, that I had written an essay some thirty years ago for *New Okinawan Literature* in which I contended that the way out of the impasse of so-called literary sterility was for the Okinawan writers to stop worrying about the literary weather at the "center" and start cultivating their own native

soil and grow exquisite flowers on that very tilth. The literary term "myth" which I used in the essay was not understood quite correctly at the time, but I must admit that I am pleased with the subsequent development which has led to the current appraisal of Okinawan literature as being "fertile" by taking root in our native soil.

However, such a trend in Okinawan literature has suffered severe criticism from a reputed American scholar and critic of modern literature, Professor Ihab Hassan. Professor Hassan spoke as a key-note lecturer at the Okinawa Literary Forum which was held in Naha last December.

Professor Hassan believes that "myth" as a form of literary expression has been thoroughly dehydrated and has lost its creative energy. Moreover, it is not without danger of causing atavistic nationalism to raise its ugly head. Now that the world has begun to live at the margin and the dikes that separate people from one another have started crumbling away thrusting them into a frantic epoch of pandemonium where the energies of catabolism and patabolism go berserk in all directions, what humanity needs is a universal realm of spiritual values, irreducible to a particular tribe or a particular culture. Such a spiritual realm must be informed by "new forms of cosmic myth," by "new forms of planetary and ecological humanism," and by "the myth of myths" which is yet to be born. This "myth of myths," Professor Hassan fervently proclaimed, would "reveal a garden adrift without guard rails, floating within sight of the two brightest stars in the sky, Sirius and Canopus, a garden called Earth."

Professor Hassan concluded his lecture with a rhetorical question: "Is it too presumtuous to hope that Okinawan writers [who are the descendants of the Ryukyuans who claimed to be 'bridges across nations'], with the fullest fidelity

to the particulars of their history, can help us to rediscover the unwalled nature of reality...?"

Professor Hassan's tone in his concluding remarks was courteous as became a guest of the Forum, but it underwent a complete metamorphosis in the version he rewrote for a noted American literary journal, *World Literature Today* (Winter 1997). There Hassan declares, again rhetorically: "In that singular sense [that the cosmic 'myth of myths' would reveal an unwalled garden of Earth], does not great art disengage 'soul from place and history'?" — an unequivocal appeal for the relocation of literature from native grounds.

Professor Hassan's claim may be contested in a number of ways, but we must realize that we cannot remain smug about the now-extolled local potentiality for creative art if we are to seek a global recognition of our literature. Professor Hassan's lecture should be taken as a warning against such complacency. So we may well have arrived at a crossroads for our literature where we must explore the way from the local to the universal.

July 26, 1997

Dear Ihab,

The above is an English version of my essay for *The Okinawa Times*. I am sending you this as it concerns your lecture in Naha and its revised version for *World Literature Today*.

I have received your letter from Europe and my apologies for not responding to it promptly. I have been occupied with writing, and revising for publication afterwards, my special lecture for the annual conference of the Okinawa Foreign Language and Literature Society, which was held last Sunday at Meio University in Nago, a beautiful town in the north surrounded by green hills and facing the deep blue Nago Bay.

August 17, 2000

Dr. Iwao Ishino
1736 Ann Street
East Lansing, MI 48823
USA

Dear Ishino-sensei,

It was nice seeing you again here in Okinawa after so many years. I only wish that Tomiko and I could have done more for you while you were here, but there were too many people besides us who wanted to have visit with you at that rare opportunity. You are too popular among the Okinawans.

Many thanks for sending me newspaper clippings about the Okinawa Summit Conference, the Nikkei activities, and Ireland. They brought me valuable and interesting information on those topics. I appreciate your thoughtfulness and your taking the trouble of collecting and sending them to me.

About the Summit Conference, all I can say is "Thank God it's over and we are back to our normal life!" We live so close to the Futenma USMC airbase that our life was affected not a little by the Conference-related goings-on. Our area, for instance, was constantly patrolled by the police and was subjected to frequent traffic inspection.

I have some misgivings about the hopes expressed for a Gaelic revival. A similar linguistic phenomenon can be seen here in Okinawa. With the growing interest among the mainland Japanese in things Okinawan, and the current success of Okinawans in the entertainment world, the Okinawan language has also become "chic" like Gaelic in Ireland. But I don't think that will revitalize Gaelic or Okinawan, or infuse into them creative energy as the languages of culture. I may be rather pessimistic, but I think they are both moribund.

The Nikkei Conference reminds me of similar events that have been staged by Overseas Okinawans and their descendants in recent years. The WUB (World Uchinanchu Brotherhood) is motivated both by economic and cultural interests. Is this all part of the contemporary multiculturalism?

I am keeping busy writing papers for the 50th year jubilee conference of IAUPE (the International Association of University Professors of English), which will take place in Bamberg, Germany in August 2001. I have been called on to contribute a paper to a commemorative volume and to read another at the conference itself. The latter can wait, but the other one has to be submitted by the 1st of October this year. I hope your summer is less hectic than mine.

Tomiko joins me in the best wishes to you and Mrs. Ishino and all the members of your family.

