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Pepperdine University

Graduate School of Education and Psychology

JAPANESE AMERICAN INTERNMENT EXPERIENCE AND THE IMPACT ON PARENT-
CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

A clinical dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Psychology

by

Jazmine Miyoshi Miyake

August, 2021

Amy Tuttle, Ph.D., LMFT – Dissertation Chairperson

This clinical dissertation, written by

Jazmine Miyoshi Miyake

under the guidance of a Faculty Committee and approved by its members, has been submitted to and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PSYCHOLOGY

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VITA

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EDUCATION

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August 2020 – July 2021

- Provided brief and time-limited psychotherapy and counseling to a culturally diverse undergraduate and graduate student population
- Administered assessment batteries to help inform diagnosis and therapeutic treatment plan
- Conducted crisis assessment and intervention services during weekly triage shifts
- Provided outreach and consultation to university departments which included developing and presenting workshops to students, staff, and faculty
- Co-facilitated psychotherapy, psychoeducational, and discussion groups for undergraduate and graduate students
- Provided supervision to undergraduate students who were participating in the USD Peer Coaching program

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August 2019 – July 2020

- Conducted brief evidence-based individual psychotherapy with culturally diverse students presenting with various stressors including anxiety, depression, difficulties with adjustment, relationship difficulties, difficulty with gender role expectations, and trauma
- Completed crisis interventions for students in acute distress and offered appropriate referrals and resources
- Designed and presented presentations and workshops on various student health topics
- Developed and implemented outreach programs and mental health promotions on campus

Boys Hope Girls Hope Organization
Irvine, California

Assessment Trainee, Supervisor Alison Vargas, Psy.D.

May 2019 – July 2019

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- Administered, scored, and interpreted a cognitive and personality assessment battery
- Completed an integrated report on test findings to determine appropriate fit into the academic program

Miller Children's and Women's Hospital Jonathan Jaques Children's Cancer Institute
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October 2018 – July 2020

- Conducted evidenced-based psychotherapeutic treatment at the outpatient office to assist patients with health-related transitions and to provide emotional support due to medical diagnoses and treatment
- Completed in-patient consultations with patients from the Pediatric Hematology/Oncology Department for emotional, social, and behavioral concerns
- Administered, scored, and interpreted cognitive, neuropsychological, and emotional assessments to children, adolescents, and young adults to assess for late cognitive effects of medical treatment
- Completed integrative assessment reports on test findings and provided feedback to patients and families
- Assisted patients with the school re-integration process after extended medical leaves, which included classroom presentations, attendance at Individualized Education Program (IEP) meetings, and written recommendations for IEPs and/or 504 Plans based on test findings

Rich & Associates Intensive Outpatient Social Skills Program
Los Angeles, California

Counselor, Supervisor Seth Shaffer, Psy.D.

Summer 2018 & Summer 2019

- Provided brief evidence-based treatment with children and adolescents to assist with pro-social behaviors
- Utilized Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) techniques to challenge maladaptive thoughts and to positively reinforce proactive social behaviors
- Collaborated with parents and licensed clinicians on therapeutic goals
- Collaborated with counselors and licensed clinicians to create individualized treatment plans

Pepperdine University Community Counseling Clinic
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Psy.D. Trainee, Supervisor Joan Rosenberg, Ph.D.

September 2017 – August 2019

- Provided individual psychotherapy with a culturally diverse population presenting with various symptoms of anxiety, depression, trauma, and difficulties with adjustment
- Conceptualized and provided psychotherapeutic interventions from a specific integrative model of treatment with an emphasis on affect tolerance
- Completed comprehensive structured intake interviews and in-depth diagnostic intake reports
- Completed case conceptualizations and implemented individualized treatment plans
- Administered self-report standardized assessment measures to inform progress in psychotherapy
- Participated in weekly supervision meetings and case conferences to assist with treatment planning

Outreach Concern

Santa Ana, California

Marriage and Family Therapist Trainee, Supervisor Fredrick Capaldi, Ph.D.

September 2016 – June 2017

- Provided counseling services to school-aged children within an academic setting
- Addressed issues pertaining to difficulty with academics, social skills, disruptive behaviors, and emotional regulation
- Attended Individualized Education Program (IEP) meetings for students who were receiving counseling services
- Completed teacher and parent consultations to inform the treatment plan
- Completed playground and classroom observations to assist with case conceptualization

TEACHING AND CONSULTATION EXPERIENCE

Pepperdine University
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Peer Consultant to Joan Rosenberg, Ph.D.

September 2019 – June 2020

- Provided direct consultation with first-year peer consultees to build upon personal supervisory skills
- Evaluation of peer consultees' intake reports with constructive feedback on diagnosis and treatment planning

- Received direct supervision from licensed psychologist to assist with peer consultation feedback and meetings
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Pepperdine University

Los Angeles, California

Guest Lecturer for Joan Rosenberg, Ph.D.

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- Created and implemented a detailed visual and oral presentation on Cognitive Behavioral Therapy (CBT) to masters-level students
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- Provided instruction on intake assessment to masters-level students

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Teaching Assistant to Susan Himelstein, Ph.D.

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- Provided one-on-one training to students who were in need of further clarification and additional practice in test administration and scoring

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ABSTRACT

During World War II and after the attacks on Pearl Harbor, the United States confined 120,000 Japanese Americans in internment camps. The current study examined the incarceration of Japanese American citizens and its effect on parenting across generations. Specifically, the study examined parent-child relationships and the possible emergence of the relationship-directed parenting orientation across generations within this specific population. In order to examine the research objectives, the proposed qualitative research study utilized archived interview data. The interviews were conducted with participants of Japanese American descent who were incarcerated in camps during World War II and/or their family members. A hermeneutic approach was utilized to analyze the lived experiences of Japanese Americans. Conclusively, it was found that the overarching essence of the internment experience involved intergenerational transmission of trauma due to incarceration in internment camps for Japanese Americans.

Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Within the United States, minority communities have a long-standing history of racism and discrimination which has impacted their psychological, physical, and emotional well-being. During World War II and after the attacks on Pearl Harbor, the United States confined 120,000 Japanese Americans, given their false portrayal as a threat to national security (Nagata et al., 2012). Of those incarcerated, more than two-thirds were American citizens (Nagata et al., 2012). A review of the existing literature examined the intergenerational effects of trauma, varying emotional experiences during and after incarceration in the internment camps, and resiliency and coping in the aftermath of the incarceration (Nagata et al., 2015; Nagata et al., 2012; Nagata & Takeshita, 1998). With specific regard to intergenerational trauma, the authors found a lack of communication about the incarceration within the Japanese American community, from second generation (Nisei) parents to their third generation (Sansei) children, with parents expressing a desire to not worry their children (Nagata et al., 2015). Given this lack of communication across generations, it was hypothesized that the effects of intergenerational trauma had an effect on the way that Nisei parents related to their Sansei children and future generations thereafter; hence, impacting parent-child relationships.

Japanese American Internment Experience and the Impact on Parent-Child Relationships

Similar to first generation Korean Americans, research has found that third generation Japanese Americans have preserved traditional Japanese cultural values within parenting styles, as they have encouraged their children to be obedient, high-achieving, and valuing of group needs (O'Reilly et al., 1986). However, the available literature on parenting styles in the Japanese American community is limited and more research is needed on parent-child relationships within this specific cultural group. To further examine the relationship between

culture and parent-child relationships, this study will examine the impact of race-related trauma, due to the incarceration of Japanese American families, on parenting orientations across generations. Specifically, the study will examine the possible emergence of relationship-directed parenting across generations of Japanese American families who experienced incarceration in internment camps. The aim of the study is to provide clinicians with information on parent-child relationships within the Japanese American community, and how these relationships have been impacted due to incarceration, which will help inform their clinical practice with clients from this community.

Literature Review

The following literature review will provide an overview of the incarceration of Japanese Americans in internment camps, and will provide a framework for understanding parental roles and parent-child relationships, as impacted by culture, social context, and the transmission of intergenerational trauma. It is important to note that the term “incarcerated” will be used instead of the commonly used term “interned,” as it has been determined that the term is more appropriate when referring to the internment camps (Nagata et al., 2015).

Overview of Japanese and Japanese American Families

In traditional Japanese families, “the Ie system is based on Buddhist/Confucian/Shintoist philosophy and the policies of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1615-1868) and the Meiji government (1868-1912)” (Nagae & Dancy, 2010, p. 763) which described a patriarchal system in which males were in a dominant position within the family. The oldest male was placed at the top of the hierarchy and was seen as the primary and only decision maker (Nagae, & Dancy, 2010). Similarly, females were ranked according to age, but were viewed as subordinate to males (Nagae & Dancy, 2010). In addition, once a woman was married, her family integrated with her husband’s family and the same rules applied. For example, in more traditional Japanese

families, a woman's role within the family was to become a "professional housewife" (*senkyō shufu*; Goldstein-Gidoni, 2019, p. 845). Women's roles within the family were to care for their children, to care for the home, and to socialize with other "professional housewives." On the other hand, men's roles within the family were to become the *daikokubashira*, which meant "the central supporting pillar of the house" (Goldstein-Gidoni, 2019, p. 844) and was similar to the Western term of the breadwinner or provider of the family. The idea was that both men and women were to know what "society" expected from them and, thus, how the family dynamics and roles would be formed and maintained (Goldstein-Gidoni, 2019).

Gender Roles in Families

It was found that one's position and responsibilities in the family played a central role in the development of a sense of self (Kellas, 2005):

Prior to and during World War II, Japanese had legal authority over the families. But this arrangement changed in 1946 when men, women and their adult children were given equal status under a new condition. Some observers believe that this reform weakened fathers psychologically. (Shwalb et al., 1997, p. 499)

This seemed to have an impact on the once stereotypical, traditional gendered Japanese households in which the husbands were the economic providers and wives the homemakers. Coincidentally, Yokotani (2015) examined how children addressed their fathers, whether respectful or disrespectful and whether the terms correlated with their interpersonal feelings of acceptance, rejection and depressive symptoms. In the study, Japanese families were father-dominant, meaning that all family members were required to show respect to the father as the head of the household. In Japanese families, kinship terms such as *O/toh/san* are used to show respect between a father and child (Yokotani, 2015). However, this dynamic may have been challenged after families were released from the internment camps.

The Incarceration of Japanese Americans

The mass incarceration of Japanese Americans following the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, represented one of the greatest infringements on civil liberties in United States history (Nagata et al., 2015). In response to the attack and the belief that those of Japanese ancestry on the Western coast of the U.S. posed a threat (i.e., disloyalty, espionage, sabotage), due to their close proximity to the country of Japan, President Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized the removal of all individuals of Japanese ancestry, including men, women, and children, to detention centers across the Western United States (Nagata et al., 2015). Though two thirds of the 120,000 incarcerated Japanese Americans were U.S. citizens, they were forced to leave their homes (Nagata et al., 2015). Many lost their homes and other possessions due to having to leave their homes quickly, taking with them only what they could carry, and having to abandon, destroy, or sell (at significantly lower prices) other belongings (Stanutz, 2018). The losses were staggering for families who owned homes or businesses, abandoning everything they had worked so hard to build. On average, families were incarcerated for approximately 2 to 4 years (Nagata et al., 2015).

Race-Related Trauma

In order to contextualize the current study, this section focused on integrating literature on race-related trauma with other cultural groups. Aymer's (2016) peer-reviewed article contained a case study of a 16-year-old Black male engaged in psychotherapy whose answers reflected his experience of "living while Black." "To be male and Black in America means that one must contend with omnipresent occurrences of racial and gender profiling on multiple levels (e.g., being arrested while Black, shopping while Black, driving while Black) in society" (Aymer, 2016, p. 369). Violence against Black people in American history has occurred and continues to occur beginning with enslavement, Jim Crow, and the civil rights movement

(Aymer, 2016). Racial oppression of Black people in the United States can be directly linked to White supremacy defined as “a worldview proclaiming White racial superiority and Black inferiority” (Aymer, 2016, p. 367). During therapy with the above-mentioned adolescent, the therapist determined that Jamal was experiencing trauma symptoms such as irritability, nightmares, flashbacks, and intrusive thoughts related to being chased by police, which were a direct result of race-based trauma (Aymer, 2016).

Numerous articles have studied race-based stressors and the harm to the psychological well-being of individuals (Bryant-Davis & Ocampo, 2005; Carter, 2007; Harrell, 2000). The importance of integrating this research into the current study has never been more important than at present, with the current racial climate in the United States and the significant and steady increase in police brutality against Black people. Aymer’s (2016) study found the following:

Black people always fought to gain justice and protection through persistent nonviolent protests intended to effect social change and disrupt White supremacy. Opposition to civil rights activities has historically resulted in state-sanctioned violence (e.g., hosing down Black people with water, setting dogs on them, firing strategic or random shots at them, and homicides) by law enforcement. (p. 368)

Aymer’s (2016) discussion of Black people’s fight for justice has been immensely important to the Black Lives Matter Movement that has increased significantly in recognition following the death of George Floyd.

Following the Japanese American internment camps during World War II, there were continued experiences of Asian American hate crimes in the United States. For example, the L.A. riots that occurred in 1992 lead to the horrific damage of Korean American businesses (Brockell, 2021). In addition, there was a rise in hate crimes against the South Asian American

community following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks (Brockell, 2021). In the present moment, as of 2021, we have witnessed additional instances of Asian American hate crimes due to the COVID-19 (Coronavirus) pandemic. Tessler et al. (2020) studied the increased risk of Asian American hate crimes, vandalism of Asian American businesses, microaggressions, and negative biases which have led to a shift in the perspective of Asian Americans in the United States. Tessler et al. (2020) discussed the FBI issuing a statement warning about an increase in Asian American hate crimes due to the US public associating COVID-19 with China and Asian Americans. One particularly atrocious hate crime under investigation involved a man in Midland, Texas who attempted to murder a Burmese-American family at a Sam's Club by stabbing the father and his four-year-old and two-year-old children because he "thought the family was Chinese, and infecting people with coronavirus" (Tessler et al., 2020, p. 639). Tessler et al. (2020) noted that in New York City's Chinatown, after reports of COVID-19 broke but prior to the lockdowns, the businesses saw on average an 85% drop in profit for the two months before the stay-at-home order was invoked.

The Lee and Waters (2020) study examined four hundred and ten participants' self-exported experiences of racial discrimination, via an online survey, and found a 30% increase in experiences of discrimination. In addition, 40% reported an increase in anxiety, depression and sleep difficulties. It was noted that the majority of the literature on racial discrimination has been focused on studying African Americans, which suggested that this could be due to Asian Americans being seen as the "model minority." "The model minority myth, in which Asian Americans are stereotyped as achieving as educational, occupational and economic success and being well adjusted, is pervasive and is used to suggest that Asian Americans do not experience racism or its sequelae" (Lee & Waters, 2020, p. 2). The findings of the study suggested that in order to address the Anti-Asian sentiment there needs to be an increase in antiracism efforts to

specifically address the messages and sentiment that are increasing the current climate of discrimination, as the COVID-19 pandemic is likely to continue for a long time to come.

Processing Race-Related Trauma

The incarceration of Japanese Americans in internment camps, during World War II, was a traumatic event that impacted an entire community. Aside from the loss of material items, many Japanese Americans were separated from their friends, and some were even sent to separate camps from family members, which significantly impacted their psychological well-being. In addition, Japanese Americans experienced a shift in familial roles, given that families lived together within one room, fathers (e.g., those in traditionally structured families) were no longer the “providers” of the families; mothers were no longer responsible for caring for the home; and the children and adolescents spent significantly more time socializing with same-age peers than spending time with family (Nagata et al., 2015). One way in which Japanese Americans processed the trauma was through “life writing” (memoirs), in which they used words and images to identify how the incarceration impacted them (Stanutz, 2018). As discussed by Stanutz (2018), a memoir served to not only record the events that occurred, but more importantly, to record the emotions associated with incarceration, such as loss and grief. The first incarceration memoir formally published was Miné Okubo’s (1946) “Citizen 13660.”. Miné Okubo wrote of her time at the Tanforan Assembly Center in California and the Topaz War Relocation Center in Utah. She provided a personal account of her experiences and her perspective (Stanutz, 2018). “If there is no outlet through which Japanese Americans can process or even speak the injuries and losses brought upon them, grief is eliminated as a mode of interpreting and conceptualizing Japanese American experience in the 1940s” (Stanutz, 2018, p. 50).

Coping was essential to Japanese Americans' survival as the effects of race-related trauma were at times debilitating. According to Ruglass and Kendall-Tackett (2014), issues related to race, such as prejudice and discrimination, were found to be predictors of PTSD among minority groups, including Asian Americans. A study by Loo (1993) attempted to provide a treatment model for post-traumatic stress disorder for Japanese Americans who were incarcerated during World War II. Loo (1993) provided a thorough review of the symptoms of trauma experienced by Japanese Americans who were incarcerated in internment camps, which included the following: (a) detachment and isolation from one's family or the larger society, (b) avoidance behaviors, which included both avoidance of talking about the trauma and of trauma-related stimuli, (c) self-blame, (d) depression, (e) shame, (f) vulnerability, (g) lack of personal control, (h) violation of basic beliefs, (i) anger, and (j) confusion. Loo (1993) also discussed the idea of learned helplessness, such that Japanese Americans showed submission to governmental abuse.

