

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Description of the Problem

Mother-daughter relationships are long-enduring affiliations that have the potential of influencing adult development in significant ways (Chodorow, 1978; Rich, 1986; Troll, 1987). Mothers' and daughters' well-being is influenced by the quality of their relationships (Barntee, 1987; Beckman, 1981; White & Edwards, 1990). Adult mother-daughter relationships are complex sites in which women attend to matters such as negotiating definitions of women's roles, managing autonomy-independence issues, and engaging in practical task exchanges (Henwood & Coughlan, 1993). Moreover, mothers and daughters experience conflictual moments, neutral times, and placid periods (Blieszner, Usita, & Mancini, 1996; O'Connor, 1990).

Family scholars overlook relationships between immigrant mothers and daughters. For instance, researchers rarely study immigrant Japanese mother-daughter relationships. The majority of research on Japanese Americans focuses on the first wave of immigrants that arrived during the early 1900s and their descendants. Like the Chinese immigrants who preceded them, the Japanese immigrants were primarily male laborers, who planned to return to their homeland. Subsequently, they maintained tight communities in which they attempted to preserve Japanese familial constructs (Connor, 1974). Eventually, when laws permitted, the laborers sent for their families or made other marriage arrangements. Much of the scholarship produced on Japanese American families focuses on kinship maintenance and cultural transmission among the generations in these pioneer families

(Takagi, 1994; Yanagisako, 1987). Some research involves comparisons and analysis of family relationships prior to and after WWII (Osako, 1979).

Japanese immigration to the U.S. continues. However, little research is available on the familial experiences of the post-war immigrants. Post-war immigrants, like immigrants from other countries who arrived years later, may hold variations of the cultural values and practices brought by the early immigrants (Gelfand & Barresi, 1987). Although social and economic changes in the homeland state may partly explain those variations (Yanagisako, 1987), their influence on intergenerational relationships in post-war Japanese American families is unknown. In particular, the dynamics, issues, and challenges involved in mother-daughter relationships are a mystery.

This research examined immigrant post WWII mother-daughter relationships. This research is important because researchers surmise that value differences between Asian American parents and children negatively influences their relationships (Lum, 1983) although scant research is available to warrant or refute this claim (Suitor, Pillemer, Keeton, & Robison, 1995). Additional grounds for focusing on mother-daughter relationships include the salience ascribed to Japanese mother-child relationships (Connor, 1974) and because cultural beliefs and practices are transmitted primarily through women in families (Barresi, 1990). With the expected proliferation of Asian persons in the U.S. (United States Department of Commerce, 1991), examining mother-daughter relationships among immigrant post WWII mothers and their daughters holds promise for advancing the adult development and aging field.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this research was to use life course and gender perspectives to frame a study in which social and cultural context factors would be examined. Life course and gender perspectives, in combination, seek to identify and understand women's experiences within a broader socio-historical framework and to analyze the ways that women themselves construct their relationships (Bengtson & Allen, 1993; Elder, 1974; Hareven 1978, 1991; Thompson & Walker, 1995; Walker & Thompson, 1984).

According to Dilworth-Anderson, Burton, and Johnson (1993) life course and gender frameworks are promising for guiding research on ethnic minority families because they reflect "interdisciplinary ways of thinking" (p. 640); attend to "the interlocking nature of kinship networks in the context of temporal motion, culture, and social change;" (p. 640); and "create culturally relevant theories for minority family research" (p. 642). Using life course and gender frameworks, several objectives are met by this research.

1. Describe the interpersonal dynamics between immigrant Japanese mothers and second generation daughters.
2. Identify the neutral, fulfilling, and challenging aspects of immigrant mothers' and second generation daughters' relationships.
3. Identify the meaning that immigrant mothers and second generation daughters assign to their mother-daughter relationship.

Operational Definitions

The following operational definitions were used in this study.

Japanese Persons: individuals who have some Japanese ancestry.

Intercultural Persons: individuals who have more than one ethnic or racial heritage.

Issei: first Generation immigrants of Japanese heritage to the U.S., the original emigrants from Japan.

Nisei: children of issei parents.

Research Questions

Basic to this study were the assumptions that mothers and daughters are knowledgeable and reliable informants about mother-daughter relationships. This viewpoint on mothers and daughters is consistent with a gender ideology in which women's experiences are regarded as valued knowledge sources. The following research questions reflect the focus of this study:

1. What influence do social context factors have on the interpersonal dynamics between immigrant mothers and second generation daughters?
2. How are immigrant mothers' and second generation daughters' relationships enhanced and challenged by mothers' and daughters' overlapping and unique cultural contexts?
3. How do mothers and daughters construct and assign meaning to their relationships?

CHAPTER TWO

Review of Literature

Rationale for Adult Mother-Daughter Research

Societal depictions of mother-daughter relationships owe much to historical and socioeconomic conditions. The industrial revolution brought the rise of the middle class and the separation of men's and women's spheres. Society relegated women to love, marry, and mother. Post industrialism has maintained this situation. Then and now, women are expected to be engulfing nurturers, carriers and expressors of unbounded love, all knowledgeable about mothering ways, and responsible for children's outcomes (Phillips, 1991; Rich, 1986). Research shows that mother-daughter relationships are complex ties in which indifference, bad, and good experiences exist.

Research shows the salience, continuity, and complexity of adult, noncaregiving mother-daughter relationships (Hagestad, 1982; Wood, Traupmann, & Hay, 1984). For instance, parent-child relationships are important for adult daughters' well-being; quality of contact is predictive of older mothers' well-being for mothers who believed they provided their children with good outcomes; and adult children's departure from home coupled with their remaining in close contact with their mothers contributes to mothers' well-being (Beckman, 1981; White & Edwards, 1990).

The intricacies of women's intergenerational relationships is evident in the views they share and the ways mothers rear their daughters as well as in the sources of relational tension and affection they experience. Over generations, women kin express new views of women's roles in child care, paid labor, family care, and education (Brody, 1981).