Sincerely,


Oki Komesu

*P. S. Thank you for conveying our gifts
to the Meads and the Barretts.*

June 25, 2000

Dr. Okifumi Komesu
4-7-2 Kakazu
Ginowan-shi, Okinawa 901-2226
JAPAN

Dear Oki:

It has been a month since we have seen you and it is about time that I write you a letter of thanks for all you and your wife have done in hosting us during our wonderful stay in Okinawa. Since getting back from Okinawa, I have run into a number of people who were interested in what was happening there. For example, I ran into Pat Barrett at the International Center and told him about the University there and about your interests in W. B. Yeats. At the retirees' Tuesday luncheons at the University Club I talked to several people who visited Okinawa or worked there. Included in this group is Miller Perry, who coordinated the Ryudai project for MSU in the 1960s.

We also have been travelling a lot. First we went California to help our daughter, Tomi, who has twins. Her husband was away, so she wanted us to give her hand in managing things. Then we went to Georgia where our granddaughter was graduating from high school. I was amazed at how these teen-agers get so involved with parties, etc. with these rites of passage. Finally, we are going out to California again because Mary's brother, Jim, is very sick and his longevity is in doubt.

Even though I have not written I want to assure you that I kept thinking again and again what a good time we had in Okinawa, thanks especially to you and your wife. In particular I was pleased to visit your home and hear about your various projects, including the work on the Japanese-English dictionaries. My wife Mary was greatly appreciative of the trouble Tomiko took to arrange that superb luncheon of faculty wives. [By the way, my wife's Japanese name is also Tomiko and we named our fourth daughter, Tomi, but left out the "ko".]

I don't know whether you remember it or not, but I mentioned an article you might want to see, an article dealing with the history of Japanese immigration to the US and Latin America. My filing system being what it is, I had a little difficulty retrieving the article. In any case, I finally found it and excerpted a good part of it, sections that might be of interest to you. Having lived in the US for several years, ~~I thought you might get an~~ *be interested in* ~~understanding of~~ the legacy that the early Japanese and Okinawan immigrants have left us.

Please convey our best wishes to Tomiko and your family. Thanks again for all you have done for us.

Sincerely yours,

July 2⁶~~8~~, 2000

Professor Masahide Ishihara
University of the Ryukyus
Department of Languages and Culture
1 Senbaru, Nishihara
Okinawa 903-0213
JAPAN

Dear Professor Ishihara:

I was rather disappointed with the meager news item that came out of Okinawa during the economic summit meeting there. I know there were other competing events such as the Palestine-Israel conference in the United States. But in my opinion there should have been much more background information about the Ryukyus conference.

Enclosed is a sample of news items that I found in the New York Times. I hope they give you some idea where American journalists have focused their attention regarding the Okinawa summit meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Iwao Ishino

July 26, 2000

Dr. Okifumi Komesu
4-7-2 Kakazu
Ginowan-shi, Okinawa 901-2226
JAPAN

Dear Oki:

Yesterday, in the New York Times, I came across an article entitled, "Gaelic Comes back on Ireland's Byways and Airwaves." So I made a copy of it and am sending it to you because it reminded me of the article you wrote when we visited you in May.

While I am at it, I thought I would send along two other sets of clippings. One set has to do with the little reporting that has appeared in the New York Times regarding the economic summit meeting held in Okinawa a few days ago. I was very unhappy about this under-reporting.

The other set has to do with the "Nikkei 2000 Conference" held in San Francisco in April. I don't know how much interest you have in this bit of ethnic history, but the articles should tell you a little about our sense of community or the lack of it.

My wife sends her best to Tomiko.

Sincerely,

Iwao Ishino

Gaelic Comes Back on Ireland's Byways and Airwaves

By DAN BARRY

BALLINAHOWN, Ireland, July 18 — From this isolated region of rock and bog on the wind-blasted western edge of Ireland, there rises a television tower more than 100 feet into the air. Its purpose is to make the ancient Irish language ready for prime time.

The adjacent building — so modern for this setting that it stands out like a NASA station planted on the moon — is the headquarters for TG4, a government-financed television station whose purpose is to promote and celebrate Gaelic. Spliced between the classic movies and top-40 music shows broadcast in English, there are cartoons, news, soap operas and even a situation comedy in Gaelic, the lilting language that continues to fight for its life.

The station, with a staff whose average age is 23, has brought a certain edge to an ancient language. Perhaps as a result, the number of its viewers has doubled in the last year, to about 2 percent of a market that includes the BBC and the dominant national station, RTE.

On a larger scale, the station's modest success reflects Ireland's recent warming to a language that had been in sharp decline during the last two centuries. Once perceived as the tongue of the poor and uneducated — those from the "back of beyond" — Gaelic is coming to represent the self-confidence born of recent economic and cultural success.

Gaelic, it seems, has become chic. At the very least, said Cilian Fennell, TG4's programming director, "resistance is lowering."