Alexander et al. (2004) also examined cultural trauma, defining it as a collective group of individuals that "have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (p. 1). A study by Nagata et al. (2015) explored the process of cultural trauma of incarceration of Japanese Americans in internment camps, and found that Japanese Americans processed the trauma individually and not as a collective group, which left many with feelings of betrayal, shame, and depression. In addition, a study conducted by Nagata et al. (2012) reviewed a set of 30 interviews from Nisei, which were previously collected from a survey study of more than 500 individuals (Nisei Wartime Incarceration Project). An analysis of the autobiographical narratives, which explored interviewees' emotional states across multiple time periods, found that the most predominant emotions that were expressed pre-incarceration

were shock, worry, fear, and confusion (Nagata et al., 2012). The predominant emotions experienced while relocated to assembly centers were described as *shikata ga nai* (“it cannot be helped”) and adventurous (Nagata et al., 2012). While incarcerated, internees reported feeling carefree, adventurous, and expressed sentiments of *shikata ga nai* (“it cannot be helped”) and *gaman* (endurance/ perseverance; Nagata et al., 2012). Furthermore, the researchers (Nagata et al., 2012) found that the predominant emotions reported post-incarceration were anger/bitterness, betrayal, and *shikata ga nai* (“it cannot be helped”). These shifts in emotions across incarceration time periods are helpful in understanding the “indelible marks upon their group consciousness,” (p. 1) in reference to cultural trauma as defined by Alexander et al. (2004).

The aforementioned research (i.e., Nagata et al., 2012) suggested shifts in processing race-related trauma across time. Therefore, it is also important to highlight the research (e.g., Nagata et al., 2015) that examined the intergenerational effects of race-related trauma after the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II. For example, Nagata et al. (2015) uncovered a lack of communication from the Nisei to Sansei (Nagata et al., 2015). It was determined that this lack of communication stemmed from the Nisei’s desire to minimize burden on their children (Nagata et al., 2015). However, the Sansei interpreted this lack of communication as a signal from their parents that the internment camps were too difficult and painful to discuss (Nagata et al., 2015). Overall, these shifts in emotional experiences and communication patterns provided a deeper understanding of the process of race-related trauma for Japanese Americans who were incarcerated in internment camps.

Coping and Resilience Across Generations

According to Nagata (1991), “the trauma of the internment affected virtually all those who were incarcerated” (p. 121). Nagata and Takeshita (1998) described the importance of Japanese cultural values in coping and in the resilience of internees. According to Nagata and

Takeshita (1998), these cultural values, including “*oya koko* (filial piety), *gaman* (perseverance), *giri* (a sense of obligation), and *enryo*” (self-restraint/reserve; p. 595) were passed on from the Issei to the Nisei, and were “the most important influence contributing to Nisei coping” (Nagata & Takeshita, 1998, p. 595). Additionally, those who were interviewed in Nagata and Takeshita’s study (1998), described feeling that their ability to accept their circumstances while incarcerated, (also known in the Japanese phrase, *shikata ga-nai*) and the “cultural emphasis on acceptance and stoicism, guided their outward behavior and immediate coping response” (Nagata & Takeshita, 1998, p. 596). The cultural concept of *gaman*, or “the ability to endure or persevere under adverse conditions,” (Nagata & Takeshita, 1998, p. 595) was also found to be strongly linked to positive coping.

The way in which Japanese Americans in the internment camps perceived their situations was also crucial in determining their ability to cope. Nagata and Takeshita (1998) discussed the important role that age played in determining the mindset of internees while in the internment camps. They wrote that “those who were in their late teens and early twenties during incarceration reported a stronger sense of injustice at the time, while younger interviewees were more likely to feel a sense of anticipation or adventure” (Nagata & Takeshita, 1998, p. 594). Different responses to the aftermath of the internment camps were also evident based on age. According to Nagata and Takeshita’s study (1998), some older interviewees described feeling more at peace as time went by, while others “reported an increased sense of anger over time” (p. 601) which was said to be caused by more publicity and investigation into the reasons for Japanese American incarceration.

Nagata and Takeshita (1998) further discussed the effect that the Nisei’s incarceration had on their children, indicating evidence of transgenerational transmission of trauma. It was also found that “most Sansei experienced their parents as communicating a message of passivity

and ‘don’t rock the boat’” (Nagata, 1987 as cited in Nagata, 1991, p. 124). For some Japanese American families, post-incarceration, “there was a shared sense of shame or humiliation about the experience” (Nagata & Takeshita, 1998, p. 604), causing former incarcerates and their children to assume rejection by others, especially Caucasian Americans (Nagata & Takeshita, 1998). It was further found that Sansei “whose parents were in camp during the war expressed less confidence about their rights in this country than Sansei whose parents were not interned” (Nagata & Takeshita, 1998, p. 604). Due to their lack of confidence about their rights, Sansei frequently felt pressure to succeed “as a way of continually proving one’s self and citizenship” (Nagata & Takeshita, 1998, p. 604), as well as becoming better assimilated into American culture and society (Nagata & Takeshita, 1998).

Psychosocial Correlates of Coping

While minimal qualitative research (e.g., interview studies) on long-term coping of Japanese Americans following the internment camps has been conducted, even less quantitative research exists. Therefore, the research conducted by Nagata and Tsuru (2007) aimed to address this gap in the literature by using self-report questionnaires to examine the lasting impact that the incarceration had on the Nisei. The researchers hypothesized that the Nisei would continue to experience an impact on coping due to the incarceration, despite the passage of time (Nagata & Tsuru, 2007). Moreover, it was hypothesized that the impact on coping would be attributed to two incarceration variables, including distal variables and proximal variables (Nagata & Tsuru, 2007). Distal variables were defined as conditions that existed during the time of incarceration, specifically age when incarcerated and length of time spent in the internment camps (Nagata & Tsuru, 2007). Whereas proximal variables were defined as present-day attitudes and behaviors that could be linked to incarceration in the internment camps; including preference for other Japanese Americans and affiliation with other Japanese Americans (Nagata & Tsuru, 2007). In

addition, to take into account potential individual differences, personality variables (i.e., self-esteem, locus of control) were included as mediators of self-reported coping (Nagata & Tsuru, 2007). The researchers concluded that distal variables were not significantly associated with the Nisei's self-reports on coping. However, proximal variables, which included negative communication and emotions on incarceration and preference for other Japanese Americans, were found to be significantly associated with self-reported levels of coping. As for the personality variables, it was found that high self-esteem was directly correlated with higher coping levels. In contrast, positive coping was not associated with an internal locus of control (Nagata & Tsuru, 2007).

Parenting

Parenting Styles and Behaviors

When exploring the parent-child relationship, it is important to acknowledge the research conducted by Diana Baumrind, as ideas on parenting have been largely influenced by her research on parenting styles. Based on her research, it was determined that there were three different parenting styles, which were commonly known as authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive (Baumrind, 1971). Specifically, authoritative parenting behavior was indicative of both high levels of control and positive encouragement of a child's desired behaviors (e.g., autonomy; Baumrind, 1971). The authoritarian parenting style has been described as overly controlling, distant, detached, and embodying minimal levels of warmth towards the child (Baumrind, 1971). Lastly, permissive parenting behaviors included high levels of warmth and low levels of control and demands on the child (Baumrind, 1971). Overall, Baumrind's research suggested that the most beneficial and desirable parenting style was one that balanced both affection and discipline (i.e., authoritative; Ang, 2006; Baumrind, 1971). While this theory has provided many researchers with insight into styles of parenting and common parenting

behaviors, it has not highlighted the influence of culture and context on the parent-child relationship.

Parenting and Context

Influence of Culture and Social Context on Parenting. Ogbu's theoretical model on parenting stated that the goals of child rearing were geared towards helping a child to gain competence in tasks that would be useful in adulthood (Ogbu, 1981). Subsequently, the aims of competency were influenced by the parent's values and environment (Ogbu, 1981). Therefore, it was determined that styles of parenting were highly influenced by one's cultural values and contextual factors, such as ethnic identity and socioeconomic status (Ogbu, 1981; Tuttle et al., 2012).

While parenting behaviors have often been described within the context of Baumrind's parenting styles, there has been a push to examine parenting along dimensions that effectively capture different cultural values and indigenous concepts (Smetana, 2017). For example, authoritarian parenting has often been described as less desirable and effective when not considering one's culture and context (Smetana, 2017). However, with consideration for cultural and indigenous values and social context, authoritarian parenting may have many protective factors (Smetana, 2017). Additionally, Smetana (2017) stated that Arab parents are often stereotyped as authoritarian, but when the same parenting behaviors are analyzed across dimensions of parenting, it was found that the behaviors were more consistent with traits typically related to authoritative parenting. Smetana (2017) described a more favorable dimensional approach that allowed for shifts in parenting practices depending on the context and situation, which also involved a bidirectional view of the parent-child relationship, in that it acknowledged the child's interpretation of the parenting behaviors. The dimensional approach

described by Smetana (2017) focused on the development of social cognition and behaviors, including moral, social-conventional, prudential, and personal issues.

Given that culture plays a large role in parenting behaviors and parent-child relationships, multiple research studies (e.g., Park et al., 2010; Shen et al., 2018) have explored the influence of cultural values on parenting styles within the Asian American community. Based on the existing literature (e.g., Park et al., 2010; Shen et al., 2018), it has been found that Asian American parents have a tendency to utilize authoritarian parenting behaviors, especially when compared to other communities. For example, research conducted by Shen et al. (2018) discovered that Asian American young adults received more authoritarian parenting, rather than authoritative parenting, in comparison to European American young adults. In addition, research on parenting styles in Asian communities have found that authoritarian parenting has been associated with lower levels of emotional regulation, self-reliance, and confidence in problem-solving abilities (Ang, 2006; Shen et al., 2018). However, in understanding this information, it is important to acknowledge that the way in which one interprets different parenting styles, such as authoritative versus authoritarian, could vary by culture (Shen et al., 2018).

To further understand parenting styles, specifically within the Asian American community, acculturation and enculturation will be reviewed. Park et al. (2010) stated that acculturation involved adaptation to the dominant culture, while enculturation referred to the level that an individual maintained their heritage culture. In addition, they defined multiple levels of acculturation and enculturation, which were referred to as integration (i.e., high acculturation, high enculturation), assimilation (i.e., high acculturation, low enculturation), separation (low acculturation, high enculturation), and marginalization (i.e., low acculturation, low enculturation; Park et al., 2010). The authors hypothesized that family conflict would

decrease as congruence between parenting style and the child's level of acculturation and enculturation increased (Park et al., 2010).

While research was conducted on Baumrind's three different parenting styles, focus was given on the authoritarian parenting style as it was more often associated with Asian American parenting and values (Park et al., 2010; Shen et al., 2018). Therefore, the results indicated that individuals defined as integrated, assimilated, and separated reported higher levels of family conflict (Park et al., 2010). The findings on the separated group was unexpected but could be understood when acknowledging the subjectivity of interpretation of parenting styles (Park et al., 2010).

To address generational influences on parent-child relationships, research conducted by L. Kim et al. (2014) found that second-generation Korean American mothers had a strong desire for emotional connectivity with their children, which contrasted with traditional parenting views often associated with first generation Korean parents. In addition, the parents in the study emphasized Westernized socialization goals, such as autonomy and self-determination, because they believed that it would help their children to function effectively in society (L. Kim et al., 2014). According to the authors, this finding further supported the idea that parenting behaviors were highly informed by one's social context, rather than on the individual's ethnic ideology (L. Kim et al., 2014).

In contrast, within the Japanese American community, it has been found that Sansei have maintained traditional cultural values, which were reflective of values carried by Japanese natives (O'Reilly et al., 1986). Research on this population also determined that Japanese mothers viewed the infant as highly dependent beings, and values, such as achievement and obedience, were highly emphasized (O'Reilly et al., 1986). These values were similar to native Japanese values of respect for elders and honoring one's family and community (O'Reilly et al.,

1986). The authors also stated that the maintenance of these cultural values could be indicative of parenting styles and the maintenance of specific competencies, especially when compared to other ethnic groups, such as European Americans (O'Reilly et al., 1986).

Relational Orientation Framework. Thus far, the literature presented in this study has highlighted the influence that culture has on parenting and the different parenting styles that may be utilized with children. However, from a relational framework, a parent-child relationship is a bidirectional dyad, which views both parties as agents who have the ability to impact each other emotionally and socially (Tuttle et al., 2012). Moreover, this relational view of the parent-child relationship evens out the traditional parent-child hierarchy and acknowledges the influence that both parent and child have on each other in the relationship (Tuttle et al., 2012).

To better understand the aforementioned definition of a parent-child relationship, the relational orientation framework will be discussed. According to Kashima et al. (2001), there were three aspects of a self-concept, which included the individual, relational, and collective selves. The individual was indicative of goal-directed behavior and autonomy (Kashima et al., 2001; Silverstein et al., 2006). The relational self was defined as an individual in relation to another individual (Kashima et al., 2001; Silverstein et al., 2006). Lastly, the collective self was reflective of an individual in relation to a group of people (Kashima et al., 2001; Silverstein et al., 2006).

Within a relational orientation framework, the focus was on how one experienced the self in relation to other individuals, through outlets such as verbal communication, which existed in a greater cultural and social context (Silverstein et al., 2006). To better understand relational behaviors, the authors organized the information across two dimensions, which were focus and power (Silverstein et al., 2006). The focus dimension referred to ways in which one oriented towards independence and autonomy or connection and relationships (Silverstein et al., 2006).

The power dimension referred to ways in which relationships were viewed as equal or hierarchical (Silverstein et al., 2006). Based on these dimensions, it was determined that there were four relational orientations, which were defined as rule-directed, position-directed, independence-directed, and relationship-directed (Silverstein et al., 2006). A rule-directed position was described as an individual who leaned towards the hierarchical and relational dimensions, which was commonly found in collective cultures (Silverstein et al., 2006). A position-directed individual was high in both hierarchy and independence (Silverstein et al., 2006). The independence-directed orientation described an individual who was high in autonomy and equality, which was an idealized position in Western culture (Silverstein et al., 2006). Finally, a relationship-directed orientation was high in both equality and connection (Silverstein et al., 2006). Overall, the relational orientation framework took a broad look at relationship styles and the ways in which people related to other individuals.

Relational Parenting. Given that parenting is often viewed as behaviors and values enacted upon a child, rather than a bidirectional relationship, research conducted by Tuttle et al. (2012) applied the relational orientation framework to parent-child relationships to better assess for relational parenting. Within this framework, the rule-directed orientation reflected strong attachment bonds with parental figures, while maintaining authority over the child with an emphasis on group values (Tuttle et al., 2012). The position-directed orientation described a parent who emphasized parental power, child obedience, and personal responsibility (Tuttle et al., 2012). The independence-directed orientation emphasized reciprocal exchanges between parent and child and autonomy of the child (Tuttle et al., 2012). Lastly, the relationship-directed parent-child orientation valued shared power and shared responsibility for maintenance of relational interactions (i.e., shared affect; Tuttle et al., 2012).

Redress

The incarceration of Japanese Americans impacted families and parenting, and the government made attempts at reconciliation and redress. In 1980, Congress formed the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians whose purpose was to assess the circumstances surrounding the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II (Nagata et al., 2019). The Commission reviewed documents, records, and testimonies from over 750 witnesses (Nagata et al., 2019). The Commission concluded that the incarceration was an injustice and recommended that Congress issue a public written apology, as well as provide a one-time payment of \$20,000 to each surviving incarcerate (Nagata et al., 2019). Since this time, there has been research exploring the effects of the redress:

Collective silence can mute the past but suppressed traumatic experiences still result in experiences of “haunting,” a term Inouye (2016) used to describe the lingering feelings of disturbance that can persist across generations and eventually to propel collective actions, as with the redress movements. (Nagata et al., 2019, p.43)

The Sansei encouraged former incarcerates to verbalize their traumas and seek governmental redress; however, in some cases it was against the wishes of the Nisei (Nagata et al., 2019). The identified precursors that undoubtedly impacted the redress included broader attention to the injustice of wartime incarceration both within and outside the Japanese American community, as well as the successful repeal of Title II (Nagata et al., 2019). Title II raised concerns about the government justifying confinement of individuals involved in ghetto riots and anti-war demonstrations, and African Americans and other activists campaigned to have it repealed (Nagata et al., 2019). Several studies have focused on the impact of redress among Japanese Americans, including Nagata and Takeshita’s 2002 study which examined the psychological reactions of redress of 30 incarcerates. The participants were asked eight questions related to

redress in order to determine their perspectives. Researchers found that while former Nisei incarcerates, in general, felt that redress had a positive effect on their lives, it did not reduce physical suffering or reduce their negative feelings regarding their incarceration (Nagata & Takeshita, 2002). All study participants noted that redress came too late and, for many, after their Issei parents had passed (Nagata & Takeshita, 2002). Ultimately, an important finding of the study by Nagata and Takeshita (2002) was that the Nisei were not a homogeneous group, which was illustrated by the diversity and variety of their reactions to redress.