Moreover, ethnic minority mothers impress upon their daughters other and important ways of being. In African American families, for instance, mother-daughter relationships are sites in which mothers teach their daughters physical survival modes that enable them to subsist in oppressive structures (Collins, 1991).

Relational intricacies are shown in the sources of tension and affection in mothers' and daughters' lives. Sources of tension resemble mothers' and daughters' cultural motifs: in mid and late life, mothers and daughters wrestle with issues of dependency-autonomy, women's roles within families, and changes in mothers' health and dependency on daughters (Aldous & Klein, 1991; Barnett & Baruch, 1985; Brody, 1985; Fingerman, 1996; Hagestad, 1982; Zarit, Reever, & Bach-Peterson, 1980). Some sources of affection surround shared experiences of mothers and daughters. Daughters entering marriage and motherhood desire closeness with their mothers. When probed further, researchers have found that when mothers and daughters described their relationships as close, they were judging it against their past relationships and referring to practical unsolicited task exchanges they engage in, for example (Fischer, 1981; Henwood & Coughlan, 1993). In fact, O'Connor (1990) concluded that emotional closeness is not a defining feature of mother-daughter relationships.

Typically, researchers use patriarchal theories, which ignobly limit and depict catastrophe-bound relationships between women kin, to study mother-daughter relationships (Phillips, 1991). Some psychological perspectives on mother-daughter relationships suggest predetermined modes of interaction, thereby limiting the potential range of women's diverse experiences. Furthermore, sociopsychological theorists

downplay females' abilities to construct their relationships with their mothers independently. Nevertheless, refreshing perspectives on mother-daughter relationships are replacing previously held misleading viewpoints. Constructivist perspectives have contributed to the dismantling of idealized versions of mothering by ushering in women's multi-sphered discussions of their lives into the discourse on women kin (Baber & Allen, 1992). Life course and gender perspectives, with their constructivist bents, focus on the multiple contextual layers in which mothers and daughters who belong to ethnic minority groups are situated, and mind their meanings of their relationships.

Conceptual Frameworks: Life Course and Gender Perspectives

Women's and ethnic minorities' experiences play important roles in the fabric of private and public spheres. Yet, social science settings have not provided them with many opportunities to express themselves. Ethnic minority group members are peripheral to researchers' agendas, or when central, their experiences have been filtered through theoretical lenses designed for men or ethnic majority group members (O'Barr, Pope, & Wyer, 1990).

In their discussion of creating new ways of thinking about ethnic minority families, Dilworth-Anderson, Burton, and Johnson (1993) suggested use of gender and life course frameworks because of their multidisciplinary orientation, respect for the nexus of individual and familial pathways, and consideration of the contextualized lives led by ethnic minority families. Marshall (1996) described life course and gender frameworks as bridging perspectives that link macro and micro events. The social and personal construction of race, ethnic, and class structures are considered by theorists in both areas

(Barresi, 1987; 1990; Bengtson & Allen, 1993; Claussen, 1986). Theorists from both areas acknowledge the continuation and transformation of female experiences throughout their life course (Gerson, Alpert, & Richardson, 1990) and claim that personal experiences such as motherhood must be understood as existing within a social, political, historical, and multicultural setting (O'Barr, Pope, & Wyer, 1990).

The suitability of life course and gender perspectives for this study is also evident in their compatibility with various methodological approaches. Researchers have investigated life course propositions with qualitative research methods (Bengtson & Allen, 1993), the research method used in this study, as well as with quantitative methods. In addition, gender theorists advocate the use of methods that describe women's experiences in women's words. Dilworth-Anderson and associates (1993) purported that these perspectives help to capture "ethnic reality."

A Social History of Families of Japanese Heritage

Understanding post WWII immigrant Japanese mother--American daughter relationships requires consideration of Japan's history and the history of Japanese families. The Meiji era (1868-1912) marked Japan's embarkment into modernization, ushering in changes at the societal and familial levels. Males secured leadership positions and women were given subordinate roles. Solidarity with larger units such as the country was valued.

Within the household or *ie*, the fundamental unit of family and personal identification, the same was generally true. Solidarity, allegiance to superiors, and patriarchy were a part of family life. Positions and their corresponding rights and obligations were determined by sex and birth order. The eldest male, usually the father,

occupied the head position. The eldest son typically succeeded the father. The person in the head position made decisions as to the family's resources, and with his wife, identified and arranged for marriages among their children. Upon marrying, nonsuccessor sons and daughters respectively formed a branch of the parental *ie* and joined a husband's *ie*.

Female positions within the *ie* were secondary to male positions. Females were expected to engage in taxing financial and family tasks throughout the day. With the birth of children, females' status within families improved slightly because of the emphasis placed on the continuity of the family line and mothers' caretaking.

Within Japanese families, normative obligation systems existed. Younger persons were obligated through the kindness of others or *on*. Children were primary recipients of *on* from their parents. This system of obligation was reinforced within the *ie* and educational systems. Children could repay some but never all *on*, and as a result, children were forever bound to the *ie*.

In short, in the past, children reared within Japanese families were brought up to maintain the *ie* and the positions ascribed to its members: males as dominant, females as subordinate. Given that members of the *ie* had a shared identity, individual failures reflected upon the *ie* (Yanagisako, 1985).

WWII disrupted Japanese family functioning. During WWII, women and children were sent to country sites for hiding. In addition, with the ensuing labor shortages, female students participated in the workforce, performing sewing or light assembly work during school hours. The post-war devastation of Japan's economy and of family enterprises resulted in young women seeking economic and social subsistence. Expanded employment

opportunities were available for women in service positions on or near military bases. There and elsewhere, American propaganda promoting freedom and equality appeared (Enloe, 1983). Indigenous Japanese women and U.S. citizens of various racial and ethnic backgrounds formed relationships that sometimes developed into marital unions and the creation of intercultural families.

