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MASTER’S THESIS

**IN BETWEEN CULTURES: THE JAPANESE AMERICAN
EXPERIENCE IN THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MONICA SONE’S
*NISEI DAUGHTER***

Gamze ATASOY TEMEL

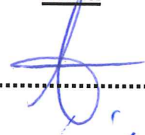
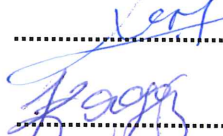
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis titled as "In Between Cultures: The Japanese American Experience in the Autobiography of Monica Sone's *Nisei Daughter*" has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

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ABSTRACT

Master's Thesis

In Between Cultures: The Japanese American Experience in the Autobiography of Monica Sone's *Nisei Daughter*

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Autobiography as a literary genre has gained importance, especially in the second half of the 20th century even though people have written their own life stories since ancient times. The works written in the field of autobiography in Japanese American literature emerged after the end of World War II since writing and sharing of bad memories and experiences is quite effective in terms of coping with trauma. This research is a study of the autobiographical novel *Nisei Daughter* written by the second generation of Japanese-American citizen (that is Nisei) Monica Sone, who voiced cultural dilemma of the Nisei and her journey to become an American citizen.

This study aims to determine the factors that cause the author's cultural dilemma and analyze how she finally amalgamates Japanese culture into American culture by focusing on the experiences of the author as a Japanese American. The results of the study indicate that the Nisei, who were in quest for self, experienced cultural dilemma caused by both internal factors originating from the strength of Japanese culture at home and their legal positions in America, so that they are in two cultures -America and Japan-, and external factors, namely racial discrimination of white society, which rejects them as part of white American mainstream even though the Nisei are legal American citizens.

Keywords: Monica Sone, Autobiography, Japanese-American, Japan, USA, Cultural Differences, Immigrants, Women



ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Kültürler Arasında: Monica Sone'nin *Nisei Daughter* Adlı Otobiyografisinde Japon

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İnsanlar her ne kadar eski zamanlardan beri kendi yaşam hikâyelerini yazmış olsalar da, edebi bir tür olarak otobiyografi 20.yy'ın ikinci yarısından sonra önem kazanmıştır. Kötü hatıraların ve deneyimlerin yazılarak paylaşılması travma ile baş etme açısından oldukça etkili olduğundan, Japon Amerikan edebiyatında otobiyografi türünde yazılan eserler özellikle II. Dünya Savaşı'nın bitmesinin ardından ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu araştırma, ikinci nesil Japon Amerikalı (yani Nisei) yazar Monica Sone tarafından yazılan *Nisei Daughter* adlı otobiyografik eseri konu alarak, yazarın Amerikan vatandaşı olma yolundaki yolculuğunu incelemektedir.

Bu çalışma, yazarın kültürel ikilemine neden olan faktörleri belirlemeyi ve yazarın bir Japon Amerikalı olarak yaşadığı deneyimlere odaklanarak Japon kültürünü Amerikan kültürüyle nasıl harmanladığını analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın sonuçları, benliklerini bulma arayışı içinde olan Nisei'lerin evdeki baskın Japon kültürü ve Amerika'daki pozisyonlarından kaynaklanan içsel faktörler ile; Amerikan vatandaşı olmalarına rağmen ırk ayrımı yapan beyaz toplum tarafından Amerikan ana akımının parçası olmalarının reddedildiği dışsal faktörlerin Nisei'lerin kültürel ikilemine sebep olduğunu belirtir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Monica Sone, Otobiyografi, Japon-Amerikan, Japonya, ABD, Kùltürel Farklılıklar, Göçmenler, Kadınlar

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INTRODUCTION

*“Life is a constant struggle between
being an individual and being a member of the community”.*

Sherman Alexie, *The Absolutely True Diary of a Part-Time Indian*

Autobiography is a literary genre defined as “retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality” (Lejeune, 1989: 4). Although people have written their life stories since ancient times, as a literary genre autobiography has emerged in the 1950s, after Second World War. Autobiography especially for women, who were invisible as an individual in the society, and associated with just womanhood, motherhood and domestic chores until the middle of 20th century, has become a way for self-expression and creation of self-consciousness and thus women are able to reveal their potential in terms of revealing their identities and selfhoods. The reason of the enormous growth in women’s autobiographies in the 20th century can be seen as a result of postmodern, post-colonial and feminist theories emphasizing the place of women in society and inequalities they are exposed to.

The definition of autobiography as “a master narrative of Western rationality, progress and superiority” has been upside down through the publication of autobiographies written by women with Eastern origin, and thus “new concepts of subjectivity [such] as transcultural, diasporic, hybrid, and nomadic” are challenged by women all around the world (Smith and Watson, 2001: 128-132). The life accounts of women belonging to ethnic minorities have enabled ethnic and female autobiographies to be taken into consideration as a literary genre.

Monica Sone, a Japanese American writer was born as Kazuko Monica Itoi to the first generation Japanese parents in 1919 in Seattle, Washington. (Her maiden name “Itoi” was changed after she got married.) Unaware of her ethnic identity, she spent her

childhood years in the Carrollton Hotel run by her parents in Skid Row which is a place settled down by Orientals in regard to the rest of the Seattle. Immigrants from Philippine, China and Japan turned Skid Row, located in south downtown, into multiethnic town with their language, religion, restaurants, cafes, shops, barber shops and stores.

In spite of being surrounded by the Orientals in her neighborhood, Sone learned that she had Japanese heritage which is “a shocking fact of [her] life” at the age of six with the announcement of her mother. Sone experienced her first cultural conflict when she was sent to Japanese language school Nihan Gakko by her parents in order to get familiar with Japanese traditions and learn Japanese. Nihan Gakko, managed by highly strict disciplinary rules and requiring students’ unconditional obedience, was the exact opposite of the American school where Sone was “jumping, screaming, roustabout Yankee” (Sone, 1953: 22). Attending two completely different schools, Sone “found [herself] switching [her] personality back and forth daily like a chameleon” (Sone, 1953: 22).

Sone had never hesitated that she was an American until the mass evacuation of all Japanese Americans was issued through Executive Order No 9066. However, when she was incarcerated in the internment camp in spite of being an American citizen, Sone’s cultural dilemma and her spiritual journey of finding her identity began. During her stay in Camp Minidoka, Idaho, Sone questioned who or what she was and thought that having hyphenated identity didn’t do her good and she belonged to either side of the hyphen.

After spending one year at the Camp Minidoka, as a result of government’s policy of releasing the internees that had job offers or college admissions, Sone left the camp and started to work as an assistant in a dentist’s office in Chicago, and after a while first she enrolled at Wendell College in Indiana and then studied clinical psychology at Western Reserve University.

Monica Sone’s life account *Nisei Daughter*, which covers the author’s period of childhood and adulthood as a Japanese American in the U.S. during the Second World War, was published in 1953. Sone stated the leading motive of writing her life account as: “I was eager to do so. This was because after I eventually left camp and moved to the eastern part of the country, I discovered that the general public knew nothing about our

evacuation and imprisonment of tens of thousands of Americans. I wanted to tell our story” (Southwest Licking Local School District, 2016: 514).

Nisei Daughter is the first and only book written by Monica Sone to make internment camp and Japanese immigrant experience known publicly. Moreover, it was a way to cope with the trauma of the Executive Order which made her feel disappointed as she considered herself truly American till then. However, Sone’s life story covers not only the internment camp period but also a vast time period from the age of six to thirty that she illustrates the typical Japanese family so as to “...acquaint the readers with the Japanese culture and to establish a bond of common humanity” (Kapai, 2001: 323). By presenting a picture of Japanese culture, Sone also shows her discontent with it as eastern-oriented culture isn’t compatible with her American lifestyle. Even when she took a trip to Japan in order to pay a visit to her grandparents, she felt alienated among the Japanese and in spite of her oriental look, she was not regarded as one of them in Japan, and thus she knew for certain that “this America, where I was born, surrounded by people of different racial extractions, was still my home” (Sone, 1953: 108). In addition to her uneasiness with the Japanese culture, Sone also reflected the clash of cultures between her first generation Issei parents who adhered to their ethnic heritage and the second generation Nisei who absorbed the American values and longed for being part of it.

In *Nisei Daughter*, Sone follows chronological order through a child narrator that shifts from the ignorance of her ethnic Japanese heritage to the reconciliation of both cultures. The child narrator who rejects her ethnic origin at the beginning of the story turns into an adult narrator that embraces both cultures and amalgamates the Japanese culture into her American part.

Through innocent and naive storytelling, Sone focuses on what it meant to be a second-generation Japanese American under the racist atmosphere caused by the Second World War in the United States. In addition to Sone’s experiences as an American citizen of ethnic origin, the story also sheds light on historical realities in terms of Japan-American relations during and after the Second World War and the reader witnesses the victimization of Japanese Americans kept as enemy aliens in the internment camps with the order of mass evacuation.

Monica Sone reconsiders the question of belonging and identity in terms of having two different cultures and from her narrative; it can be stated that identity is not fixed which means that it can alter as a result of individual's experiences and maturation process as well. Throughout the story, the reader gets involved in the process of rediscovering the identity of Sone, whose American citizenship is ignored and being labeled as an "enemy alien" as a result of Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

The issues of hyphenated identity and self-development under the clash of Eastern and Western cultures are the focal points in Sone's autobiography. As an American-born, Sone starts her journey by rejecting her Japanese blood and forms an Americanized identity even though she is grown up by her first generation Japanese parents in accordance with Japanese cultural values. However, gradually she becomes suspicious of her American identity as a result of being exposed to all kinds of discrimination and racist policies of the American government; yet she finishes her quest for self by constructing a new identity which is an amalgamation of American culture and Japanese heritage.

Although Monica Sone is an American with Japanese origin and writes *Nisei Daughter*, a life account of second generation Japanese American during World War II, she has received lots of criticisms in terms of "dominance of her Americanness" and being too superficial about the real conditions of the internment camps (Grice, 2000: 7). In spite of the severe criticisms of Japanese American readers, Sone has been appreciated by lots of literary critics as she sincerely shared with the reader how she struggled to find a place in the United States, where the non-whites were excluded, as an American of ethnic origin. Furthermore, while most of Nisei preferred to remain silent in the postwar period, Sone had the courage to write her experiences, and wanted to make the audiences, especially the white ones, aware of the cruel and inhuman treatment of the U.S. government during and after the WWII.

One of the critics who appreciated Monica Sone and made the first detailed analysis of the *Nisei Daughter* is Elaine H. Kim, a professor of Asian American Studies. According to Kim:

Nisei Daughter seems to be evidence of how Japanese Americans can survive internment and discrimination with almost incredible resilience, fortitude, and cheerfulness. Upon closer examination within the context of Japanese American social history, however, the autobiography appears as an account of the gradual suffocation by racial discrimination of everything that is creative, spirited, or pugnacious in one Nisei woman (Kim, as cited in Lim, 1982: 74).

Monica Sone, who challenges marginality due to her Japanese heritage, also has a pivotal role in Asian American literary field in terms of both promoting understanding of Japanese American culture and being the first woman autobiographer in post-war Japanese American literature.

As Sone grew up with two different cultures, Japanese and American, one can easily see the traces of both cultures and their comparisons throughout the novel as well. The writer highlighted cultural differences of the traditional Japanese immigrant Issei family's communal way of life and individual-oriented American society so as to make the reader aware of her dilemmas in quest for self-discovery.

Monica Sone's Japanese American experiences in the U.S. can be similar to other immigrant stories that focus on internment camp experiences, clash of cultures or split identities. However, she is very good at establishing a bond between her Japanese and American readers due to her child narrator and naive tone.

In this sense, this study concentrates on autobiography as a theory and intends to analyze a Japanese-American woman writer's first and only autobiography *Nisei Daughter*. My interest in choosing a work belonging to the Japanese American literature is due to the lack of extensive studies on it compared to other ethnic minorities' literature such as African American, Chinese American and Korean American etc. Monica Sone has been chosen for analysis in this thesis because she is a representative of second generation American-born Nisei who experienced Eastern and Western culture at the same time, and struggle with blending those two opposite cultures into each other. In addition, Japanese-American relations during the WWII and drastic effects of the mass evacuation order and internment camp experiences on Japanese Americans' self-constructed identities can be traced in Sone's autobiographical narrative.

In the first chapter of this thesis autobiography as a literary genre will be studied. The first part of the first chapter will focus on the historical overview of the autobiography and the comparison between the male and female autobiography. In the second part, the tradition of autobiography in Japan and its reflections in three different generations: first generation Japanese-born immigrant, second generation American-born Nisei, and third generation American-born Sansei will be highlighted.

In the second chapter, historical context of Monica Sone's autobiography will be analyzed. In this chapter, although the focus will be on the Japan's Pearl Harbor attack, and Internment Camps in the U.S., background of the leading motives of Japanese immigration to the U.S. and Japanese- American relations before the Second World War will also be emphasized.

In the third chapter, second generation Japanese-American writer Monica Sone's autobiography *Nisei Daughter* will be analyzed through the writer's own experiences. The process of writer's adaptation of her ethnic heritage will be underlined as well as the concept of hyphenated identity by highlighting the generational gap between Sone and her Issei parents. In the final part of the third chapter, the events that shape the identity of the protagonist and her transformation from "two headed freak" to the "whole person" will be discussed.

CHAPTER ONE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

1.1. HISTORICAL AND THEMATICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE GENRE OF AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Deriving from three Greek words “autos” self, “bios” life and “graphe”; autobiography simply means “self-life writing” and Oxford English Dictionary defines the word simply as “an account of a person's life written by that person” (Oxford English Dictionary). Although autobiography can be briefly defined as writing of the self; different definitions of autobiography both as a word and a genre made throughout the history and since no consensus has been reached that it is still a controversial term. The word autobiography first was coined by a reviewer William Taylor of Norwich in the Monthly Review in 1797 and in his review of Isaac D’Israeli’s *Miscellanies*, he criticized the word “self-biography” used by D’Israeli because of being a hybrid word (Saxon and Greek) which was not common to English language but he also hesitated to use autobiography because it is “pedantic” (Good, 1981: 125). Contrary to general belief; it was not Robert Southey who coined the word yet; he also used the word so as to make reference to the poem written by Francesco Vieri in 1809. In spite of the coinage of the word revealed at the end of 18th century; the emergence of autobiography as a genre dates back to ancient times but at that time “apology”, “confession” and “memoir” were used instead of autobiography (Winslow, 1980: 3). St. Augustine’s *Confessions*, which was written between A.D. 397 and 400 composed of 13 books and tells his sinful life, his conversion to Christianity and his final redemption, seen as the first autobiography ever in the West (Fredriksen, 2012: 87). What Olney argues about in his *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical* is that although Augustine’s *Confessions*, Montaigne’s *Essays* or Rousseau’s *Confessions* are considered earlier autobiographies; he doesn’t think that they reflect the genre literally as they were “precisely lacking in self-consciousness, or were without literary awareness and literary value” (Olney, 2014: 4).