Another study (J. Kim et al., 2015) took a more detailed approach when studying Japanese Americans' reactions to redress by specifically focusing on the "Beliefs of a Just World" and "Internal and External Locus of Control." Researchers found that those who had a stronger association towards "Beliefs in a Just World" had a stronger affirmative view of redress, as they experienced greater relief and felt a more positive impact of the redress (J. Kim et al., 2015). A mediating factor that greatly impacted the participants reactions to redress was if any incarceration-related coping was utilized, which determined both reactions to redress in combination with individual difference factors.

Critique and Need for Further Study

The current research study took a relational stance when viewing race-related trauma experienced by Japanese American citizens, such that it was believed that incarceration in the internment camps had an effect on multiple generations of Japanese Americans (e.g., Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei), not only the individuals who were incarcerated in the camps. Based on this viewpoint, it was determined that further research was needed on the effects of intergenerational trauma on parent-child relationships. Therefore, the current research study aimed to address these gaps in the literature.

Focus and Scope of the Proposed Study

The current study examined the incarceration of Japanese American citizens and its effect on parenting across generations. In general, the study focused on specific objectives, such as the maintenance of cultural values, the process of silence, coping mechanisms, and communication patterns within and between generations and how these issues influenced parenting. Specifically, the study examined parent-child relationships and the possible emergence of the relationship-directed parenting orientation across generations within this specific population. For example, the study aimed to review relational attunement and the level of focus (i.e., independence or connection) and power (i.e., equal or hierarchical) in parent-child relationships, from generation to generation.

Methods

Methodology: General Project Approach and Methods

Previous studies have suggested that race-related traumas can have an effect on relationships between family members through overt and nuanced forms of communication (Nagata et al., 2015; Nagata & Takeshita, 1998; Nagata & Tsuru, 2007). However, there was a gap in the existing literature as few empirical studies examined reports from members within the same family. Therefore, the researcher in the proposed study examined the Japanese American incarceration during World War II and its impact across generations. In addition, particular attention was given to Japanese American parent-child relationships and transmission of trauma of the Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei generations. Overall, the study examined communication patterns between family members and the intrafamily dynamics in relation to the incarceration of Japanese American families during World War II.

In order to examine the aforementioned research objectives, the proposed qualitative research study utilized archived interview data. The interviews were conducted with participants of Japanese American descent who were incarcerated in camps during World War II and/or their family members. Participants were interviewed individually or as a family.

The researcher participated in 2 of the 7 interviews that took place at Japanese American community centers in the greater Los Angeles area. One of the interviews was conducted with a single participant and the second interview was conducted with multiple members of a family.

Participants

Overall, a review of 7 individual and family interviews, with a total of 15 participants, was used for the current study. The researcher explored how family members communicated about the incarceration, related to other family members, and coped from the traumatic events of the internment camps. Subjects were selected based on their identification with the proposed

research population, which included Japanese American individuals who were incarcerated in the U.S. during World War II and the family members of those incarcerated.

Recruitment of Participants

Participants were recruited from various locations throughout the United States, including Japanese American social and community organizations (e.g., Japanese American National Museum, San Fernando Valley Japanese American Community Center). To assist in the recruitment process, recruitment brochures (see Appendix B) were sent and emailed to the organizations. Follow-up contact (via telephone, email, and in-person) was made to administrators, counselors, and/or agency personnel to answer questions and to further describe the research study.

The following criteria was met for inclusion in the proposed study: (a) Japanese or Japanese American incarcerated during World War II or family member of a Japanese or Japanese American incarcerated during World War II, (b) over the age of 18, and (c) able to read and speak English. Exclusion criteria for potential participants included individuals who possessed a major physical impairment that would prevent them from independently reading research materials (e.g., informed consent) and participating in an oral interview.

Settings

The settings for the interviews with the study participants varied due to participant preference for interview locations and accessibility to the facility. The rooms were secure and offered participants sufficient privacy to share their experiences in a safe environment. For example, an interview was conducted in a conference room at the Japanese American National Museum, per participant's request. Based on previous experience, participant's familiarity (e.g., volunteer) with the settings allowed for an effective and efficient process in reserving rooms. Furthermore, the researchers travelled to various locations to meet the participants in settings that

were comfortable and convenient for the participants. If participants did not have a location preference, the researchers provided secure locations for interviews to be conducted.

Data Collection

The interviews with participants who met criteria for the study occurred in-person and were semi-structured. This allowed for flexibility and the opportunity to gain information about the participants' lived experiences that were most important and pertinent to those interviewed, in a narrative and story-telling fashion. Therefore, the researcher served as the data collector and attempted to "seek to uncover what it means *to be* as it shows up or reveals itself through story" (Vandermause & Fleming, 2011, p. 369). All interviews were recorded on an audio recorder and were immediately transferred to a secure digital storage system following the interview. Informed consent was discussed and obtained at the beginning of the interview, prior to questions being asked about the participants' incarceration experiences. The interviews lasted between 90-120 minutes and a time limit for each interview was not enforced. Information regarding non-verbal behavior, including gestures and facial expressions, were recorded throughout each interview in the form of field notes.

Measures to Maintain Confidentiality

As stated in the informed consent form (see Appendix A), a copy of which was given to each participant, are the steps that the researcher made to ensure the confidentiality of each participant. The confidentiality of records was maintained in accordance with applicable state and federal laws to ensure that the participants' identities would not be revealed within any of the researchers' materials. Under California law, there are exceptions to confidentiality, including reasonable suspicion of current child, elder, or dependent adult abuse or if an individual discloses an intent to harm themselves or others. The exceptions to confidentiality were reviewed with each participant in order to ensure comprehension of the legal limits to confidentiality. The

participants provided both verbal and written understanding, regarding the limits of confidentiality. Additionally, the researcher did not record any identifying information on audio and video tapes or on the transcriptions of the interviews. The informed consent forms, audio tapes, and the interview transcripts were stored in a secure, locked location for a minimum of 5 years. Furthermore, the data was stored in a locked cabinet to which only the primary researcher had access. Informed consent forms and interview transcripts were stored in separate locations.

Measures to Minimize Risk to Participants

Within the informed consent form, which was signed by participants in the study, was a discussion on the potential risks of participation in the research study. Participants were informed of potential risks and distress that may be associated with participation in the research study, including possible feelings of discomfort. In addition, participants were informed that they could terminate their participation in the study at any time and/or refuse to respond to any questions or topics presented by the researcher. They were also informed that they may refuse to participate and/or withdraw consent and discontinue participation in the study at any time, without penalty or loss of benefits. After each interview, each participant was provided with a referral list of psychological services within their area.

Specific Aims

The overall research goals for the primary researcher's study included the following: (a) explore family members' stories of Japanese American incarceration during World War II, (b) highlight the relational effects of race-related trauma and the impact on multiple generations within the same family and between families, and (c) identify intergenerational communication processes and intrafamilial dynamics. These research goals were examined through the use of interviews, for the purpose of examining family communication and intrafamily dynamics related to the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II.

The current study examined parent-child relationships and the possible emergence of relationship-directed parenting across generations of Japanese Americans who experienced incarceration in internment camps in their family lineage. The specific aims of the study were: (a) explore parent-child communication of the internment camps and its impact on the parent-child relationship, (b) examine the possible emergence of relationship-directed parenting across generations, and (c) examine levels of focus and power in parent-child relationships across generations. The study also focused on the intergenerational transmission of trauma and the potential effects on parent-child relationships. The researcher engaged with the research, with the specific study aims in mind, by remaining aware of any emergence of relational attunement, levels of focus (i.e., independence or connection), and levels of power (i.e., equal or hierarchical) in parent-child relationships from generation to generation.

It is important to mention how the researcher defined and approached trauma in order to provide further context on the study's results. Alexander et al. (2004) defined cultural trauma as a collective group of individuals that "have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (p. 1). The researcher used this operational definition of trauma when examining the data for the essence of the lived experiences of Japanese Americans who directly or indirectly experienced incarceration in internment camps.

Approach to Data

Phenomenological Approach. In contrast to research that examines an individual's lived experience (e.g., narrative study), a phenomenological approach to research examines and describes the meaning of an experience for a group of individuals (Creswell, 2007). In essence, phenomenological research seeks to describe commonality between individuals based on their experiences of a common phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). The description provides the "what"

and “how” of the experience and the universal essence of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007).

Phenomenological research has a strong background in philosophical component, which draws on many philosophical assumptions, such as lived experiences being viewed as conscious experiences (Creswell, 2007). For the proposed study, the researcher explored the universal essence of Japanese American incarceration in internment camps during and following World War II. The data was analyzed for common themes experienced by the participants based on the collected interview data. However, within phenomenological research, there are specific approaches to data analysis. Therefore, a more in-depth approach to analyzing data will be discussed further.

Hermeneutic Phenomenological Approach. The two main approaches to phenomenological research are hermeneutic and transcendental/psychological (Creswell, 2007). According to Creswell (2007), a hermeneutic approach not only identifies themes of a phenomenon, but also interprets the meaning of the lived experience. Therefore, there is an interpretive process that occurs in a hermeneutic approach. As for a transcendental/psychological approach, there is less emphasis on interpretation and more weight placed on describing the lived experiences of the identified phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). This type of approach to phenomenological research also utilizes epoche (bracketing), which involves researchers setting aside their own subjective experiences when examining the data (Creswell, 2007). Based on the researcher’s philosophy of human experience and the nature of the research phenomenon, it was decided that a hermeneutic approach would be the best fit. Within the context of the proposed study, the researcher identified the themes that emerged for the Japanese American participants that were incarcerated in internment camps and interpreted the meaning of these lived experiences; with specific attention to parent-child relationships.

Fit Between Hermeneutic Approach and Researcher's Philosophy. The current study's researcher identifies as a Yonsei female with a strong connection to her Japanese American culture. She was raised in a culture that greatly valued familial relationships and the idea that an individual is a reflection of the overall family. In addition, the researcher was raised with an awareness of the internment camps, as her maternal and paternal grandparents experienced relocation in order to evade incarceration in camps. Given her interest in familial relationships and the internment camps, the researcher was highly motivated to complete the proposed study to gain further knowledge on the lived experiences of individuals and families who were incarcerated in the camps.

The researcher also believes in the idea that experiences are not only experienced by the individual but are often times experienced by others close to the individual (e.g., intergenerational experiences of trauma and discrimination). She believes that her personal identity has been impacted and formed through individual experiences and through relationships with family, friends, and members of the greater community. The researcher does not believe that one can be separate from their experiences, which includes relationships. On the contrary, she believes that one's experiences should be acknowledged and embraced, which was highlighted throughout the data analysis process as it served as both a strength (insight) and potential limitation (i.e., limited subjectivity) to the proposed study. For example, the researcher was more attuned to analyzing the level of focus and power within relationships, due to her knowledge of the relational orientations framework, which may have influenced her interpretation of themes. Despite this potential limitation, a hermeneutic approach to phenomenological research still appeared to be a good fit for her personal philosophy.

Methods and Analysis Plan

In order to analyze the interview data, the following steps were taken to interpret potential themes pertaining to parent-child relationships. The following steps were determined based on findings by Creswell (2007).

1. The researcher read the transcribed interviews multiple times to gain a general essence of the participants' lived experiences. Bracketing was utilized by the researcher in an effort to set aside her own preconceived notions on the research topics and to analyze the data from an unbiased lens. While analyzing the interview data, the researcher was aware of her own experiences as a Japanese American and her experiences within a greater Japanese American community. The researcher ensured that bracketing was utilized during this step, by reflecting on these observations with her fellow researchers.
2. The researcher then read through a few of the transcribed interviews with the primary researcher and fellow researchers in the dissertation lab. As mentioned above, a group review of the interview data allowed for opportunities to discuss potential biases when highlighting significant statements, which further insured the use of bracketing.
3. Based on the transcripts, significant statements pertaining to parent-child relationships were highlighted. Specifically, the significant statements that referred to relational attunement, levels of power (i.e., egalitarian vs. hierarchical), and levels of focus (autonomy vs. connection) within parent-child relationships were highlighted to assess for the possible emergence of relational parenting throughout the narrative data.
4. Meanings were then interpreted based on the significant statements. The transcriptions were read multiple times to ensure that the original description was maintained in the interpretive meaning.

5. The meanings were then organized into themes. During this step, the researcher sought consultation from fellow researchers, to avoid repetition of themes, and made note of discrepancies. The researcher also ensured that the themes represented the true essence of the lived experiences of the interviewees, despite the research study's aims and focus, by creating overarching themes that best encompassed the interpretive meanings.
6. This then allowed for the emergence of common themes experienced by most participants. The researchers once again referred back to the transcriptions to ensure sufficient evidence.
7. Throughout the data analysis process, data tables were used to organize the statements, meanings, and themes.
8. Lastly, the researcher created concise statements based on the results of the common themes, which were thorough descriptions of the phenomenon of the participants' incarceration experiences in the internment camps.

Establishing Rigor

While quantitative studies often have concrete measures of reliability and validity included in their methodologies, qualitative research and particularly hermeneutic phenomenological research focuses on the personal experiences of phenomena and “may be revealed through the conduct and analysis of interviews that permit participants to share their stories” (Vandermause & Fleming, 2011, p. 367). According to Krefting (1991), “subjective meanings and perceptions of the subject are critical in qualitative research, and it is the researcher's responsibility to access these” (p. 214). Subjective interpretations contribute to the crucial aspect of establishing rigor for qualitative studies, as there is no single measure able to place a number on its trustworthiness. Therefore, because “the nature and purpose of the

quantitative and qualitative traditions are different, it is erroneous to apply the same criteria of worthiness or merit” (Krefting, 1991, p. 214).

In the article by Krefting (1991), there were four aspects of trustworthiness that were said to be relevant for quantitative and qualitative studies: (a) truth value, (b) applicability, (c) consistency, and (d) neutrality” (as cited in Krefting, 1991, p. 215). The concept of truth value is akin to credibility in quantitative research and is established based on the assumption that subjects or interviewees included in the study, report on their experiences and realities as accurately as possible (Krefting, 1991). Truth value is established in these studies based on the lived experiences of the interviewees, as they present with “such accurate descriptions or interpretations of human experience that people who also share that experience would immediately recognize the descriptions” (Krefting, 1991, p. 216). Truth value is also established by common themes and elements of narrative that appear similar between separate interviewees.

Applicability in a qualitative study “refers to the degree to which the findings can be applied to other contexts and settings or with other groups” (Krefting, 1991, p. 216). This study’s focus on the phenomenon of the Japanese American internment camps during World War II established topics of trauma, intergenerational transmission of trauma, parent/child interactions, fatherhood, and parenting behaviors before, during, and after traumatic events. Past studies have looked at the same topics in similar traumatic circumstances, such as the Holocaust, suggesting that, while each phenomenon has unique situations, they have similar components regarding trauma following the events. As previously established, review of the literature is based primarily on traumatic events and their possible generalizability to the Japanese American internment camp survivors, as literature on this study’s focus is significantly lacking.

The consistency of data in qualitative research, or the importance of determining “whether the findings would be consistent if the inquiry were replicated with the same subjects

or in a similar context” (Krefting, 1991, p. 216), while crucial, is considered significantly different from consistency in quantitative studies (Krefting, 1991). Due to the hermeneutic phenomenological approach to this study, it is not possible to duplicate interviews with the same information that was discussed during the original interview. Therefore, “qualitative research emphasizes the uniqueness of the human situation, so that variation in experience rather than identical repetition is sought” (Field & Morse, 1985 as cited in Krefting, 1991, p. 216).

Finally, the concept of neutrality, or the “freedom from bias in the research procedures and results” (Sandelowski, 1986 as cited in Krefting, 1991, p. 216), is crucial in establishing the rigor of a qualitative study. As previously indicated, the researcher in the present study brought a unique set of personal investments in the subject of focus. Therefore, specific procedures were utilized while interpreting data (e.g., analyzing data with fellow researchers) to ensure neutrality.

Conceptual and Methodological Limitations

While using a hermeneutic approach is designed to capture the true lived experience of the participants, it remains a possibility that the heavy emphasis on the researcher’s participation in the analysis of data resulted in potential bias, given the subjective nature of the interpretation of themes. For example, the researcher has her own lived experience as a Yonsei female, which could have impacted the way in which she attributed meaning to statements and themes. Therefore, it was important for the researcher to remain aware of her own biases when analyzing the data for important statements, meanings, and themes. Bracketing and consultation with the dissertation chair worked to minimize these effects.

Additionally, the use of archival data for these studies added to the limitations, as the researcher of the study was only present for two of the in-person interviews. This left data vulnerable to the interpretation of the researcher, as she was not present and was unable to ask

any follow-up or clarifying questions. This also meant that questions specific to the study were not more directly addressed.

Innovation and Potential Contributions

The researcher focused on studying the lived experiences of Japanese Americans who were incarcerated in internment camps, with a specific focus on parent-child relationships across generations. Specifically, the researcher examined the possible emergence of the relationship-directed parenting orientation across generations within this specific population. Given the limited existing research on parent-child relationships within the Japanese American community, the current study provided information on the effects of incarceration in the internment camps on parent-child relationships. In addition, the study as a whole contributed further information on a relational view of race-related trauma. For example, information on the passing down of values, intergenerational communication, and positive reframe of the internment experience were presented throughout the study. Lastly, with regards to clinical interventions, the proposed study could assist mental health professionals in gaining a better understanding of parent-child relationships within the Japanese American community, and how these relationships across generations have been impacted by the internment camps.