Pubs and shops are rechristening themselves with Irish names. Men once known as Patrick now call themselves Padraig (pronounced POH-rig); women named Mary now prefer Maire (pronounced MOY-ra). Thirty years ago, Ireland had about a dozen primary schools that taught in Gaelic; now it has 134 all-Gaelic schools, with 21,000 students.

"It's a confidence thing," said Eamon O Cuiv (o CWEEV), the Irish government's junior minister overseeing the growth of the language

and the grandson of one of modern Ireland's founding fathers, Eamon De Valera. "More and more people are realizing that it is a functional language, as much as English is."

Although Europe has largely been moving in the direction of removing national boundaries, local cultures and languages have been reasserting their strength. Historians say that more people appear to be interested in protecting minority languages and asserting local differences than at any other time in the last 100 years.

Programs supporting the use of local or regional languages have been growing in France, Spain, the Netherlands, Wales and Finland.

When the Irish Free State was established in 1922, its Constitution designated Gaelic as the national language. Since then, the government has tried, more diligently at times than at others, to resurrect a once-dominant language that had been sidelined by English, emigration and the potato famine of the mid-19th century.

The success of those efforts was modest. Although taught as a mandatory course in the country's schools, the language came to be seen as a hindrance, particularly to those who emigrated to the United States and England. English was perceived as the language of power, Gaelic as the language of poverty.

Gaelic, or Irish, came to be used more often as a symbol than as a means of communication. For some it was associated with Sinn Féin and the nationalist movement; for others it was a battle cry for those who felt that the country's rural nature was being subsumed by development. Some came to see Gaelic as a statement by people who wanted to flaunt their devotion to Irish custom.

Even today, proponents of the language do not entirely trust figures from the 1996 census indicating that 43 percent of the people in Ireland claim to have some competence in Gaelic — up from about 33 percent in 1991. They say that people who understand Gaelic do not necessarily speak it with any regularity. Besides, they say, the language will never flourish when the best textbooks are published only in English, when even

government forms written in Gaelic are hard to come by.

There is also concern that Gaelic is waning in the corners of Ireland where it has traditionally been the language used at home. Development of those rural areas — which include this stretch of County Galway called Connemara — is coming at the expense of Gaelic.

The affluent who are buying summer homes here bring their English as well as their BMW's. Natives who left during the recession of the 1980's are returning with English-speaking spouses. And, of course, English-lan-

guage television continues to seduce.

The government has several agencies dedicated to cultivating Gaelic, and it recently set up a commission to determine the extent of its decline in those areas.

[But a taste of the task before the government came on July 20 when a witness in a high-profile corruption case exercised his right to respond in Gaelic to questions put to him in English. The judge became so frustrated with the young interpreter's misinterpretations that he began to translate the testimony himself.

[Nor is everyone enamored of the

continuing obsession with Gaelic. "After 80 years of concerted linguistic social engineering, we are probably seeing the last generation of native Irish-speaking children in those few and fast-shrinking Gaeltacht areas," Kevin Myers, a columnist for The Irish Times, wrote on July 21. "Irish will soon be spoken as Latin was in medieval Europe, a learned language of a cultural elite."]

Gearoid O Tuathaigh (GAR-od o-TOO-hig), a professor of modern Irish history at the National University of Ireland, Galway, and a leading advocate of Gaelic, said that while

the language continued to struggle for its life, the recent signs of resurrection were encouraging — and very much deserved.

First there is the beauty of the language itself, he said, so rich in metaphor and natural wonder. Terms of endearment include "macushla," which means "my colt," and "machree," which means "my heart." Instead of saying "I love you," a Gaelic speaker would say, in effect, "I am melting for you."

Gaelic is also seen as a key to decoding Ireland's history, starting with the very names of villages and parishes. Mr. O Tuathaigh offered as an example the village of Geesala in County Mayo. In Gaelic, its name means "the breeze with salt upon it."



A station in Ballinahown broadcasts in English and Gaelic.

At the very least, he said, Gaelic "has established a living presence in the information technology world and in communications." One example is TG4, which sees itself not as some kind of manifestation of government guilt but simply as a television station broadcasting in Gaelic.

The other night, for example, the station showed "The Seven Year Itch," the 1955 comedy starring Marilyn Monroe, in English. Immediately after the movie, there were several programs in Gaelic, including a blind-date game show.

The lineup reflected the elementary tactic of hooking an audience first, explained Paul Gallagher, the station's chief executive. "And then we try to hold on to them."

June 25, 2000

Professor Masahide Ishihara
University of the Ryukyus
Department of Languages and Cultures
1 Senbaru, Nishihara
Okinawa 903-0213
JAPAN

Dear Professor Ishihara:

I want to thank you very much for the time and effort you have given to helping Mrs. Ishino and me enjoy our visit to Okinawa and to participate in the 50th anniversary celebration. This was for us a memorable event in our lives. It brought back wonderful memories of the two years that we spent in Okinawa in 1963-65.

Even though I have not written you in the month that we have been back, let me assure you that I kept thinking again and again of the good time we had in Okinawa and the ways in which Okinawa has changed since the 1960s. I have also reported to several people who have been involved with Ryudai about the progress that has been made, people like Pat Barrett and Miller Perry.