Autobiography started to be seen as a literary genre or as a work of literature by the researchers in 1950s and various literary definitions of the term has been made and different views about which characteristics it should have in order to be an autobiography have been put forward (Wille, 2014: 4). French scholar Philippe Lejeune who is known as specialist in autobiography, provided a definition of autobiography by claiming that it is a “retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality” (Lejeune, 1989: 4). He also emphasized that a work must include four elements, which are form of language, subject treated, situation of the author and position of the narrator, to be considered as an autobiography. As to the first element which is form of a language, “the text must be mainly a narrative and.... the perspective is mainly retrospective” (Lejeune, 1989: 5). What retrospective perspective means that the events must be told in chronological order by the author and since these events are part of the author’s individual life story, first person narrative is mainly used. A lecturer and researcher Jean Quigley also agrees with Lejeune’s opinion of retrospective perspective by stating in her book *The Grammar of Autobiography* as “when we ask someone to talk about themselves, to tell their autobiography or life story, we expect their narratives to be firmly set in the past” and since it is the author himself who experienced the past events, he uses first person point of view to tell what happened, what he said and what he did when it is asked him to tell his life story (Quigley, 2000: 144). The second element “subject” requires that what is told throughout the autobiography is supposed to be author’s individual life and the story of his own personality. The third and fourth elements which are “situation of the author and position of the narrator” are considered as indispensable part of autobiography by Lejeune that in order for a work to be seen as an autobiography, the author’s name shouldn’t be different from the narrators’ otherwise, the author and narrator cannot be identical. The author, narrator and the protagonist must share a common identity and to be identical, the author’s and the protagonist’s name must be the same so that the reader believe in both the existence of the author in reality and the truthfulness of the text. In case of fictional names; it means the name of the narrator and the author isn’t the same, then that work can be autobiographical but not an autobiography (Lejeune, 1989: 11- 15).

The question of truth in autobiography is quite a controversial topic in that while some theorists have argued that if fictional elements are incorporated into autobiography, then it can no longer be seen as an autobiography; the others have opposed that it's not possible for a text to be full of truthfulness. For those who defend the opinion that autobiography must be entirely based on truths; truthfulness is a prominent element that distinguishes fiction from non-fiction and due to belonging to non-fiction genre, truthfulness is the fundamental element of autobiography. Other philosophers also don't oppose to this idea completely, yet what they criticize is that it is memory in which the author has trusted in the process of recalling past events and memory may be fallacious as some memories can be forgotten or misremembered, therefore fictional and non-fictional elements intertwine and it eliminates the possibility of the pure truthfulness of the autobiography. In his book *Inside Out: An Introduction to Autobiography* Stuart Bates acknowledges that "There is, in fact, no dividing line between autobiography and fiction" (Bates, 1937: 9). Paul John Eakin also supported Bates by claiming "all autobiography has some fiction in it as it is to recognize that all fiction is in some sense necessarily autobiographical" (Eakin, 1989: 10). To put it simply, neither fiction includes entirely fictional elements nor non-fiction is fully based on truths.

As it is mentioned above; Lejeune determined four criteria for a work to be considered as an autobiography and he says that "any work that fulfills all the conditions indicated in each of the categories is an autobiography" and if it doesn't meet the requirements, then it can be seen as a genre related to autobiography (Lejeune, 1989: 4). A genre which is quite similar to autobiography but is not as controversial as autobiography both in terms of its definition and its elements is called memoir. The origin of the word memoir comes from French "memoire" that means memory and its Oxford dictionary definition is "a historical account or biography written from personal knowledge" (Oxford English Dictionary). According to Smith and Watson's definition memoir is "historically, a mode of life narrative that situated the subject in a social environment either observer or participant" yet, "currently the term refers generally to life writing that takes a segment of a life, not its entirety, and focusing on interconnected experiences" (Smith, Watson, 2001: 274). Focusing on one aspect of a life is the most

distinctive feature of a memoir that makes it different from autobiography because autobiography in contrast to memoir, takes the entire span of life of an individual such as; birth, early life, family, education, career, relationships, challenges etc. and thus, it is not limited to themes or time periods. Gore Vidal, whom Barrington quoted in her book *Writing Memoir*, points out another distinguishing feature in his memoir *Palimpsest* by stating as “a memoir is how one remembers one’s own life while an autobiography is history, requiring research, dates, facts double-checked” (Barrington, 2002: 6). The autobiographer also relies on his memory but it is not his only source of information that he is supposed to find many sources such as letters, photographs, interviews, facts etc. However; a memoir writer doesn’t need any resources but his memory and this leads to memoir to be considered as emotion-focused genre unlike autobiography. Smith and Watson quoted Susan Cheever who puts forward that “memoir is the Barbie of literary genres. It exaggerates the assets and invites the reader into an intimate alternative world, sometimes complete with a dream house” (Cheever, as cited in Smith, Watson, 2001: 127). It is not possible for autobiography to create such an alternative world because what it focuses on is just facts. In addition to above mentioned features and distinctions, memoirs do not follow a chronological order in contrast to autobiography which covers all the events of the writer’s life from birth to death, because a memoir is a recollection of events of particular period in the life of an author.

Finally, even though both memoir and autobiography have some characteristics in common such as being non-fiction and self-writing; in terms of its limitedness by themes and time period, chronological order, narrator and emotion-focused, it is concluded that memoir is not an autobiography but it is a genre with autobiographical aspects.

1.2. GENDER DIFFERENCES IN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

In the first chapter; it is emphasized that the *Confessions* of Augustine is the first example of autobiography and then it is followed by Montaigne’s *Essays* and Rousseau’s *Confessions* but this early autobiography examples shouldn’t mean that women didn’t write at that time, quite the contrary, autobiography has been used by women for centuries

as a means of self-expression but the emergence of women autobiography as genre is “barely three decades old” (Smith, Watson, 1998: 5). Recognition of women’s autobiographies as a literary genre may be the result of postmodern, postcolonial and especially feminist theories which have raised issues such as the position of women in society and discrimination against them etc. Thus; women who were “invisible” in the history scene until the middle of the 20th century; became the voice of other women by telling their life stories and experiences and created the awareness of “self-consciousness”; thus their autobiographies took part in the bestseller lists in a short time (Smith, Watson, 1998: 5- 6). In 1952, *The Diary of Anne Frank* – the story of Anne Frank who had to hide with her family for 2 years during the Nazi invasion of Netherlands – in 1964, *I Never Promised You a Rose Garden* by Joanne Greenberg – semi-autobiographical novel about a girl struggling with schizophrenia – in 1969, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* by Maya Angelou – an early years of African-American Maya Angelou and her struggle for self-acceptance in the 1930s Arkansas- and many more autobiographies written in that period have been widely disseminated and gained popularity. Women writers developed autobiography beyond the rules of male tradition and therefore, men and women autobiographies have differed both in form and content.

The main reason for the differences in men and women autobiographies is the difference in the self-perception of men and women because how an individual perceives him/herself is directly related to gender which has an impact on a person’s life, interests, activities, relationships, way of thinking etc. and it is thus quite possible to see gender-related differences in autobiography not only in terms of content but also structure. In order to figure out what these differences are and more importantly how they have developed, the concept of autobiographical memory needs to be defined because past experiences play pivotal role in the construction of genuine self and memories are highly effective in terms of conveying them. Robyn Fivush, who is a professor of psychology at Emory University, defines autobiographical memory as “self-referenced memory of personal experiences in the service of short-term and long-term goals that define identity and purpose” in *The Development of Autobiographical Memory* (Fivush, 2011: 561). Autobiographical memory is a way of determining “who are you” and so it is linked to

concept of self (Fivush, 2011: 574). Since the self-conception of men and women is so different from each other that it's unlikely for them to share their personal experiences in a similar way both in content and language. What Fivush claims in her article that differences in the self-concept of men and women date back to the conversations about past experiences between parents and their children during childhood period because parents' dialogues with their daughters are distinguished from that of sons in terms of using emotion words. The language that is shaped through the communication established by the family in childhood also shapes the way of using language of men and women which is the most important tool in expressing themselves and critical in the development of autobiographical memory as well (Fivush, 2011: 574). The reason why women use more elaborative language in their autobiographies is that in their childhood, while reminiscing with their daughters, mothers are elaborative which means that they have long, descriptive and detailed conversation whereas they prefer pragmatic conversations with their sons (Scheiderer, Schoppel, 2012: 958). As a result of pragmatic conversation throughout childhood, man autobiographers tend to focus on the answers of "w" questions such as when, where, which etc..rather than "how" which is determining factor of women autobiographies and thus they have "longer, more detailed, more vivid, more emotionally-laden, and more relationally oriented narratives about their personal experiences than do males" (Fivush, 2011: 569).

Another narrative difference is that for men "facts are essential components of personal narratives" so they only give factual information which means that they are concerned with actual details rather than the feelings about it (Scheiderer, Schoppel, 2012: 959). Yet, it doesn't mean that women do not include facts in their autobiographies, they just pay more attention to the feelings for the interpretation of those facts. By focusing on factual information, men can follow linear narrative structure that the order of events correspond to the chronological order. The reason why men would prefer to tell their stories in chronological order is because they are "concentrating on one period of their life, one theme, or one characteristic of their personality" (Jelinek, 2008: 17). Women autobiographers, on the other hand, follow nonlinear narrative in which events are portrayed out of chronological order because their stories are emotion-focused and

therefore they mostly use flashbacks or flash-forwards so as to reflect their feelings at that time and then return to the present and that's why their stories are disjointed unlike the narration of men.

In addition to narrative form, male and female autobiographies also differ greatly in content especially, egocentrism is a remarkable characteristic of male's stories while "inclusion of other people in their descriptions of the past is characteristic of females' narratives" (Buckner, Fivush, 2000: 409). One of the reasons why women's autobiographies are more detailed is that their stories are not self-centered, instead they prefer focusing on their relationship with other people especially who influence their lives in some way. Quite differently; victory, social status, and skills are the focal point of men autobiographies and only if someone has made contribution to their success, then would they include their relationship with that person otherwise "males' memories have a noticeable lack of details about other peoples" (Buckner, Fivush, 2000: 409). By giving particular importance to their career, social status and accomplishments, males assert himself as "representative of his times, a mirror of his era" in their autobiographies. (Jelinek, 2008: 7). Even if he has had some disappointments or failures throughout his life, he never includes them in his story, in order to be seen as a hero. Relative to men, women do not hesitate to share their unhappiness or bad memories as their stories are emotionally-laden however; men's success-oriented stories and women's relationally-oriented stories means that neither men do not care about other people nor women are not successful enough. It is only an indication that the memories they prefer to include in their narratives are different from each other (Buckner, Fivush, 2000: 409).

As mentioned above, since women's autobiographies mostly include emotion-oriented content, they use more emotion words in order to express their emotional and psychological states (Bauner, Haight, Stennes, 2003: 27). Men, on the other hand, are not willing to open their inner states to the reader and so emotional words in their stories are very rare, and for the purpose of reflecting themselves as heroes, words that awaken positive emotions are used by them; yet for women there is no positive or negative emotion word distinction as they never hesitate to share what they feel at that moment.

As a conclusion; it can be inferred that as a form of self-expression, autobiography is gendered, because gender is related to how a person perceives him/herself and how is s/he is perceived by the society and for this reason in spite of telling the story of their lives, what and how they tell it has led to differences between men's and women's autobiography in terms of both content, which is related to what is told such as women's emphasizing "domestic details, family difficulties, close friends, and especially people who influenced them" (Jelinek, 2008: 8), and form which is related to how to tell it such as men follow chronological narrative order because of focusing on only one theme or one period of their lives, yet women's narratives are nonlinear and full of flashbacks and flashforwards which make the story to be fragmented.

1.3. AUTOBIOGRAPHY AS A TOOL FOR IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

The question of "Who am I?" has been always a matter of curiosity for people; and possible answers to this question have become the focused-issue of several disciplines such as sociology, psychology and psychoanalytic that many opinions have been brought forward about what the concept of identity is and how it differs from self; yet no consensus has been built because of various approaches. Psychoanalytic approach, for instance, which was developed by Freud focused on genetic and environmental forces in the construction of self and suggested that self is composed of three basic elements; id, ego and superego. The id is the primitive and unconscious part of personality and governed by pleasure that is never affected by reality. It balances between the real world of reality and unreal world of id. The superego is the control mechanism which controls the id that is driven by pleasures and it also functions as moral conscience. Erik Erikson, on the other hand, took Freud's controversial theory of psychoanalytic and modified it as a psychosocial theory which asserts that personality develops in a predetermined order; from infancy to adulthood, the individual goes through eight stages and in each stage experiences a psychosocial crisis because of the confliction between individual and social needs and should s/he completes each stage successfully, positive sense of self is developed.

In addition to psychoanalytic and psychosocial views; the concept of self is also dealt with from humanist and poststructuralist aspects. Carl Rogers, who is an American psychologist and humanist, puts emphasis on the importance of self-actualization, which means “a person’s desire to use all their abilities to achieve and be everything that they possibly can” (Cambridge Dictionary). Rogers divided the self into two categories; the real self and ideal self which are pivotal in self-actualization, because only if the real self – who you actually are- aligns with the ideal self – who you would like to be – the state of congruence is experienced and it leads to self-actualization and emergence of positive self-concept. For the development of self-concept; Roger also lays emphasis on the interaction with society because everyone is in need of unconditional love and how an individual is evaluated and judged by others in the society is highly effective in the development of positive regard (McLeod, 2014).

In contrast to humanistic approach of self, what poststructuralist view argues that identity is constructed through language and discourse (Kouhpaenejad, Gholaminejad: 200). George Herbert Mead who was an American philosopher, explains that self emerges as a result of interaction with other selves as “there couldn’t be an experience of a self simply by itself” (Mead, 1934: 195). This interaction is formed through language which is crucial in terms of thinking and responding because “when the response of the other becomes an essential part in the experience or conduct of the individual...then the individual appears in his own experience as a self; and until this happens he does not appear as a self” (Mead, 1934: 195).

Thus, the language is a tool for communication and enables an individual to take the role of the other which is fundamental for the emergence of the self.