Results

The results were collected from 7 verbatim transcripts and 15 participants. After reviewing the narrative data, 97 significant statements were identified and were analyzed for their formulated meanings, which is depicted in Table 1. After organizing the formulated meanings into overarching themes, 8 themes and 3 subthemes emerged: (a) intergenerational communication, (b) relational attunement, (c) passing down of values, (d) parent-child relationship, (e) shift in roles in the family system, (f) positive reframe of the internment experience, (g) intergenerational transmission of trauma - loss, (h) prejudice and discrimination, (i) concept of the model minority, (j) endurance and burden, and (k) impact on identity and culture. While individual themes were extracted from the narrative interviews, it is important to note that there was often overlap and intersection of the themes. For example, Bob, a Nisei incarcerated at Tule Lake, stated:

I don't think its impacted my, I mean in our family, we, my parents, were very open about it and positive. So, I mean, because they didn't lose, like Elaine was saying earlier, but I don't think it impacted us.

This statement exemplified many participants' experiences and depicted the intersection of themes, which included a positive reframe of the internment experience, as well as intergenerational communication from parent to child about the internment camps.

Theme 1: Intergenerational Communication

The race-related trauma experienced by generations of Japanese Americans due to incarceration in the internment camps was reflected throughout the interviews. One theme that emerged was the impact of the incarceration on communication across generations of Japanese Americans. In this study, communication encompassed both verbal and non-verbal forms. A

related subtheme, which will be discussed further, included relational attunement, which reflected non-verbal communication and connection amongst family members.

A lack of verbal communication from parent to child about incarceration in internment camps was a common thread throughout the interviews. For example, multiple Nisei participants reported minimal disclosures about the internment camps to their Sansei children, as shared by Bob who said, “Because we didn’t talk about the camp experience with our kids openly, uh, I don’t know that it’s made much difference.” However, verbal communication about the internment experience appeared to be more common from family members from an older generation (e.g., grandparent) or outside of the nuclear family (e.g., aunt). For instance, Ken, a Nisei born in Hunt, Idaho at a relocation camp, shared:

Because I got information from Aunt Mary. Aunt Mary discussed this when I was living with her, she told me about some camps and she told me things like when ... was in the camp he wanted to uh, his best friend wanted to get a flower that had grown just outside the fence and there was a tower with a guard with a gun and that he reached out to grab for the flower and because he was reaching beyond the fence the guy shot him.

Furthermore, the verbal communication about the internment experience from younger generations to older generations can be depicted in the narrative by Tami, a Yonsei whose grandmother was incarcerated at Manzanar, said, “Um, I think it, I guess from my perspective, it seemed more appropriate for the grandkids to ask the grandparents about things.” In this quote, Tami is sharing a belief that it was more acceptable for grandchildren to ask their grandparents about the internment experience, rather than children asking their parents. This impact on communication across generations may have been in an effort on behalf of the parents to protect their children from experiencing pain after learning about the internment camps. Joanne, a Nisei incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center, said, “Sometimes I feel like it’s a burden on my kids

to talk about it,” which exemplified an effort by Joanne to protect their children from feeling a sense of burden.

Subtheme: Relational Attunement

Within the theme of intergenerational communication, depictions of nonverbal communication across generations and within families emerged throughout the interviews. The term relational attunement encompassed this nonverbal communication and further spoke to the level of connection amongst family members that allowed for communication to occur without words being verbally expressed. Don, a Nisei whose family was incarcerated at Tule Lake, said, “They didn’t really show it, but I knew they were [angry]” when asked how their parents felt about the ramifications of being relocated to internment camps. Tom, a Nisei incarcerated at Tule Lake, said, “Oh yeah, she answered it the way Papa would have, she thought Papa would have” when discussing the way their mother filled out documents during the war. Similarly, Joanne shared:

The women that we saw, our mothers, especially the women, we see our mothers becoming very strong, my sister becoming very strong. And I think we became very strong because of that. It was by example, we just saw it and we learned it. No one had to tell us.

This statement depicted relational attunement when they described learning strength by watching their mothers and sisters, rather than being verbally told. By being attuned to other members within the family unit, one could gain understanding of another’s experience without requiring verbal communication. Overall, the negative effects of the incarceration in internment camps on intergenerational communication was found throughout the interviews in both overt (i.e., verbal communication) and covert (i.e., relational attunement) ways.

Theme 2: Passing Down of Values

The concept of values emerged throughout the interviews in relation to success, community, and being a part of the majority group. The values of success, hard work, and education appeared to be in direct correlation to the race-related trauma experienced from incarceration in the internment camps, as there was a desire to succeed in order to overcome the prejudice that was experienced. Jordan, who was incarcerated at Camp Harmony, stated, “You’ve got to be twice as good to be average.” In addition, Jordan discussed their parents’ value of education in order to gain success:

Oh, they really wanted me to go to school, no question. They knew if I stayed and didn’t go to college, or you know, higher education, not college, but just, you know, anything to establish more knowledge, I was a dead man.

Similarly, Tami, a Yonsei whose grandmother was incarcerated at Manzanar, shared a similar valuing of education in the family when they said, “I just didn’t have that, but that, but you know, dad valued education really highly, I think its cause he didn’t get to finish. So, it was always just more, just to be the best we could do.” Within this context, education was encouraged as a means for success or as one of the few ways to achieve success.

In addition, values of community emerged throughout the interviews as the Japanese American community was depicted as being tight-knit, where many individuals within the community were acquainted with each other. Tami described the closeness within the Japanese American community as different than other minority groups as a result of the war:

It seems like, what’s unique about the Japanese-American community today, is a direct result of the war, and the internment...because I don’t see that really with any other um, recent minority group, meaning, being 1900 and beyond. Um, because we always joke, and it’s totally true, but there’s only two degrees of separation between JA people, and

you could walk into a room and find someone, and then talk, and realize that you know people.

In relationship to community, there was fellowship that developed at the internment camps due to the loss of friendships and family members following relocation, which may have further reinforced a valuing of community and relationships. Joanne discussed the fellowship experienced at the camps:

I think that's why the Japanese community is so close. We made friends in camp and after camp, we still even, would go to a dance at the YMCA or something like that and you would meet other boys to dance and the first question is, "What camp were you from?"

Furthermore, being a part of the majority group was another value that emerged as younger generations of Japanese Americans were expected to perform to certain standards by the older generations in order to gain acceptance from the majority group (i.e., White-identified Americans). Bob discussed a need to do well and not act out which was expected by their older family members, but noted that this same value was not seen with their White-identified friends:

There's certain standards. You have to do well in school. You cannot act out. And anytime you saw something in the newspaper about a Japanese getting into trouble. Oh, this person is Japanese? Their parents must not have taught them right. You heard that all the time from my parents and my aunts and uncles. And I thought, Oh, my gosh. But you thought, you didn't hear it as much from my Caucasian friends.

It is also important to note that one's behaviors were viewed as a reflection of the family and of parental guidance, which was held with high regard. Peggy, a Sansei whose parents were incarcerated at Manzanar, said, "Never do anything to shame the family name."

As reflected in the narratives, the value of belonging to the majority group was passed down from generation to generation and became an ideal that impacted the family as a whole. The need to adapt to the majority group appeared to be in direct correlation to the race-related trauma experienced during incarceration in the internment camps. The passing down of values seemed to occur across multiple generations as they were endorsed by participants from the Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei generations.

Theme 3: Parent-Child Relationship

The parent-child relationship and shift in roles within the family system were additional themes that surfaced throughout the interviews. Specifically, there appeared to be a closeness within the parent-child relationship that appeared to experience a shift during incarceration in the internment camps. Tom shared, “I always was, like was always with Momma, wherever she went I went, to do the laundry, to do the, everything, mess hall, but those are the things I remember.” Tami also described an effort to maintain closeness in parent-child relationships when they said, “Um, but that’s always been a big thing to keeping, like the kids and parents and families connected.” However, Joanne described a shift in the parent-child relationship during incarceration in internment camps:

In camp, the fathers lost all authority. The kids would be running around. We’d be eating with our friends, we never ate with our family. The mothers would eat with their friends and the older kids would eat with their friends.

The first depiction of the parent-child relationship displayed a closeness in both proximity and time spent together. However, a shift in roles in the overall family system due to incarceration in the internment camps reflected a change in the parent-child relationship.

Subtheme: Shift in Roles in the Family System

Due to incarceration in the internment camps and the subsequent lack of privacy and significant change in their living environments, there was a change in the family dynamic, roles, and relationships. Prior to the internment camps, the father was viewed as the head of the household. However, during the incarceration in internment camps there was less oversight by the father and more relational distance within the family system as shared by Don:

The father was no longer in charge of the family because the, because the way the, the homes, you know, they were like barracks, that the kids were, the word wasn't wild, but he said, he could be wilder than we could have been in the traditional Japanese home. This shift in roles in the family system appeared to have impacted the younger generations as reflected in disciplinary practices. For example, it was found that younger generations first experienced discipline through physical means and as time progressed they were disciplined through verbal means as Don mentioned:

But instead of whipping me, or getting real mad, he took me aside to his bedroom, sat me down on the bed and we had a talk. Lord knows what he said, because I don't remember a thing, because the whole time I was deathly afraid that he was going to HACK (laughter). The whole time, that was all I could think about. (laughter) My punishment. But he never did, he never raised a hand...

Overall, the change in physical environment and proximity to others outside of the nuclear family, due to the internment camps, appeared to lead to a change in the parent-child relationship and overall family roles and relationships.

Theme 4: Positive Reframe of the Internment Experience

Throughout the interviews, participants often stated that their parents discussed the internment camps in terms of lessons that they were able to take away (e.g., value of hard work)

or experiences that were viewed as joyful (e.g., play baseball). There appeared to be a consistent theme of parents telling their children about positive aspects of incarceration in the internment camps. Diane, whose husband was born in Hunt, Idaho at a relocation camp, stated, “They actually said that for them it was the best thing that could have happened because they both learned a trade, they were safe” in reference to their parents’ description of incarceration in an internment camp. This positive reframe of the camps was not always agreeable with younger generations, as Carol, a Sansei whose mother was incarcerated at Manzanar said:

Then I remember getting upset like, well (group chuckles), it was such an injustice. What, how can you say that, but I think in retrospect you were just commenting, you know, was a, you know, just a, on the conditions, uh.

Similar to the lack of verbal communication about the internment camps from parent to child, the positive reframe of the internment camp experience may have been in an effort to protect the children. However, as the younger generations learned more about the internment camps, they noted the injustice for their community and experienced frustration and confusion with their parents’ recollection of positive aspects of the camps.

Theme 5: Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma - Loss

A theme that emerged throughout the interviews was the transmission of trauma across generations in the form of loss through material and non-material items. The loss of material items could be seen through the loss of property and personal belongings due to physical relocation to internment camps. For instance, Janet, a Sansei whose mother was incarcerated at Manzanar, shared, “I mean there was a certain, a certain security and um, this, um loss of, of dignity that I think that they bore that, that insecurity did affect my generation.” This statement was an example of the loss of tangible and intangible items in the form of dignity and physical security. Additionally, Allie, a Nisei incarcerated at Manzanar, discussed a loss of emotional

connection when they said, “I was demeaned. And I guess, uh, that just kind of, stifles you to feel any more emotion.” Overall, the transmission of trauma through the form of loss impacted generations of Japanese Americans during and following the war.

Theme 6: Prejudice and Discrimination

The race-related trauma experienced by Japanese Americans during the internment camps was an explicit example of prejudice and discrimination. After reviewing the narrative samples, it was found that prejudice and discrimination was continually experienced by generations of Japanese Americans following the internment camps. Don experienced discrimination while at a work setting:

No, but then like if I, if I, if I’m among the Filipino groups, or the Vietnamese groups, or the Laotian groups, or the East Indian groups, I’m fine. Everybody get along. We are just talking like normal. But the minute I try to break into the white group, it ain’t too cool.

In this example, the participant experienced discrimination when attempting to join and converse with their White-identified colleagues, but did not experience the same prejudice when interacting with other minority groups. Kim, a Sansei whose parents were incarcerated at Manzanar, said, “I remember being in elementary school and hearing, being called a Jap a lot.” Similarly, Joanne shared a story of discrimination that was experienced as a child/adolescent when they said, “They would call us Japs and try to get us mad. And we said, we don’t want to fight.” Both of these examples exemplified experiences of discrimination through the use of offensive ethnic slurs. The continued experiences of prejudice and discrimination within the Japanese American community following incarceration in internment camps may have also added to the transmission of trauma across generations.

Theme 7: Concept of the Model Minority

The concept of the model minority emerged throughout the interviews, which reflected ideas of tolerance, silence, and obedience. For instance, Jordan shared, “It’s the case, especially, with me and my dad. You don’t ask questions, you just do what you’re told.” The benefit from being a model minority was also explicitly stated in the narrative shared by Mark, a Yonsei whose father was born at Poston:

The Japanese Americans were being, were labeled the model minority, I think, was in large part due to that period of history and that time and, and the fact that for the most part, and there were always exceptions and things I’ve heard, and stories I’ve heard, but everybody, they were able to make like go on. Um...and there wasn’t a whole lot of uprising and things like that and what I didn’t realize until much later like now was that, um, like I’ve benefited greatly from the sacrifices that they made and being able to just tolerate it.

As reflected in the statement, many generations of Japanese Americans were influenced by the concept of the model minority, which may have been systemically reinforced by the opportunities that were afforded to them and subsequent generations of Japanese Americans. The motivation to maintain silence and obedience may have also potentially been in an effort to avoid negative repercussions. For example, Peggy said, “The nail that sticks up gets pounded down.”

Subtheme: Endurance and Burden

In relation to the concept of the model minority was an effort of the older generations to carry the burden of the incarceration experience for the younger generations as stated by Mark:

Yeah, I think, I think, uh, I mean I'm kind of thankful every day that was, like the reframe or the way that... I think my grandparents chose to look at because I don't think it would

have done, as hard, I think they basically, they basically endured and suffered so their kids wouldn't have to and subsequently well I don't think my, my generation, my cousins, my sister and I have to carry a burden from that.

As mentioned in the quote, by enduring the direct experience and repercussions of the internment experience, the younger generations experienced less of the burden of the internment camps than the older generations. Joanne shared similar sentiments when they said, “Our parents made it so that we kids would have fun. They never, my mother, my father never showed their anger to us or any kind of bitterness or um any kind of feeling of being upset.” This related to the concept of the model minority as it further reinforced the silence around the internment camp experience.

Theme 8: Impact on Identity and Culture

The impact on identity formation and one's cultural identity shifted throughout the generations of Japanese Americans following the incarceration in internment camps. The desire to appear less aligned with Japanese culture and to acculturate to White American culture was reinforced by a decrease in discrimination and an increase in opportunity. Mark described the impact that the internment camps had on their identity formation in an effort to gain power within American society:

Um... yeah, you know, I've given a lot of thought that, too, and... I, I look at as some...

Personally, I think what it was for me was perceived... it, it, it, I, I think that I, I sensed that I would have more power within American society if I wasn't considered Japanese.

However, despite the effort to appear as “less Japanese” and “more American,” there remained a felt sense of not being White-identified or as a part of the majority group, as the participant Don stated, “It's just, I don't, from then on, I was very aware of who I was. I was not a Caucasian. I knew that.” Overall, the impact of the internment camps on identity and culture for generations of Japanese Americans resulted in the loss of Japanese culture and an identity as an

outsider. Based on the narrative interviews, the loss of the Japanese culture was often found in the loss of the Japanese language for generations of Japanese Americans.

A total of 7 interviews from 15 participants were analyzed for the essence of the phenomenon/lived experience of Japanese Americans who experienced incarceration in internment camps either directly or at some point in their family lineage. The narratives reflected both shared experiences and individual experiences of the Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei generations. Through a thorough analysis of the interview data was the development of 8 themes and 3 subthemes pertaining to the following: intergenerational communication, relational attunement, passing down of values, parent-child relationship, shift in roles in the family system, positive reframe of the internment experience, intergenerational transmission of trauma - loss, prejudice and discrimination, concept of the model minority, endurance and burden, and impact on identity and culture. Despite the specific themes that were reflected in the narrative data, the overarching essence of the experiences involved the intergenerational transmission of race-related trauma experienced by Japanese Americans incarcerated in internment camps. However, it is important to note that the focus of this current study pertained to the impact on the parent-child relationship and relational parenting. Therefore, the data was analyzed for this particular focus and other interrelated themes. It is important to note, as mentioned earlier, that many of the themes overlapped and intersected.

Discussion

This study aimed to look at the effects of race-related trauma, due to incarceration in internment camps, on parent-child relationships and the potential emergence of relational parenting. The research study hypothesized that parent-child relationships within the Japanese American community would be impacted by the intergenerational transmission of race-related trauma (i.e., incarceration in internment camps), through the potential emergence of relationship-directed parenting. By analyzing the lived experiences of generations of Japanese Americans impacted by incarceration in internment camps, through narrative interview data, multiple intersecting themes emerged.

