

physical features of both races." Many commented that Black-Japanese were very beautiful people. Having good parents and a strong family unit was also mentioned by many. Several respondents said that being multiracial and multicultural had made them strong people with diverse and positive perspectives on life.

This Black-Japanese group could be seen as at risk for developing marginal personalities. As Carnezy (1978) has shown, however, these "at-risk survivors" emerge stronger than the average individual. Thus, in spite of (or because of) all the detours and adjustments, the Black-Japanese in this study were well adjusted in their heterogeneous heritage. In fact, most found their biracialism and biculturalism to be assets, as reflected in the following comments: "I feel like a richer, more diverse person"; "I've got the best of both worlds"; "It makes me more sensitive and understanding to other minorities." These Black-Japanese are, indeed, the "cosmopolitan people" discussed by Park (1937) and the "multicultural people" considered by Ramirez et al. (1977).

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Interracial Japanese Americans: The Best of Both Worlds or the End of the Japanese American Community?

AMY IWASAKI MASS

One of the major social changes currently seen in the Asian American population is the marked increase in the rate of interracial marriages. An examination of rates of outmarriages among Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Vietnamese in the last two decades shows that this phenomenon has been especially notable in the Japanese American community. In Los Angeles County the highest rates of outmarriages in the Asian American community occurred in 1977: Japanese, 60%; Chinese, 49.7%; and Korean, 34.1% (Kitano & Daniels, 1988). In contrast to outmarriage data on Asians in Hawaii, Japanese in Los Angeles County outmarried at a higher rate than Chinese and Koreans through the 1970s and the 1980s (Kitano, Yeung, Chai, & Hatanaka, 1984). This marked increase in the growth of intermarriage among Japanese Americans is confirmed by studies in others parts of California and the continental United States (Endo & Hirokawa, 1983; Tinker, 1973).

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Two major concerns have been expressed about this trend. First, some Japanese Americans are afraid that this movement will mean the end of the Japanese American community. They fear that Japanese Americans will become completely assimilated into mainstream America and lose their sense of community and ethnic identity (Kodani, 1989; Yoshimura, 1986). This concern is echoed by scholars who view the presence of multiple identity among mixed-heritage Americans as an indication that ethnic boundaries may be eroding through intermarriage (Stephan & Stephan, 1989). A second concern is one that has been at issue since the early days of the Japanese immigrant in America: If Japanese intermarry with other races, what will happen to the children? Implicit in this question is the assumption that interracial marriages have an adverse effect on the offspring. Since society in general was not accepting of interracial marriage, it was believed that children of such unions would not be accepted by either of their parents' racial groups, and the children would be the primary victims of such unions.

Most past writings about interracial Americans have been based on observations by clinicians, clergy, historians, and social scientists of Black-White mixes. Through the 1980s most of these writings support negative concerns about children of intermarriage (Park, 1931; Piskacek & Golub, 1973; Teicher, 1968; Wagatsuma, 1973). In the 1980s there was an emergence of a number of studies in which interracial Japanese Americans spoke for themselves about their interracial experience (Hall, 1980; Kich, 1982; Murphy-Shigematsu, 1986; Nakashima, 1988; M. C. Thornton, 1983). These studies suggest that interracial Japanese Americans do not necessarily lose their sense of ethnic identity; in fact, they may be more aware of their Japanese heritage because they have to struggle to affirm and come to terms with their dual racial background. The studies also indicate that not all offspring of interracial marriages show social and psychological damage from their experience of being interracial.

The Study

Based on the hypotheses generated by these exploratory studies, I conducted a study on psychological adjustment and ethnic identity development in interracial Japanese Americans. The two major research questions were as follows: What is the psychological adjustment and self-concept of interracial Japanese Americans? How do

interracial Japanese Americans fare in terms of ethnic identity and acculturation?

SAMPLE

A sample of 53 college-age White-Japanese respondents were compared with 52 monoracial Japanese American college students. The monoracial Japanese American respondents were mostly Sansi and Yonsei (third-generation and fourth-generation Japanese Americans, respectively). Most of the respondents were attending the University of California, Los Angeles. Their ages ranged from 18 to 42; the mean age was 23. Of the interracial respondents, 39 had mothers of Japanese ancestry and 14 had fathers whose backgrounds were Japanese.