As seen above, many opposing theories have been put forward regarding the concept of identity and self, but how does autobiography as a genre influence the self? Autobiography that is a genre of self-writing, operates as a tool for constructing self by telling one’s life story to the others. So autobiography is an effective way to look back on one’s past and analyze his identity and reconstruct it in terms of memory which is essential to the development of an autobiographical self because “without the ability to form memories, your sense of self would be shattered” (Hood: 2012, 76). Yet, the problem with

forming memories is that self can sometimes be constructed on memories that are falsely remembered, as it is not possible to remember the memories exactly and accurately as they happened in the past. Because of memories fallibility, reconstruction of identity occurs which means that author chooses what to tell and then according to chosen memories, he starts to reconstruct his identity and therefore “identity –becomes- a product of choice” (McAdams, 2003: 196). Pascal also corroborates what McAdam says by stating that “memory is the most powerful unconscious agent in shaping the past according to the will of the writer” (Pascal, 1960: 70). So construction of identity is directly linked to the author’s selection of memories and inclusion of false memories don’t make autobiographies fictional because “memories do not exist in one of two states – either true or false- and that the important task is to examine how and in what ways memory corresponds to reality” (Schacter, 2014 : 277). Thus, memories are highly efficient in terms of experiencing past experiences, which are effective in shaping present self that it is not amiss to say that without memories, it is impossible to talk about identity construction.

According to McAdams; “the self is many things, but identity is a life story” (McAdams, 2003: 137). To create a life story is also to create an identity because “a functional life story addresses the issue of personal identity by describing how the same person came to be the current self” (Pasupathi, Mansour, Brubaker, 2007: 86). So it is significant to remember as much details as possible about what has been experienced in the past so as to evaluate the past which is the basis for current self. Recalling the past, as mentioned above, is entirely dependent on the author’s own will, so which information and memories the author chooses to tell is linked to how he perceives his own self because by recounting the past, the author reconstructs his self at the same time (Buckner, Fivush, 2000: 149). Buckner and Fivush also quoted Rosenwald and Ochberg who state that “... personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone about one’s life, they are the means by which identities may be fashioned” (Rosenwald & Ochberg as cited in Buckner, Fivush, 2000: 149).

What poststructuralist theoreticians argue is that individual is not static being on the contrary, he is in continuous development thanks to his past experiences which are the

basis for life stories and as individual develops, his identity also develops and changes with him. These changes can be positive which contribute to the formation of identity, as well as the changes that adversely affect an individual's life; however the reader is limited to what the author would prefer to tell and through selected memories, author is able to construct self-defining identity (Brubaker, Mansour, Pasupathi, 2007: 92).

As a result; autobiography, which is the type of writing life story based on remembering the past through memories, is quite effective in forming the individual's identity since "identity takes the form of a story, complete with setting, scenes, characters, plot and themes" (McAdams, 2003: 187). As the author constructs his story via recollecting memories which are the cornerstone of life stories, in fact he reconstructs his self and so autobiography is used to make sense of the individual's own development in terms of relating the current sense of self to the past experiences (Brubaker, Mansour, Pasupathi, 2007: 106).

1.4. THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY IN JAPAN

The autobiography is considered to be a genre of Western literature; and its impact on non-Western literatures especially from the second half of the 19th century cannot be ruled out. It was much later that the autobiography, which began with Augustine's *Confessions* between the years 397-400 A.D. in the West, emerged in Japan. The reason why the autobiography took place in Japanese literature later than the West is because "Heian Japan aristocrats believed in the value of private life" (Shoichi, 1981: 75). Thanks to Heian court diaries, which were called as "nikki" and mostly written by female authors since "males were expected or required to write in Chinese, the official language of the time", Japan began to take part in literary journey (Shoichi, 1981: 75). Unlike women who preferred to write in the nikki genre with autobiographical characteristics; men wrote samurai stories which were the biographies focused on military life and what was experienced in the battles they had gone. The emergence of samurai biographies dated back to 17th century because the 15th and 16th centuries were the most turbulent period in which warlords often collided with each other in order to increase their power and

territories. The violent clashes between warlords drove the country into a hundred-year war called Sengoku period. After having established peace by honorable warlords of the period such as Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi; life stories of samurai heroes became the focal point of the period and significant works about the military leaders' life stories emerged, one of which was written by Ota Gyuichi, who was a warrior but known as a writer of *Shincho Koki* which was translated into English as *The Chronicles of Lord Nobunaga*, describing the actions and achievements of the warlord Oda Nobunaga in the Hundred Years War of Japan. Thus, *Shincho Koki* initiated the emergence of many similar biographies focusing on heroism in the battlefield.

Besides Samurai biographer Ota Gyuichi; Arai Hakuseki who was a Japanese Confucianist, poet and politician during the middle of the Edo Period, was seen as the finest samurai autobiographer as "he was one of the few Japanese intellectuals who could bring the samurai ethos and psychological finesse into harmony" and he was famous for *Told Round a Brushwood Fire: The Autobiography of Arai Hakuseki* (Shoichi, 1985: 78). While males wrote biographies based on samurai stories; on the contrary females, as mentioned above, were concerned with writing autobiographies which were quite different from male's works both in terms of technique and content that samurai stories were "too crude and naive... lacking emotional delicacy and psychological shades" unlike women's emotion-oriented stories (Shoichi, 1981: 77).

Japan's Heian period (794- 1185) was a flourishing period in terms of literature because a number of new prose forms, which were written in native Japanese rather than Chinese, appeared that "nikki bungaku" called personal memoir- was one of them which evolved in the middle of 10th century and dominated the Heian literary period. It was also quite different from the similar works written in Chinese by Japanese because "Chinese was gendered masculine and considered appropriate for more public, official writings" unlike nikki which was called Heian court diaries since they were mostly written by women who depicted their daily life in the court (Jolly, 2013: 494). It is not amiss to say that nikki and Western autobiographies have few characteristics in common; for instance nikki resembled to those of Rousseau's *Confessions* or Goethe's *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, which belonged to Western autobiography, with regard to using first or third person point

of view; but on the other hand, inclusion of poetry so as to reflect the lyrical reality of the author's life story made nikki quite a different genre from the western autobiography (Walker, 1994: 208-209) Walker also claims that "lyric-based poetic system enabled the emergence of and validated the existence and flourishing of autobiographical writings"; therefore poetry is an integral part of the nikki (Walker, 1994: 208).

Tossa Nikki which was written in 935 was considered to be the earliest example of nikki in Japan literature which was about 55-day journey of the author from Tosa province to his homeland Kyota. What is remarkable about this work is that it was written by Ki no Tsurayuki who was actually a man but concealed his gender and wrote it as if he were a woman. Hiding his male identity allows Tsurayuki not only to write in his native language Japanese, which was not used by men in literary space, but also to "explore his inner life through the female persona he creates" (Jolly, 2013: 494). Whether *Tossa Nikki* could be autobiographical or not became disputable due to the creation of female persona which causes "the blurring of the narrator's identity, through the fluctuation back and forth between a male and female narrator puts into question the identity between author and narrator that is the requirement of Western autobiography" (Walker, 1994: 211). As mentioned in the previous section, according to Lejeune; one of the most important element required for a work to be regarded as autobiography is that the author's name and narrator's name should be the same; otherwise there won't be any identification between the author and the narrator and thus *Tossa Nikki* cannot be seen as belonging to the autobiography genre in Western literature.

Kagero Nikki, which was another important work which belongs to Nikki genre, written in 974 by a writer known as Michitsuna no Haha whose real name was unknown and translated into English as *The Gossamer Years*. The author's purpose of writing *Kagero Nikki* was claimed by Seidensticker whom Howell quoted in her article that "the diary is in a sense her protest against the marriage system of the time, and an exposition of the thesis that men are beasts" (As cited in Howell, 1996). *Nikki*, which the author depicted her daily life in Heian court and her feelings especially about her unhappy marriage and domesticity, was "told in temporal order, first as a retrospective autobiography or memoir, and in the last third or so, more as a journal" (Howell, 1996).

Heian nikki which was the basis of autobiography in Japanese literature had quite different characteristics, than the Western autobiographies. In Japan nikki; the names of the authors, as can be seen from the aforementioned examples, are ambiguous while it was determining element in establishing a bond between the author and narrator. Another difference is that during Heian period, it was women who made contributions to nikki's regarded as literary genre and dominated the field of autobiography even though men were the first to write nikki in Chinese, on the contrary, in the West, the autobiography was under male domination since women were not able to reveal their life stories at that time (Walker, 1994: 218). However, in the 1870s, when Japan had convergence policy with the West, Japanese autobiographies began to be written under modernization and Western influence. *Fukuo Jiden* by Fukuzawa Yukichi which "owes much to Benjamin Franklin's memoirs" and *How I Became a Christian* by Uchimura Kanzo which "modeled closely on narratives of conversion by Western writers" can be given as two examples of autobiograhpy written under the influence of West during Meji period in Japan (Shoichi, Craig, 1985: 367).

After all, although nikki genre, which was considered to be the basis of autobiography of the Heian period, had an important place in Japanese literature; "they were not able to compete with the most prestigious form, lyric poetry" in Japan, therefore it is not as popular as it is in the West (Walker, 1994: 218).

1.4.1. Issei Writing

The works of Issei, who migrated for better job opportunities from Japan to the U.S. at the beginning of 1920s were mostly written in their native language- Japanese- because they longed for returning back to their home country as soon as saved enough money, they stayed away from American culture and thus they couldn't improve their English language skills as they spoke Japanese both at home and in their Japan neighborhoods. Therefore, the works of Issei written in English are quite limited. As mentioned in the previous section, the tradition of lyric poetry which is the popular literary genre in Japan, is carried by the Issei in the U.S. The Issei literary productions were often

in Japanese verse such as *tanka*, *haiku*, *waka* etc. (Sato, 1999: 2). There were also regional newspapers, which contained both political and literary writings, were quite common in the states where the Issei community settled down. In addition to poetry and other writings published in newspapers, the works of many Issei writers, written in Japanese, were not included in the American literary world since they were not written in English, and thus American readers were not able to read them, yet the fact that the works were not written in English was not the only reason. After Japan's Pearl Harbor attack, all Japanese immigrants in the U.S. were considered as enemy alien that they had to burn or destroy any item related to Japan or Japanese culture in their homes as FBI could take them as an evidence. Destruction of Japanese items is also touched upon in *Nisei Daughter* by Monica Sone as "gradually we became uncomfortable with our Japanese books, magazines, wall scrolls and knickknacks... I gathered together my well-worn Japanese language schoolbooks" (Sone, 1953: 154-155). As a result of destroying all printed materials, there is not much work that belongs to the Issei generation.

Kazuo Ito's *Issei: A History of Japanese Immigrants in North America* is one of a few works that has reached the present day. *Issei*, which was first published in 1969 as *Hyakunen Sakura* and in translated into English in 1973, consists of hundreds of stories and poems about the Issei's journey from Japan to America and their experiences in the U.S. (Sato: 4-5). *Sounds from the Unknown* (1963), *Ayumi: A Japanese American Anthology*, (1980) *Within the Barbed Wire Fence: A Japanese Man's Account of His Internment in Canada* (1980), *Poets Behind Barbed Wire* are remarkable literary works of the Issei as well. All of these works written by the Issei are "historically oriented" and based on immigrant experience (Sato, 1999: 20). Unlike all these authors who preferred to write in their mother tongue, Etsu I. Sugimoto wrote her work *A Daughter of the Samurai*, which "formed the image of Japan before World War II" in English and made it accessible to American audience. Apart from being written in English, it is also the first Japanese American "fiction filled with many autobiographical facts" written by an Issei writer in 1925 (Hirakawa, 1993: 397).

1.4.2. Nisei Writing

Nisei is a Japanese word which refers to second-generation Japanese Americans born in the U.S. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the Nisei, who regarded themselves as American and embraced American cultural values, were interned in the concentration camps because of being enemy alien just like the Issei, who were not even eligible to American citizenship. In spite of being an American citizen officially, the Nisei were in the status of suspect which caused them have an identity crisis. That is the reason why most of the Nisei works are autobiographies published after the end of the Second World War, in which the writers share their experiences of the internment camp and what it meant to be Japanese American in the U.S. during WWII. The common characteristic of these Nisei works written after the WWII is that they are based on the theme of search for an identity and camp experiences.

One of the most remarkable work in Nisei writing is Monica Sone's *Nisei Daughter* which is the first Japanese American autobiography written by a second-generation Japanese American woman in 1953. *Nisei Daughter* is the life account of Monica Sone who desired to be the part of white American mainstream but was ignored because of her Japanese ethnic heritage. Throughout her autobiography, Sone shares her experiences of being Japanese American before, during and after the WWII.

Another famous work published in 1957 is John Okada's *No-No Boy* which focused on postwar experience of a Nisei. It is a novel about the main character named Ichiro's sense of belongingness to nowhere and his challenges for identity formation after the WWII. In spite of being fiction, the novel reflects author's own life in terms of his internment in the Minidoka Camp during the Second World War and his release to join the U.S. Army. (Hendrick, 2008: 460)

In regard to works of Monica Sone and John Okada, there are also other authors who shared their internment camp experiences such as Toshi Mori and her work *Yokohama* focusing on her experiences in the Topaz War Relocation Camp in 1949, Hisaye Yamamoto's *The Legend of Miss Sasagawara* based on writer's experiences in Arizona Poston Relocation camp in 1950 and Jeanne Wakatsuki Houston's *Farewell to*

Manzanar which refers to her experiences in Manzanar Relocation Camp (Hendrick, 2008: 460).

Apart from the countless works written in prose, there are also poems depicting incarceration experiences of Nisei writers and one of the most significant one is Mitsuye Yamada's *Camp Notes and Other Poems* (1976) criticizing injustices of the internment and racism against Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans. Another remarkable Nisei poet of the postwar era is Toyo Suyemoto and unlike Yamada, his famous poem *In Topaz* emphasizes the "brutal nature" of Utah where the Topaz internment camp was located (Streamas, 2008: 463).

In regard to playwright, Wakako Yamauchi is one of the well-known Nisei writers and famous for her first full-length play *And the Soul Shall Dance* which deals with the issues of gender, race, immigration and economic depression that when it was first staged in 1974, it won the "Los Angeles Drama Critics Circle Award for best new play of 1977" (Gelt: 2018).

1.4.3. Sansei Writing

The Sansei who are the third generation of Japanese Americans are the children of American born Nisei. As their parents were born and raised in the U.S. and embraced American cultural values, they didn't suffer from generation gap (like Japanese-born Issei and American-born Nisei), cultural conflicts or identity crisis and their works thus do not focus on these themes in opposition to Nisei works. The internment camp experience, which is a highly popular theme in especially postwar Nisei works, is not the focal point of the Sansei writers inasmuch as they haven't acquired such an experience directly; yet still some of them touch on this subject in their works through their Nisei parents' experiences.

Janice Mirikitani is one of those authors who includes the camp experience in her poems such as *Lullaby*, *Attack the Water* and *Crazy Alice*. *Out of Dust: New and Selected Poems* (2014) is the author's most recently published book that compares the relation

between Japanese Americans' experiences during WWII and racial discriminations against Arab Americans after the bombing of World Trade Center (Wakida, 2014).

In regard to short story; Sylvia Watanabe is famous for her first collection of stories *Talking to the Dead* (1992). Watanabe who is from Hawaii, illustrates ordinary life of Hawaiian villagers.