I am enclosing an article about Japanese and Okinawan immigrants who came to the U.S. and Latin America in the early part of the 20th century. I think I told you something about it. This long article was part of an international conference of Nikkei-jin held a few years ago. This year another conference was held and I enclose a short article on that meeting.

Again I wish to thank you for your kindness and effort that made our stay in Okinawa delightful and memorable.

Sincerely yours,

Iwao Ishino

ISHIHARA Masahide
University of the Ryukyus
Dept. of Languages and Cultures
1 Senbaru, Nishihara, Okinawa 903-0213, JAPAN
Voice & Fax: 81-98-895-8301 E-mail: ishihara@ll.u-ryukyu.ac.jp

Sept. 21, 2000

Dr. Iwao Ishino
1736 Ann Street
East Lansing, MI 48823-3706
USA

Dear Dr. Ishino,

Thank you for sending me the articles on Japanese immigrants and G8 Summit meeting in Okinawa. I enjoyed reading them.

Enclosed is my paper on Okinawan emigrants and their descendants in the US, which I presented in Hawaii in July.

As you might have already known, University of the Ryukyus would like to donate a pair of shiisaas, Ryukyuan ceramic lions, to MSU so that they would protect the Japanese garden from "evils", whatever/whoever they are. President Morita has approved my idea about selection of the shiisaas. He wants to visit East Lansing to dedicate them. Due to his tight schedule in this academic year, however, he is planning to visit MSU in the spring, probably in April or May. I hope I could come to East Lansing with him.

Could you please say hello to Mary for me?

Best wishes

ishi

ISHIHARA Masahide
University of the Ryukyus
Dept. of Languages and Cultures
1 Senbaru, Nishihara, Okinawa 903-0213, JAPAN
Voice & Fax: 81-98-895-8301 E-mail: ishihara@ll.u-ryukyu.ac.jp

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Best wishes

ishi

Linguistic Cultural Identity of Okinawans in the U.S.

ISHIHARA Masahide

University of the Ryukyus

0. Introduction

"Speak Japanese. You're Japanese." I was reprimanded for speaking in Okinawan dialect to my friend. I had said to my friend, "Let's go home" in my dialect: "*dika keera*." The principal was just behind us and caught me saying the phrase. Then, he called the two of us into his office and explained why I was being reprimanded. I don't remember everything he said or what I said, but I remember that I was told not to speak the Okinawan dialect. I don't think that I had thought about my identity before the incident; I was only ten years old then. I don't remember, in fact, if I had cared whether I was an Okinawan or a Japanese; the principal, however, wanted us to be Japanese, not Okinawans. This incident happened in Okinawa in 1969, three years before Okinawa was returned to Japan in 1972. I assume that many of you might have had similar experiences: "Speak English. You're an American"; "Speak Okinawan. You're an Okinawan." What does it mean to you to speak, or not (to be able) to speak, a language or a dialect? Does it mean something special? In this paper, I will discuss linguistic acculturation of the Okinawan people in the U.S. and implicitly argue that language, or dialect, is important to your identity-- who you are or who you are not.

This paper is organized as follows: I will briefly describe what happened in Okinawa with regard to its local dialect in Section I. Then, I will describe linguistic acculturation of nisei Okinawan Americans in Section II, presenting what I learned by interviewing some of them. Then, I will describe what

happened after 1945 with respect to the Japanese language and/or Okinawan Dialect in Section III, presenting what I learned by interviewing four issei Okinawan Americans who moved to the U.S. around 1970, and what I learned about two young Okinawan Americans. Finally, I will make concluding remarks in Section IV.

I. The Rise of "Standard Japanese" and the Fall of Okinawan Dialects.

After the birth of a new nation state in 1868, uniting the entire nation was a primary concern for the Meiji Government of Japan. One method the government employed was to spread standard Japanese and to eradicate local dialects. In order to achieve this goal, a new school system was started all over Japan and children were taught *kokugo*, "the national language", which was based on Tokyo Japanese. However, teaching this national language was neither as effective nor as successful as the government had expected, since young Japanese of the era were exposed to the standard language only at school while they spoke in their local dialects outside of school. According to Sanada (2000), language education aimed at the linguistic unification of Japan continued until the Showa Era before Japan's defeat in World War II. Until then, local dialects were considered bad and undesirable, something to be gotten rid of because they would hinder popularization of standard Japanese. Therefore, children were discouraged from speaking their local dialects, and when they were caught, they were rebuked and punished. In other words, children were denied the right to speak their mother tongues. This kind of effort by the authorities resulted in an inferiority complex in the children who could not speak standard Japanese fluently.

In the post-war era, the linguistic attitude of educational authorities

toward the local dialects changed drastically: children in mainland Japan were no longer discouraged from speaking their local dialects, which were no longer considered bad and undesirable. There were no organized efforts by the educational authorities to eradicate the dialects. However, because of the longer education they received, radio and TV programs in Japanese, and socio-economic motivation, more and more Japanese became fluent in standard Japanese even though they were not forced to speak the standard language. They are in a way bilingual: they speak their local dialects and standard Japanese.