Families of Japanese Heritage in the United States

In addition to changing features of Japanese families in prewar and postwar Japan, Japanese families in America were different owing much to policies that shaped the formation of families and the rights of different family members. The first wave of Japanese immigrants arrived during the late 1800s. Like the Chinese immigrants who preceded them, the Japanese immigrants were primarily male laborers, who planned to return to their homeland. Confronted with miserable conditions of long labor hours, meager wages, and poor living situations, the male laborers could not return to Japan, and began settling in America. With the passage of the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1908, the laborers sent for their families or had arranged marriages, the latter decried by Americans (Gee, 1994; Seller, 1994). Immigration of wives and children continued until 1924 when the Oriental Exclusion Act was enacted, prohibiting Asian immigrants from entering the U.S.

Japanese families in the U.S. differed from prewar families in Japan, resulting from structural and social disadvantages between Japanese parents and children, and between Japanese families and majority group members. Issei parents, as compared to nisei children, were at a disadvantage because they were not eligible to become citizens, had

greater difficulties comprehending and speaking English, and were more restricted in their opportunities to interact with majority group members. Nisei children, as compared to majority group children, were at a disadvantage because of their language limitations. Most issei parents insisted that nisei children speak Japanese within the home. Thus, nisei children did not learn standard English until they entered public schools (Johnson, 1972). As nisei children learned more English, they decreased their frequency of use of Japanese language. All of these factors punctuated generational, cultural, and social distinctions between issei parents and nisei children.

What was retained within Japanese families within the U.S., some argue, were transformed Japanese kinship ideologies. An anthropological analysis of the origins of issei parents notions of kinships revealed that most did not expect nor did they rear their children to abide by traditional Japanese familial behaviors (Yanagisako, 1987). In fact, issei parents claimed to have no normative expectations about children living nor caring for them although their nisei children reported that parents' Japanese traditions were present in their relationships (Yanagisako, 1985). Ishii-Kuntz's (1997) research suggested that among Japanese American families, structural and financial factors such as geographical proximity and need for support, may explain actual behavioral exchanges between parents and children.

These findings, that depict experiences of issei parents and nisei children, apply to participants in this study. "Such conflicts can face the nisei irrespective of age, for they arise out of situational changes in the family organization, regardless of the era in which it takes place." (Johnson, 1972, p. 64). Others encourage critical analysis of immigration

histories, economic activities, labor force participation, and filial relationships among Japanese Americans (Glenn, 1983; Johnson, 1977; Takagi, 1994).

Intercultural Intergenerational Relationships

In addition to issei men and women who immigrated in large numbers and settled in the U.S. in the early 1900s, Japanese women who were married to U.S. citizens of various racial and ethnic backgrounds immigrated to the U.S. in the mid 1900s. Relationships between American men and Japanese women were depicted as problematic. Intercultural relationships between these two groups have been described as bound to happen, involve women who 'deviated' from normative Japanese behavioral patterns, and include women and men of 'deprived' character and family background (Kitano, 1969; Ichihashi, 1969; Ishimaru, 1974). However, researcher biases against intercultural relationships may partially account for negative depictions of them (Cottrell, 1979; Johnson, 1992; Root, 1992). Others found that intercultural relationships were not destructively destined (Schnepp & Yui, 1955; Strauss, 1954). In fact, immigrant Japanese women who married American men were concerned with women's stifling position in Japanese society (Glenn, 1986). Research on outgroup marriages support this claim. Japanese women who married cross heritage partners during the 1940s and 1950s possessed more independence and less subservient attitudes than Japanese women who married ingroup members (Ahern, Cole, Johnson, & Wong, 1981). Decisions to depart from Japan after WWII were made by strong women in the face of potential estrangement from families (Life, 1995).

Intercultural relationships between Japanese women and U.S. servicemen in America did pose relational challenges, however. Separation from kin and peer groups, husband's occupational transitions, husband's family, restricted job opportunities, and language barriers were among the sources of potential strain (Strauss, 1954; Sung, 1990). In addition, anti-miscegenation laws stigmatized intercultural marriages and added to normative stressors associated with relocating (Glenn, 1986; Kim, 1977; Root, 1992). However, intercultural couples demonstrated strength, identifying ways to be compatible and demonstrating a willingness to acknowledge and resolve cultural and personal preferences (Schnepp & Yui, 1955; Strauss, 1954).

Intercultural children may face unique challenges because of their dual or multiple heritages (Cottrell, 1978). Yet, research indicates that positive balance between the two cultures is achievable through maintenance of a dynamic ethnic identity (Duffy, 1978). Factors including geographical residence interplay in the lives of intercultural children. Residence in locations with large Japanese communities (e.g., Hawai'i, certain locations in California) aid adult Eurasian children's self-concepts (Mass, 1992). The prevalence of mixed-race and mixed-heritage marriages in Hawai'i help to account for acceptance of persons of mixed ancestry in Hawai'i, for example (Johnson, 1992). Further, intercultural children find comfort in military base residence because of the military dependent identity they share with other children (Cottrell, 1978; Williams, 1992).

Intercultural children who have resided on military bases in Japan, report the existence of conflicts between themselves and their mothers. Williams's (1992) sample of Eurasian and Afroasian teens and adults who resided on military bases for a minimum of

six years indicated that maternal conflicts were over strictness and overprotectiveness, but that children found strife with their mothers an essential track in their entry into adulthood. Williams (1992) surmised that maternal conflicts probably occurred because the respondents' social reference group was primarily dominant American while their mothers' was Japanese. She also contended that most mother-child disputes surrounded generational rather than cultural differences. Although conflict exists between parents and children in intercultural families, children are also able to enjoy immersion in two languages and life as "doubles" (Alfaro & Hagemann, 1991; Life, 1995; Williams, 1992).

In spite of intermarriages between persons of Japanese heritage and persons of nonJapanese heritage, researchers frequently shy away from examining these families. Census data have not made it more conducive to study their lives because of their lack of attention to persons who straddle more than one racial group and identify themselves as having multiple heritages (Root, 1992).

Summary

A sociohistorical perspective of immigrant Japanese people's lives in the U.S. showed their lives were constructed through various means, such as immigration policies and differences in attitudes and behaviors of members belonging to the two cultures. Both issei immigrants and their descendants, as well as post WWII immigrant Japanese women and their families, faced and continue to face challenging circumstances in the U.S. Much remains unanswered about the relationships between post WWII immigrant Japanese women who married U.S. citizens and their American adult daughters. Social and cultural context factors, as this sociohistorical analysis has shown, have the potential to

significantly affect the relationships between immigrant mothers and daughters.