PROCEDURE

Each respondent completed a series of five questionnaires, and 33 of the respondents were also seen for follow-up interviews. The questionnaires were as follows:

- (1) *Japanese American Ethnic Experience Questionnaire*: provides demographic data and background information on the ethnic composition of the neighborhood in which the respondent was raised, ethnicity of closest friends, physical appearance, racial experiences, support networks, and role of the family
- (2) *Tennessee Self-Concept Scale*: provides a multidimensional description of self-concept, including identity, self-satisfaction, behavior, physical self, moral-ethical self, personal self, family self, and social self
- (3) *Omnibus Personality Inventory*: measures psychological adjustment
- (4) *Suinn-Lew Acculturation Scale*: examines behaviors such as food, language, and entertainment preferences and associations in the community
- (5) *Ethnic Identity Questionnaire*: examines self-identification and identification with Japanese and American groups

Results

There were no significant differences in the psychological adjustment and self-esteem of the two groups as measured by the Omnibus Personality Inventory. According to the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale, total self-concept scores were also similar. However, interracial Japanese Americans showed less identification with being Japanese than

their Japanese American counterparts on the Ethnic Identity Questionnaire, and interracial respondents were more acculturated than the Japanese American sample on the Suinn-Lew Scale. Although the overall scores of monoracial Japanese Americans showed a somewhat higher level of identification as Japanese than those of the interracial respondents, interviews with interracial Japanese Americans revealed that many of them are strongly identified with their Japanese heritage and consider it an important part of who they are. Thus there was considerable variability on these indices. This first level of statistical analysis did not show the complex intertwining of many factors that explain why some Japanese American feel fully assimilated into mainstream America while some interracial Japanese Americans have a very strong sense of Japanese identity.

The interviews also revealed a broad range of individual experiences related to psychological pain and social rejection because of race. For example, Ellen M (all respondent names used here are pseudonyms) was placed in a Mexican American foster home for two years when her parents divorced. There she was subjected to ugly racist comments on a daily basis. Her brother remained with their Japanese mother, and Ellen felt she was rejected by her mother because she looked more Caucasian than her brother. Her mother remarried a Japanese man, and Ellen always felt she stuck out because she did not look like her brother or her half siblings. On the other hand, her brother has envied Ellen, because she looks White and was accepted more easily in mainstream American society than he was. Ellen still occasionally feels it would be easier to be all Japanese or all White; she fantasizes that someday she will find the right group of people for her.

By contrast, Glenn I had a very different experience regarding his biracial identity. His mother died when he was 4 years old, and his father left him with relatives in Japan for two years. Even in Japan (where many respondents reported strong disapproval of interracial children), Glenn said his relatives gave him the message that he was different in a special way. Because he was more than just Japanese, they felt he could be better than the average person. His father remarried a Japanese woman, and they raised him to feel he had the best of both worlds. His parents encouraged him to be tough and to associate with people of different races in the rough New York neighborhood where he went to elementary school. Because he could speak both languages he was able to interact comfortably with both Japanese and Americans, and he felt it helped him to be open-minded.

As the two cases discussed above illustrate, some respondents experience much anguish and conflict because of their racial backgrounds, while others have mostly positive experiences related to being interracial.

LOCATION

One of the most prominent variables affecting respondents' self-concepts was the geographic region in which they were raised. Japanese Americans who grew up in Hawaii and in communities such as Gardena and Montebello (in California), where there were large numbers of Japanese Americans, experienced few or no problems related to race. They noticed differences in people's attitudes toward them when they moved to communities where Anglo-Americans were the predominant racial group. For example, Nancy N, a Yonsei, said she never experienced racism in Hawaii and was surprised to find it when she came to California for graduate school. Yonsei, Linda Y transferred from the University of California, Santa Barbara, to UCLA because UCSB lacked diversity. Until she got to college, she did not realize she was different. She was always proud of her Japanese cultural heritage and in Gardena and Torrance, California, where she grew up, she was never excluded because of her Japanese ancestry. It was a shock for her to find out that at Santa Barbara one is not considered attractive unless one is "blond, blue-eyed, and tan."

Reiko K, a Sansei, was raised in Minnesota in a community that was "99.9% Caucasian." From kindergarten on, she felt very different from other children in the neighborhood. She remembers that in elementary school she was surrounded by the big boys and taunted at least once a week. Because people (including adults in the community) saw her as different, she did not have to conform. In retrospect, she realizes this helped her to become an individualist. When she moved to California she again felt different; this time she realized she was different from the Japanese Americans in her Central California community. She found she was more direct than other Japanese Americans, and not as polite.