Okinawa had a similar but different history from that in other areas of Japan with respect to language and culture education. As reported in Asano (1991), Asato (1983), and Oguma (1998), the primary purpose of education in Okinawa for the Meiji Government of Japan was to Japanize Okinawan people as quickly as possible. The central government in Tokyo considered the loyalty of Okinawans toward Japan was low because Okinawa used to be an independent kingdom. Therefore, it was urgent for the prefectural government to assimilate the people's local tongues with the standard Japanese through public education. However, the general public hadn't had any education; thus, the prefectural government started to train teachers in 1880 by teaching them the Japanese language and other subjects. Then, these "make-shift" teachers started to teach Okinawan children in the same year. This teaching was the beginning of educating Okinawan children to become Japanese. However, less than ten percent of eligible children attended school each year until 1889. In other words, the 90 percent of school-age children who did not go to school until then had no chance to learn the Japanese language. The number of children attending school began to increase in 1890,

Comments are welcome:

ishihara@ll.u-ryukyu.ac.jp (Japanese and English)

MasahideIshihara@netscape.net (English Only)

and by 1906, more than 90 percent of eligible children went to school. In primary school, children learned "standard Japanese" and Japanese culture, and they were encouraged to look down on their native dialect and culture. In addition, when children were caught speaking their local dialect, even outside of school, they were reprimanded and punished for it. In other words, children were always watching other children in order to catch them breaking the school regulations. By encouraging Okinawan people to discard their dialect and culture, the prefectural government seemed to have been successful in the Japanization of the Okinawan people, to some extent. A lot of them came to regard their dialect and culture as inferior to those of mainland Japan and something to be discarded.

As I said above, the Japanization of the Okinawan people might have been successful to some extent. However, I assume that the local government's attempt to linguistically assimilate the Okinawan people into the mainstream and to eradicate local dialects through education was not fully successful. My assumption is based on interviews I conducted with about twenty Okinawans who attended primary school during the 1920s and 1930s. Many of them did not go to secondary school; thus, they had only compulsory primary education for four or six years depending on when and where they received their education. They had spoken mostly in their local tongue, not in Japanese, before they entered school. Although they learned the language while they were attending school, they seldom spoke Japanese outside the school. In addition, their parents did not speak the standard language. Thus, only a few of them became fluent in the language. Most of them were not eager to master standard Japanese. However, the war forced Okinawan children to change their linguistic life. In the first half of the 1940s, teachers were strict

about the use of local dialect: children were punished for speaking in their dialect even outside of school. In addition, parents were encouraged to speak to their children in Japanese, not in the Okinawan dialect. Thus, children started to speak Japanese with their friends outside of school, and with their parents at home. Then the following happened: During the Battle of Okinawa, the Japanese military were suspicious of Okinawan people who spoke in their dialects, which the Japanese did not understand at all. In fact, it is reported that some Okinawans were killed by the soldiers because they spoke the Okinawan dialect.

Japan's defeat in WWII did not bring an end to Japanization through education in Okinawa. The islands were occupied and ruled by the U.S. Military for 27 years between 1945 and 1972. During this period, the American military government tried to separate Okinawa from Japan, claiming that Okinawans were not Japanese. They knew that Okinawan people in Japan, Hawaii, the U.S., and Latin America felt that they had been looked down on as non-Japanese and discriminated against by Japanese from other areas of Japan (Ginoza (1984:205-8)). The Americans even encouraged Okinawan people to speak freely in their local dialects. In addition, they planned to teach English in elementary school. However, this plan and another one to teach English to Okinawan children were withdrawn in a few years, partly due to opposition from Okinawan teachers. The teachers did not support these plans. Instead, they wanted Okinawa to be united with Japan; they wanted to educate Okinawan children as Japanese. As a "logical" or "natural" step, the Japanization included encouraging children to speak Japanese and discouraging them from speaking the local dialect. Once again, children were reprimanded and punished for speaking their local tongues in the 1950s

and 1960s. Because of this Japanization movement, a lot of young Okinawans unnecessarily felt that Okinawan people were inferior to people in other parts of Japan. I myself did not have any inferiority complex. However, as a result of the movement and my parents' linguistic determination to speak only Japanese at home, I cannot speak the Okinawan dialect fluently although I can somehow understand it when I hear it.

The reversion of Okinawa to Japan in 1972 brought an end to the organized movement of Japanizing the Okinawan children. Since then, they have no longer been discouraged from speaking their dialect, nor have they been punished for speaking it. On the contrary, they have often been encouraged to perform plays in Okinawan dialect at *gakugeikai*, school plays. In addition, Okinawan children now have a chance to learn their local music and/or dance. I don't remember learning any songs in Okinawan dialect and/or Okinawan dances in elementary school. Furthermore, young Okinawans today have no inferiority complex about their identity, as their parents and/or grandparents did. A lot of them are even proud of being Okinawans.