Contexts Affecting Mother-Daughter Relationships

Context is an integral component in a research project on immigrant mother-American daughter relationships. Five social and cultural context domains that were examined in this study included minority group status, social mobility, ethnic community involvement, language and communication, and relationship expectations.

Minority group status perceptions. The U.S. population consists of a multitude of persons representing various racial and ethnic groups. These persons differ along many dimensions including but not limited to cultural histories, socioeconomic status, geographic origins, and intergenerational relationships. The terms minority and majority group are used to designate group differences along power and prestige dimensions (Dilworth-Anderson, Burton, & Johnson, 1993; Newman, 1994). Accompanying the power and prestige differentials are differential rights to economic and political power (Taylor, 1994).

Persons belonging to ethnic minority groups are purported to have less political and economic power and prestige than majority group members (Dilworth-Anderson, Burton, & Johnson, 1993; Taylor, 1994). The white majority group defines features of society such as the use of language, ideology, and definitions of beauty (Andersen, 1993; Perry & Perry, 1993). In spite of the dominate majority group and their minority status, researchers have concluded that minority group status exerts minimal influence on Japanese Americans. Connor (1974) pondered if Sacramento Japanese American's abasement characteristics across three generations reflected their minority group status or

continuation of Japanese attributes. Because the Sacramento Japanese Americans scored similarly on a personality inventory to Hawaii Japanese Americans, who are not a minority ethnic group in the islands, he surmised that cultural transmission had occurred. Other researchers claim that contextualized analyses of Japanese American filial relations should include a concurrent examination of immigration histories, economic activities, and labor force participation (Glenn, 1983; Johnson, 1977; Takagi, 1994; Yanagisako, 1985). Research such as Yanagisako's (1985, 1987) showed the value of such an approach: a study of multiple generations of Japanese Americans showed that successive generations' notions of work, family, and gender ideologies represent symbolic associations that are more consistent with American middle class ideals rather than those of traditional Japanese families. The extent to which Japanese American women interpret themselves as minority group members and internalize or externalize behaviors associated with that status and the influence of those behaviors on intergenerational relationships was of interest. Additional analyses of these issues should include an assessment of filial relations' within-family economic differences. Research on African American women's leisure indicate that a lifetime of minority group status even affects the forms of leisure possible for them (Allen & Chin-Sang, 1990).

Social mobility perceptions. Second generation Japanese Americans have made strides in education, occupation, and income relative to their immigrant or first generation parents (Levine & Rhodes, 1981; Montero, 1981). Some would argue that their accomplishments, coupled with the presence of outmarriage and migration from native community to other regions for economic reasons (Montero, 1981; O'Brien & Fugita,

1984) is evidence of second generation Japanese Americans' degree of structural, cultural, and marital assimilation, particularly compared to first generation parents (Montero, 1981). These assimilative patterns, in turn, influence the frequency and forms of interaction possible between first and second generation Japanese Americans (Montero, 1981). In spite of assimilation and social mobility, first and second generation Japanese Americans maintain traditional norms of filial obligation: traditional familial obligations were not overruled by the social mobility patterns of second generation daughters; indeed, continuation of filial piety between mothers and daughters assisted mothers' transition to aging in America (Osako & Liu, 1986). The extent to which mother-daughter relationships are affected by daughters' social mobility and resulting social advantages that presumably lead to greater access, is unclear. As a result of social mobility, daughters may have fewer opportunities to interact with members of their ethnic communities. If daughters, as second generation women, are more socially mobile than their first generation mothers, what influence, if any, does that have on their relationship? If mothers and daughters have different social advantages than, how is that, if it is, played out in the relationship?

Ethnic community involvement. The extent to which persons spend time with members of their own ethnic group influences the life course they adopt (Barresi, 1987). Ethnic enclaves are a source of social and emotional support, and they help to preserve a sense of ethnic identity. Participation in an ethnic social network influences the maintenance of one's ties to culture (Ujimoto, 1987). The availability of social and health services designed with Japanese American persons in mind, along with culturally relevant television programming and the existence of a network of friends, are comfortable items

for Japanese Americans persons (Osako, 1979). Issei parents are more inclined than their children and grandchildren to be involved in Japanese organizations (Montero, 1981). Yet, ethnic communities are less available for post WWII immigrant women (Glenn, 1986). If immigrant post WWII mothers cannot rely on their daughters for ties to American culture because they have moved for job opportunities, as many persons do (O'Brien & Fugita, 1991), and if mothers do not have access to ethnic communities, what result might this have on mother-daughter ties?

Language and communication. Language affects the transmission of culture (Barresi, 1987). Language reflects and affects people's thoughts, feelings, and actions. People use language to interpret the world around them. English use difficulties of issei parents and Japanese use problems of nisei children have been consistently documented (Kitano, 1976; Suzuki, Hayashi, Nisihira, Aoyama, Nomoto, Kuroda, & Kuroda, 1984; Yanagisako, 1985). For instance, Osako (1979) reported that language barriers between parents and children often prevented the sharing of intimate information between them. She also adds that the children find it "cumbersome" to express delicate information to their parents. Likewise, Kendis (1989) found that first generation parents will often listen to and later ask someone to translate what was said between their children and grandchildren. According to one informant in Kendis's (1989) study:

When my children and grandchildren talk it is in English. I understand a little bit but I have to go aside afterwards with someone to get a translation of what has been said. Sometimes I think I was following the conversation, understanding some of the words, but I find out I was completely wrong in my interpretation.

(p. 68)

Although telling of the hardships that language barriers create for immigrants and their children, a study of the ramifications of language barriers on intergenerational ties and feelings between the generations has not been offered. Language obstruction thwarts the development of communication. Language barriers may be further complicated in intercultural families.