In addition to short stories and poems, novels and dramas are also popular genres in Sansei writings. The *Floating World*, written by Cynthia Kadohata in 1989, is a novel about the life of an immigrant family who travels continuously in the U.S. during the 1950s and 1960s. The most interesting point about the book is that, although the story goes through a period in which the Second World War has just ended and its consequences have taken effect in the U.S., it doesn't address anything related to war or its impacts on the family (Corbett: 2002).

Sansei works, which are written in different themes and literary fields such as novel, poetry, drama or short story, are published in the *Amerasia Journal of Asian American Studies*.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL SCOPE OF JAPANESE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

2.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF IMMIGRATION FROM JAPAN TO THE U.S.

During the Tokugawa feudal regime, which was also known as Edo period lasted from 1603 to 1867, Japanese immigration was not allowed because of the strict social rules and isolationist foreign policies. Tokugawa period had been the final period of traditional Japan that was governed by dictatorship before being overthrown by Meiji emperor. In spite of being a dictatorship, the Tokugawa feudal period was also a productive period in which peace, political stability were achieved and the economy was at its peak. “The very notion of emigration or colonization had not even existed under the closed-door policy of the Tokugawa feudal regime” when any kind of relations with the West, such as; merchandise or travelling abroad was forbidden with the Act of Seclusion in 1636 in order to stay away from the Western influence (Azuma, 2005: 18). After 200 years under national seclusion policy, Japan entered the modernization and westernization period in 1868 with the reign of Emperor Meiji. During the Meiji period, which ended in 1912 with the death of the emperor, there were lots of changes in many areas such as social, political, economic and education. Unlike the agriculture based economy in Tokugawa regime, Industrial Revolution occurred which led to the improvement of roads and construction of the first railroad during the Meiji period. In the political sphere; the foreign isolation policy was completely abandoned and many commercial treaties were signed with the U.S. and Europe. In addition to political and economical changes, the Western culture had an impact on all areas; from architecture to clothing, technology to science but especially with the adoption of western-based education system and cooperation with the western experts in many fields such as science, technology, mathematics and foreign language teaching were among the factors that played pivotal role in the modernization of the country. Through the advancement of relations with the West, the first immigration movements in Japan began with the sending of thousands of

students for education to Europe and the United States. In addition to the students sent for educational purposes, the main migration movement started in 1885 when the Japanese government had encouraged unemployed people and poor peasants to migrate because of “strong population pressure” (Onazowa, 2003: 117). Thus, the first flow of migration, which included 30,000 Japanese workers, took place in Hawaii in 1885, and then in the West Coast after five years.

The first Japanese immigrants to the U.S. were called Issei who were the first generation Japanese born outside America and they migrated to Hawaii as a contract laborer with the intent of working in sugar plantations of U.S. that was not able to meet the labor needs because of Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibiting immigration of Chinese laborers’ to the U.S. As a consequence of labor agreement signed between Japan and Hawaii, the population of Hawaii increased gradually with the migration of more laborers such as while there were 12,610 Japanese citizen in 1890; this number increased by more than 60,000 at the beginning of 1900s (Immigration to United States, 2015). Although Hawaii was a place with job opportunities in the sugarcane plantations for newly arrived immigrants, it was no longer a promising place due to its low wages and overtime hours and that’s why most of Issei whose labor contracts finished, would rather go to the West Coast where there were great opportunities for them in several areas such as railroad construction, farming, fishing etc. thanks to the Chinese Exclusion Act that the Issei immigrants could fill the demand of America’s cheap labor rapidly. The Issei, who were able to work long hours at low wages, like Chinese before them, were very suitable workers especially for plantations, since they were accustomed to working in small farms in Japan and thus; they were very skillful in overproducing in California’s large and fertile land that the more they produced, the more they earned money to buy their own lands. However, both over activity in plantations and the increase in the numbers of immigrants, caused uneasiness among white American citizens and anti-immigration movements started especially in California and San Francisco where the Asian Exclusion League was formed in 1905 on the purpose of excluding Asian immigrants through constitution by “abolishing Japanese-language schools and segregate the public schools, prohibit Japanese from commercial fishing, and forbid Japanese land ownership and long-term

leasing” (Online Archive of California, 1987). In 1908, through the efforts of Theodore Roosevelt The Gentlemen’s Agreement, which stopped Japanese immigration except those whose children, spouse or family had already migrated, to the United States and in return the segregation of public schools in San Francisco was abolished, was signed between Japan and U.S. and thus there was a sharp decline in the number of Japanese immigrants to the United States. This agreement played a crucial role in reducing the number of Japanese laborers’ migrants; however, the Japanese continued to arrive to the U.S until 1924, as relatives of migrants were still allowed to enter the country. While the migrants were mostly males until 1908, since then the majority of the migrants were Japanese women called “picture brides” that married immigrant men whom they met for the first time through photographs when they arrived in Japan and “this wave of immigration changed the nature of the Japanese American community from a male migrant laborer community to a family-oriented people seeking permanent settlement” and the Japanese population thus continued to increase with the birth of second-generation American-born called Nisei (Easton, Ellington: 2014). The Nisei couldn’t be subjected to any immigrant restrictions, on the contrary to Issei, as they were born in the U.S and considered as American citizens.

The increasing population led the Congress to pass the “Immigration Act of 1924” which “limited the number of immigrants that could be admitted to the U.S. to two percent of the total number of individuals from each nationality that resided in the U.S. in 1890” (History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives). So until the beginning of 1950s, Japanese immigration to the U.S was not legalized.

2.2. PRE WORLD WAR II AND JAPANESE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

In 20th century, thousands of Japanese left Hawaii for West Coast so as to find better job opportunities and they had no difficulty in finding job as they were eager to work in hard labor at low wages. Migrants from Hawaii opted for states such as California, San Francisco and Seattle because of various job opportunities like farming, fishing or

railroad construction. Especially after the Gentlemen's Agreement had been signed in 1907, Japan towns in West Coast "became less "bachelor" oriented and more nuclear family based" as the migrants of the laborers were stopped to prevent the increase of the Japanese population in the U.S; however, the second generation of Nisei children were born as a result of the marriage of picture brides and immigrant men, and Japanese population increased further in contrast to expectations (Lee, 2011: 31).

The Japanese suffered from racial discriminations in both economic and social areas. One of the biggest discrimination that they experienced in the economic field was the entry into force of the Alien Land Law in 1919 which "permits acquisition and transfer of real property by aliens eligible to citizenship" in order to both prevent new migrations and to get rid of the Japanese in the U.S. (Gaines , Cho, 2004 : 274-276). One of the other motive behind the passing of this law was that the whites didn't want to be in competition with Japanese who were quite successful in both agriculture and other working areas and the main purpose of them was to save enough money to purchase their own fields. Thus; the phrase "eligible to citizenship" in the law completely hindered the Japanese purchase or leasing of land because they were ineligible to citizenship except Nisei who were born in the U.S and considered American citizens. When the concern of economic competition combined with racism, the Japanese were subject to many anti-Asian movements that the increase in the ethnic population of places where they settled caused racial hatred because the whites became minority in their own country. Seattle, for instance, founded as a small village town in 1851, underwent the urban revolution in the early 20th century through increase in Japanese and other ethnic populations such as Philippines, African-Americans, Scandinavians etc... (Lee, 2011: 22). Sang-Hee-Lee stated that Seattle was a multiethnic settlement by excerpting from Monica Sone's autobiographical novel *Nisei Daughter*:

When I finally started grammar school, I found still another enchant- ing world. every morning I hurried to Adams hotel . . . and called for Matsuko. together we made the long and fascinating journey— from First Avenue to twelfth Avenue—to Bailey Gatzert school. . . . We meandered through the international section of town, past the small Japanese shops and stores, already bustling in the early morning hour, past the cafes and barber shops filled with Filipino men, and through Chinatown (Lee, 2011 : 19).

As can be seen in the excerpt, Seattle had been a multiethnic-based settlement, especially in the great number of Japanese until the outbreak of the Second World War. As well as being involved in many branches of industry-economic activity such as operation of hotels, barbershops, Tokyo stores etc., the Japanese established a number of associations where they could meet their social, religious needs and discuss their political needs. However, they were unable to avoid being exposed to racial discrimination in their daily lives both in Seattle and in all other settlements that they lived. In his book *Storied Lives: Japanese American Students and World War II*, Gary Y. Okihiro quoted Japanese Americans who shared racist experiences they had as a part of everyday life before WWII. Kengo Tajima put into words his experience as “once in Riverside I went into a barbershop, sat there, and started to read a newspaper. While I was reading, the barber came and said “We don’t serve you””. Heitaro Hikida recalled: “not a single Japanese was allowed to enter the Alki Beach or the shore at Ballard” in Washington State. Choichi Nitta expressed both physical and psychological violence she experienced as “there was so much anti-Japanese feeling in those days! They called us “Japs” and threw things at us. When I made a trip to Marysville to look for land, someone threw rocks” (Okihiro, 1999: 16).

After all, what can be inferred that the Japanese, who had great expectations for spending their lives in prosperity in the U.S, had been subjected to racist discrimination not only in the educational field with regard to segregated school policy, and in the economic field through Alien Land Law which banned to purchase or leasing any property but also in each aspect of social life until the outbreak of the Second World War and “even the second generation, the Nisei, who were American citizens by birth, felt the sting of racism that led to feelings of marginality and self-hatred” (Okihiro, 1999: 17).

2.3. WORLD WAR II AND JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS

2.3.1 The Road to Pearl Harbor, 1937-1941

While Japanese immigrants, despite all racist discrimination, endeavored to reach American dream; tension between Japan and the U.S. during the Great Depression period led to Japan Empire to attack Pearl Harbor in 1941. The Great Depression of 1929 destroyed Japan's economy; both its worsening economy and growing population made Manchuria, located in a fertile area of 200,000 square in the North of China, the target of the Japan and as a result of its invasion in 1931, Japan confronted the U.S because of its expansionist policies in Far East which caused the first political tension on the path to Pearl Harbor. After establishing puppet regime in Manchuria, Japan carried on expanding its borders by taking over other cities in China such as the invasion of Nanking in 1937 was the most cause celebre because it was a massacre that the Japanese army killed and raped hundreds of thousands of Chinese civilians for 6 weeks which is called as the "Raping of Nanking" or "Nanking Massacre". As a result of this slaughter, the U.S. laid economic embargoes on exports of aviation, gasoline and metals so as to prevent Japan's expansion in the Far East by capturing cities in China, yet these embargoes couldn't stop Japan, on the contrary led to Tripartite Pact which Japan signed with Germany and Italy- the Axis Powers- in 1940 to prevent America from going to war and remain neutral.

The United States' negotiations with Japan over its expansionist policy unfortunately backfired so the war was inevitable. The U.S. had realized that the war was hard at hand and thus made Pearl Harbor the main base of Pacific fleet as precaution because it was unpredictable that Pearl Harbor would be Japan's first target for invasion since it was located in Hawaii, which was 4000 miles away from Japan and therefore "was left relatively undefended, making it an easy target" (Pruitt: 2018). On December 7, 1941, the unpredictable happened and the attack of Pearl Harbor, which was planned for months by Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, took place. Pilots led by Captain Mitsup Fuchida took offensive positions and then dropped the bombs on U.S. battleships. At first, Pearl Harbor attack may have seemed as a success for Japan in terms of causing damage to American

battleships and aircrafts, and the death of thousands of crewman as well, however it was actually a failure as “the Japan failed to destroy American repair shops and fuel-oil tanks mitigated the damage. Even more significantly, no American aircraft carriers were at Pearl Harbor that day”; therefore Japan didn’t manage to destroy the Pacific Fleet completely (National WWII Museum, 2018).

The day after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Congress declared war on Japan in response to President Franklin Roosevelt’s request, and the U.S went to WWII, leaving aside the policy of neutrality. Pearl Harbor was an attack that led to the surrender of Japan by the American nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

2.3.2 Aftermath of Pearl Harbor and Executive Order 9066

After Japan’s unexpected attack on Pearl Harbor, which was left undefended, Japans and Japanese Americans’ lives changed badly in that all of them were considered as suspicious vigilance. On the evening of the attack, the government began to make plans about the evacuation of Japanese and Japanese Americans who were viewed as a threat to the country’s national security. People especially living on the West Coast were disturbed by the population of Japanese and thought that they were potential threat for sabotage. The underlying reason for Japanese evacuation is not actually Pearl Harbor, rather Japanese hatred and anti-Japanese movements started at the beginning of 20th century, yet the government launched this racism under the name of military necessity and even though Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Navy Department, and an informal intelligence system presented their reports to the president that Japanese were not threat to the country; mass evacuation was obliged by the government (Ng, 2002: 14). In short, there was no such thing as military necessity in as much as “there was no evidence of actual sabotage, espionage or fifth column activity among people of Japanese descent on the West Coast in February 1942” (Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 1997: 50).

Before the evacuation, FBI arrested the suspects who were categorized into A – B and C that the category A, for instance, included the aliens took part in cultural

organizations, there were less suspicious aliens in the B, and “members of particular ‘enemy’ ethnic group” were in the category C such as; Japanese language teachers and Buddhist priest (Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, 1997). In fact, Japanese and Japanese Americans were not the only immigrants considered suspicious. German and Italian immigrants whose countries went to war on the side of Japan against the U.S. were suspicious as well; however, their numbers were not as many as the Japanese and the only immigrant community that was supposed to be evacuated was the Japanese.

Executive Order 9066, which approved the mass evacuation of the Japanese, was signed on February 19, 1942 by the United States President Franklin Roosevelt who had strong opinions about race. The Immigration Act of 1924 which prohibited the entry of Japanese immigrants into the country was also signed by Roosevelt and moreover, there were also articles in which he expressed his racist views about the Japanese, for instance; “The Japs- a Habit of Mind” was the article of Roosevelt which was rejected and republished under the new title of “Shall We Trust Japan?”. On several occasions, he spoke scornfully of “the Japs” and “any damn Jap” in that he considered them as threat to “pure blood” of Americans (Marrin, 2016: 237-9). Thus what can be inferred that Roosevelt who looked down on the Japanese and had racist discourse about them, played pivotal role in the approval of Executive Order 9066 that caused mass evacuation of the Japanese and Japanese American immigrants.

General John L. Dewitt, head of the Western Defense Command, was in charge of carrying the Executive Order out which was signed by Franklin Roosevelt on February 19, 1942. John Dewitt was just as racist as Roosevelt and he defended the opinion that the evacuation could include all Japanese, even the American-born Nisei because “A Jap is a Jap” he said (Marrin, 2016: 250). The leading figure of the mass evacuation John Dewitt first tried voluntary evacuation which allowed the Issei and Nisei to go wherever they wanted; however it failed due to the growing hatred against the Japanese. For instance;

In the Kansas City Star, a cartoon titled “Plague of Japanese Beetles” showed Uncle Sam chasing bucktoothed insects out of California, while Kansans held up signs reading WE DON’T WANT

'EM and KEEP 'EM FLYING—IN ANOTHER DIRECTION. Protesters in Idaho cried, “We’re all white folks”. Roadside diners in Arizona posted a sign: THIS RESTAURANT POISONS BOTH RATS AND JAPS (Marrin, 2016: 269).