The overarching essence of the internment experience involved intergenerational transmission of trauma due to incarceration in internment camps for Japanese Americans. Throughout the narrative data, the transmission of trauma was often experienced in the form of loss for both material and non-material items. Material loss was often found in the loss of property and belongings during and after the internment camps. The loss of non-material items was reflected in the loss of dignity and disconnection from emotions. It is important to note that this loss was experienced by both individuals who directly experienced the incarceration in internment camps and family members who indirectly experienced the internment camps. Though the participants' experiences more clearly highlighted the intergenerational transmission of trauma, the effects of the incarceration also impacted the parent-child relationship.

Prejudice and Discrimination

The United States has a history of racism and discrimination of minority communities, with the current hate crimes occurring within the Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) community serving as an example of the continued systemic racism that occurs within the U.S.

During World War II, the United States incarcerated 120,000 Japanese Americans, given their false portrayal as a threat to national security (Nagata et al., 2012). The government responded to the incarceration of thousands of Japanese Americans, decades after the internment camps, by providing a public written apology and one-time payment of \$20,000 to each surviving incarcerate (i.e., redress; Nagata et al., 2019). It was found that many Japanese Americans believed the redress came too late as it occurred after the death of many Issei parents (Nagata & Takeshita, 2002). The current racism occurring within the AAPI community and other minority groups, is representative of systemic racism, which continues to be perpetuated by governmental silence, similar to the government's response following the Japanese American internment camps.

Within this study, the continued experience of prejudice and discrimination following the war exemplified a continued experience of trauma across generations. Throughout the interviews, there were many accounts of prejudice and discrimination that were experienced in childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. The experiences of prejudice and discrimination appeared to be more prominent from White-identified individuals in contrast to other minority groups.

Parent-Child Communication and Relational Attunement

According to Nagata (1991) information about the internment experience was not often verbally communicated from Nisei parents to Sansei children. Similar findings from the current study were also found in that limited verbal communication about the internment camps was experienced from parent to child. However, it was found that communication outside of the parent-child relationship appeared to be more common and appropriate. For example, communication about the internment camps would occur from grandparent to grandchild. However, due to the lack of overt communication from parent to child about the

internment camps, there appeared to be instances of covert communication that occurred through relational attunement. As noted by Silverstein et al. (2006), all human interaction can be viewed as relational and is experienced in various ways based on individual differences. Within the context of parent-child relationships, relational parenting involves shared power in which both child and parent share the responsibility of attuning to one another (Tuttle et al., 2012). Within this study, relational attunement encompassed nonverbal communication that reflected the level of connection amongst family members that allowed for communication to occur without words being verbally expressed. This development of relational attunement appeared to have developed as a way to adapt to the lack of overt communication about the internment camps. By developing relational attunement, a Sansei child could sense when a Nisei parent was upset based on non-verbal cues (e.g., clenching of the jaw) and could then respond accordingly. This relational attunement is an example of the impact on the parent-child relationship that occurred due to the internment experience. While reference to focus and power were found in the narrative data, the essence of the phenomenon was better represented by the overarching themes discussed. Therefore, attention was given to the emergence of relational attunement within the interview data in order to speak to the research study's aims (i.e., relationship-directed parenting), rather than direct discussion on relationship-directed parenting.

Values Across Generations and Shifts in the Family System

An impact on the parent-child relationship due to incarceration in internment camps was reflected in the passing down of values from one generation to the next. Nagata (1991) found that Nisei experienced difficulties with self-esteem due to the internment experience and therefore, often instilled the values of succeeding and earning the respect of others in their Sansei children. In the current study, it was found that values of success, community, and being a member of the majority group were often passed down to younger generations. Specifically, one

way that success could be achieved was through education. Success through education also appeared to be a way of overcoming prejudice and discrimination and to align with Westernized American culture. It is important to note that the value of education and of being a member of the majority group further reinforced the stereotype of Japanese Americans as the model minority. With regards to community, the Japanese American community was often described as tight-knit and close throughout the interview data. This valuing of community may have developed during incarceration in the internment camps as many participants described experiences of fellowship and community-building at the camps.

However, this valuing of community and fellowship developed at the internment camps may have also impacted the structure of the family system. Multiple participants in the study endorsed a shift in roles in the family structure due to the living conditions at the internment camps. For example, prior to the camps, the father was viewed as the head of the household and was the first person to eat at the dinner table. However, at the camps, children and mothers often ate with their friends. In addition, it was found that the parent-child relationship was described as close in proximity and time spent together, but experienced a shift during incarceration in the camps as all members of the family started to spend more time with people outside of the family unit. There was also an observed shift in power from fathers to mothers, which was described as being seen but not told, which also an example of relational attunement between parents and children. The effects of these gendered role and power shifts may continue to impact families and the parenting relationship.

“To Endure for the Sake of the Children”

Nagata and Takeshita (1998) found that a way that the Issei and Nisei coped with the race-related trauma experienced during incarceration in internment camps was through cultural values, which included “gaman” (perseverance) and “shikata ga nai” (it can’t be helped). These

values were also reflected in the current study's narrative data, which exemplified a sense of endurance in an effort to not burden the children and subsequent generations. By enduring the adverse consequences of incarceration in the internment camps, the Nisei hoped to protect the younger generations. A part of this effort, to do what was best for the sake of the children, was also exemplified in the positive reframe of the internment experience from the Nisei to the Sansei and Yonsei. The positive reframe of the internment experience often included stories of playing sports, learning new trades, and making new friends. However, this positive reframe of the internment experience was, at times, frustrating for the younger generations as they acknowledged the injustice that occurred for their ancestors. With a focus on the parent-child relationship, it is important to note the overall concern of doing what was best for the children despite one's own personal experiences, a relational process that may continue to be present in many Japanese American families.

Model Minority, Identity, and Culture

According to Thompson et al. (2020), the stereotype of the model minority is often attached to Asian identified individuals, that of which are described as quiet and intelligent. Within the context of this study, the positive reframe of the internment experience and the lack of verbal communication about the internment camps from parent to child may have further reinforced the stereotype of Japanese Americans as a model minority. In addition, the prejudice and discrimination that was experienced following the war may have further reinforced the benefits of staying quiet and not speaking against the injustices that were experienced through the form of safety and security for oneself and one's family.

In relation to the stereotype of the model minority, is the impact on identity and culture that was experienced for generations of Japanese Americans during and following the war, and it continues today. Based on the narrative data, appearing more "American" and less "Japanese"

was synonymous with more power in a Westernized American society. For example, this loss of Japanese culture was often reflected in the loss of the Japanese language. Based on the narrative data describing the Japanese American family system prior to the war, it can be presumed that there was also an impact on the parent-child relationship due to the impact on individual, cultural, and identity development that was shifted away from Japanese culture, and shifted towards American culture.

Overall, the current study found intergenerational transmission of race-related trauma of Japanese Americans due to incarceration in internment camps and impacts on the parent-child relationship and relational attunement. This impact on the parent-child relationship and relational attunement was impacted by overt and covert forms of communication, passing down of values, shifts in roles in the family system, a focus on endurance for the sake of the children, the model minority stereotype, and impacts on identity and culture. However, it is important to note that levels of focus and power, reflective of relationship-directed parenting, did not appear to emerge in the interview data. The researcher suspects the parenting relationship may reflect more qualities of a rule-directed orientation, though additional research on how race-related trauma impacts the parent-child relationship is necessary.

Despite the reality that many of the Japanese Americans who were incarcerated during World War II are no longer living, the effects of the incarceration continue in the lives of Japanese Americans today. From the historical race-related discrimination of Japanese Americans during World War II to the recent violent attacks on the AAPI community, it is clear that our country's white supremacist ideals and systemic, institutionalized racism continues to traumatize and demoralize Japanese Americans. Research and policy must be adopted, and accountability and advocacy must be acted upon to ensure systemic change, the safety of

families, and to support the maintenance of secure, relationally oriented parent-child relationships.

Limitations

A limitation of the current study included the small sample size of 7 interviews and 15 participants. While small sample sizes in qualitative research allows for a more in-depth examination of human experience, a small sample size within this research study limited the representation of all internment camps. For example, the various Japanese American relocation camps and assembly centers were located across multiple states in the United States. Given the diversity between the multiple internment camps, it is reasonable to conclude that each camp resulted in variability of lived experiences given the differences in physical location, weather, availability to resources, etc. Therefore, the limited sample size and subsequent limited representation of all internment camp experiences, limited the study's ability to speak to experiences of all Japanese American internment camps within the United States.

In addition, the significant statements gathered from the narrative data were often second-hand information from younger generations who were re-telling stories of older generations. Therefore, limited first-hand data was collected, which limited this study's ability to know the true lived experiences of the Issei and older Nisei. It is also important to mention that not all interviews involved multiple family members or generations of family members. This limitation, once again, resulted in second-hand information provided by individual members of a family.

Furthermore, an additional limitation of the study included the recruitment process of the sample. The participants of the study were volunteers who were recruited from various locations across the United States, with locations including Japanese American social and community organizations. Given that the study involved participants who volunteered to share about their

internment camp experience, it is possible that they had prior interest in the Japanese American incarceration and had collected their own information about the internment camp experiences from other families. Therefore, the recollection of the lived experience or familial experience may have been influenced by knowledge from other Japanese American families.

Implications and Future Directions

While the current study focused on the intergenerational transmission of trauma within the Japanese American community due to incarceration in internment camps and its impact on parent-child relationships, it is important to note the current racism that is occurring within the Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) community following the COVID-19 pandemic. According to Yam (2021) from NBC News, the number of anti-Asian hate crimes has significantly increased in the past year, with the victims of these crimes being disproportionately female-identified. Additionally, there have been reported attacks on Asian American older adults (Yam, 2021).

Within the field of clinical psychology, it is vital that clinicians seek to gain multicultural competency to better serve our culturally diverse clients. According to Borge et al. (2020) multicultural competence in psychology entails insight into one's own cultural values, knowledge of cultural values of other cultural groups, and the development of culturally informed interpretive clinical skills. The findings from the current study can add to the growing knowledge of multicultural competency within psychotherapy by providing insight and information on parent-child relationships within the Japanese American community impacted by incarceration in internment camps.

With increased knowledge of the transmission of trauma within the Japanese American community due to incarceration in internment camps, clinicians can ask more informed questions pertaining to family history, which may assist in contextualizing a client's reported symptoms/

presenting problem. In addition, the increased awareness of relational attunement within parent-child relationships can broaden our lens of parenting behaviors, which decreases the likelihood of viewing common Westernized parenting behaviors as the norm. Additionally, the information pertaining to the negative effects of incarceration in internment camps on individuals and the greater Japanese American community, can assist clinicians in normalizing a client's experience by discussing potential shared experiences with others in their community.

The limited research on Japanese American internment camps and subsequent impact on multiple generations reflects the importance of the current findings and the need for further research on this underrepresented community, especially given the current prejudice, discrimination, and hate crimes that are being experienced in the AAPI community following the COVID-19 pandemic. Continued research on relational attunement and intergenerational transmission of trauma can help us to understand how current instances of prejudice and discrimination, experienced by marginalized groups in America, could impact families and future generations. In addition, as mentioned by many of the study participants, there is a strong desire to conduct research on the Japanese American community and to collect personal narratives as soon as possible, given the continued passing of many members of the Issei and Nisei generations.

By adding to the literature on Japanese American incarceration, clinicians can gain a better understanding of the transmission of trauma across generations and its impact on parent-child relationships through overt and covert communication, passing down of values, relational attunement, etc. This in turn will allow clinicians to gain more knowledge of cultural values of other marginalized communities, which is a part of multicultural competence in psychotherapy (Borge et al., 2020). With regards to trauma treatment in psychology, due to the history of prejudice and discrimination of marginalized communities within the United States, it is

important as clinicians to understand the implications of the trauma inflicted on generations of a community so that we can competently assess and treat trauma on an individual and group level.

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APPENDIX A

Informed Consent for Participation in Research Activities

Participant: _____

Principal Investigator: Amy Tuttle, Ph.D., LMFT

Associate Professor of Psychology, Pepperdine
University

Title of Project: Family Stories of Japanese American Internment: Intergenerational
and Relational Processes of Trauma, Resilience and
Healing

I, _____, agree to participate in a research study under the direction of Dr. Amy Tuttle, Associate Professor of Psychology at the Graduate School of Education and Psychology at Pepperdine University. I understand that while the study will be under the supervision of Dr. Tuttle, interviewers or research assistants who work with her may be designated to assist or act on her behalf.

The overall purpose of this research is to better understand how families deal with race-related trauma and discrimination. Specifically, this research will examine how families communicate about the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II and how the experience impacted different generations of family members within the same family.

My participation in this study will include participation in family and/or individual interviews, in which the researcher will ask questions about family stories of the internment experience and the impact of that experience on my family. The researcher may ask questions about family stories, experiences, values, beliefs, relationships, and communication.

My participation in the interviews may last from one to two hours, and the interviews will be audio or video taped. The interviews will take place in a location of my preference, including but not limited to my home, local community or counseling agency, library, or church.

I understand that I may not personally benefit from the study. I understand that a possible benefit to society is that what is learned from my experience will help professionals treat families who have experienced race-related discrimination, traumas, and injustices.

I understand that there are certain risks and discomforts that might be associated with this research. These risks include possible feelings of discomfort. I also understand that I may terminate my participation at any time and refuse to respond to any question or topic presented by the researcher. I understand that upon my request, the researcher will provide a list of psychological services in my geographical area.

I understand that I may choose not to participate in this research. I understand that my

participation is voluntary and that I may refuse to participate and/or withdraw my consent and discontinue participation in the project or activity at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which I am otherwise entitled.

I understand that the researcher will take all reasonable measures to protect the confidentiality of my records and my identity will not be revealed in any publication that may result from this project. The confidentiality of my records will be maintained in accordance with applicable state and federal laws.

Under California law, there are exceptions to confidentiality, including suspicion that a child, elder, or dependent adult is being abused, or if an individual discloses an intent to harm him/herself or others.

The researcher will not record any of my identifying information on audio and video tapes or on transcriptions of the interviews. The informed consent forms, video and audio tapes, and the interview transcripts will be stored in a secure, locked location for at least 5 years. The data will be stored in a locked cabinet to which only the researcher will have access. Informed consent forms and interview transcripts will be stored in separate locations.

I am entitled to a summary of findings and will complete the required form if I wish to receive summary information. The summary will not be available until completion of the study, which may take up to one year.

I understand that the researcher is willing to answer any inquiries I may have concerning the research herein described. I understand that I may contact Dr. Amy Tuttle at (949) 223-2523 if I have other questions or concerns about this research. If I have questions about my rights as a research participant, I understand that I can contact Dr. Ho, Chairperson of the Graduate and Professional Schools Institutional Review Board at Pepperdine University, (310) 568-5604.

I will be informed of any significant new findings developed during the course of my participation in this research which may have a bearing on my willingness to continue in the study.

I understand to my satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I have received a copy of this informed consent form which I have read and understand. I hereby consent to participate in the research described above.

Participant's Signature: _____

Date: _____

Witness: _____

Date: _____

I have explained and defined in detail the research procedure in which the subject has consented to participate. Having explained this and answered any questions, I am cosigning this form and accepting this person's consent.

Principal Investigator: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX B

Family/Individual Interview Guide

Introduction to Interview

Let's begin our interview. I want to remind you now that I will be taping the interview. I also want to remind you that if I ask a question that you do not wish to answer, please let me know and we will move on.

Do you have any questions before we begin?

Demographic Information

I would like to begin by asking some questions so that I can obtain some background information about you and your family.

To Each Family Member(s):

1. How old are you?
2. What is your ethnicity?
3. Were you born in the U.S.?
 - a. *If "no," ask:* In what country were you born?
4. How many generations has your family been in the United States?
5. What generation are you (e.g., Nisei, Sansei, Yonsei)?
6. What is your marital status?
7. Do you have children?
 - a. *If "yes," ask:* How many? What are their ages, gender, and do they live at home with you?
 - b. Was your child born in the U.S.?
 - i. *If "no," ask:* Where was your child born?
8. What is the highest grade in school that you completed?

- a. *If not born in the U.S., ask:* Did you complete school in the country in which you were you born?

9. What is your occupation?

Some of the questions I will ask next are about the internment experience, family relationships and communication. Specifically, I will give you an opportunity to reflect on the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, as well as stories in your family that have been passed down from one generation to another. I will also ask those of you who were not interned how you learned about the internment, stories that have been told, how they've been told, and if you've noticed any differences in the stories as you've grown older.

Some questions will be directed to the person interned (use name of subject here) and some questions will be directed to the entire family. I'll let you know which questions are which. Are there any questions?

I. Family Stories of Internment Experiences

To Each Family Member

1. Where you interned in the United States during World War II?
 - a. *If "no," ask:* Which family member(s) was interned? When and how long?
 - b. *If "yes," ask:* Where were you interned? When and how long?

To Internee (if present)

2. Tell me a little about the evacuation and your experience in "camp."
 - a. Are there stories or memories that stick out in your mind?
 - b. Did you work? Go to school?
 - c. How were you and your family impacted by the internment experience, both positively and negatively?
 - d. What was your role in the family?
- i. How did your role in the family change and/or stay the same?
3. What did you tell your children when you were evacuated?
 - a. What did you say?
 - b. How did you talk to them about it?
 - c. How did they respond?

d. Knowing what you know now, would you have said or done anything differently?