Another key cultural component in mother-daughter relationships is their differing norms about interpersonal communication. Through life history interviews with first generation mothers and second generation daughters of Japanese descent, von Hassell (1993) found that adult children held vague impressions about their mothers' lives. von Hassell (1993) surmised that cultural and societal pressures, coupled with the waning of Japanese language within the household and deemphasis in Japanese culture on direct verbal communication, acted to silence first generation mothers. Others (Yanagisako, 1985) have reported similar findings among first and second generation Japanese Americans. Second generation Japanese Americans had little information on their parents' backgrounds, because parents spoke a different language or simply did not communicate that way.

A possible result of blocked communication between the generations is the disintegration of shared understanding of each other, and possibly, heightened strife. However, von Hassell (1993) asserted that first generation mothers dutifully worked to reduce such tension for reasons such as not wanting to hinder their children from succeeding in American society by infusing them with Japanese customs. Future research on the forms and processual changes of communication between mothers and daughters necessarily requires an assessment of the external and internal social forces surrounding their lives (von Hassell, 1993). Research on mother-daughter relationships may help to liberate the hushed voices of first generation mothers and their daughters through sharing their relational narratives with others. However, it must be recognized that the willingness among immigrant post WWII women and second generation Japanese American daughters to share their relational stories may not overcome their proclivity to demonstrate communicative restraint.

Relationship expectations. Motherhood and daughterhood should be examined to ascertain how they contribute to or prevent women from achieving their goals (Gerson, Alpert, & Richardson, 1990). In traditional Japan, children were forever indebted to their parents for the care they received (Johnson, 1972). As indicated earlier, reportedly, issei parents do not hold traditional normative expectations about their children's behaviors, although nisei children believe issei parents do (Yanagisako, 1985). What ideas do adult Japanese American mothers and daughters hold about mothering as a life course phenomenon? What societal prescriptions of mothering and daughtering influenced immigrant post WWII Japanese mothers and their American daughters? Preliminary

research with third generation mothers and their infants showed that mothers' caretaking styles and infants' behaviors reflected both Japanese and American mothering manners (Frost as cited in Connor, 1974). Does this suggest that these behaviors continue and that societal notions of mothering and daughtering become a part of the mother-daughter relationship repertoire? How do mothers and daughters construct mother-daughter relationships? What has informed their understandings of it? In addition, studies of mothering and of those influenced by mothering, should include an exploration of women's subjective experiences of the fulfilling, detrimental, and neutral aspects of mothering (Gerson, Alpert, & Richardson, 1990). A brilliant exploration into mothering and daughtering, such as Rich's (1976), illustrates the benefits of having women articulate their personal experiences (Hirsch, 1990).

Summary

Mother-daughter relations are further complicated in multicultural and multiracial societies such as the United States where there is tension and ambivalence over strategies of racial or ethnic maintenance and cultural assimilation. (Hunter College Women's Studies Collective, 1995, p. 214)

The preceding discussion makes clear that countless features may operate to influence immigrant and second generation Japanese mother-daughter relationships. These components include numerous social and cultural context factors such as minority group status, social mobility, expectations of mothering and daughtering, involvement in ethnic community, and language and communication factors. These components derive directly from life course and gender perspectives in which the context of individual and family lives

are presumed to influence the meanings they ascribe to events.

CHAPTER THREE

Methods

Qualitative methods, recently revitalized in gerontology (Hendricks, 1996), were used to collect and analyze the data. Through qualitative approaches, researchers are able to understand key processes of families (Bryman, 1988; Daly, 1992), including mother-daughter relationships. Life course and gender researchers advocate use of qualitative methodologies (Bengtson & Allen, 1993; Osmond & Thorne, 1993). Further, ethnogerontologists advocate the use of varying methodologies including in-depth approaches to study the lives of ethnic minority group members (Jackson, 1985). Root (1992) suggested use of qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews for research on multicultural persons. Qualitative researchers focus on highlighting the heterogeneity of people's lives rather than reporting averages or means that flatten the experiences of those who fall on either end of the spectrum. Qualitative methods serve to enhance the survey research data on and illustrate the range of lived experiences of ethnic minority members.

The research consisted of individual semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews are designed to gather detailed, richly textured information and they are suitable for learning about how individuals perceive, define, and construct perspectives on a topic in their own words (Kaufman, 1994; Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). Further, semi-structured interviews are fitting for studies in which researchers want broad-ranging responses and opportunities to ask participants to elaborate further and discuss the personal meaning of a subject (Kaufman, 1994).

The semi-structured interview format enabled the informants to articulate their personal experiences (Gerson, Alpert, & Richardson, 1990) about mothering and daughtering; perspectives about power, privilege, and prestige ownership; ethnic community involvement; language and communication practices; and the meaning of being a minority group member as it relates to mother-daughter relationships.

Personal Narrative

My interest in mother-daughter relationships among ethnic minority women stems in part, from own experiences as a woman of Japanese and Filipino ancestry. Reared in Hawai'i, I was constantly reminded of the richness of people's ethnicities and cultures.

Within our family we upheld Japanese traditions and practices. My perception of our valuing of Japanese notions within our household is related to my educational activities. I attended a Japanese language school where I learned to read in Japanese, speak minimal Japanese, and experience some aspects of Japanese culture. My family's support of my ties with Japanese friends, the time my older sister and I spent with my mom's sisters, and the presence of our Japanese neighbors, influenced my valuing of Japanese culture.

I elected to complete my first college degree in Washington state. My inconsequential thinking about the population of the school, primarily white and upperclass, indicates my comfortable position as part of the majority group in Hawai'i. The easterly and southerly moves that I have made over the years have allowed for external reminders of differences between myself and others. These lived experiences

have continued to pique my curiosity about families and in particular, Japanese mother-daughter relationships.

These experiences informed the development of my methods in several ways. Aside from being informed by scholarly literature as to the method of inquiry that would be suitable, I used my personal knowledge to shape the methods for this study. On the one hand, conducting a survey study appealed to me because of my concern that women would not want to divulge their experiences to me in face-to-face interviews. However, my desire to be a part of the research process, as a person whose lived experiences parallels some aspects of the topic of inquiry, coupled with my concerns about examining the lived experiences of mothers and daughters through having the opportunity to seek clarification and more information, led me to pursue face to face interviews. This also informed my decision to use a semi-structured interview rather than a structured interview format. This was the start of my entry into using my lived experience to inform my study.