Since the Japanese were not welcomed in other states and were forced to go back where they left, thus mandatory evacuation was inevitable for them. However; it was not possible to carry out easily the evacuation of over 110.000 Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans to a region with shelter, livelihood, clothing, medical care, education, recreation facilities and job opportunities and therefore, assembly centers were established as the first step for the evacuation (Department of Geography, Central Washington University). On 31 March 1942, evacuation to assembly centers in which they stayed temporarily – almost 3 months - began for the West Coast Japanese settlers that regardless of age, gender, nationality – Issei or Nisei- and occupation; all those who had Japanese blood were forced to leave all their properties behind and set out for assembly centers. “I gave my pictures to the camera club friends” one said, or “the piano I put in the church parlor, the washing machine, and dishes went into the basement of one friend, the books into the basement of another friend” the other one said (As cited in Marrin, 2016: 279). Yet, more important than all of the properties they had; one said that “On May 16, 1942, my mother, two sisters, niece, nephew, and I left... by train. Father joined us later. Brother left earlier by bus. We took whatever we could carry. So much we left behind, but the most valuable thing I lost was my freedom” (As cited in Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians: 1997).

While the Japanese on the West Coast left one after the other, the situation was slightly different for the Japanese in Hawaii which accounted for 37% of the island’s population. After Pearl Harbor attack, there were controversies about the fact that the Japanese in Hawaii also should be subjected to mass evacuation; however, thanks to General Delos Emmons, military governor of Hawaii, who didn’t hold racist views against the Japanese unlike General John Dewitt on the West Coast, Japanese and Japanese Americans were excluded from the evacuation. General Emmons argued that the Japanese played significant role in growth of the local economy and they were also good at running

errands, thus they were not needed to be evacuated especially for the benefit of the Hawaii Island (Ng, 2002: 25).

Therefore, Japanese in Hawaii were never evacuated due to being key figures in both economic and social terms. On the other side the internees who stayed in Assembly Centers for three months that had highly primitive conditions, were subjected to relocation unexpectedly in the summer of 1942. Minidoka (Idaho), Heart Mountain (Wyoming) , Manzanar (California), Tule Lake (California), Granada (Colorado), Topaz (Utah), Gila River (Arizona), Poston (Arizona), Rohwer (Arkansas), and Jerome (Arkansas) were the areas where War Relocation Centers were built in the design of military barracks with a barbed-wire (Chapman, Stephanie, Keener, Sobota, and Whitmore: 2015).

2.3.3. Life in Relocation Centers

Relocation centers were places where nobody would want to live, quite far away from military areas and also had a very unfavorable desert climate for farming. 10 camp sites in different areas were all designed as military wards surrounded by barbed-wire and being watched by soldiers in the towers. “Each ward had four housing “blocks” of sixteen to twenty-four barracks per block, built in rows along unpaved streets. Each block had its own facilities: kitchen, laundry, toilets....” (Marrin, 2016: 311). Each barrack was divided into four or six rooms that regardless of the number of the people in the family, each room was designed for one family, but when needed, even one room was shared by two families. The rooms were so poorly designed that there were just “two canvas cots, sometimes a cotton mattress, minimal bedding (sheets, pillow, and blanket), a pot- bellied stove for coal heating, and a naked ceiling lightbulb” (Ng, 2001: 41). These poor living conditions made internees, whose liberties were taken away, feel like they were in prison. In fact, the internment camps were no different than the prison because they were kept under surveillance as if all of them had betrayed the U.S. and moreover, private life was out of the question; all the bathrooms and toilets were shared and internees were not able to decide even what to do when, for instance; they had to be lined up for breakfast at 7 a.m.

or when it was the time for sleep, all the lights had to be switched off. It is clear from the quotation of Elaine Yoneda Black – one of the internees- that where they had to stay was just like a prison. She said that “because I had been in jails before, in solitary as well as the main prison tank, I wasn't appalled by it. I began encountering frustrated, horrified faces, primarily among teen-aged girls, as they came into the latrine. Some would run away crying” (Black, as cited in Ng, 2001: 41).

In addition to the poor conditions of sheltering, education for children and teenagers in the camp were equally poor due to the high number of school-age children, inadequate physical conditions for education and insufficient training materials. The education they had was based on Americanization and loyalty to the United States that each morning “began with the Pledge of Allegiance to ‘one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all’” (Marrin, 2016: 317). Although many reports stated that Japanese didn’t pose much threat to the U.S. and they were not need to be evacuated, it is quite ironic that the Japanese Americans, who lost all their liberties and were interned in camp sites, started their class with the Pledge of Allegiance that stated America is a country of freedom and justice for everyone.

While children and teenagers continued their education at the camp, there were also various job opportunities for adults who wanted to work and earn money which was incomparably less than what they had earned before being held captive. Yet what they wanted rather than money was to spend their time as internees by engaging with something so that the jobs at the camp were in high demand. Since each camp had its own hospital, police and fire department and even a newspaper; there were many available jobs for doctors, nurses, firefighters, journalists etc. In addition, there were also jobs in sanitation for those who had no profession; however, whether they worked as a janitor or a doctor, their winnings were considerably lower than the Caucasians supervisors in the camp.

Apart from being effective in running daily functions in the camps, internees also made a great contribution to the nation’s economy through seasonal agricultural works. Many of the fields had been plowed by the immigrants before the attack of the Pearl Harbor remained vacant in terms of workers after the decision of evacuation, and due to the destruction caused by the Second World War, the need for experienced agricultural

laborers to enable the reproduction in the fields allowed the Japanese to work in the fields outside the concentration camps temporarily. The reason why the internees were permitted to be involved in seasonal agricultural labors was that the government looked out for the nation's own interests. With regards to internees, this was an unmissable opportunity to get a taste of freedom again as they could move away from the camps, which were surrounded by barbed wire and soldiers. Moreover, the amount they could earn was much more than the wages given to them in the camp. Yet above all, what they mostly desired was to get rid of being considered as suspicious or threatening the national security by contributing to the recovery of post-war economy.

2.3.4. Closure of the Camps

Three years after signing of the Executive Order 9066, which imprisoned the Japanese and Japanese Americans as suspicious; thanks to the decision taken by the Supreme Court, Franklin Roosevelt, who was in the 4th term of his presidency, closed the camps in 1945. Yet, returning to post-camp life was not easy for the Japanese who had to leave all their properties behind on their way to the camps. Financial problems of Japanese and Japanese Americans in the process of re-adaptation to civilian life resulted in President Harry Truman signing the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act in 1948 to compensate for the losses of Japanese Americans as a result of mass evacuation; however, it was not able to cover the losses completely because of both financial and bureaucratic reasons.

Although it failed to succeed, the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act was the first civil right movement of the 20th century. Through the rise of civil right movements, Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), was founded in 1929 to advocate "the violation of constitutional rights, lost property, and the repeal of anti-Japanese legislation" (Yang; 2014). JACL's organizations, campaigns and conferences eventually attracted both public and government attention that 40 years after the release of internees, the President Ronald Reagan signed Civil Rights Act of 1988 which "awarded a national apology and \$1.25 billion in redress to the Americans of Japanese ancestry who

were interned in concentration camps during World War II” (Hatamiya, 1992: 63). Under the Public Law 100-383 (1988) in Section 2, Congress stated that

a) WITH REGARD TO INDIVIDUALS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY.—The Congress recognizes that, as described by the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, a grave injustice was done to both citizens and permanent resident aliens of Japanese ancestry by the evacuation, relocation, and internment of civilians during World War II. As the Commission documents, these actions were carried out without adequate security reasons and without any acts of espionage or sabotage documented by the Commission and were primarily motivated by racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a failure of political leadership. The excluded individuals of Japanese ancestry suffered enormous damages, both material and intangible, and there were incalculable losses in education and job training, all of which resulted in significant human suffering for which appropriate compensation has not been made. For these fundamental violations of the basic civil liberties and constitutional rights of these individuals of Japanese ancestry, the Congress apologizes on behalf of the Nation. . . (U.S. Statutes at Large 102 (1988): 903–4).

After a very long time with the statements of the Congress, The Japanese regained the title of “loyal folk” again. While the pecuniary losses they had during the evacuation were compensated by redress, intangible damages such as enserfing and racial discriminations were tried to be resolved with “national apology”.

2.3.5. Redress Movement

Incarceration of Japanese Americans to the internment camps through Executive Order 9066 and the inhuman treatment they were exposed to was ignored for a long time, because concentration camps were the red line of the American government that they never came into question. Almost 30 years after the end of the WWII, the government took an action, and Congress formed the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilian under the leadership of the President Jimmy Carter. The Commission, which had interviews with evacuees and gathered information about the

incarceration and internment camps through national archives and witnesses of the internment, finally concluded that “incarceration was a grave injustice” (Nagata, Kim, Wu, 2019). Actions to be taken were listed by the Congress as follows:

Congress [should] pass a joint resolution, to be signed by the President, which recognizes that a grave injustice that was done and offers the apologies of the nation for the acts of exclusion, removal and detention. The President [should] pardon those who were convicted of violating the statutes imposing a curfew on American citizens on the basis of their ethnicity and requiring the ethnic Japanese to leave designated areas of the West Coast or to report to assembly centers. Congress [should] demonstrate official recognition of the injustice done to American citizens of Japanese ancestry and Japanese resident aliens during the Second World War, and that it recognize the nation’s need to make redress for these events, by appropriating monies y to establish a special foundation. Congress [should] establish a fund which will provide personal redress to those who were excluded, as well as serve the purposes set out in Recommendation 4... This fund should be used, first, to provide a one-time per capita compensatory payment of \$20,000 to each of the approximately 60,000 surviving persons excluded from their places of residence pursuant to Executive Order 9066 (Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians Part 2 Recommendations, 1997: 8-9)

After acknowledging the unjust imprisonment of the Japanese, the American government issued the national apology and officially announced that they would pay \$20,000 for each surviving evacuee that was called as “Redress Movement”. Even though the redress couldn’t compensate for the sufferings of the evacuees or didn’t bring back three and a half years of inhumane treatment they had exposed during their stay at the camps, the national apology of the government and its acknowledgment of the wrongdoing of incarceration were still appreciated by most of the Japanese-Americans.

The severest criticism on Redress Movement is that it took place 40 years after the end of the Second World War that the first generation Japanese Issei- who were already dead- were not able to avail themselves of the right to compensation since it was only valid for “surviving evacuees”. However, what can be said that the Redress Movement was quite effective for the most of the Nisei in terms of “restoring a sense of justice” (Takezawa, 1991: 40).

Thanks to Redress Movement, besides pecuniary compensation, Japanese Americans also became stronger psychologically as “they have come to recognize the unique reality of being Japanese Americans” (Takezawa, 1991: 40).



CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF MONICA SONE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY *NISEI DAUGHTER*

3.1. BEING ON THE MARGINS: WHO ARE ASIAN AMERICANS?

Asian American, which is a term used for referring to all Asian immigrants settled down in the United States or those who were born in the United States with Asian origins, has been used since 1960s that before then all of them were in the category of "Orientals". The reason why such a term is needed is set forth by King- Kok Cheung as "the term grew out of the frustration felt by many American-born citizens of Asian extraction at being treated as perpetual foreigners in the United States, even if their roots in this country go back several generations" (Cheung, 2000: 5). It can be said that such a term has been coined because of the desire of Asian Americans, especially the ones born in America, the need to name them as Americans.

The term Asian American was coined by Yuji Ichioka who was an activist of civil rights and the founder of the Asian American Political Alliance which aimed to bring together all Asian Americans under the same roof. This alliance dismissed the term "Oriental", which laid emphasis only on their Asian part regardless of their American part, and they addressed themselves as "Asian Americans" "... to cultivate a sense of ethnic unity" (Zhou, 2008: 42). "Asian" is defined by the U.S. Census Bureau as "A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippine Islands, Thailand, and Vietnam" (U.S. Census Bureau).

Anyone from the ethnic origins that was stated above, and resided in the United States is officially accepted as an Asian American by the government regardless of being a U.S. citizen or an immigrant. In today's America, the largest majority of the Asian American population is the Chinese who migrated to the U.S. so as to work in sugar plantations in the 19th century. Although the increase in the Asian immigrant population remained stable for a certain period due to the restrictions on immigration through laws, after those restrictions had been removed, the flow of migration from Asia has increased

gradually since then. What Pew Research Center claims about Asian American population in the U.S. that

The nation's Asian-American population will continue to grow more rapidly than the U.S. population overall, and it will be less dominated by immigrants than it now is. The Asian population will grow to 41 million in 2050, nearly tripling in size. Nearly all of the future growth in the Asian population (94%) will be due to immigrants arriving after 2005 and their descendants. But arrivals of new immigrants will play a declining role in Asian population change, and births in the United States to immigrants and their descendants will play a growing role. In 2005, most Asians in the United States (58%) were foreign born; by 2050, fewer than half (47%) will be foreign born (Pew Research Center, 2012).

3.1.1. Japanese Americans: “The Three Generations”

As the Chinese immigration was banned from emigration to the United States through the Chinese Exclusion Act since 19th century, Japanese immigration was encouraged to fill the workforce in the United States and thus, the number of Japanese immigrants increased rapidly. Unlike other Asian immigrant groups, Japanese immigrants used Japanese terms to identify each generation and their characteristics. These terms are widely used both in Japanese history and in Japanese American literature because the classification of the generations “serves as a declaration of one’s belonging to a particular generation, sharing with it all the joys and troubles, and playing a special role in the history of Japanese community in America” (Dusakova, 2006: 8).

The reason why such classifications are not seen in immigrants of European origin can be explained as valuing individualism rather than collectivity. However, for the Japanese, the continuation of the family and the lineage comes first and unlike the American value of individualism, group priority is valued so that everyone is responsible to the whole group for his/her behavior.

The Japanese terms that describe generations are used by Japanese not only to increase group loyalty and reinforce the sense of belonging of an individual to the group, but also they aimed to lay emphasis on the distinctiveness of each generations. These terms that are used to refer to generations are composed of two words: the numerals and the word “sei” which means generation in Japanese. The first generation starts with Issei

who were born in Japan and immigrated to the U.S. This generation is followed by the Nisei, who are the American-born children of the Issei, and the children of the Nisei are referred as Sansei and Sansei's children are called as Yonsei. The prefixes are the Japanese numerals that each one symbolizes which generation they belong to. In addition to these terms, Nisei, which is a general term, is used so as to refer to all Japanese Americans regardless of their generations.