II. Linguistic Acculturation of Okinawan Immigrants in the U.S.

The first Okinawan "contract" immigrants to Hawaii arrived on Oahu in January of 1900 (see Sakihara (1981), Kimura (1988), and Wakukawa (2000) among others). Their arrival was fifteen years later than that of Japanese immigrants from other parts of Japan. Kyuzo Toyama, who brought twenty-six men from Okinawa, had to persuade then Governor Narahara to issue passports for those who wanted to work abroad. The governor, who was from Kagoshima, was concerned that these Okinawan men did not speak proper

Japanese and had a cultural heritage different from that of the mainland Japanese. In other words, they hadn't become Japanese. Mori (1996) states that Toyama argued against the governor, saying that these men would not need to speak Japanese in Hawaii. Toyama was wrong, in a way, because these first Okinawan immigrants were ridiculed for their "bad" Japanese and discriminated against by other Japanese groups who had come to Hawaii before the Okinawans arrived there. The ridicule and discrimination was the beginning of the Okinawan people's struggle and hardship in Hawaii.

I am not going to describe in this section how the Okinawan issei in Hawaii and the U.S. struggled. Instead, I will describe what the second generation Okinawan Americans experienced in terms of their language, based on the interviews I conducted with about twenty of them. All of them received their primary education in Hawaii before 1941: they had to go to "English schools" in the morning and early afternoon, and then, went to Japanese schools for about two hours in the middle of the afternoon.

A general impression I had after the interviews was that the boys had not been eager to learn Japanese, while the girls had. Most of the men I interviewed said that they went to Japanese school because their parents told them to go. They said that their issei parents took it for granted that the nisei children would go to the Japanese language school. However, the boys were not satisfied with their parents' reasoning. They thought that they should not have to learn Japanese because they were not living in Japan. Thus, since they had little motivation to learn Japanese, they didn't care about learning Japanese. As a consequence, they tended to speak English, not Japanese, among themselves outside of Japanese school. The only chance they had to speak the language was when they talked with their issei parents because the

parents could not speak proper English. On the other hand, the girls often thought it natural for Japanese children to go to Japanese school and learn the language. In fact, all the women I interviewed said that they enjoyed learning Japanese. They often spoke Japanese among themselves even outside of Japanese school, though they also talked with their Japanese friends in English (Akamine (1998)). When the nisei girls were at home with their parents, the girls talked with them in Japanese.

Most nisei Okinawan Americans went to Japanese school and learned the language for different reasons. However, a lot of them did not tell their sansei children to learn Japanese as their issei parents had told them to. In fact, the sansei did not want to go to Japanese school because they had a lot of things to do at English schools, according to the nisei parents. All the nisei Okinawan Americans I interviewed wanted their children to learn English and get a good education. Besides, learning the Japanese language was a low priority for the sansei Okinawan Americans. Since their issei grandparents had passed away, they had only a few chances to speak Japanese; they talked with their nisei parents and/or their siblings in English. Thus, there are only a small number of sansei Okinawan Americans who can speak Japanese.

Well, what about the Okinawan dialect? It seems that the nisei Okinawan Americans I interviewed had little chance to learn their parents' native tongues. As reported in Kimura (1988), Wakukawa (1980), and others, their issei parents were ridiculed for their dialect and discriminated against by other kenjin, and they were discouraged from speaking their local tongues when they were in Okinawa by the prefectural government and schoolteachers. Thus, the parents knew what would happen if their children spoke in Okinawan

dialect. In order to avoid probable discrimination and bias against the nisei children, the parents wanted them to be Japanese, not Okinawan. In other words, the issei wanted the nisei to assimilate into the "mainstream" Japanese group. This meant that the children would not speak the Okinawan dialect. Therefore, there were some Okinawan families where parents talked with each other in the dialect while they talked with their children in Japanese (Kuwaie (1998)). It seems, however, there were a number of nisei Okinawan Americans who could speak the dialect. Since their issei parents could not speak Japanese fluently, they had to be able to speak the dialect to communicate with their parents. In addition, there seemed to be some kind of uneasiness among some Okinawans about Okinawan children's inability to speak the dialect. Isamu Kaneshiro, who was born on Kukuihaile Plantation in the Island of Hawaii in 1919, said that he used to be criticized by other Okinawans on the plantation for being unable to speak the Okinawan dialect fluently. To sum up, although there was some criticism associated with not learning the Okinawan dialect, most nisei Okinawan Hawaiians did not learn to speak their issei parents' native tongues.

III. Post-War Issei and the Sansei

Because they had more chances to learn and speak the Japanese language than their predecessors, most Okinawans who came to the States in the 1960s and 1970s spoke fluent Japanese. Moreover, they were exposed to the English language while they were in Okinawa and could speak it to some degree. On the other hand, most sansei Okinawan Americans speak only English; they cannot speak Japanese. In this section, I describe what happened to the linguistic attitude of the Okinawans and the Okinawan

Americans in the U.S. after 1945, based on the interviews I conducted.