To Family Member(s)

4. What do you know about your family member's internment experience?
 - a. How do you know this?

II. Intergenerational Communication Processes, Intrafamily Dynamics, and Communication

To Internee (if present)

5. What stories, pleasant and unpleasant, do you remember sharing with your family? a. Are there topics that weren't discussed? Such as?
 6. Is it okay for family members to ask you about "camp"?
 - a. Are there topics that you aren't interested in sharing with them?
 7. Do family members ask about your experience in "camp"?
 - a. *If "no," ask:* Do you wish that were different?
 - b. *If "yes," ask:* How do you typically respond?
 8. Today, who do you talk with about your experiences in "camp"?
 - a. What types of things do you talk about?
 - b. How is it to talk about "camp" with others?

To Family Member(s)

9. How did you learn about your family member's experience being interned? 10. What stories do you remember hearing as a child? Young adult? Adult?
 - a. Have the stories changed? How?
 - b. Do you notice a difference in how your family member talks about their experience?
11. Did and do you talk about you family member's experience in "camp"?
 - a. Was it okay to talk or ask about?
 - b. How did you know?
12. Do you talk to your child/children about the internment?
 - a. What stories do you share? Avoid?
 - b. How do you talk about it with your child/children?
13. Tell me about your perspective of how your family communicates about the internment and World War II.

- a. How would you describe your family's communication style and patterns are the internment?
- b. Is it different for your family to discuss this experience and other topics? How?

III. Relational Effects of the Trauma; Impact on Multiple Generations

To Internee (if present)

- 14. When you think about life before and after "camp," what do you think about? a. How do you think "camp" changed what the future held for you and your family? b. How do you think your internment experience impacted your children? Your grandchildren? Great grandchildren?
- 15. Because of your experience being interned, are there things you taught your children? a. Are there values and beliefs that you've tried to instill in your children or grandchildren?
b. What are they?
c. How have you passed these things down?

To Family Member(s) and Internee

- 16. How do you think the experience impacted relationships in your family? a. How would you describe your relationships in your family? Close? Distant? 17. What was it like for you growing up as a Japanese American after World War II? 18. How is it for you to hear others talk about World War II?
a. Has that changed? How?
- 19. How is it for you to talk about the war and your family member's experiences being interned?
a. Has that changed? How?
- 20. How do you and how will you talk with your children about the internment? 21. How do you think the family has changed and been impacted by the internment?

IV. Resilience and Healing in the Family

To Family Member(s) and Internee

- 22. Today, what do you think about the experience of being interned?
a. How has your perspective changed? Stayed the same?

- b. How do you make sense of any difference in your perspective?
- 23. What would you hope is never forgotten or lost?
- 24. How has the family coped with the internment experience?
- 25. Do you feel that the family has healed from the traumatic experiences of the internment? a. *If “no,” ask:* How do you know? What needs to happen to begin that healing process? b. *If “yes,” ask:* How do you know? How have you and your family healed from the experience?
- 26. What is your perspective of the decisions that led to the internment?
 - a. What are your thoughts/ feelings toward the U.S. Government?
- 27. What are your thoughts/feelings about the redress?
- 28. What, if anything, do you think was learned from the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II? For the family? For the community?

V. Community Support

- 29. Where do you go for support? What are your social support networks?
- 30. Are you connected to or associated with any Japanese American organizations?

End of Interview

We’ve covered all the areas needed for this study. Do you have any questions for me, or do you have additional information you feel I should know that I did not ask you about?

I want to thank you for helping with this study. If you are interested in receiving a summary of the study findings, please complete this Summary Request Form and the researcher will send you a summary after the study is completed. Please understand that it may take up to one year or longer before the study is completed.

If you think of anything after I leave, you may call me at the number on the consent form. Thank you for your time and support of this research study.

APPENDIX C

Recruitment Brochure

WHAT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

If you are interested in finding out more about this study or have questions, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Amy R. Tuttle, Ph.D.

Pepperdine University
Graduate School of
Education and Psychology

18111 Von Karman Avenue
Irvine, CA 92612

(949) 223-2523
(619) 850-8547

amy.tuttle@pepperdine.edu

IMPORTANT INFORMATION

Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary.

If you are interested in participating, please contact Dr. Amy Tuttle for more information:

(949) 223-2523
or
(619) 850-8547

Pepperdine University
Graduate School of
Education and Psychology

**Family Stories of
Japanese American
Internment:
Intergenerational
Processes of Trauma,
Resilience, and Healing**

**Volunteers Are Needed
to Participate in a
Research Study**

WHO IS CONDUCTING THE STUDY?

My name is Amy Tuttle and I am a professor at Pepperdine University, Graduate School of Education and Psychology. I am completing a research study to

WHAT IS THE STUDY?

In the fields of marriage and family therapy and psychology, professionals know that traumatic experiences impact individuals, families, and communities. Researchers have studied the effects of the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. However, little is known about how the internment experience impacts family members in the same family. This study will examine how families communicate about the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II and how the experience impacted different generations in the same family. The study will provide therapists, psychologists, and communities with information about how to help those interned and their families, and help others who have experienced various forms of race-related trauma and discrimination.

WHO CAN PARTICIPATE?

To participate in this study, you must be:

- A Japanese or Japanese American interned in the United States during World War II, or
- A family member of a Japanese or Japanese American interned in the United States during World War II, and

- Over the age of 18 years.

*Note: Family member may include daughter/son, grandchild, great grandchild spouse, in-law, stepparent, etc.

WHAT IS INVOLVED?

If you decide to volunteer for the study, you will be asked to participate in audio or video taped family and/or individual interviews that may take 1-2 hours to complete.

The interview will be scheduled at a convenient time and place. The interview may be conducted in your home, local library, church, or counseling agency.

The interview will include questions about how your family talks about the internment experience. Interviewers will ask questions about family stories that have been passed down from one generation to another, relationships, communication, family values and beliefs. Information, such as your gender and age, will also be requested.



APPENDIX D

Significant Statements and Formulated Meaning Table

Separated by Themes:

1. Intergenerational Communication
 - a. Relational Attunement
2. Passing Down of Values
3. Parent-Child Relationship
 - a. Shift in Roles in the Family System
4. Positive Reframe of the Internment Experience
5. Intergenerational Transmission of Trauma – Loss
6. Prejudice and Discrimination
7. Concept of the Model Minority
 - a. Endurance and Burden
8. Impact on Identity and Culture

Pseudonyms were used for interviewees.

Significant Statements and Related Formulated Meaning				
Name	Interview	Significant Statement	Formulated Meaning	Theme
Carol - mother was incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 – Folder 5	And I didn't really get the impression she, I think some people, um, my friends said their parents were reluctant, didn't want to talk about it. But I didn't get that feeling from our parents, it's just that, it's like a lot of things, I didn't really know what my father did at work. Or, you know, it's just that (chuckles), for a child I just wasn't interested, I was just, it was just their world.	Interviewee describing how their friends' parents were reluctant to talk about the internment camps, but they did not get the impression that their own parents were unwilling or uncomfortable with talking about the internment camps. Instead, the interviewee believed that it was just something that their parents didn't talk about and something that they weren't	1

			interested in talking about as a child.	
Tami - grandmother incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 - Folder 5	Um, I think it, I guess from my perspective, it seemed more appropriate for the grandkids to ask the grandparents about things, cause I know that our older cousin Ally, when she was in elementary school did a project, um...	Interviewee describing communication of the internment camps as more appropriate between grandchildren and grandparents, rather than between children and parents.	1
Ken - born in Hunt, Idaho relocation camp	Interview 2 - Folder 3	Because I got information from Aunt Mary. Aunt Mary discussed this when I was living with her, she told me about some camps and she told me things like when ... was in the camp he wanted to uh, his best friend wanted to get a flower that had grown just outside the fence and there was a tower with a guard with a gun and that he reached out to grab for the flower and because he was reaching beyond the fence the guy shot him.	Interviewee discussing experiences of the internment camps which was shared by an aunt, rather than by the interviewee's parents.	1
Ken - born in Hunt, Idaho relocation camp	Interview 2 - Folder 3	I think my uncle, Uncle Dick, my father's brother, they were both born on the same day but many years apart. Anyway, they, he was more willing to talk about those kinds of things. He was a very	Interviewee discussing how some people were more reluctant to talk about the internment camps, such as the interviewee's dad, but the interviewee's uncle was more open to talking about the internment camps.	1

		<p>philosophically driven thinker and uh he uh. I wish I could remember the things that he told me, but uh, one of the things that he always reminded me, he says, “your father is very proud of his children he knows that that’s his legacy.” He says, “regardless of what he says or does know that he loves you.” And that’s about all that I can remember of our discussions although we had uh, I, I, discussed more with my uncle about camp uh and those kinds of things than I did with my dad when, dad wouldn’t talk about it.</p>		
Bob - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	Because we didn’t talk about the camp experience with our kids openly, uh, I don’t know that it’s made much difference.	Interviewee discussing how the internment camp didn’t impact their children because they did not openly discuss it.	1
Mark - father born at Poston	Interview 3 - 1001	Well, I don’t know if I can remember quite accurately, but it, it was something to the effect of, like...like, uh...just that you need realize or imagine like having everything, it was like if, it was like if someone knocked on our door right now and said, “Get out of your house, get on a	<p>Interviewee discussing the redress and how they believed that the money could have been used to fund education.</p> <p>Interviewee then discussed how his dad responded to this statement and seeing how their father was hurt by the response.</p>	1

		train, go to the middle of the desert.”		
Mike - family incarcerated at Tule Lake Fiona - married to Mike	Interview 5 - Folder 4	The pressures my grandmother was going through without having, uh, his father around. Um, and the uh. I: What, did he, did he, noticed the pressures. How, like, how would you say that? M: You know, I think he just, he doesn't, again he doesn't express himself that much in that area. But he'll, he'll say that, um, that he felt sorry for his mother to have to take care of two rambunctious boys on her own, um. And uh, he, he has mentioned there was pressure from my grandmother, because, you know, she's a minister's wife, so, uh, she felt she needed to maintain this aura of, of, you know, kind of one, uh, of the rocks of the community, you know. She's, she's a very, she's a very, um, what's- F: Powerful <laugh>.	Interviewee discussing how his father noted on the pressure that his grandmother experienced without having his grandfather around. Interviewee also stated that his father did not often verbally communicate about the camps but has said that he felt sorry for his mother (interviewee's grandmother) with having to take care of 2 rambunctious boys and to maintain a certain reputation as a minister's wife. Interviewee then described his grandmother as powerful.	1
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	Sometimes I feel like it's a burden on my kids to talk about it.	Interviewee discussing how they do not talk about their internment experience with their children because they feel as if they are burdening their	1

			children by talking about it.	
Don - family incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	And and plus, the look on her face said that that's not the reason why. there were prejudices against us.	Interviewee discussing an event that occurred in childhood where other children didn't want to play basketball with them. Their mother said it was because they looked physically different but their perception of her non-verbal communication said it was a form of prejudice for being Japanese American.	Subtheme 1.5
Tom - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	Oh yeah, she answered it the way Papa would have, she thought Papa would have	Interviewee discussing how their mother filled out documents during the internment camps in a way that she believed her husband would fill out the paperwork so that they wouldn't be separated.	Subtheme 1.5
Don - family incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	Were your parents angry? They didn't really show it, but I knew they were.	Interviewee discussing their understanding of the ramifications of relocation and having feelings of anger. Then the interviewer inquired about the interviewee's parents' feelings of anger. Interviewee stated that they knew their parents felt angry, despite it not being verbally expressed.	Subtheme 1.5
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at	Audio 1	The women that we saw our mothers, especially the women, we see our mothers	Interviewee discussing the increase in strength in women during the internment camps and	Subtheme 1.5

Rohwer Relocation Center		becoming very strong, my sister becoming very strong. And I think we became very strong because of that. It was by example, we just saw it and we learned it. No one had to tell us.	the young girls at the camp taking on that same strength, not because someone told them to be strong, but because they learned by example.	
Kim - parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	He wouldn't push back, just took it."	Interviewee discussing how they could tell their father was angry when hearing the term "Jap" in war movies based on the tensing of his body. But, also noticed that he wouldn't verbally express his anger.	Subtheme 1.5
Name	Interview	Significant Statement	Formulated Meaning	Theme
Tami - grandmother incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 Folder 5	Something about my aunt was talking about it affected the community, and I think, I mean just in kind of observation, I never thought I'd be studying it, it seems like, what's unique about the Japanese American community today, is a direct result of the war, and the internment and the... because I don't see that really with any other um, recent minority group, meaning, being 1900 and beyond. Um, because we always joke, and it's totally true, but there's only two degrees of separation between JA	Interviewee was noting on the closeness in the Japanese American community that is located in Southern California as a result of the war and internment camps. Specifically, interviewee was discussing how it is common to be well-acquainted with others in the Japanese American community located in Southern California and how that differed from their friends who self-identified with other marginalized ethnic communities.	2

		<p>people, and you could walk into a room and find someone, and then talk, and realize that you know people. And it's, I've never seen that with my Chinese American friends, or my Persian American friends, who have either come at different times, but were not all congregated at some point. I think because in So Cal, it's like if we lived in, New York or New Jersey, it would be completely different I think, but because we're in Southern California and everything was kind of centered here on the west coast...</p>		
Tami - grandmother incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 Folder 5	<p>I think um, maybe, that... or, and then is that how you do it? You're better than... I, I don't know that it was for me, it was the better, but being accepted was, that there was value in that.</p>	In contrast to being better than White-identified individuals, the interviewee was discussing a value in being accepted within the majority group	2
Tami - grandmother incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 Folder 5	<p>Because I just didn't have that, but that, but you know, dad valued education really highly, I think its cause he didn't get to finish. So, it was always just more, just to be the best we could do.</p>	Interviewee discussing a passing down of values regarding education in order to gain success.	2

Allie - incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 Folder 5	I find that the friends I developed, I think friendship is really important. I know that your family is too, but, cause I didn't have that many friends before, that are... especially Japanese people.	Interviewee discussing the importance of friendships and wanting to pass down the value of friendship to their children.	2
Tami - grandmother incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 Folder 5	How that's going to effect, um, the generations I, what I teach my kids. You know, I can still say I learned this from, you know, grandma directly. But when they grow up they just have the hearsay, you know, so I don't know, I'm wondering what the JA community will look like. Will there, still be all these common links between people? Or, um, because, really, I think everything centers around the Nisei, um, the community that kind of started their own business expanded. So, it will be interesting to see what happens in the next two generations.	Interviewee expressing curiosity about future generations and their value of community and relationships.	2

Bob - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 Folder 3	Grandma would come and visit us at our place and I remember her telling us Japanese stories about Momotaro and the boy who cried wolf.	Interviewee recalling memories about how their grandma would get them ready for bed by telling stories. This could infer both a valuing of familial relationships and the telling of stories as a way to pass down values to younger generations.	2
Don - family incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 Folder 3	And, uh, because they introduced me to the smart kids, you know, and we all hung around at school so I knew I had to study. I couldn't, couldn't lollygag around like I did before.	Discussing the interviewee's move to Seattle and being around other Japanese Americans and feeling the need to study after they started hanging out with other students who excelled academically. This displays a valuing of education within their social support system.	2
Bob - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 Folder 3	To respect other people's property.	Interviewee discussing that they passed down the value of respecting other's property to their children.	2
Tom - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 Folder 3	They, they wouldn't get away with it, today's kids. Of course, back then, uh, what I remember is I was taught to respect you know your elders and you respect authority, you never questioned authority. So, I think that was one of the reasons they were able to pull it off back then.	Interviewee discussed how they believed that internment camps could not occur in the present moment because later generations of Japanese Americans would not allow it to happen without pushing back. Interviewee then stated that it happened in the past because earlier generations of Japanese	2

			Americans were taught to respect their elders and to never question authority.	
Mark - father born at Poston	Interview 3 - 1001	That's a really interesting question. I would probably want to emphasize that...I would want to illustrate for them, imagine that this happened to you...And imagine what it would take to kind of carry your life forward, in a positive way, and raise a good family, and...you know...live your life honorably and not cheat to get ahead or anything, even though you lost so much. Understand why and how that...um...understand that it's possible and I would expect that from you. Because... because, you know, your great grandfather did that.	Interviewee discussing what they would hope to never lose in connection to the internment experience. Interviewee stating that they would want to pass down values of honor and honesty (i.e., not cheating to get ahead), despite losing so much, and that it was possible to achieve these things because their great grandfather did.	2
Jordan - incarcerated at Camp Harmony	Interview 4 - Folder 2	Mom got sick and we bought a new small house. So, we had to pay the mortgage, we had to pay her medical expenses. And dad didn't have enough money. And I was going back to school. Only now, I wasn't going to UW. I went one year and quit. Didn't like it. But I	Interviewee discussing the desire to go to LA for art school, but not being able to go to school one year because they had to help support their family financially, given that their mother was sick and they recently bought a new house. Specifically, the interviewee had to help	2