Knowing of my interest to interview immigrant women from Japan and their daughters, whose language preferences most likely differed, I struggled to find an avenue of inquiry that would privilege both mothers and daughters. By no means was I fluent in Japanese. My discussions with my mother confirmed my belief that I would need a Japanese translator to assist with mother interviews. In the face of financial constraints, I asked myself how I could possibly afford to pay a translator? Through long distance discussions with my mother over extended periods of time, we decided collectively that given the circumstances, I would seek the assistance of one of her friends. My mother never offered to be the translator because of her perceived trials with communicating in

English. Because I wanted to be present during the interviews so that I could seek clarification, the translator would need to feel comfortable conversing in English. She asked friends in her immediate circle whether they might be willing to assist me. Most declined indicating they were not qualified to assist with a project at this level because of their lack of formal educational training or occasional problems with English. This is similar to Johnson's (1972) experience in trying to recruit participants for her research. Finally, my mother told me that she had a friend in mind and that this friend indicated a willingness to help. I was relieved. I asked who the person was. It was someone she knew from work, someone with formal educational training in Japan. In my eyes there was one problem, he was a male. Given my knowledge of the power ascribed to elder males within Japanese culture, I was concerned that women would not freely share their relationships stories with me. I asked my mother how she would feel if interviewed about mother-daughter relationships by a male translator. Later, she indicated that she and her friends thought having a male translator would be appropriate. Trusting their feedback, I decided I would seek the assistance of the male translator. Discussions with my chairperson informed me that I should use the translator on an as-needed basis for the interviews.

Research Setting

Hawai'i was selected as the site for this study because of (1) its large Japanese American population; (2) multifold opportunities for ethnic community involvement; (3) maintenance of cultural practices (given the multiethnic Hawaii community) in spite of middle class American appearance (McDermott, Tseng, & Marezki, 1980); and (4) opportunities for interethnic friendships and marital relationships. These factors give

Japanese American women opportunities to maintain existing ties while developing new notions about cultural and familial beliefs and practices. The uniqueness of conducting a study on immigrant Japanese mothers and intercultural daughters in Hawai'i deserves special attention.

Mixed-heritage persons. Hawai'i is unique from other states in that it is a site with a history of intercultural relationships. Several events account for the occurrence and acceptance of intercultural relationships in Hawai'i. Hawai'i was initially a site for exchange of commodities rather than a site for military conquest. Thus, egalitarian rather than colonial ideologies governed relationships between Hawai'ians and westerners, at least, initially. Relationships based on egalitarianism, some believe, prompted the acceptance of intermarriages (Yamamoto, 1973). In addition the plantation system, which brought in labor from places such as China, Japan, and Portugal in a short amount of time, coupled with imbalances in the ratio of males to females within ethnic groups and diminishing control that groups had over intermarriages, increased intermarriage rates and acceptance of them in Hawai'i (Yamamoto, 1973). Data on mixed-heritage persons have not been collected in Hawai'i since Hawai'i became a state (Lind, 1980).

Japanese persons in Hawai'i. Today, Japanese persons account for 22.3%, a sizeable portion of Hawai'i's population. Japanese culture is evident in Hawai'i because of factors such as Japanese investment, Japanese tourists, and Japanese persons in mid-level administrative and professional positions (Okamura, 1994). Contrary to popular belief, Japanese persons do not possess the highest occupational status in Hawai'i (Okamura, 1990).

Japanese persons' experiences differ from the experiences of persons on the mainland whose states are less tolerant of minority groups (Kitano, 1993). Also, Hawai'i is geographically closer to Japan such that influences from Japan are stronger than influences from the mainland (Kitano, 1993). Thus, a study of Japanese mothers and their intercultural daughters who reside in Hawai'i is likely to be different from a study conducted elsewhere.

Sample Parameters

Participation in this study was limited to immigrant post WWII Japanese mothers who were reared in Japan and adult daughters who were reared in the U.S. No upper or lower age limit was placed on mothers, they simply needed to be of Japanese ancestry, reared in Japan, post WWII immigrants, and have at least one adult daughter. No lower or upper age limit was placed on adult daughters, they simply needed to be of some Japanese ancestry, reared in the U.S., and have a Japanese mother who immigrated to the U.S. after WWII. The sample criteria were critical because of the opportunities to interview women with different economic and familial backgrounds, and cultural beliefs and practices (Kendis, 1989; Lum, 1983).

Sample Selection

A sample of 10 mother-daughter dyads, 1 unmatched mother, and 1 unmatched daughter participated in this study. A sample of 10 is suitable for a study in which investigators want people's subjective experiences to emerge and where the aim of the research is to explore a new topic rather than to generalize to other samples (Strong, 1984). Other research on rarely studied women and ethnic minorities indicates that

saturation can be achieved with a sample of 10 (Farnsworth & Allen, 1996; Strong, 1984).

A Japanese association in Hawai'i assisted me with recruiting participants. The association informed its regional offices about the present research and printed an announcement describing the study in its member newsletter. One mother-daughter dyad contacted me and expressed their interest. I informed them about the study, and set up an appointment to meet each one individually.

In addition to recruiting participants through the Japanese association, I solicited the assistance of two community members who knew of participants who fit the sample criteria. The community members provided me with a list of names and phone numbers of potential participants. They both reported that it was best if they contacted the women or a family member first to see if they might be interested. I then contacted the women who expressed an interest in the study, gave them an overview of the study, and set up individual meetings. From these community members came the remainder of the sample, nine mother-daughter dyads, one unmatched mother, and one unmatched daughter. Initially, the unmatched mother's daughter and the unmatched daughter's mother agreed over the phone to the interview, but I was not able to reach them at a later date for the interview.

During the meeting, each participant read independently or co-read with the translator (if present), a consent form that described the study, and they signed the consent form. I asked the two community members who found the participants whom they felt needed a translator during the interview. In addition, I screened mothers' English speaking abilities during the initial phone conversation. Given these two sources of information, I

asked the translator to assist me with six mother interviews.