Sansei Alan Y also grew up in a mostly White neighborhood, but his home was in a suburb of Los Angeles. Although there were very few people of color in Alan's schools, Southern California is a diverse enough community that Alan was not treated as strange or unusual. His mother was well accepted in the neighborhood, and she was a

leader in the PTA and other organizations related to school and sports activities for her children. Alan and his brothers participated in sports throughout elementary, junior, and senior high school. His close friends were the Caucasian teammates he played with and went to school with. When he went to college he continued playing the same sports and pledged the same fraternity that his teammates did. Alan noted that the only area in which he feels different from his Caucasian friends is that he does not feel comfortable dating Caucasian girls. He found it curious that Asian women in the Greek houses regularly date Caucasian men, but most of the Asian men do not date Caucasian women as much.

Interracial Japanese Americans also found that location played a significant role in how they were accepted. Most of the interracial respondents who spent their childhoods in Japan had been called *gaijin* (foreigner) and felt outcast by the Japanese. Some recalled painful experiences of being taunted, chased, and beaten up by Japanese classmates in elementary school. Being stared at on trains and at public gatherings was also a common experience. Those who lived on military bases in Japan felt that the base was a community where they could feel more at home because there were other interracial people and other Americans. These respondents also felt out of place in the small midwestern or southern towns their fathers came from. They were acutely aware of how different their Japanese mothers were and felt a combination of protectiveness and embarrassment toward and about their mothers. In the United States they found themselves uncomfortable about their Japanese heritage when townspeople referred to Pearl Harbor and the war atrocities the Japanese committed. In Japan they had been blamed for the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

A few of the interracial respondents who were raised in Japan said that they felt special and unique because of their biracial and bicultural heritage. In these cases, the respondents had a strong sense of support from their fathers, grandparents, and other Japanese relatives who buffered them from racist remarks or actions of other people. Sometimes these families felt that the Americans and Japanese were superior to all other nationalities, and they assumed the biracial children would be accomplished and successful in whatever they did.

Interracial Japanese Americans growing up in the United States also found location an important factor that affected their sense of self-esteem as it related to acceptance and a sense of belonging. Susan P

spent her first nine years in a Los Angeles neighborhood where all types of ethnic groups were represented. She did not experience any discomfort about her father being Caucasian and her mother being Japanese American until her family moved to Glendale, at that time an all-White suburb of Los Angeles. There she realized she was different when the school principal asked her mother if Susan and her two sisters spoke English when they were enrolling at their new school. The strong feeling of being different followed her all through junior and senior high school. She noticed that her mother became more and more isolated and secluded after the family's move to Glendale. Where formerly she had been active in the PTA and other functions at Susan's school in Los Angeles, in Glendale her mother rarely left home and she made no new friends.

By contrast, Sheila C grew up in a stable neighborhood in South Pasadena, California. Before she and her brother were born, her parents checked neighborhoods such as Glendale and San Marino (an exclusively White neighborhood in the early 1970s), but they chose a home in South Pasadena because the city had a mixture of Asian, Caucasian, and other ethnic groups. Sheila is still close friends with an Asian and a Caucasian she has known since she was 5 years old. Sheila could not recollect having any negative racial experiences while growing up. She feels that being biracial has definitely enhanced her life, and she takes pride in her mother's Japanese heritage as well in her father's German, French, and English background.

Cheryl B remembers being teased and called names when she went to a private, predominantly White school for 5 years. In high school she attended the local public school in Montebello, where she lived. The community of Montebello was made up of a mixture of Asians, Hispanics, and Whites. The people in the community thought it was special, in a positive way, to be "half and half." Cheryl felt very accepted and good about herself in the Montebello public school setting.

COMPARISON OF JAPANESE AMERICANS AND INTERRACIAL RESPONDENTS

A comparison of the experiences of interracial respondents and their Japanese American counterparts reveals a number of similarities. Racial name-calling in elementary school was a common experience for both Japanese Americans and the interracial respondents.

The universality of this experience in the United States and Japan speaks to the characteristic of latency-age children to focus on any aspect of people that makes them different from the majority group. Thus Japanese American children in a school setting where they are not part of the majority will encounter such experiences as much as interracial children who are identifiable because they look different from the rest of the population or are known to have a parent of a "different" race. Hawaii was the one area identified by both Japanese Americans and interracial respondents as a place where they felt accepted and where racial background was not an issue.