3.1.2. The Issei

The term Issei is used for the first generation Japanese Americans who were born in Japan and migrated to the United States for better job opportunities in the 19th century. They mainly settled down in Seattle, California, Hawaii and they worked in sugar plantations there. The Issei, who worked under very difficult conditions for low wages, only desired to make a fortune in the U.S. – a land of opportunities- and then return to their home country. Thus, they isolated themselves from the American society and founded their own neighborhoods. Since they came to America in their 20s, they were able to preserve their ethnic backgrounds. They were not eligible to be an American citizen since they were not born in the U.S., so they never considered themselves as Americans. However, they remained faithful to America as it was their new home.

3.1.3. The Nisei

The term Nisei stands for the second generation that is completely different from their Issei parents. One of the most distinctive characteristics of the Nisei is that they are officially American citizens as they were born in the U.S. They were fluent in English, they attended American schools, they knew American songs, and they were a part of the American society. Unlike the first generation, they never longed for returning to Japan because America was already a home for them. Although the Nisei embraced American culture, customs and manners; they couldn't avoid Japanese culture imposed by their Issei parents. They had to attend Japanese school in the afternoons in order to speak Japanese

and to be acquainted with Japanese culture. For this reason, it can be said that the second generation Nisei were the ones who felt the burden of experiencing two cultures as compared to the first generation Issei and third generation Sansei. The burden of two cultures was further aggravated by their imprisonment in internment camps during the Second World War; because although they thought that they were American citizens, they weren't considered American since they had Japanese heritage- which was enough to make them Japanese rather than American – by the government and faced the reality of being put in the same equation with the Issei who were not even American citizens.

In addition to the cultural dilemma they experienced at home, the Nisei who never doubted their Americanness until their incarceration, also experienced the split of identity because the American government didn't regard them as Americans. Thus, “the Nisei were the ones, who felt the heaviest impact of the internment, when all were forced to rethink and recreate their identity, and deal with both the Japanese and American aspects of the heritage they were endowed with” (Dusakova, 2006: 10).

3.1.4. The Sansei

The third generation, Sansei, were the grandchildren of the Issei and children of the Nisei were the smallest group in the internment camp as most of them were not born when the Issei and Nisei were evacuated to the relocation centers. After the war ended, Sansei population increased rapidly and they were called as “baby boom generation” (Ng, 2001: 7). The Sansei is a rather hassle-free generation, unlike the Issei who were homesick and the Nisei who felt torn between two cultures. As the Sansei's parents –Nisei- were assimilated into American mainstream, the Sansei didn't experience generational gap or cultural dilemma. They were never forced to attend Japanese school or learn Japanese, they didn't live in Japanese neighborhoods; on the contrary, they were surrounded with white Americans and felt themselves American.

On the one hand the Sansei were lucky not to experience the incarceration which was one of the darkest part of the American history, on the other hand, they were oblivious of their history as Japanese Americans for a long time since their parents remained silent

about that period of their lives. However, with the emergence of civil rights movements which made the Sansei aware of the wrongdoing of the government, “Sansei began to question their parents about the war, thus shedding new light on a long, dark period of Japanese American history. Along with this relearning of forgotten history, Sansei worked with Nisei politicians and activists to seek redress for all Japanese who were affected by the internment” (Ng, 2001: 7).

3.2. MONICA SONE’S LIFE AND WORKS

Monica Sone also known as Kazuko Monica Itoi was born in Seattle, Washington in 1919. She grew up as the second of four children in a small hotel run by her father who immigrated from Japan to the USA so as to become lawyer but failed to realize his dream and took over a hotel and managed it. Her mother, who was an amateur poet and the daughter of a Japanese Christian priest, also immigrated to the USA in 1917. Sone grew up speaking both English and Japanese; however, she was unaware of her Japanese ancestry until she was five and thought that she was just American. In order to become familiar with Japanese traditions and also to speak Japanese fluently; Sone and her brother were sent to Japanese school for one and a half hour every day after finishing their classes at primary school for American students in Seattle. After high school, she went to business school on the advise of her father and completed two years of business programme successfully but no matter how she desired to enroll the university; because of being stricken with tuberculosis she had to stay in sanitarium for nine months. After her recovery, Sone returned home and attended classes at the University of Washington yet her university life was left half-finished due to the outbreak of Second World War and Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. After that, nothing would be the same neither for Sone’s family nor for other Japanese American families in Seattle as all of them were obliged to leave their home, business and everything behind and incarcerated first at Camp Harmony and then at Camp Minidoka in Idaho until the end of the war (Beebe, 2007: 270). After having spent two years under hard conditions at the camp, young Japanese people who had either job offers or acceptance to college were permitted

to leave the camp by the American government thus; she finally grabbed the chance to go to the university and enrolled in Hanover College, Indiana. Her parents, however; had to continue their lives in the camp until the end of the war (Zhang, 2008: 876).

Three years after the end of the war, Sone's father passed away in 1948 and her mother was able to become naturalized citizen of the United States thanks to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 which "ended Asian exclusion from immigrating to the United States and ...eliminated laws preventing Asians from becoming naturalized American citizens" (History State Government). After Sone had graduated from Hanover College; she attended Case Western University and received master degree in clinical psychology and worked as a consultant. Then she married Geary Sone, who was also a Nisei – second generation Japanese – veteran during the World War II, and became the mother of four children (Zhang, 2008: 876).

The publication of *Nisei Daughter* which is Monica Sone's only autobiographical novel is closely related to Betty McDonald – the best-selling author of *The Egg and I* – whom Monica met while staying in sanitarium for the treatment of tuberculosis. These two young girl kept in touch with each other after the completion of treatment. The fact that Sone sent letters to Betty about her experiences and living conditions in the internment camp played pivotal role in the publication of Sone's *Nisei Daughter* because Betty saved all of the letters Sone sent her throughout the war and one day she showed them to the editor of Little, Brown and Co and those letters awakened the editors interest since there were no works related to the experiences of Japanese Americans living in Camps at that time so the editor asked Sone if she would like to write a book about what she experienced in the camp and she stated her enthusiasm about writing a book as "I was eager to do so. This was because after I eventually left camp and moved to the eastern part of the country, I discovered that the general public knew nothing about our evacuation and imprisonment of tens of thousands of Americans. I wanted to tell our story" (Southwest Licking Local School District, 2016: 514).

Thus *Nisei Daughter*, which was the first novel about internment camps, was published by Little, Brown and Co in 1953 but due to the fact that it couldn't draw considerable interest at first; it was republished by University of Washington Press. With

the improvement of multiculturalism in the United States, people were concerned about civil right movements and what happened to Japanese Americans imprisoned in the camps during the Second World War attracted people's attention and from that time "with increased enthusiasm in Asian American Studies, *Nisei Daughter* is widely recognized as a masterpiece of Asian American Literature" (Zhang, 2008: 877).

3.3. NISEI DAUGHTER AS AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Nisei Daughter is an autobiography in which the author Monica Sone, who was born as the daughter of Issei family and belonged to the second generation called "Nisei", wrote her experiences from the period of childhood to adulthood as an American citizen of Japanese origin. The word Nisei is formed by the combination of the words "ni" which means two or second and "sei" means generation in Japanese (Jisho Dictionary). So Nisei is a Japanese term used to define the ones who were born in the United States as children of first generation Japanese immigrants "Issei". *Nisei Daughter* is a story of a woman who is trapped between two cultures as member of an ethnic minority group in the U.S. during the World War II. This autobiography, written by Kazuko Monica Sone was published soon after the end of the World War II in 1953, has a significant place in literary space since it is the first post-war Japanese American autobiography written by a Nisei woman who points out the Japanese American experiences before, during and after the World War II. One of the reasons why Japanese American literature flourished after the WWII and most of the works belong to autobiography genre rather than fiction is that "remembering and telling the truth about terrible events are prerequisites both for the restoration of the social order and for the healing of individual victims" (Herman as cited in Ina, 2001). For many writers, autobiography thus functions as a tool to cope with their trauma because "when the truth is finally recognized and publicly acknowledged, victims can begin their recovery. They can be freed to tell the truth about what happened, label the suffering and express the sorrow and anger" (Ina, 2001: 35). Monica Sone has never hesitated to share her experiences in order to be free from the burden of her past unlike many Nisei who are reluctant to tell their life stories; and those who have the courage to reveal the dark side

of the history of WWII “are selective in their use of personal detail and guarded in their criticisms of white America” and they have to be “more careful to present their stories in “acceptable” terms” (Yamamoto, 1999: 106). For this reason; Sone, who tries to be the voice of the silent Nisei and brings to the light the experiences of being ethnic minority in the U.S. during the WWII, finds herself in the line of fire because of being too “superficial” about the internment camp experiences in *Nisei Daughter* (Dresdler, 2009: 20).

Besides dealing with traumas, remembering past experiences enables the autobiographer to discover her real self and reconstruct it because past is the basis of the self. By writing her autobiographical account *Nisei Daughter* Monica Sone was not only able to cope with the trauma of belonging to an ethnic minority group during the WWII in the U.S. but also shaped her identity through the memories which were the most powerful tool in one’s sense of self. Sone recounts her memories from a retrospective perspective that according to Philip Lejeune it is one of the important criteria for a work to be considered as an autobiography. In retrospective perspective, memories are told in chronological order and flashbacks or flashforwards are not included. Sone, who is in search for identity and feels herself torn between her ethnic Japanese heritage and the American mainstream she desired to belong to, wrote her memories from the age of six to the transition to womanhood by following a linear flow that includes learning the shocking fact of her life that she is Japanese, racial discriminations that she was exposed to after returning from Japan trip and feel split between two cultures, the sense of belonging to nowhere during the time she was interned in the camp and being recognized in American mainstream with her Japanese origin and reconciliation with both Japanese and American culture at the end, all of the events which are told chronologically are crucial in terms of constructing writer’s identity in linear time (Uchida, 1998 : 129). It can be said that during the autobiography, the process of Sone’s shaping her identity coincides with the experiences she acquired.

As *Nisei Daughter* is the author’s own life story, the author and the protagonist are the same person and both of them share a common identity which is another element that Lejeune points out in order for a work to be seen as an autobiography (Lejeune, 1989: 11-

15). Sone both being the writer and the protagonist of the story gives reader a feeling that the story is based on reality and “the author, writing about the past, shares the identity with the protagonist” (Uchida, 1998: 128). The process of identity formation, which begins with Sone’s rejection of Japanese ethnic identity as a 6-year-old protagonist, is completed with Sone’s consideration that she is born into two cultures “as a real bargain in life, two for the price of one” (Sone, 1953: 236). What Aki Uchida puts emphasis in her article is that the completion of the protagonist’s identity at the end indicates that the author’s identity which has been “frozen” till then also is reconstructed (Uchida, 1998: 129).

Considering all of the characteristics written above, *Nisei Daughter* is complied with autobiographical conventions in terms of the author and the protagonist being identical, using retrospective point of view and following chronological order of the events. In addition to all these technical features, Sone also reconstructs her identity as Japanese American woman at the end of her novel by writing her past which is an inseparable part of shaping one’s self and coping with the traumatic past experiences.

3.3.1. Issei Family and the Conflict of Generations “Issei- Nisei”

Identity, which is defined simply as “the distinguishing character or personality of an individual: INDIVIDUALITY” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary) has always been a controversial concept for ethnic minorities in the United States especially for the Japanese Americans who were born in the U.S but were torn between two cultures and struggled to find their true selves. The Nisei who had Japanese ancestry were ethnically Japanese, yet they were also considered American citizen since they were born in the United States so they “technically hold dual citizenship” (Ng, 2002: 5). However; for the Nisei, this duality manifested itself not only in citizenship but also in many other areas such as dual culture, dual personality, dual education etc. One of the reasons why the Nisei felt themselves in-between in every sense is that the first generation Issei families who were born in Japan and adopted the traditions of Japan, desired to bring up their children – the Nisei – in line with Japanese manners and customs inasmuch as they didn’t want their children to be

completely assimilated. Unlike the Nisei, the Issei who immigrated to the United States which was the land of opportunities in their 20s and 30s, never got into a cultural dilemma, but rather they had preserved continuity of their ethnic background and maintained their daily routines in places where they settled just as they did in Japan. The Japanese community in Seattle, for instance, were quite ethnically organized that shops, churches, restaurants all were suitable for Japans, and there was also Nippon-kan Hall where Japanese plays, musicals, concerts and many other artistic activities were held (Miyamoto, 1979: x). Thus, the neighborhoods where the Japanese immigrants the Issei settled down were just like a Japan town.

For the Nisei; however, it was not so easy to maintain their ethnic identities that they were simultaneously exposed to both eastern – Japanese- culture and western – American- culture. They could speak both English and Japanese as they attended Japanese Grammar School in the afternoon and while they were raised in terms of Japanese manners by their families, they also absorbed the American culture and values that “they knew the popular songs and danced the latest dance steps; and their idols were the favorites of all Americans: Babe Ruth, Joe DiMaggio, Clark Gable and Katharine Hepburn” (Miyamoto, 1979: xi). What Miyamoto deduced about the Nisei in his introduction to *Nisei Daughter* 1979 edition that

Thus a Nisei was American, but not truly a part of American society. A Nisei was certainly not Japanese, but Japanese influences seeped into aspects of his character and behavior... Compared to white Americans the Nisei were generally more aware of self and of others, less direct and spontaneous, and less assertive; but compared to the Issei, the Nisei were clearly more like Americans. (Miyamoto, 1979: xii)

The reason why the Nisei generation experienced dilemmas and difficulties in terms of forming their identities is not only because of being the other in the U.S despite their birthplace was the U.S but also the pressure of ethnic Japanese culture in their neighborhood yet especially at home. In order to reveal how significant the experiences of the Nisei in their journey to become a “whole person”, it is necessary to analyze the generational gap between the first generation Issei and second generation American-born Nisei and how different the Japanese family structure and cultural values are from the

United States' norms and values. For the Issei, the reason of their immigration to the U.S was to find better job opportunities to make a fortune and they always had a desire to return to their home country one day and thus they were never eager to maintain strong ties with the U.S yet; when they realized that they were not able to return to Japan as soon as they expected; they made an effort to instill the Japanese values especially the value of "continued importance of the family" to their offsprings (Connor, 1974: 160). For the Japanese, the family is a whole and unlike the American value of individualism; which favors freedom, privacy and independence, they place high importance on the dependence of family members' and their responsibilities for each other. Since each member represents his family and cannot be seen as independent entity, he is always responsible to his family for all of his actions and is obliged to abstain from the behaviors that will bring shame to the family (Connor, 1974: 159). Collectivism, which gives importance to the group priority rather than the individual and is the cornerstone of the Confucian principles, was a value on which the structure of the Japanese families, especially the Issei families based and therefore the Issei deemed it necessary to pass on their norms and values to the next generation –Nisei- as they were aware of the significant influence of the culture as a determinant in shaping the individual's personality.