		<p>found out what I wanted to do, so I started going to school in Los Angeles. Art school. And I really enjoyed that. So, they says, you can't go to school this year. I give everything you make to pay the bills. Luckily, Cold Stories was very busy and I made a ton of money at the Cold Stories. And when the cannery started? Wup! We had a good year in the cannery, a lot of fish! So, I took all my checks, and gave them, everything, but I said I want to keep ten dollars a week so I could have some spending money!</p>	<p>with paying the mortgage and their mother's medical expenses. Interviewee also talked about making money at their workplace and giving the money to their family, except for ten dollars a week which they used for spending money. This statement could be an example of familial values and prioritizing the family's needs over an individual need.</p>	
Jordan - incarcerated at Camp Harmony	Interview 4 - Folder 2	<p>Oh, they really wanted me to go to school, no question. They knew if I stayed and didn't go to college, or you know, higher education, not college, but just, you know, anything to establish a, more knowledge, I was a dead man.</p>	<p>Interviewee sharing that their parents wanted them to get a college education in order to gain success. Interviewee was also discussing an inability to advance in life, despite hard work and effort, without a college education.</p>	2
Jordan - incarcerated at Camp Harmony	Interview 4 - Folder 2	<p>Always succeed.</p>	<p>Interviewee discussing a desire to succeed as a way of moving on from the internment experience.</p>	2
Jordan - incarcerated at Camp Harmony	Interview 4 - Folder 2	<p>You've got to be twice as good to be average.</p>	<p>Interviewee discussing the value of working hard to overcome</p>	2

			<p>prejudice and discrimination.</p> <p>Interviewee connected the Japanese American internment camp experience to individuals of Jewish descent who experienced the Holocaust.</p>	
Ken - born in Hunt, Idaho relocation camp	Interview 2 - Folder 3	And they had a lot of fellowship there and then once they left the camp they felt lonely, you know, I mean they were totally isolated away from, away from their family and friends.	Interviewee discussing different ways in which people reported their experiences of the camp. Interviewee said that some people talked about a sense of community that people felt while at the internment camps. This may be an example of a valuing of relationships and community.	2
Bob - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	You know there was another story that (*inaudible) used to talk about. The fireballs that, that circled the camps and stuff. When someone died their spirit would float around and talk and what not around that building of that person living in there and they would sit on the window sill and then go away eventually.	<p>Interviewee discussing a story about fireballs (i.e., spirits) that would float around the camps following their death.</p> <p>This statement may refer to a value around death and dying.</p>	2
Bob - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 Folder 3	There was a certain standard our parents expected of us you know and I know my parents did all the	Interviewee was discussing how they grew up with an “inferiority complex” that potentially	2

		<p>time, especially my dad, he says, “You’re the oldest. You have to be kind of like the boy in the family,” and I’m like, “Oh great!” And he said, “There’s certain standards. You have to do well in school. You cannot act out.” And anytime you saw something in the newspaper about a Japanese getting into trouble. “Oh, this person is Japanese? Their parents must not have taught them right.” You heard that all the time from my parents and my aunts and uncles. And I thought, “Oh, my gosh.” But you thought, you didn’t hear it as much from my Caucasian friends.</p>	<p>developed as a result of the internment camps. Then they discussed standards that were set for them by their parents and how there was an expectation for Japanese Americans to perform/act to a certain standard and if they did not, it was a result of the lack of parental guidance/upbringing. Interviewee also discussed how this experience differed from their White-identified peers.</p>	
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	<p>I think that’s why the Japanese community is so close. We made friends in camp and after camp, we still even, would go to a dance at the YMCA or something like that and you would meet other boys to dance and the first question is, “What camp were you from?”</p> <p>There’s a community that grows out of that.</p>	<p>Interviewee discussing a closeness in the Japanese American community due to the shared experience of the internment camps, which reflects a valuing of community.</p>	2

Peggy - parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	Our grandmother taught us to do. She saved everything, drove our mother crazy because being that my mom wanted to be, our mom wanted to be American, you didn't reuse things, you bought, always bought new things."	Interviewee discussing a passing down of values from their grandmother of saving and reusing/repurposing items, rather than buying something new.	2
Peggy - parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	All people of color lived in Pacoima. So, there was a very large population of Japanese here in Pacoima.	Interviewee discussing how real estate was not sold to people of color outside of Pacoima. Therefore, there was a large Japanese American community in Pacoima, which may have further reinforced the value of community.	2
Peggy - parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	Never do anything to shame the family name.	Interviewee discussing the concept of "saving face" and the value of not doing anything that could reflect poorly on the family.	2
Name	Interview	Significant Statement	Formulated Meaning	Theme
Tami - grandmother incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 - Folder 5	Um, but that's always been a big thing to keeping, like the kids and parents and families connected. Um, and then churches too... I grew up in a church that was predominantly Japanese American, um and it's since changed into, you know, our church started as a Japanese American church, but now it's, um, I mean it's still pretty	Interviewee was discussing the importance of family and parent-child relationships in the Japanese American community. The interviewee also discussed how the overall Japanese American community and family structure has changed over generations and will continue to change over time.	3

		<p>homogenous but it's changing, and I would say in the next generation that that's going to change too.</p> <p>And, um, I mean I guess you're building a different kind of community, but that, the way that it is now, maybe it was twenty years from now, I think will be distinctly different from twenty years from now.</p>		
Janet - mother was incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 - Folder 5	<p>That you know, even though, um, it, they're further removed from it, and it's the same thing that she was saying when someone tells me, oh they're somebody's, someone was in the civil war. I mean I have no... but, I know about that history and it, it is interesting. Then, and if I was connected with it, um, however tenuous that is, it's still part of who I am, or who my family's history, so...</p>	The interviewee shared that they wanted to pass down knowledge of the internment camp experience to future generations because it is part of the family history.	3
Tom - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	<p>The only person that would corroborate that story was Mom because I always was, like was always with Momma, wherever she went I went, to do the laundry, to do the, everything, mess hall, but those are the things I remember.</p>	<p>Interviewee was recalling memories of the internment camp and reminiscing on a very close relationship with their mom. The interviewee was describing many experiences (e.g., doing laundry, going to the mess hall) where they were together with their mom.</p>	3

Jordan - incarcerated at Camp Harmony	Interview 4 - Folder 2	<p>Interviewer: Did it change at all when you got older?</p> <p>Interviewee: Eventually. He would talk to me.. But it took a while. Till I was about 18? 19? Around there. Then, then he started talking to me. You know. Deciding hitting me wasn't working.</p>	Interviewee stating that their father would eventually start talking to them more as they got older, around the age of 18 or 19, because hitting them as a form of discipline was not working.	3
Don - family incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	<p>But, uh, when I got home, Papa right away knew what I had been up to. But instead of whipping me, or getting real mad, he took me aside to his bedroom sat me down on the bed and we had a talk. Lord knows what he said, because I don't remember a thing, because the whole time I was deathly afraid that he was going to HACK (*laughter). The whole time, that was all I could think about. (*laughter). My punishment. But he never did, he never raised a hand and later on, when I was a rebellious teenager, course he had to set me down and other than that, he never, ever, he didn't discipline me like Tom (pseudonym) and Eddie (pseudonym).</p>	Interviewee was discussing disciplinary practices within the family. Specifically, interviewee was describing how they were disciplined after doing something that they weren't supposed to do. Interviewee stated that their father talked to them instead of getting really mad and hitting them, which was not what they were expecting. Interviewee then talked about how they were not disciplined in the same way as their siblings.	3

		For some reason. I think maybe, he saw that it wasn't doing any good.		
Allie - incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 - Folder 5	So, I think the family structure is broken there	Interviewee discussing the change in the family system given that the younger generations would spend time with their friends rather than with the family unit.	Subtheme 3.5
Don - family incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	Well, I know my uncle said that when he was in camp, one of the things that he noticed is the family structure, the Japanese family structure, fell apart in camps. The father was no longer in charge of the family because the, because the way the, the homes, you know, they were like barracks, that the kids were, the word wasn't wild, but he said, he could be wilder than we could have been in the traditional Japanese home. So, a lot of things occurred in those camps that the parents didn't know about. And when they left the camp, those values continued and he says he raises his kids differently um because of the camp not because of the way he was raised from his father because he wanted the more liberal um freedom for	Interviewee discussing a change in the family structure for Japanese Americans because of the experiences that occurred while living in internment camps (e.g., living in barracks rather than a family home). For example, the interviewee shared that due to this shift in the family system, the father was no longer in charge of the family because there was less oversight of the children due to the living conditions.	Subtheme 3.5

		his kids than the structure that they brought from Japan.		
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	I had such a struggle. I didn't want to go back to LA to be with my parents. I wanted to be independent and uh live independent of my parents.	Interviewee discussing difficulty with feeling obligated to go back home to LA, as an adult, to help and live with their parents, while also wanting to live independently away from their parents.	Subtheme 3.5
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	The Japanese experience is the opposite of a Caucasian, of a European family, you start off with an inverted U, the Americans will have a U, but the Japanese Americans will have an inverted U. Meaning when you're little you're tied very closely to your family and as you grow up to be a teen and around 20 years old, the American family expects you to leave house, in fact they kick you out of the house, you have to be on your own. Whereas a Japanese family says, oh no, you gotta be, you gotta take care of your parents and you have to be really tied to your family, so you're not gonna be independent, so you're gonna um then, it was	Interviewee discussing the Japanese American family system as very interconnected from childhood to adulthood, in contrast to White-identified American families which encourage independence as an adult. The interviewee shared a personal struggle with knowing what was expected of them with their Japanese American culture, but at the same time wanting to be more independent. This shift from interdependence to independence in relation to their family may reflect the shift in the family system that was experienced at the internment camps.	Subtheme 3.5

		a struggle because it was, that was my culture telling me to take care of my parents and my struggle was I wanted to be American and be on my own.		
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	The family structure broke down in camp. So, fathers were no longer the heads of the family. Before the war, Japanese families, the Isseis especially, uh the father would sit down at the table first, and then the kids would sit down, and the father would get fed first, then kids would all get fed, and the last one to eat is the mother, if there's any food left, she would eat whatever was left.	Interviewee discussing the change in the family structure due to the internment camps. For example, one way in which the family structure changed was displayed in typical eating routines, such that prior to the camps the father's role as the head of the household was reinforced through eating routines as they sat at the table first and would be fed first. However, their typical eating routines vastly changed at the internment camps.	Subtheme 3.5
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	In camp, the fathers lost all authority. The kids would be running around. We'd be eating with our friends, we never ate with our family. The mothers would eat with their friends and the older kids would eat with their friends.	Interviewee discussing the shift in the family system as the fathers lost their role as the head of the household while at the internment camps. This shift in the family system was seen in typical eating routines as the families no longer ate together, instead children, adolescents, and mothers ate with their friends.	Subtheme 3.5

Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	The women, the mothers had to take over the family. They had to be the ones to make um, the children stay in line. And so, I think it was the camp experience, that first made women very strong.	Interviewee discussing a shift in the family system that occurred at the internment camps as the mothers took on more power within the family by disciplining the children and making sure that they were not getting into trouble, which resulted in more strength and power for the women.	Subtheme 3.5
Name	Interview	Significant Statement	Formulated Meaning	Theme

Carol - mother was incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 - Folder 5	<p>But, we're all becoming radicals, and all this kind of stuff. So, I'm asking my mom for some kind of, uh, you know, her experience and I was disappointed because, she doesn't politicize it. Like, she, she said, oh, I don't know if you remember this, but she goes, well it wasn't so bad. Because you said, it's the same thing what you just said now, she goes, we were very poor. So, actually, it was almost a, uh, you know step up in terms of our conditions. And then I remember getting upset like, well (*group chuckles), it was such an injustice. What, how can you say that, but I think in retrospect you were just commenting, you know, was a, you know, just a, on the conditions, uh. Well, you didn't, you didn't have, uh, an analysis of it, you know like.</p>	Interviewee sharing how they felt upset when their mother didn't express anger or injustice when discussing the internment camp experience and instead described it as an improvement from their living circumstances prior to the internment camp.	4
Peggy - parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	<p>That's when I got angry with them. Why didn't you talk about this? Questions were uh, I guess the biggest question was, "Why did you let them take you to camp?"</p>	Interviewee reflecting on a time when they were 15 years old and expressing anger towards their parents for not discussing the internment experience and for allowing the government to put them in internment camps.	4

Diane - husband born at Hunt, Idaho relocation camp	Interview 2 - Folder 3	And they actually said that for them it was the best thing that could have happened because they both learned a trade, they were safe.	Interviewee discussing the positive impact of the internment camp experience due to learning a trade and having safety.	4
Mark - father born at Poston	Interview 3 - 1001	Um...like my dad would always say things like, "oh I'm the shortest and I'm bowlegged because when I was in camp they didn't have any milk for me" (*laugh) or something like.	Interviewee describing how they learned about the internment camps from family members and how humor was often involved in these discussions.	4
Mark - father born at Poston	Interview 3 - 1001	Yeah, I, I think... I think my dad used it more as like, as like a lesson... in... in understanding the value of work and... appreciating, like, what you have...and, uh... and treating people fairly, like, justice, in a just way. But I never, I never really feel like I never, I never heard of it as like, "Damn, you know our governments so messed up. You know, here we go again." Or, or "They did this to people once, they did to us, you know." I never really felt like I heard negative things like that, or, or you know, "If that didn't happen we would have been really rich or something. And we have this land they took." I never really	Interviewee discussing how their father talked about the internment experience as a lesson in understanding the value of hard work, appreciating what you have, and treating people fairly. This was in contrast to talking poorly about the government or what they could have had (e.g., financial surplus, land) if the internment camps did not occur.	4

		hear, heard anything like that.		
Mike - family incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 5 - Folder 4	<p>Yeah. I guess, I'll start with my, my father.</p> <p>He, um, it's, it's mixed, you know. He would say things, he, he had stories for me about, like Jerome, Arkansas for example.</p> <p>And how it was kind of fun for him, um, he said there was a swamp right nearby where there was frogs and things like that.</p> <p>And um, he just kind of got to run around.</p> <p>My father, yeah. He, um, you know, I think he feels maybe perhaps he benefitted from being a child and not, cause. But he also recognizes that the older, uh, older people you know teenage, upper teenage on.</p> <p>Cause he, cause he, experience Tule Lake, um, kind of the, the, kind of the revolting, the, the 18, 19- year-old men, early twenty, twenties. So, he saw the anger, um.</p>	Interviewee discussing how his father talked positively about the camps (e.g., running around and having fun) but also noted on how his father believed he benefited from being a child in the internment camps, rather than an adolescent, because he witnessed anger in the adolescents and young adults.	4
Mike - family incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 5 - Folder 4	<p>Just thinking about my dad, some of that stuff, other stuff that he has said, you know, really falls under the, the, through the child's eye type thing.</p> <p>He got to play baseball, there was school. He would</p>	Interviewee discussed how their father's description of the camps was very consistent with a child's outlook on experiences (e.g., playing baseball, going to school). Interviewee also stated that his	4

		always tell me kind of the technical stuff that happened with the camp but he would always end his stories with “But you know we had, we got to do, we got to watch movies, we did plays, you know some, some camps had made, they made their own kabuki theaters” and stuff like that. And everyone just kind of got together and tried to make it work, you know. They continued school, um.	father would end his stories about the internment camp by talking about positive experiences such as watching movies, having plays, and having a kabuki theater. Interviewee said their father also talked about how everyone at the camps came together to make the most of the situation.	
Bob - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	I don’t think it’s impacted my, I mean in our family, we, my parents were very open about it and positive. So, I mean, because they didn’t lose, like Eve (pseudonym) was saying earlier, but I don’t think it impacted us.	Interviewee discussing the impact of the internment camps and stating that their perception of the camp was that it did not affect them and their family, potentially because the camp was talked about in a positive way.	4
Carol - mother was incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 – Folder 5	So, uh, it seemed more like a summer camp, or, it had that kind of connotation. But I never got the impression that it was negative, necessarily.	Interviewee discussing how their parents described what the internment camp experience was like. Interviewee shared that their parents described their experiences of the internment camps positively, similar to a children’s summer camp.	4
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at	Audio 1	My first reaction is I had fun in camp.	Interviewee discussing her initial reaction to people asking about her	4

Rohwer Relocation Center			personal experience in internment camps.	
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	So, when we went to camp, my parents thought, “Oh my gosh we don’t have to work. The government is going to give us free room and board.” And so, so they were, there kind of relieved to be in camp. So, um, they didn’t see it as being a hardship, inconvenient, but not a hardship. And the feeling transcended on to us kids.	Interviewee discussing their parents’ positive outlook on the internment camps, such as the government providing a place to stay for free, which had an impact on the children in the camps because they also viewed the internment experience positively.	4
Kim - parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	I never really got that much out of mom. She just didn’t really want to talk about it. Dad, for me um, cause I was living out of the area so, my visits weren’t really, a couple of times a year, and uh any opportunity that I could I’d have to fill him out see, hoping he would talk about it, um. Most of the times when he talked about camp, he only talked about the fun times.	Interviewee sharing that their mother did not talk not about the internment camps and their father, when he would talk about it, only discussed the positive experiences.	4
Name	Interview	Significant Statement	Formulated Meaning	Theme
Janet - mother incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 - Folder 5	So, it does, sort of, skip a generation, or something like that (*chuckles). But I did want to say to, but I mean, this is, maybe inappropriate for this interview, but, there, I think there were	Interviewee discussing intergenerational transmission of the trauma experienced at the internment camps for the Sansei generation. The effects included a loss of dignity and security.	5