Another area dealt with by both sets of respondents was the sense of living in dual worlds. A number of respondents spoke of different phases of ethnic awareness in which they would identify more strongly with one group than the other. When they were objects of rejection or disparagement because of their racial ancestry, they would want to be more American (or more Japanese, for interracial respondents who lived in Japan). At other times they felt they were not accepted by Japanese American cliques that rejected people who were not exclusively identified with Japanese Americans. They suffered when they felt they had to choose one over the other. These observations suggest that the social environment complicates identity resolution. Most respondents who were interviewed were able to identify a process of ethnic identity development confirming the view of a number of social scientists that ethnic identity is not a given, but rather a dynamic product that evolves throughout one's lifetime (Phinney, 1990; see also, in this volume, Hall, Chapter 18; Kich, Chapter 21; Stephan, Chapter 5).

Scott K., a Sansei, said he had no contact with the Japanese American community during the first eight years of his life. Because his parents were quiet people who were not assertive and who did not express feelings openly, he often wished he could be more like the open, expressive people in his predominantly Caucasian social group. In the fourth grade he started to attend a Japanese American church, and he felt at home when he was there. By the time he was in high school he had become more assertive and outgoing, and he was elected student body president. One of his inner conflicts was that when he identified strongly with one group, he felt he was "selling out" in respect to the other group.

Scott's experience shows that Japanese Americans also experience a sense of conflict and marginality about their ethnic identity. Suffer-

ing because of a dual heritage is not restricted to children of interracial marriage. This is a common experience for many Americans of color as they struggle to come to terms with their ethnic identity in a society where race plays a significant part in whether or not one will be accepted and affirmed (Cauce et al., Chapter 15, this volume).

Of the 33 respondents who were interviewed, 31 had arrived at a point in their lives where they felt better about their ethnic heritage than they had in the past. In retrospect, they felt that being bicultural enhanced their sense of self-worth. The fact that these respondents were a self-selected group who volunteered to be interviewed probably accounts for the large percentage of the sample currently feeling good about their ethnic background. People who want to work on these issues and have spent some time on them are more likely to participate in such a study than people who are unconcerned or wish to avoid looking at identity issues.

Although a few respondents still struggled with negative racist experiences, most reported they no longer suffered because of their racial backgrounds. Many respondents credited psychotherapy and Asian American studies courses as ways of resolving their conflicts, raising consciousness about their heritage, and understanding their personal experiences in terms of broader issues for Asian Americans. Interracial respondents who had felt excluded by some Japanese American communities and social groups were pleased with the acceptance and understanding they experienced in Asian American studies programs.

Physical appearance was the area in which differences between the interracial and monoracial Japanese Americans were most evident. Interracial respondents who did not look Japanese sometimes found themselves in an awkward position if people they were with made disparaging remarks about the Japanese. They struggled with whether they should speak up and draw attention to their Japanese heritage or avoid an uncomfortable social situation by letting the comments pass. Some respondents said they made a point of explaining their dual heritage whenever they were introduced to new people in order to avoid misconceptions and potentially embarrassing situations. These respondents felt it was important to assert their self-identity so that others would not impose incorrect assumptions on them and treat them accordingly.

The problem of not being recognized and accurately identified by others also creates significant problems at a personal level. Even when

interracial Japanese Americans explained their racial backgrounds, they found that many people placed them in either one category or the other (see Hall, Chapter 18, this volume). Some people even argued that they could not be part Japanese (or part Caucasian) because they did not look that way. Especially when they were children, they heard teasing, hurtful comments such as "You must be adopted" or "Your mother must have been fooling around."

The lack of external confirmation of one's self-image can be disturbing and confusing at a psychological level (Kich, Chapter 21, this volume). This happened to Betty N, a Sansei, who felt out of place a number of times as she was growing up. Although both of her parents were Japanese American, she looked Hispanic or like an interracial Japanese American. She found that this discrepancy between her looks and her biological heritage and last name created a number of unpleasant social experiences for her. At Nisei Week events and at Asian American dances people stared at her or questioned her racial background. What hurt her the most was that her friends always reminded her that she did not look Japanese. When she was disturbed about prejudice against Japanese, one of her friends said, "What do you care? You don't look Japanese anyway." She did not like to eat fish, and her friends would say it was because she was not "really" Japanese. Although she knew these comments were intended only to tease her, they were made often enough that it was a trial for Betty.