Sample Description

Participants consisted of immigrant mothers who ranged in age from 45 to 71, with a mean age of 58 (see Table 3.1). Daughters ranged in age from 21 to 43, with an average age of 30.

Table 3.1

Mothers' and Daughters' Ages

	Ages					
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70+
Mothers	0	0	1	7	2	1
Daughters	5	4	2	0	0	0

Mothers' and daughters' educational backgrounds varied. Mothers' education ranged from completion of junior high school to post high school training (see Table 3.2). That some mothers completed junior high school only is not atypical because not all children in Japan were required to attend school beyond the compulsory junior high years. Female children were given only enough schooling so that they would become marriageable partners (Iwao, 1993; Kitano, 1976). Moreover, after marriage, they were expected to become mothers, which was not perceived as requiring much education. Also, typically, when families needed children to work, female children were the ones whom

families relied on. In contrast daughters were all high school graduates and most had acquired college coursework, although only a few had completed their degrees.

Table 3.2

Mothers' and Daughters' Educational Background

	Education				
	Completed 7-11 years	High School Graduate	Post High School Training	Bachelor's Degree	Post Baccalaureate Training or Degree
Mothers	4	4	3	0	0
Daughters	0	0	8	1	2

Mothers' and daughters' family backgrounds varied in terms of whether they were military or civilian families. Mothers' husbands had been enlisted in the military. Five of 10 mother-daughter dyads had been military families and both the unmatched mother's and unmatched daughter's families were also, in the past, of military background.

Most mothers met their husbands in Japan, then immigrated to the U.S. Mothers' immigrated to the U.S. between the years of 1951 and 1974, with the majority of mothers immigrating to the U.S. in the 1960s. Mothers' ages ranged from 21 to 34 at the time of their emigration from Japan. The majority of mothers were in their mid 20s at the time they immigrated to the U.S.

Participants' ethnic backgrounds showed between group variation. All mothers'

were of full Japanese ancestry. In addition to being of Japanese ancestry, daughters' were of Chinese, Dutch, Filipino, German, Hawai'ian, Irish, Italian, and Native American ethnic backgrounds.

Mothers' and daughters' occupational backgrounds varied. Three mothers' had been or are employed in sales positions requiring them to speak Japanese and English; six mothers had been or are employed in restaurant services; one mother is a teacher; and one mother is a beautician. One daughter, like her mother, is a beautician; one daughter is a college student; another daughter is a flight attendant; four daughters are in business; two daughters are primary school teachers; one daughter is a homemaker/apart manager; and one daughter is in retail. Several daughters are employed in positions requiring them to have some ability to speak and comprehend Japanese.

Semi-Structured Interviews and Research Journaling

After completion of the consent process (see Appendix A), participants engaged in an audiotaped semi-structured individual interview about their mother-daughter relationship. Participants were asked to respond to questions designed to elicit germane responses and foster discussion about mother-daughter relationships. A translator was present at six mother interviews to assist as necessary. I used the semi-structured interview guide (see Appendix B) as well as probed to seek clarification and elaboration from participants on important points.

Pilot interviews were conducted with one mother and one daughter to assess the semi-structured interview guide and interview format. The pilot interviews suggested that the semi-structured interview would be appropriate for the research, so long as I provided

myself the opportunity to ask impromptu questions in which I sought clarification of women's responses (McCracken, 1988). The pilot interviews did suggest that alterations should be made in the seating arrangement of mother interviews when the translator was present. During the pilot interview with the mother, the translator sat between the mother and me. There was no seat directly facing the mother as the interview occurred in a living room with two chairs that were adjacent to one another. This was not suitable for me as I did not appear to be included in the interview process. Subsequently, in future interviews, where appropriate, I sat opposite of or near the mother.

I kept a detailed research journal after the interview. The purpose of the journal was to record an outline of the topics that were covered; notes about emerging themes, striking expressions, and nonverbal gestures; and memos concerning information participants shared outside of the semi-structured interviews (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). I reviewed the research journal throughout the course of conducting the interviews.

The data from the audiotaped interviews were transcribed and thematic analyses were performed to identify mothers' and daughters' attitudes, values, or sentiments (Luborsky, 1994) about the effect of sociocultural factors on their relationships. The interview data were analyzed according to the method described by Taylor and Bogdan (1984) that included (a) reading and rereading of the data; (b) making marginal notions of themes, hunches, interpretations, and ideas; and (c) looking for emergent themes. The eventual goal of this method is to identify a parsimonious set of categories that encompass the topics. Data analyses also encompassed identifying markers, such as those indicating beliefs, causes, and meanings of events (e.g., "so," "because"); intensifiers (e.g., speed of

speech); and evaluative clauses or the teller's view of events (Labov & Waletzky, 1967). These strategies were employed until rereading of the text revealed no further information or new topics. In addition, my research journal served as another data source. The research journal entries were coded to identify categories and the codes were compared with the themes that emerged through thematic analysis (see Appendix C), to ensure accuracy of the interpretation of the data.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings

The qualitative approach taken in this study was designed to allow mothers and daughters the occasion to describe openly, their relational patterns. The semi-structured interview format gave mothers and daughters an opportunity to describe personal and social experiences about mothering and daughtering; perspectives about power, privilege, and prestige ownership; their ethnic community involvement; notions of the significance of language and communication practices; and the meaning of being a minority group member as it relates to mother-daughter relationships.

The findings are based on interviews with 11 mothers and 11 daughters. There were 10 mother-daughter dyads, one unmatched mother, and one unmatched daughter. The alphabet M or D respectively denotes if the respondent was a mother or a daughter. Mothers and daughters with the same numbers following the M or D (e.g., M10 and D10) are mother-daughter dyads. The unmatched mother was assigned the alphabet and number: M110. The unmatched daughter was assigned the alphabet and number D120.