Takemasa Shimabukuro, born in Nago, immigrated to the States in 1969. He went to high school in Okinawa. One of his teachers, who was from Shuri, encouraged his students to be proud of being Okinawan; he did not discourage them from speaking the Okinawan dialect. Shimabukuro was indeed happy to be able to speak his local dialect without being reprimanded. After graduating from high school, he moved to California. At a welcoming party organized by an Okinawan American Association in Los Angeles, he introduced himself in the Okinawan dialect. One senior member of the association was not happy with his speaking the dialect, and he told the young Okinawan man not to speak Okinawan dialect: "Speak Japanese. You're Japanese." The new-comer was shocked with this Okinawan's reaction. Not knowing that the seniors had been discriminated against in the Japanese community, Shimabukuro asked him, "What is wrong with speaking Okinawan dialect? After all, we are all Okinawan." In 1971, he planned to organize a group of young Okinawans in the area and told the idea to the senior executives of the association. Here again, one of the demands from the seniors was that the young Okinawans speak with each other in Japanese or in English, not in the Okinawan dialect. He could understand the reasoning: since they were living among Japanese Americans and other Americans, they had better speak one of those languages. However, he was not convinced that they should not talk in their own tongue. Finally, he decided not to organize the group as long as there was such a condition.

These incidents that Shimabukuro experienced illustrate a gap between Okinawan Americans who came to the States before 1945 and those who came after 1945. The former had experienced harsh persecution and discrimination at the hands of other Japanese. As a consequence, they wanted to be like other

Comments are welcome:

ishihara@ll.u-ryukyu.ac.jp (Japanese and English)

MasahideIshihara@netscape.net (English Only)

Japanese and hide their identity as Okinawans. On the other hand, the latter had not had such experience, and they did not try to hide that they were Okinawans. In addition, this gap between the two groups resulted in a conflict among Okinawan Americans. I heard from a senior member of the association that in the 1960s and the 1970s, some members opposed the performance of Okinawan dances and songs at picnics organized by the association. However, in recent years there has been ^{no} such opposition.

Post-war issei Okinawan Americans wanted their children to learn Japanese, but for different reasons. They wanted their children to be proud of their linguistic and cultural heritage: they didn't push their children to be Japanese, however, because they considered their children to be Americans. Pre-war issei Okinawan Americans, on the other hand, wanted their children to become Japanese and learn the language because they thought they would go back home to Japan. Shimabukuro once asked his two sons to learn Japanese when they were going to primary school. They went to Japanese school to learn the language, but quit studying it after about two or three years because they few opportunities to speak it. Since the family lived in a white neighborhood and they were the only Japanese in the area, the children had no friends who could speak Japanese. Thus, they had no interest in learning Japanese. He did not insist any further. On the other hand, Toshikatsu Kamiyama, who is a native of Naha, taught Japanese to his children by himself. All the children were born in Okinawa and came to the States when they were small. He wanted them to assimilate into American society, but he also wanted them to learn Japanese because it was their heritage. Thus, his children went to a local school to learn English, and to a Japanese school on Saturdays to learn Japanese. When they moved to Salt Lake City, where they

lived for seven years, no Japanese school was available. He then spoke to his children in Japanese since otherwise they had no chance to speak the language. After a few years, his youngest child said that she did not want to learn Japanese. She insisted that she would not need to learn it because she was living in America. The other two continued to learn it and were able to write and speak it to some degree.

In the 1980s and 1990s young Americans of Okinawan descent developed an interest in their cultural heritage and ethnic identity. Going to college or high school with other Asian Americans, they came to realize that they were not white Americans, and they wanted to know who they were. For example, Takemasa Shimabukuro told me the following story about his two sons, which I confirmed later by talking with his elder son. The young Shimabukuros who had refused to learn Japanese when they were in primary school in the white neighborhood, started learning the language after they entered high school. One major reason was that they wanted to be different from their white American friends. At the high school they attended, there were a lot of Asian Americans who were proud of their own identities. Inspired by their Asian friends, the nisei brothers also wanted to know their ethnic identity. Another reason was that they wanted to talk with exchange students from Japan and Okinawa, and to know more about Japan and Okinawa. After they started learning Japanese, they wanted to work part-time at some tourist attractions like Disneyland so that they could talk with Japanese tourists. It seems that the young Okinawans were looking for their identities besides being American. Here is another example. Masako Tamanaha, who is married to a sansei Okinawan American, told me the following story about her husband. Since he grew up in a white neighborhood, he did not quite understand that he

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ishihara@ll.u-ryukyu.ac.jp (Japanese and English)

MasahideIshihara@netscape.net (English Only)

was an Okinawan American. However, while he was attending UC Berkeley, he was often asked about his cultural heritage. Thus, he came to be interested in his ethnic identity. He learned the Japanese language and culture. Then, he wanted to know about Okinawa because he found out that his grandparents were from Okinawa. To sum up, as more and more Okinawan Americans go to high school or college, as other Asian Americans do, the young Okinawans get interested in their ethnic identity, that is, their linguistic and cultural heritage. They don't have an inferiority complex about their ethnic and linguistic origins as their parents and/or grandparents did.