Although social scientists and parents of young people who contemplate interracial marriage have expressed concern about the experience of marginality and psychological distress children of interracial marriages will have, this study shows that such experiences are not limited to interracial children. Monoracial Japanese Americans who live in a bicultural world can also experience conflict and confusion in relation to their ethnic identities and self-concepts.

PARENTAL INFLUENCE

Parental attitudes and behavior in regard to racial issues were another important factor in how respondents felt about their racial heritage. Both Donna J and Kim R are interracial Japanese Americans who grew up in Southern California suburbs that were predominantly White. However, their personal experiences and self-concepts differ significantly. Donna experienced a great deal of psychological pain and turmoil about being biracial, but Kim did not. Donna's

mother considered Japanese culture to be superior to American ways, and expressed many disparaging views about Americans. Mrs. J had had a number of experiences in which Americans had treated her badly when she first came to the United States. She remained angry and bitter toward Americans. Whenever Donna was messy or lazy her mother said it was because of Donna's American side.

Donna regretted that she felt ashamed of her mother and her Japanese ways, but being called a "messy American" was very painful for her. Because she found her father was more accepting of her, Donna identified more positively with her Caucasian background as she was growing up. Most of her friends were Caucasian, and when she came to UCLA she realized she was not like many of the other Asians on campus.

By contrast, Kim said that although her mother was "very Japanese," she was very supportive of her children's fitting into American ways. Kim's mother studied English, tried to understand American ways, and supported Kim's activities with her friends and at school. Although Kim was aware that her mother was different from her friends' mothers, this was not a problem for Kim. She thought of the Japanese as neat, clean, honorable people, and she was proud of who her mother was. Although Kim eats Japanese food and can identify with Japanese people, she has not spent time in Japan and does not know much about Japanese culture. She thinks of herself as an American with a Japanese mother.

John T grew up feeling that being half Japanese was positive and unique. His parents made him feel good about his biracial heritage. His father was a French Canadian who grew up in New York. His mother was proud of being Japanese but did not think that being Japanese meant being superior to other races. John's father was a very open-minded man who actively crusaded against racism; he taught his children to judge others on the basis of individual behavior rather than by societal preconceptions based on race. He had parties at their home where he would make a point of having guests who were from different racial and socioeconomic backgrounds.

John remembers being worried one day when the MPs patrolling the military base in Japan where his father was stationed questioned his Japanese friends who were visiting him after school and started writing down their names. Just then his father came home and told the MPs that the boys were his guests. John felt his father always stood by him and supported him. He realized that he was different from the

Japanese children in Japan and the White children in the United States, but he did not find this a problem. John liked being unique and standing out in a crowd. He felt his parents' attitudes and his experience in a variety of military locations helped him to be open-minded and to feel at ease in any ethnic group. He found this to be an asset when he attended different schools, and he now finds it equally advantageous in the business world.

Although Cheryl B's parents divorced when she was 7 years old and she lived with her Caucasian mother and stepfather, Cheryl's mother encouraged her to maintain regular contact with her Japanese American father and his family. Cheryl has remained very close to her Japanese American grandparents and regularly attends their Buddhist church, Nisei Week events, and other Japanese American social and community activities. She is strongly identified with the Japanese American community and feels fortunate that she was raised biculturally. She feels equally at home with both her Caucasian sorority sisters and her Japanese American friends; she states, "I've been able to have the best of both worlds."

These examples illustrate the important of parental acceptance and support in developing a positive sense of ethnic identity and self-esteem in interracial children. For children to feel good about their biracial backgrounds, they need parents and other relatives to affirm both sides of their racial heritage and to provide concrete help and support when they face difficulties related to race.

Implications of the Study

For many years, parents, religious leaders, novelists (Hagedorn, 1990; Silko, 1977), scholars, and clinicians (Lyles, Yancey, Grace, & Carter, 1985; Park, 1931; Stonequist, 1937; Wagatsuma, 1973) have asserted that offspring of interracial marriages will suffer social rejection, have unstable personalities, and be unable to attain coherent identities because of their dual or multiple biological heritages. The evidence from recent studies indicates that such dire results are not inevitable in contemporary times (Chang, 1974; Johnson & Nagoshi, 1986; Nakashima, 1988). As seen in this study and others (e.g., Caucé et al., Chapter 15, this volume; Hall, 1980), the experiences of interracial Japanese Americans vary, from strongly positive to quite painful. The sense of ethnic identity also varies for this group. Some are

strongly identified with one race, some feel torn between the two, and others clearly affirm both of their heritages. Throughout the process of ethnic identity development, one person can experience any or all of these feelings. The current study also shows that one cannot assume that psychological suffering related to race and conflicts about ethnic identity are solely the experience of the offspring of interracial marriage; monoracial Japanese Americans experience a number of the same problems.