		<p>effects of that internment that affected the Sansei generation, that are hard to get at by just, uh, looking at the struggle, what ha-, I mean there was a certain, a certain security and um, this, um loss of, of dignity that I think that they bore that, that insecurity did effect my generation. And, so, um, I, I thought about that cause when (*inaudible) said that it's easier for them to write these papers and do all that stuff.</p>		
Allie - incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 - Folder 5	Like I was demeaned. And I guess, uh, that just kind of, stifles you to feel any more emotion.	Interviewee discussing disconnection from emotions due to being demeaned during the internment camp, which inferred effects of trauma.	5
Tom - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	That he did not become a citizen because he lost not only his material, but he lost his dignity.	Interviewee sharing that their father didn't apply for U.S. citizenship due to the loss of material items and dignity following the war and internment camps. Following this statement, it was explained that they also didn't go back to the same business following the war and internment camps because it was something that could be taken away.	5

Don - family incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	I guess in the back of my mind, yeah, I'm always trying to prove myself that I was equal to uh the Caucasians, um, because of the prejudice they had and so I felt that I needed to show that, you know, I was not the idiot they portrayed in comic books and movies. And, uh, so I try to do a little bit better to rain that, to show them that we are equal to them.	Interviewee discussing the impact of the trauma from the internment camps and their need to prove themselves to feel equal to Caucasians and to not fit the stereotype of Japanese Americans that were portrayed in comic books and movies.	5
Jordan - incarcerated at Camp Harmony	Interview 4 - Folder 2	And now that the war is over, you gotta let go. You gotta keep living. If you never grow, you never develop, you never become something... better. If you always, if you stay in that place...you carry a big hate. Or a bucket of rocks, or something. It doesn't work. You can't develop.	Interviewee discussing the process of letting go of feelings of hate following the war and internment camps in order to be able to keep living, developing, and moving past the trauma.	5
Tom - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	Our parents wouldn't talk about that at all. I mean that's something that in my readings I found out that there's a lot of the older generation that are still alive, won't talk about it. It was such a traumatic thing they don't want to relive it, they just shut it off and say that's ok that's the past and that's it.	Interviewee discussing how their parents and the older generations did not want to discuss the internment camps because they did not want to relive the traumatic experiences, which the interviewee also learned through reading about the effects of the internment camps.	5

Rick - incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	They, they were really, I guess, reticent towards talking about that. And, and when somebody asks me about camp, I'll answer the question, but very briefly and without any detail. (laughs) I, I don't know why.	Interviewee discussing how some individuals, including themselves, were reluctant to talk about the internment camps, which may infer trauma and potential transmission of trauma to later generations in relation to the lack of communication about the internment camps.	5
Peggy - parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	We are all products of the, the Nisei, of the internment experience, whether he realizes it or not. Um, so I don't push it on him.	Interviewee acknowledging that all Japanese Americans are a product of the Niseis experiences in internment camps, regardless if her younger brother realizes it or not, which reflects the intergenerational transmission of trauma.	5
Name	Interview	Significant Statement	Formulated Meaning	Theme
Don - family incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	No, but then like if I, if I, if I'm among the Filipino groups, or the Vietnamese groups, or the Laotian groups, or the East Indian groups, I'm fine. Everybody get along. We are just talking like normal. But the minute I try to break into the White group, it ain't too cool.	Interviewee discussing experiences of prejudice at work, particularly with individuals who identified as White. In contrast, the interviewee shared that they didn't experience the same prejudice from other marginalized ethnic groups.	6
Elaine - husband incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	I think the only time I ever felt prejudiced in my career was not from a White but from a Black guy. I mean, when I was promoted to be the manager of	Interviewee discussing prejudice that they experienced at work after receiving a promotion. Specifically, interviewee shared	6

		<p>the Kirkland branch, I got this letter from him and he goes, "Congratulations and you were promoted not because you were an Asian or because you are a woman," and I was like what, "But because you are capable," but to put those two in that sentence, in that letter, it showed kind of a little bit of prejudice.</p> <p>And he's an employment personnel person, but I thought, "Why would this come from him?"</p>	<p>details of a letter that they received that said that they weren't promoted for identifying as Asian or female, but for being capable, which in and of itself exemplified prejudice.</p>	
Mark - father born at Poston	Interview 3 - 1001	<p>Well I think that before even, before they were interned, it was kind of just, there was kind of a lot of discrimination and that he just didn't feel like it was something that was going to work out. Or I don't if, I don't know actually know if the school said, "Sorry, you can't come here." Um... but I mean I know that is something that he, I'd heard that he wanted to be like a pharmacist and it just never happened. So, he ended up, um, working outside and he was a gardener for pretty much his whole life.</p>	<p>Interviewee discussing how their grandfather wanted to seek out a career as a pharmacist but wasn't able to because of the discrimination that he experienced, so instead their grandfather had a career as a gardener.</p>	6
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp,	Audio 1	Walking home from junior high and high	Interviewee discussing a time in the past when	6

incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center		<p>school after camp, there was a gang of girls that used to try to beat us up.</p> <p>They would call us Japs and try to get us mad. And we said, “We don’t want to fight.”</p>	they experienced prejudice and discrimination. When the interviewee was a child/adolescent, there was a group of girls that tried to beat them up because they identified as Japanese American.	
Kim - parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	They would leave the camp and they would, I think they went up to Idaho, is that where it was? To a beet farm, so they would pick beets, and the only time I ever saw him get kind of like, a little disgusted was that they worked really hard at the beet farms, you know, and it was just hot and um and we have a picture of him with his friends in front of a truck that were filled with beets, huge truck, filled with ‘em, and when they got paid, he said they got like pennies.	Interviewee discussing their father’s experience with working during the internment camps and an overt display of prejudice and discrimination when they were significantly under paid for their work.	6
Kim - parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	I remember being in elementary school and hearing, being called a Jap a lot.	Interviewee recalling personal experiences of prejudice and discrimination as a child.	6
Kim - parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	You wouldn’t be welcome at my church.	Interviewee recalling experiences of prejudice and discrimination as an adult at their place of work.	6
Name	Interview	Significant Statement	Formulated Meaning	Theme

Allie - incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 - Folder 5	But then we were known as the, what was it, the quiet, quiet generation, minority? Right. Quiet minority, silent minority, or something like that? Something like that. Yeah, the model minority.	Interviewee discusses views of the Japanese Americans as the “model minority” because of the lack of open expression of anger and frustration following the war and internment camps.	7
Tom -incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	They knew that if they trusted something to a Japanese person, it was safe.	Interviewee discussing how others viewed Japanese Americans as reliable and trustworthy, which may also relate to the view of Japanese Americans as the “model minority.”	7
Mark - father born at Poston	Interview 3 - 1001	I, I feel like that’s kind of unique...what and I, I, what, well what I, what my, what my thoughts on that now are like now the fact that...the Japanese Americans were being, were labeled the model minority, I think, was in large part due to that period of history and that time and, and the fact that for the most part, and there were always exceptions and things I’ve heard, and stories I’ve heard, but everybody, they were able to make like go on. Um...and there wasn’t a whole lot of uprising and things like that and what I didn’t realize until much later like now was that, um, like I’ve	Interviewee discussing how Japanese Americans were viewed as the “model minority” due to their tolerance of the mistreatment experienced at the internment camps, without openly speaking out against the injustice and how the interviewee benefitted from the older generations sacrifices (e.g., tolerating the mistreatment).	7

		benefited greatly from the sacrifices that they made and being able to just tolerate it.		
Mark - father born at Poston	Interview 3 - 1001	Yeah, it's kind of like saving face. Like not creating a big stink about it. Just trusting one day that we're going to get out of here, things will be fine. Um, making the best of it for the kids that were in the camp. Um, and the families that were there, just cooperating. Um, I think, I think the reputation that was, was gained by the Japanese American community after that period in history, I mean, we all largely benefit from today, still.	Interviewee further discussing the idea of tolerating the injustices of the internment camps and later generations benefiting from their tolerance and cooperation (e.g., Japanese American reputation).	7
Jordan - incarcerated at Camp Harmony	Interview 4 - Folder 2	Just be what you're supposed to be, whatever that was like. Work hard, do good, don't get in trouble, you know. Get good grades, blah blah blah.	Interviewee was talking about returning from the internment camps and going to Denver because there was less animosity. Interviewee said that it was important to work hard and not get into trouble because you never knew who was watching, which may have related to the development of the Japanese Americans being viewed as the model minority.	7

Jordan - incarcerated at Camp Harmony	Interview 4 - Folder 2	It's the case, especially, with me and my dad. You don't ask questions, you just do what you're told.	Interviewee stating that there was minimal communication within the family unit and instead of talking/arguing/pushing back, just doing what you're told to do, which also relates to the concept of the model minority.	7
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	Japanese families, don't talk about it.	Interviewee discussing how it is common for Japanese American families to not discuss the internment experience, which relates to the concept of the model minority.	7
Peggy- parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	The nail that sticks up gets pounded down.	Interviewee discussing the benefits of staying quiet and not speaking up, in order to avoid further prejudice and discrimination, which further reinforced the notion of the model minority.	7
Mark - father born at Poston	Interview 3 - 1001	Yeah, I think, I think...uh... I mean I'm kind of thankful every day that was like the reframe or the way that, I think my grandparents chose to look at because I don't think it would have done, as hard, I think they basically, they basically endured and suffered so their kids wouldn't have to and subsequently well I don't think my, my generation, my cousins, my sister and	Interviewee discussing how their grandparents endured and suffered so that their children wouldn't have to go through similar hardships, which subsequently impacted their generation in a positive way, as well.	Subtheme 7.5

		I have to carry a burden from that.		
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	I learned from my parents to make the best of every situation, no matter what the situation is.	Interviewee was discussing how their parents endured the internment camps and made the most of the situation and how they learned to make the most of any situation from their parents.	Subtheme 7.5
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	Our parents made it so that we kids would have fun. They never, my mother, my father never showed their anger to us or any kind of bitterness or um any kind of feeling of being upset.	Interviewee discussing how their parents endured the internment camps and never showed any anger or bitterness for the sake of their children.	Subtheme 7.5
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	They made it a point to protect us.	Interviewee discussing how their parents protected them by not discussing the hardships they endured during the internment camps.	Subtheme 7.5
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	The notion of doing for your children's sake, from the first generation that came here and they worked hard for the children's sake, they go to camp and put up the things in camp for the children's sake. That, that mindset was very strong.	Interviewee discussing the importance of enduring for the sake of your children in the Japanese American culture.	Subtheme 7.5
Name	Interview	Significant Statement	Formulated Meaning	Theme
Don - family incarcerated at internment camp	Interview 2 - Folder 3	I might say that the knowledge that my dad had been in the internment camp, um,	Discussing the impact of the knowledge that this interviewee's dad was incarcerated in the	8

		<p>brought a sense of, um, being an outsider that has definitely shaped who I am. Yeah, being an outsider, not being part of popular culture really gives you a different perspective on things which I'm very grateful for. I think that having that knowledge in the background is an aspect of that. Yeah, I don't know how it could not affect you. Either because you experienced it or because you heard about it and uh, if it was just your folks that went through it, I don't know how it could not affect you in some way at all.</p>	<p>internment camps and how it brought a feeling of being an outsider. Interviewee then discussed feeling grateful for having an outsider's perspective and believing that the internment camps must have affected generations of people in some way, either by experiencing it first hand, knowing others who experienced it, or hearing about it.</p>	
<p>Tami - grandmother incarcerated at Manzanar</p>	<p>Interview 1 - Folder 5</p>	<p>Um. I don't really consider myself Asian, unless maybe I'm with my Korean and Chinese friends. Um, I, I think because it's always been breed in us that we are American of Japanese descent, that that's more central, and then that's like all these JA organizations that I work with, I mean, that was the center of the, you know, the four-forty-second and the hundredth, was that they were Americans fighting for America, and so that</p>	<p>Interviewee acknowledging their identity as a Japanese American, rather than Asian, and the importance of identifying as an American, which was impacted by a need to prove one's loyalty to America during the war.</p>	<p>8</p>

		was always engrained in me.		
Allie - incarcerated at Manzanar	Interview 1 - Folder 5	Number one, you couldn't speak the language anyway.	Interviewee discussing how not speaking the Japanese language helped with being accepted into American culture.	8
Ken - born in Hunt, Idaho relocation camp	Interview 2 - Folder 3	Well you know why. And Papa told me this, he didn't want us to grow up with Japanese accents because there would be that much more prejudice against us.	Interviewee discussing a desire to move away from Japanese culture to avoid experiences of prejudice and discrimination.	8
Don - family incarcerated at Tule Lake	Interview 2 - Folder 3	It's just, I don't, from then on, I was very aware of who I was. I was not a Caucasian. I knew that.	The interviewee is discussing heightened awareness of their identity of not being Caucasian following the war as a second grader and how that significantly differed from their self-identity in the first grade.	8
Mark - father born at Poston	Interview 3 - 1001	Um, yeah, you know, I've given a lot of thought that, too, and I, I look at as some, personally, I think what it was for me was a perceived, it, it, it, I, I think that I, I sensed that I would have more power within American society if I wasn't consider Japanese.	Interviewee was discussing how they didn't feel connected to their Japanese identity as a child because they believed that they would have more power and more acceptance in American society if they did not identify as Japanese.	8
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	More American than Japanese.	Interviewee talking about a conversation with two of their grandchildren who both identified as more American than Japanese.	8

Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	When we first went to camp they didn't allow us to do anything Japanese. You couldn't speak Japanese. They tried to teach our parents how to say the pledge of allegiance and try to teach our parents how to speak English.	Interviewee sharing past experience at internment camp where they were not allowed to speak Japanese and how their parents were taught to say the pledge of allegiance and to speak English, which directly impacted the Japanese American culture in the form language.	8
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	We broke from tradition. My family was always Buddhist or Shinto and the I started going to a Protestant church instead. So, I became a Christian.	Interviewee discussing how they broke tradition by becoming a Christian, rather than a Buddhist which reflected a shift in culture and identity through religion.	8
Joanne - 10-13 years old in camp, incarcerated at Rohwer Relocation Center	Audio 1	So, there was an effort on some people to um, uh try not to get immersed into the Japanese culture but to become more American.	Interviewee discussing an effort on some people within the Japanese American community to identify less with the Japanese culture and to identify more with American culture, which reflected an overall impact on identity and culture.	8
Peggy - parents incarcerated at Manzanar	Audio 2	We live in the U.S. they wanted us to be All-American happy and an All-American family.	Interviewee discussing their parents desire to identify with the American culture, rather than the Japanese American culture.	8

APPENDIX E

IRB Approval Form

NOTICE OF APPROVAL FOR HUMAN RESEARCH

Date: August 05, 2020

Protocol Investigator Name: Amy Tuttle Guerrero

Protocol #: 19-07-1102

Project Title: Family Stories of Japanese American Incarceration: Exploration of Intergenerational, Relational, and Parenting Processes

School: Graduate School of Education and Psychology

Dear Amy Tuttle Guerrero:

Thank you for submitting your application for expedited review to Pepperdine University's Institutional Review Board (IRB). We appreciate the work you have done on your proposal. The IRB has reviewed your submitted IRB application and all ancillary materials. As the nature of the research met the requirements for expedited review under provision Title 45 CFR 46.110 of the federal Protection of Human Subjects Act, the IRB conducted a formal, but expedited, review of your application materials. Based upon review, your IRB application has been approved. The IRB approval begins today August 05, 2020, and expires on August 04, 2021.

The consent form included in this protocol is considered final and has been approved by the IRB. You can only use copies of the consent that have been approved by the IRB to obtain consent from your participants.

Your research must be conducted according to the proposal that was submitted to the IRB. If changes to the approved protocol occur, a revised protocol must be reviewed and approved by the IRB before implementation. For any proposed changes in your research protocol, please submit an amendment to the IRB. Please be aware that changes to your protocol may prevent the research from qualifying for expedited review and will require a submission of a new IRB application or other materials to the IRB. If contact with subjects will extend beyond August 04, 2021, a continuing review must be submitted at least one month prior to the expiration date of study approval to avoid a lapse in approval.

A goal of the IRB is to prevent negative occurrences during any research study. However, despite the best intent, unforeseen circumstances or events may arise during the research. If an unexpected situation or adverse event happens during your investigation, please notify the IRB as soon as possible. We will ask for a complete written

explanation of the event and your written response. Other actions also may be required depending on the nature of the event. Details regarding the timeframe in which adverse events must be reported to the IRB and documenting the adverse event can be found in the Pepperdine University Protection of Human Participants in Research: Policies and Procedures Manual at community.pepperdine.edu/irb.

Please refer to the protocol number denoted above in all communication or correspondence related to your application and this approval. Should you have additional questions or require clarification of the contents of this letter, please contact the IRB Office. On behalf of the IRB, I wish you success in this scholarly pursuit.

Sincerely,

Judy Ho, Ph.D., IRB Chair

cc: Mrs. Katy Carr, Assistant Provost for Research