IV. Conclusion

We can conclude that the Okinawans in the U.S. have almost the same history as the Okinawans in Japan with respect to their linguistic cultural identity. First generation immigrants were considered to be inferior to Japanese from other prefectures because they could not speak standard Japanese. As a result, they were persecuted and discriminated against as not being Japanese. Having experienced such a hardship, they wanted their children to be Japanese and to learn the standard language. The second generation Okinawan Americans still had some kind of inferiority complex about their identity, and they were not taught the Okinawan dialect because their parents wanted them to be Japanese. Finally, young Okinawan Americans have overcome the inferiority complex and they don't think Okinawans are inferior to other Japanese. They are proud of being Okinawan. On the other hand, Okinawans in Okinawa were considered by the central government and by the mainland Japanese to be inferior, or to be "non-Japanese". They were encouraged to discard their native tongue and culture in order to become

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ishihara@ll.u-ryukyu.ac.jp (Japanese and English)

Masahidelshihara@netscape.net (English Only)

Japanese. Even among Okinawans themselves, there were those who considered Okinawan culture and language inferior to those of mainland Japan, and that they had to discard their language and culture in order to become Japanese. Consequently, more and more Okinawans became assimilated with mainstream Japan. However, young Okinawans today have no inferiority complex about their identity. In fact, many of them are proud of being Okinawans. As this brief summary describes, we Okinawans have come a long way to find who we really are. However, we have been losing our own dialect, or language, which is an important part of our identity.

NOTES

[1] This means that public education in Okinawa started eight years later than in other areas of Japan.

[2] The numbers were taken from Asato (1983), who cited them from Ota (1957).

[3] I should mention that there were some Okinawan intellectuals like Chohu Ota who criticized enforcement of assimilation and discrimination against Okinawans by the prefectural government managed by Tokyo-appointed bureaucrats (see Asato (1983) and Hiyane (1996) among others).

[4] The Americans used the word "Ryukyu" instead of "Okinawa" such as in University of the Ryukyus, or Ryukyu Police. This choice of word demonstrates their intention.

[5] Okihumu Komesu (personal communication) suggested the following. The "Speak Japanese" movement in school was not a success because it was forcing children to speak the language. Instead, the drastic change in the parents' linguistic attitude toward Japanese and Okinawan was the major contributor to voluntary "eradication" of the local dialect. According to him, parents started speaking Japanese after the war even if they were not good at it. That is, children had chances to speak the language both at school and at home. Thus, they had only a few opportunities to speak their own dialect: when they talked with their grandparents, who could not speak Japanese. In addition, there were a number of Okinawans who changed their Okinawan family names to Japanese. For example, Nakandakari became Nakamura, and Agarie became Toe.

[6] The incident I described in the introduction of the present paper took place under these circumstances.

[7] Despite the efforts of Okinawan teachers and children to become Japanese, "mainlanders" were indifferent to and ignorant about conditions in Okinawa. They often asked if Okinawan people spoke English, if they could speak Japanese, if people in Okinawa were Japanese. I remember reading a letter from a junior high school student in Hokkaido when I was thirteen: the letter said, "if you can't write in Japanese, please write in English. I will ask my

English teacher to translate your letter into Japanese."

⁽⁸⁾ Actually, the first Japanese immigrants came to Hawaii in 1867. Thus, the arrival of the first Okinawans in Hawaii was thirty-three years later than the very first arrival of Japanese. According to Wakukawa (1980), more than 70,000 Japanese immigrated to Hawaii in the fifteen years between 1885 and 1900.

⁽⁹⁾ Although Kimura (1981) and Wakukawa (1980) state only that there were bias, insult, and discrimination against the first Okinawans in Hawaii, I assume that the reason was their language and culture, which were different from those of the earlier immigrants.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Yasuo Kuwae, who was born in 1922, said that he talked with his siblings in English while he talked with his parents in Japanese.

⁽¹¹⁾ In fact, the nisei Okinawan Americans wanted their sansei children to go to the Japanese school, but they did not express their hope because they wanted to respect their children's will. Kuwae asked his two sansei children to go to Japanese school and learn the language. To his dismay, his son refused and his daughter went to the Japanese school for only a short time.

⁽¹²⁾ As demonstrated in Ige (1981), some parents taught that Okinawa was part of Japan and that Okinawans were Japanese: "Naichi people and Okinawan are both Japanese..." "... Okinawa *ken* means Okinawa is one of the many prefectures of Japan just like Hiroshima *ken* and Yamaguchi *ken*. So Okinawans are Japanese..." (Ige (1981:150-151).

⁽¹³⁾ I call them post-war issei.

⁽¹⁴⁾ There are a lot of Okinawan women who married American men after 1945 and are living in the States. In fact, my elder sister is one of them, and I have several such friends. Although acknowledging the importance of investigating their linguistic attitude, I did not have time to do that. Thus, I am not discussing it in the present paper.

Comments are welcome:

ishihara@ll.u-ryukyu.ac.jp (Japanese and English)

MasahideIshihara@netscape.net (English Only)

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Brant M. Kresovich

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