Rather than ask, What will happen to the children? a more appropriate question today is, What is the best way to facilitate a positive growing-up experience for interracial children? Primary factors affecting children who suffer conflict because of their racial heritage include the geographic location in which they grow up, the degree and quality of parental understanding and help in dealing with racial issues, and the sense of support and acceptance from social networks such as grandparents, other relatives, friends, and members of the wider community. Parents are the key agent in making decisions and marshaling resources to aid children in the development of self-esteem. Contributing to the development of a positive racial self-concept in their children includes trying to choose a home community where the sense of being different or unacceptable is minimized. Children need help to deal with issues related to growing up in a society where there is a hierarchical preference for certain races over others. Children need both parts of their racial heritage accepted and affirmed, maintaining positive connections with people from both cultures is a concrete way parents can provide such experiences for their interracial children. The latter is especially important where children may lose contact with one set of relatives because of divorce.

The question of ethnic identity and the concern that the increase in the number of interracial Japanese Americans will hasten assimilation into mainstream culture and result in the end of the Japanese American community raises a number of complex questions. Perhaps the most difficult of these is how ethnic identity is defined and assigned. Sociologists, anthropologists, and psychologists have used a number of indices to measure ethnic identity, including biological heritage, cultural membership, behavior (such as languages spoken, foods eaten, ethnicity of friends), attitudes, and values. Ethnic identity is a dynamic concept. People's ethnic behaviors and the way they identify themselves may change over a period of time (Miller, Chapter 3, this volume; Root, 1990). Even within the same period of time, people may

switch their ethnic identification depending on which ethnic group they are with (Root, 1990; T. P. Wilson, 1991). Such changes in behavior may be accompanied by psychological conflict, as Scott described above, or they can be a comfortable, harmonious, adaptive mechanism, such as Cheryl's sense of belonging and feeling at ease with both her Caucasian sorority sisters and her friends at the Japanese American Buddhist church.

Although they acknowledged that their biological heritage was Japanese, some of the Japanese American respondents felt far removed from Japanese language, culture, and the Japanese American community. They felt they were much more American than they were Japanese. Most of their close friends were Caucasian, and their food habits, recreational activities, and life-styles were those of mainstream America. Self-definition of ethnic identity is personal and subjective. How people feel about their ethnicity and how they identify themselves may differ considerably from how others identify them. A stranger might be likely to categorize a Japanese American on the basis of physical appearance, but the self-identification of that person might be quite different.

A number of interracial respondents in this study said that people treated them differently from the way they saw themselves. If Japanese Americans fear that their community may disappear because interracial Japanese Americans will not look "pure" Japanese, their concerns about the end of the Japanese American community may be valid. However, such a definition of ethnic community, based solely on race or racial appearance, reflects the same kind of racist conceptualizations that characterized antimiscegenation laws and Japanese exclusion policies in the early 1900s. Such a definition of community excludes people who are not purely of a favored race. Most scientists currently agree that the concept of race is not a biological category but a social construct that serves to separate people (Spickard, Chapter 2, this volume). Racist policies such as restrictive land covenants throughout the United States and separate-but-equal school policies in the South historically excluded people of color in certain communities, but these policies have been both outlawed and widely defined as socially unacceptable since the early 1960s.

If, on the other hand, the Japanese American community were to adopt an inclusive view of community, as the Hawaiians have, the community can continue to grow and be enriched by its interracial members. Anyone who is part Hawaiian is accepted and identified as

part of the larger Hawaiian community; *hapas* (Japanese-Whites in Hawaii) are accepted as Hawaiian Japanese. Many interracial Japanese Americans affirm both sides of their heritage; they are very acculturated into American society and identify strongly with their Japanese heritage.

Ethnicity needs to be affirmed by the external world if it is to be sustained. If the Japanese American community welcomes and accepts interracial Japanese Americans as part of the community, not only will it be unnecessary to worry about the end of the Japanese American community, but interracial Japanese Americans will be affirmed and strengthened in their Japanese American identity and in their ability to experience the best of both worlds.