Language which is seen as an indispensable part of the culture in terms of transmitting it, was also placed high value by the Issei that they established Japanese Language School – Nihon Gakko- in Japan neighborhood of Seattle in order that their children could speak their mother tongues fluently. Thanks to the fact that the Nisei attended both American school in the mornings and then Nihon Gakko Japanese school in the afternoons, they were fluent in both English and Japanese but it also caused a gap between the Nisei and their Issei parents who couldn't speak English fluently and had great difficulty in expressing themselves clearly. The linguistic difference between the two generations is evident in the dialogue between Kazuko's mother, who was not good at understanding English, and her teacher. When Kazuko told her teacher that her mother made the dress on her, she replied:

Did she really? My what a wonderful seamstress you are Mrs. Itoi. And I love that color! It's as lovely as can be. "Oh, no, it's not so good", Mother said modestly. She could have said "thank you" at this moment.... All of a sudden Mother burst out, "It's too red, but my daughter, she likes red. I think it's lousy!" ... I pointed out to Mother in a tearful, disgraced-for-life voice that she had made a terrible mistake (Sone, 1953: 51- 52).

In addition to the linguistic difference, the cultural difference between the two generations was also quite high that the familial conflict was inevitable. For instance; when Kazuko said that she wanted to take dancing lessons and to be a dancer, her father strongly opposed because "dancing was associated with geisha girls and he would never consent to his daughter's entering that profession!" (Sone, 1953: 44). The only thing they agreed about dancing was that they both regarded the dance of which preferred by the other as "evil". For the father, western dance was evil because the dance figures of half-naked women on stage; for Kazuko the traditional Japanese folk dance odori was not even a type of dance with women wearing kimonos and extremely white make-up like dead on their faces and pretty slow dance figures. This classic Japanese dancing was unspectacular for Kazuko who desired "to be completely entombed like a cocoon, under layers of garments and miles of sash" (Sone, 1953: 45). This clearly shows that while Kazuko absorbed the American culture, the Issei parent adhered to Japanese cultural values and as an authoritarian figure of the family, he tried to prevent his daughter from becoming a part of Western culture. To own different values were not peculiar to only Kazuko and her father; rather this cultural and generational conflict could be seen among the Nisei and all the Issei generation, who immigrated to the U.S with their own customs and traditions and never wanted to take part in American mainstream. Monica Sone illustrated how completely dissimilar the customs of two generations in the 10th chapter "Henry's Wedding and a Most Curious Tea Party". This chapter was about the organization of wedding reception and tea party to celebrate the marriage of Minnie and Kazuko's brother Henry. The wedding reception took place in the concentration camp where they were being held as internee and only their friends and parents' friends were invited because of the "rigid rules concerning town passes" (Sone, 1953: 210). The most remarkable point about this wedding reception and tea party was that it was arranged in a completely

American way; however, the Issei were accustomed to only to Japanese tea parties. Therefore, they came to the party quite late as opposed to the Nisei because while coming early to a place they were invited to was a sign of childish willingness; appearing late was an indicator of “self-restraint and modesty” (Sone, 1953: 211, 212). The difference between the two generations came up again later in the day when Minnie realized that the Issei didn’t even take refreshments during the party since they were not familiar with open buffet and expected to be served. When Kazuko asked her mother why the Issei were not interested in refreshments, her mom answered as “I’m afraid you’ll have to serve them, Ka-chan. They’re uncomfortable with the arrangements here. It’s just like telling your guests at home to find their way into the kitchen, when they get hungry, and help themselves” (Sone, 1953 : 213).

What can be inferred from this quotation is that as a part of their custom; the Issei were waiting to be served where they were invited and the American-style tea party organized by the Nisei didn’t comply with their guest and host concept. According to Stephen Sumida, who is an ethnic studies professor at University of Washington and also an author; the wedding reception was an indicator of the changing roles of the two generations as it was the first day of the Nisei took role as host especially against their Issei families but more importantly it was actually a day of “the clash of expectations of hosts and guests” (Sumida: 1992, 232). The guest and host roles can also be interpreted as the position of two generations the Issei and the Nisei in the United States. Just like in the tea party, the Issei were also guests in America; because with their Japanese customs, manners and language, they couldn’t have a sense of belonging there and they had always desire to return to their homeland one day as their only aim was to make money in the U.S when they migrated. Above all, they were even not eligible to the American citizenship due to being immigrants. Unlike their parents, the Nisei were American citizen since they were born in the U.S. They were fluent in English, they were included in American culture and they absorbed the American values and customs since they longed for being part of the American mainstream. Thus, it can be said that in comparison to the Issei generation; the Nisei were in the host position in the United States.

3.4. JAPANESE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE IN NISEI DAUGHTER

3.4.1. Sone's Childhood Period and "A Shocking Fact of Life"

The author's autobiography starts with her childhood period when she found out that she had Japanese blood which was a shocking fact of her life because until that moment she had never doubted her Americanness. This was the first time she had revelation about her origin and she expressed her astonishment as "the first five years of my life I lived in amoebic bliss, not knowing whether I was plant or animal, at the Carrollton Hotel on the waterfront of Seattle. One day when I was a happy six-year-old, I made the shocking discovery that I had Japanese blood. I was a Japanese" (Sone, 1953: 3).

This revelation is indicated as the clash of self-constructed identity with the imposed identity by Dusakova in her thesis. In fact; the traces of Japanese heritage in family life were very clear as the Issei were attached to their ethnic culture strictly. For instance; the names of the children were Japanese: Kazuko, Kenji and Sumiko. "The kitchen were unmistakable Oriental traces and odors" that there were lots of chopsticks, a bottle of soy sauce and somayaki tea set (Sone, 1953: 12). There were also some Japanese things in the rooms they stayed such as straw slippers, comforter with Japanese parasols, the copies of the North American Times – the newspaper for Seattle's Japanese community – and the Oriental abacus board; above all even the Asian physical appearances that both she and her parents had never caused Kazuko to question her self-constructed American identity as she stated as: "up to that moment I had never thought of Father and Mother as Japanese. True, they had almond eyes and they spoke Japanese to us, but I never felt that it was strange. It was like one person's being red-haired and another black" (Sone, 1953: 5).

For Kazuko, who learned her Japanese origin when she was 6, the imposed Japanese identity "sounded freakish" since being both Japanese and American at the same time was like "being born with two heads" (Sone, 1953: 19). Thus, Kazuko would prefer to ignore the Japanese identity and culture due to being freakish and she had never

experienced before how to deal with two different identities as well. Ignoring or rejecting the Japanese side first appeared when her mother told that she had to go to Nihon Gakko, which was a Japanese language school, in the afternoons after the grammar school to get familiar with Japanese culture and learn to speak Japanese. To attend the Japanese school every day meant that she had no more play hours which was pretty annoying for a child at that age, so she protested to go there and blamed her parents to “make a fuss” (Sone, 1953: 5). Because of changes that happened in her life right after she had learned that she had Japanese blood, she was opposed to adopt Japanese cultural heritage. According to Sumida; Kazuko’s unwillingness to attend to the Japanese school is not a rejection of Japanese-style way of life, rather it is a child’s rebellion against the restriction of her play hour (Sumida, 1992: 209). Although Sumida interpreted it as a childlike rebellion, Kazuko’s inappreciativeness with Japanese heritage continued when she started school.

Nihon Gakko was not only a school where Japanese American children learned Japanese language but also learned strict Japanese customs and manners which were quite different from the American ones. Kazuko, who went to Bailey Gatzert grammar school in the mornings and Nihon Gakko Japanese school in the afternoons, started thinking herself “like a chameleon” as she was highly energetic in the morning school; whereas she had to take on the opposite character and “became a modest, faltering, earnest little Japanese girl” in the afternoons (Sone, 1953 : 22). With strict disciplinary rules; Nihon Gakko was just like military where everything was carried out under certain rules and in addition to speak Japanese properly, students were expected to behave in accordance with Japanese traditions.

For Kazuko, Nihon Gakko was a waste of time, because what were taught in Japanese school was useless, and after she had left school, she changed back into the person who actually she was. Thus, she criticized this situation as:

I couldn’t use my Japanese on the people at the hotel. Bowing was practical only at Nihon Gakko. If I were to bow to the hotel patrons, they would have laughed in my face. Therefore promptly at five-thirty everyday, I shed Nihon Gakko and returned with relief to an environment which was the only real one to me (Sone, 1953: 28).

As can be understood from the quotation; the Japanese manners she acquired in Japanese school had absolutely no place in her American way of life which was the only reality for her. Her American “reality” was corroborated when she went to Japan with her parents to visit her grandparents because she couldn’t feel at home in spite of being in the land of her ethnic origin. The fact that the title of the chapter they went to Japan in the book is “We Meet Real Japanese” is an indication of how Kazuko isolated herself from her Japanese heritage (Dusakova, 2006: 72). The experiences of Kazuko during her trip in Japan was that Japan’s culture made her feel uncomfortable; for instance there was no privacy while bathing because there wasn’t a door and the tub was in the place where everyone could see it; they had to take off their shoes while entering a house; and when she strolled on the Shinkyo Bridge where “only the Emperor of Japan may walk upon it” she had no idea about the sacredness of it and her childish act was seen as “desecration” by a passer-by (Sone, 1953: 90-100). In addition to all these cultural differences; they were seen as the other in spite of their Oriental look and Japanese called them as “American-jin”, which means American person, to exclude them from Japanese society (Sone, 1953: 97).

3.4.2. Torn between Two Cultures: Sone’s Quest for Self and Internment Camp Experiences

When Kazuko and her family returned from their trip to Japan, her assurance of American identity to which she had belonged strictly was replaced by doubt because of the racist environment that she didn’t realize previously in the U.S. Until this realization, Kazuko had rejected Japanese cultural heritage and there was no room for doubt in her world that America was her home and the American side was her self-constructed identity. In fact, being obliged to attend to Nihon Gakko Japanese School where her family sent her to learn Japanese language, culture, customs and manners and then a trip to Japan to strengthen her loyalty to her ethnic heritage were not enough for her to celebrate the Japanese origin. In addition to these, her mother’s lack of having good command of English which made Kazuko feel embarrassed in front of her teacher, and cultural conflicts

she had especially with her father was seen as distracting in terms of her American way of life by Kazuko. The rejection of her origin and construction of her self as American happened during the childhood period; however, while in the process of maturation she began to awaken to “...growing antagonism towards Asians on the West Coast that forced Kazuko to reconsider her own constructed identity” (Dusakova, 2006 : 72).

The racist environment to which Kazuko had been exposed as a result of antagonism has been shown clearly in Chapter 6 titled as “We Are Outcasts”. Kazuko was aware of the racial discrimination against Japanese Americans for the first time when her mother was refused to rent a summer house in Alki just because of being Oriental. In spite of the fact that there were signs for rent in front of the houses, they were rejected on the grounds that the house was rented by another person made Kazuko feel upset because of not finding a place to stay for the summer holiday; however, the real reason, which Kazuko heard while her mom and dad were talking, was that the houses in the region of Alki were not rented for the Japanese. This was such a weird situation that she couldn’t make sense of it and questioned it:

Why would it make any difference? I knew that Father and Mother were not Americans because they were not born here, and that there was a law which said they couldn’t become naturalized American citizens because they were Orientals. But being Oriental had never been an urgent problem to us, living in Skidrow (Sone, 1953: 113).

The reason why Kazuko had never confronted racial problems before was that Skid Road, which was “the area of homeless men”, was a location in south downtown and had highly oriental characteristics (Miyamoto, 1979: ix). Thus, it was the first realization for Kazuko that Japanese were outcasts in the American society and she was not actually entirely American which made her feel “torn apart between feeling defiant and then apologetic about [her] Japanese blood” and “gradually [she] learned in many other ways the terrible curse that went with having Japanese blood” (Sone, 1953: 115- 118). She used the word “gradually” because this was the only beginning of the serial racist events. When she wanted to enter to the Antler’s Lodge for swimming she was rejected again impolitely

by the pool staff and this time without any excuse he said that “Sorry, we don’t want any Japs around here” (Sone, 1953: 119). It was very humiliating to be called as “Japs” especially while you were calling yourself “American”.

On the road to Pearl Harbor, the hatred and anger against the Japanese were increasing and Japan’s invasion of Shanghai in 1932 caused rupture of relations between Japan and the United States. People were filled with hate that they boycotted all Japanese products, stopped shopping in Japanese shops and the Chinese were hired by the Japanese resigned because they didn’t want to work for their benefit. They published magazines which illustrated the Japanese “with enormous, moon-shaped spectacles and beady, myopic eyes. A small mustache was perched arrogantly over massive, square buck teeth...” (Sone, 1953: 119).

All these events were quite confusing for Kazuko who ignored the Japanese identity until that time and constructed her self as an American. In Japan, Kazuko was alienated because of being “American-jin” and now in the country where she was born and grew up, she was “outcast” because of her Japanese origin. Unlike her childhood; Kazuko was feeling empty that she considered herself as neither American nor Japanese. However; at some moments the reflections of Japanese culture and manners were very apparent on her personality even though she considered to have Japanese blood as a “terrible curse”. For instance, when she started high school, she felt like an alien in the class because while all of her classmates participated in discussions and made criticisms, she wasn’t encouraged to express her thoughts and ideas because of the Japanese blood which caused Japanese students “sat like rocks during discussion period” (Sone, 1953: 131). She also stated that “something compellingly Japanese made us feel it was better to seem stupid in a quiet way rather than to make boners out loud. I began to think of the Japanese as the Silent People, and I envied my fellow students who clamored to be heard” (Sone, 1953: 131).

The fact that she preferred to remain silent in discussion classes could be interpreted as a result of the strict disciplined education she took in Nihan Gakko because when she was there, she had to follow the rules, did what was told and the only thing teachers expected was that the students didn’t make any trouble as model child was with

the characteristics of “no noise, no trouble, no back talk” (Sone, 1953: 25). Another example of involuntary adoption of Japanese manners can be seen when Kazuko was at the Sanitarium for the treatment of tuberculosis. During her stay in the hospital, she was not able to establish too much intimacy with her white roommates whereas they were eager to share their life stories with Kazuko. For Kazuko who had no doubt about her “Americanization” until then, “discrepancies came as tiny shocks” to her (Sone, 1953: 139). So far, Kazuko has placed herself in white American community, yet series of experiences and her observations about her inner self during the classes at high school and her stay in the hospital led her think about her belonging and feel torn between being Japanese and American at the same.

Having two identities is called “hyphenated identity” which is “a term that implies a dual identity, an ethno cultural one, and evokes questions and debates regarding which side of the hyphen the person belongs to” (Sharobeem, 2003: 60). So as not to feel confused or have a sense of uncertainty, the person must decide to which side of the hyphen she belongs, otherwise having such a hyphen leads to a tension as in Kazuko’s situation. The period of Kazuko’s questioning who she really was and where she belonged to is called as “a period of exploration” which “is central to ethnic identity development” (Phinney, 1989: 37). Jean Phinney has divided the ethnic identity development into three stages that questioning one’s identity is the second stage called “Ethnic Identity Search/Moratorium”. Phinney states that the initiator factor of this stage is ambiguous; yet in order to clarify it, she has quoted from William Cross who indicates that in the stage of ethnic identity search “a shocking personal or social event that temporarily dislodges the person from his old world-view, making the person receptive to a new interpretation of his identity” (Cross, as cited in Phinney, 1989: 17). According to this theory, it can be said that Kazuko’s sense of “non-belonging” and the process of searching for an ethnic identity first began when she encountered racial discrimination in renting summer house which was a shocking event for her because by then she had not had any bad experience of having a Japanese origin in white American society. Having a series of racist experiences caused Kazuko enter into the process of exploration of “who really she is”.

The process of self-exploration took a long time as a result of Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 which caused hatred and anger against the Japanese in the United States and brought all the Japanese living in the U.S. under a cloud of suspicion. When Kazuko heard the attack on Pearl Harbor, she shared her feelings as

I felt as if a fist had smashed my pleasant little existence, breaking it into jigsaw puzzle pieces. An old wound opened up again, and I found myself shrinking inwardly from my Japanese blood, the blood of an enemy. I knew instinctively that the fact that I was an American by birthright was not going to help me escape the consequences of this unhappy war (Sone, 1953: 145-146).

After President Roosevelt had declared war against Japan officially, Executive Order 9066, which approved the mass evacuation of the Japanese, was signed on February 19, 1942 by Roosevelt and as Sone stated the consequences of the war were inevitable for all of them because "even if a person had a fraction of Japanese blood in him, he must leave on demand" (Sone, 1953: 159). The Executive Order, which ordered all the Japanese to be kept under surveillance, caused Kazuko to have such a dilemma that "once more [I] felt like a despised, pathetic two-headed freak, a Japanese and an American, neither of which seemed to be doing [me] any good" (Sone, 1953: 158). On the one hand, Kazuko was seen as a suspicious in American community, which she accepted all its values and longed to be a part of it, and was put in the same equation with the Issei, who was not even a citizen of the United States; on the other hand, she was not able to consider herself as Japanese because the reason for all these embarrassing things was the result of having Japanese blood. Although she regarded herself as hyphenated, that is, she was both Japanese and American, she defined herself as a two-headed freak because she didn't think she belonged to either side of the hyphen.

While Kazuko alternated in between thinking of Japanese and American, she came to believe that she was not an American nor was she considered as an American because even if she was not guilty of anything, just because of her ancestry she was evacuated first to the temporary assembly center and then to Minidoka Camp where she settled down permanently as all of the other Japans. The internment camp was just like a prison because it was a place where there were no privacy, no freedom and no adequate physical

conditions and the internees were kept a close watch by the soldiers all the time. Kazuko's ethnic dilemma became even more complicated by her camp experiences which made her aware that the Nisei didn't have a place in white American mainstream despite the fact that the Nisei were born in America, became a legal American citizen and embraced all American cultural values (Suyemoto: 2018). Under the harsh reality of the camp experience, Kazuko questioned desperately:

What was I doing behind the fence like a criminal? If there were accusations to be made, why hadn't I been given a fair trial? Maybe I wasn't considered an American anymore. My citizenship wasn't real, after all. Then what was I ? ... Of one thing I was sure. The wire fence was real. I no longer had the right to walk out of it. It was because I had Japanese ancestors (Sone, 1953: 177).

Kazuko, who didn't consider herself as Japanese because she was not born in Japan but she also couldn't be seen as an American citizen by the government for her Japanese blood, was in a state of conflict between her national and ethnic identity. National identity is defined by Anthony D. Smith as a powerful tool which let the individual identify her own self and locate it in the world (Smith, 1991: 17). National identity is not imposed and stable identity rather it depends on the person's will and it can change in time that the most significant feature that constitutes the national identity of the person is to feel "belongingness" to that nation and to adopt its cultural values. Ethnic identity, on the other hand, is an identity imposed on the person as a result of the ethnic origin to which s/he belongs, and unlike national identity, one's ethnic identity doesn't change according to time or place. America, where Kazuko was born, became its citizen, spoke its language and absorbed all its values, constituted her national identity. However, she was no longer regarded as a part of the nation she thought she belonged to, rather she was seen as "enemy alien" and she wasn't even an individual in the camp as every family had tags with numbers and Kazuko stated that "...from then on, we were known as Family #10710" (Sone, 1953: 166). Unlike her American national identity, Kazuko's ethnic identity was Japanese because of Japanese ancestry, yet due to the fact that she was not born in Japan and felt unfamiliar to the Japanese culture, her national identity took precedence over the ethnic one.

The clash of Kazuko's ethnic and national identity rooted in the hatred and tension between the nation in which she has lived and the nation to which she belonged ethnically. What Tartakovsky puts forward about the national and ethnic identity is that "the relationship between the ethnic and national identities of the adolescents depend on their perception of hostility between the majority and minority groups which may change with time" (Tartakovsky: 2010).

On the one hand, Kazuko's camp experiences caused her to feel split between two cultures, two worlds and two identities, on the other hand through these experiences, Kazuko questioned her belongingness and set out on an inner journey about her self that would result in reconciliation in both Japanese and American culture.

3.5. AFTER THE CAMP: TRANSITION FROM THE "TWO-HEADED FREAK" TO A "WHOLE PERSON"

One year after the evacuation to the camps, the War Relocation Authority gave the Nisei the opportunity to leave the camp permanently as long as they found a job and a place to stay. The decision of permanent leave of the Nisei by War Relocation Authority gave hope to Kazuko to "...come to know another aspect of America which would inject strength into [her] hyphenated Americanism instead of pull it apart" (Sone, 1953: 216). Kazuko, who left the camp after she got an offer as a dentist assistant and settled in the Richardsons family's house in the suburb of Chicago, turned over a new leaf in her life. First, Kazuko started to work as a dental assistant of Dr. J.J. Moller; yet because of the harsh conditions at work and low wage, she had to quit the job and thanks to the support of the Richardson family, Kazuko enrolled at Wendell College in Indiana. She described the atmosphere at the College as very friendly and "...international with foreign students from all parts of the world: South America, China, Java, India" (Sone, 1953: 226). After a long time, Kazuko was eventually in a place where she was not excluded and didn't feel frustrated because of her Oriental look and Japanese ethnic heritage. After studying two years at Wendell College, Kazuko enrolled at Washington University with the intention of studying Clinical Psychology. Kazuko was able to make the all things right in her life

that even her double heritage didn't pose a problem for her anymore which was very clear in the dialogue between Sone and her parents:

I don't resent my Japanese blood anymore. I'm proud of it, in fact, because of you and the Issei who've struggled so much for us. It's really nice to be born into two cultures, like getting a real bargain in life, two for the price of one. The hardest part, I guess is the growing up, but after that, it can be interesting and stimulating. I used to feel like a two-headed monstrosity, but now I find that two heads are better than one (Sone, 1953: 236).

This quote is a sign that Kazuko eventually reconciled with the two cultures and her maturation process that is full of dilemmas ended. Kazuko's ignorance of her ethnic culture and had negative views against it during her childhood period was the first stage of ethnic identity development called "unexamined ethnic identity" by Jean Phinney. The significant characteristic of this stage is indicated by Phinney as: "... minority group members begin with an acceptance of the values and attitudes of the majority culture, including often internalized negative views of their own group that are held by the majority" (Phinney, 1989: 36).

Just as Phinney stated, when Kazuko learned that she had Japanese blood at the age of six, she regarded her ethnic heritage as a threat to the white American mainstream which she desired to be a part of and rejected Japanese culture whereas she absorbed American cultural values completely. The period in which Kazuko defined herself as a two-headed freak is the period of search for ethnic identity/moratorium mentioned in the previous chapter. With the end of the growing up period, the period of ignorance of the Japanese culture ended as well, but this time she entered the period of alienation both from Japanese and American culture as a result of the racial discrimination she experienced before and during the internment camp. The fact that belonging to two cultures at the same time didn't do her any good; she defined the situation that she was in as being a "two-headed monstrosity". Thus it can be said that from growing up to the maturation, Kazuko experienced first ignorance of the ethnic heritage stage and then moratorium stage which she felt split between the two cultures. After these two stages; Kazuko's realization that it was "nice to be born into two cultures" is the last stage in the ethnic identity development

called as “ethnic identity achievement” (Phinney, 1989: 38). In Phinney’s own words, ethnic identity achievement is “evidence of exploration, accompanied by a clear, secure understanding and acceptance of one’s own ethnicity (Phinney, 1989: 38). Kazuko, who had doubted about who she really was and where she belonged to and felt torn between two cultures, has now formed a positive sense of self with both the Japanese and American part of her hyphenated identity.

As a result of all experiences, the clash of two cultures has been replaced by the amalgamation of two cultures that the last paragraph of the novel exemplifies this explicitly: “I had discovered a deeper, stronger pulse in the American scene. I was going back to its mainstream, still with my Oriental eyes, but with an entirely different outlook, for now I felt like a whole person instead of sadly split personality. The Japanese and American parts of me were now blended into one” (Sone, 1953: 238).

In Kazuko’s life, there is no longer any dilemma; at this stage where the period of maturation has come to an end and the period of womanhood begins, Kazuko’s “concept of self” is quite positive that she “feels proud to be an Asian American and also feels comfortable with both parts of [herself]” (Kim, as cited in Phinney 1989: 38). The fact that she emphasizes her “oriental eyes” is one of the most significant evidence of her acceptance of herself as she is because oriental eyes are “fixed” physical characteristic that will always remind Kazuko her Japanese ethnic heritage which she considers now as an indispensable part in terms of constituting her identity as a “whole”. Thus, it can be deduced that Kazuko has been successfully assimilated to the American mainstream she desired; yet with her own ethnic heritage.

CONCLUSION

Although the Second World War came to end in 1945, the impact of the war for the first and second generations of Japanese living in the United States continued for a long time that most of them couldn't get rid of the psychological effects of the war, especially the inhumanity in the internment camps. The reason for the increase in the number of the works of Japanese American literature after the WWII is the healing power of writing. *Nisei Daughter* which was published right after the WWII in 1953, functioned as a tool for Monica Sone, who is the first post-war Japanese American woman writer, to lighten the burden of the war and cope with its trauma. In this sense, autobiography, which is the life account of an individual written by him/herself, contrary to fiction is highly prevalent because "when the truth is finally recognized and publicly acknowledged, victims can begin their recovery. They can be freed to tell the truth about what happened, label the suffering and express the sorrow and anger" (Ina, 2001: 35).

In her autobiography *Nisei Daughter*, Sone introduces herself as a child growing up in two different cultures. As an American-born Japanese, her quest for self in the racist environment of the United States during the WWII and her transition from the ignorance of her Japanese heritage to the amalgamation of both Japanese and American culture is portrayed through Sone's narration.

As the novel is constructed as an autobiography, it makes the reader aware of the existence of the author in reality and the truthfulness of the text that enables identification of the reader with the author. In her autobiography, Sone has focused on what is meant to be an American of Japanese heritage in the United States and shared her experiences through first-hand rather than under the guise of a protagonist that she created. In *Nisei Daughter*, Sone also makes comparison between the Japanese and American society by highlighting the characteristics of her Issei parents who are the first generation Japanese immigrants embracing Japanese customs and values. In contrast with the Issei who didn't feel themselves as Americans and whose only goal was to make a fortune and then return to their home country one day, the Nisei were Americans both officially as they were born in the U.S and emotionally as they felt truly American. In the introduction of *Nisei*

Daughter, what Miyamoto says about the Nisei is that “The Nisei were Americans. They spoke English, knew its idioms and slang; they knew the popular songs and danced the latest dance steps; and their idols were the favorites of all Americans: Babe Ruth, Joe DiMaggio, Clark Gable, and Katharine Hepburn” (Miyamoto, 1979: xi).

Unlike the Issei who longed to return home one day, America was already home to the Nisei. In addition to cultural differences between community-oriented traditional Japanese family and individual-oriented modernized American society, Sone also deals with identity problem of the second generation Nisei throughout the novel. The Nisei who considered themselves as part of American society, were in a struggle for finding a place in American society during the first half of the 20th century. After Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor, the hatred atmosphere against the Japanese in the U.S., racial discriminations and the fact that all Japanese immigrants were transferred to internment camps with the status of “enemy alien” have caused Sone, who has never doubted her American identity till then, to be in the state of in-betweenness about who she really is or where she really belongs to.

However, when the author came to state of maturation, she started to see herself as a whole with two different cultures rather than split in two cultures, and what she tries to tell to the reader that cultural differences are not limitations but rather varieties and she puts into words as “It’s really nice to be born into two cultures, like getting a real bargain in life, two for the price of one... I used to feel like a two-headed monstrosity, but now I find that two heads are better than one” (Sone, 1953: 236).

Sone, who passed through three different periods such as; ignoring her ethnic origin, ignoring both ethnic origin and adopted culture, reconciliation of two cultures, in identity development emphasized the problematic notion of hybrid identity especially during the maturation period, and she underlined that identity is not fixed and both self-constructed identity and national identity can be formed and changed in regard to an individual’s experiences.

In sum, among other Japanese American writers, Sone who voiced the second generation Nisei’s experiences in wartime, has an important place in Japanese American literature in terms of both being the first female writer who broke her silence and using a

naive narrative rather than provocative one. Via her narration, the reader has a chance to see the American society in which the non-whites were not welcomed during the WWII. through immigrant glasses. That's also why a second-generation Japanese American writer was chosen for this thesis: the Nisei were bridge between their native country- Japan- and adopted country –America- and they also reflected both Western and Eastern culture successfully.

Sone's autobiography *Nisei Daughter*, which depicts the socio- cultural structure of American society as well as the experiences she acquired as an American citizen of ethnic origin, focuses on the question of "what is meant to be a Japanese American" under cultural dilemmas. *Nisei Daughter*, thus voices the identity problem of the Nisei generation to which the writer belongs.

To conclude, although Sone narrated her story from an American perspective (the chapter of "We Meet Real Japanese", referring to Japanese dance *odori* as distorted, call the kimono a costume, referring to Japan as an exotic island yet call the America as her home etc.) she could finally construct a Japanese American identity and comprehended that without her ethnic root, she would never become a whole person. At the end of the novel, it is indicated that she is successfully assimilated into American mainstream but adhered to her Oriental part as well. The novel closes with these words:

I had discovered a deeper, stronger pulse in the American scene. I was going back into its mainstream, still with my Oriental eyes, but with an entirely different outlook, for now I felt more like a whole person instead of a sadly split personality. The Japanese and the American parts of me were now blended into one (Sone, 195: 238).

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