Four dominant themes emerged from analysis of the interviews: communication, transitions and turning points, culture, and contact (see Table 4.1). Mothers and daughters revealed the ways that language barriers led to communication obstacles and some difficulties in their relationships. Transitions and turning points in the mother-daughter relationships surrounded daughters' marriage and motherhood, as well as personal growth and changes within the family structure. Mothers and daughters discussed the ways in which Japanese culture is lived and shared in their relationship, as well as how mothers

modified cultural practices to incorporate aspects of Western culture. Further, contact for mothers and daughters was linked to knowing that time together was a precious commodity because of mothers' past and present familial hardships.

Table 4.1

Dominant Relationship Themes and Dimensions

Themes	Dimensions
Communication	Modes of Communicating Reasons for Language Differences Personal Reactions Role of Others
Transitions and Turning Points	Marriage Motherhood Personal Changes Family Restructuring and Support
Culture	Living and Sharing Culture Changing Culture
Contact	Contact Motivators Content of Contact

Communication

Mothers and daughters discussed at length, and at various times during the interviews, language and other communication obstacles in their relationships. Although communication difficulties were clearly important relationship aspects for all participants, mothers and daughters expressed various perspectives on the impact of these difficulties.

Accounts of language and communication focused on these areas: modes of communicating; reasons for language differences; personal reactions; role of others.

Modes of communicating. Much diversity existed in the preferred languages both within and between mother-daughter groups. Most mothers and daughters reported that they spoke some combination of Japanese and English languages. For instance, M10 reported through a translator that she spoke to her daughter in Japanese, but her daughter responds to her in English. Another mother, M90, described her daughter's Japanese comprehension:

She understand everything, what I say. But, she cannot answer me back in Japanese. She answer me back in English.

Some mothers reported that because their daughters had an opportunity to live in Japan when their husbands were stationed there, their daughters spoke Japanese when they were younger. After her family moved to the U.S., M50 noted her daughter's gradual loss of the language:

They used to speak real good, then we come to the mainland, not so many people use Japanese.

Through a translator, M10 reported that as her daughter grew older she relied on some physical forms of expression (i.e., tickling) to communicate her affection to her daughter.

Reasons for language differences. All mothers reported that they spoke different languages. Two reasons for language differences included the mothers' limited English and barriers to teaching Japanese. Mothers cited many factors that influenced their English proficiency, including the language spoken by their husbands, the language spoken by their

husbands' family, and the language used at work. Through a translator, M10 revealed that because her husband's parents spoke Japanese and because so many people in Hawai'i speak in simplified English, she did not feel an imminent need to attain command of the English language. However, she acknowledged that she frequently thought about improving her English skills.

All mothers desired to learn English, and perceived the importance of this skill, so they limited their investment in teaching their daughters Japanese. M30 thought it was unnecessary to teach her daughter Japanese because of her life circumstances:

Not necessary to teach Japanese. Children go out, even in Hawai'i, where they can use Japanese? And I'm still process of learning how to speak English.

Like M30, M40 had reservations about teaching her children to speak Japanese:

Because I have handicap myself [with the English language], I do not want to speak any Japanese to my kids.

Another mother, M70, explained why she did not pursue greater understanding of English: "Because my job was, because my job was speaking Japanese." However, she indicated also that her desire to learn English kept her from speaking Japanese to her daughter.

I want to learn English too, I didn't speak Japanese. I was really, I didn't understand. So, I guess at the time, I didn't think about speaking Japanese to them, versus now, younger generation, they speaking Japanese to them at home. I wish I did that. But, I was speaking English to them because I want to learn at the same time ... I WISH [Mother's emphasis] I speak Japanese to them at home. I wish I

did. I regret that.

Personal reactions. The frequency and intensity of mothers' and daughters' discussion surrounding language barriers and communication obstacles suggested the significance of this topic for them. Several mothers and daughters had strong emotional reactions when discussing communication difficulties.

Mothers commonly speculated how their daughters felt about these barriers. M100 repeatedly commented that in her view, her daughter was bothered by the communication difficulties:

I think she had a HARD [Mother's emphasis] time having the mother who speaks English with accent, I think. She said, "no," but I kind of feeling, she had kind of ... embarrassing or something like that.

Likewise, M40 indicated:

I think we give lots of handicap for kids. Kids suffer more than we did. That's how I feel. We went through lots of difficult times because pronunciation wrong, meaning come out wrong, hurt other people's feeling.

M110 felt that her daughter was upset with her because of her limited English comprehension and because speaking precluded her from helping her daughter with schoolwork:

She think me wrong because I don't understand English. I like teach her, no can.

That's why she said ... "Mommy no teach nothing." She grow up, she mad at me.

Although her daughter never told her, M100 believes that while their family lived on military bases overseas and on the mainland, her daughter was bothered with having a

foreign mother who spoke different English:

She didn't feel comfortable with friend. Like, I speak different from her. They know I'm foreigner and all the kind, culture at home, I have mostly Japanese kind. So, probably she felt little uncomfortable. But, when we came here [Hawai'i] I think she feel more comfortable. She didn't have too much difference in me. Because when we came here, first time, she tell me, "Oh mom, you speak English well."

One daughter, D70, shared her perspective on her mother's English skills:

She couldn't speak English that well at the time. So I was always cringing and things, but I didn't realize that probably my teachers understood what the situation was. So I think because I didn't think my teachers understood that I carried that embarrassment around.

For M110, the personal outcome of language differences between her and her daughter was linked also to the larger military family context in which they were situated. Because her husband was in her words, "All the time TDY" he was not present to help her understand English nor assist her daughter with homework. Further, M110 indicated that her husband's speaking of Japanese to her led her to achieve a lesser understanding English and which interfered with her ability to raise their daughter while he was away.

Some mothers reported the emotional impact of communication difficulties. For instance, M50 sometimes felt "hurt" because she was not able to express herself fully with her daughter:

I feel like if they got problem, sometime I cannot explain, I'm not satisfied because

[of] language ... so that part, make me start thinking, make me hurt too.

Daughters commonly reported the negative impact of these difficulties on their view of their mothers and their relationships:

Sometimes I wish she spoke better English and she was like the other mothers.

Cause sometimes she wouldn't understand things. I felt that sometimes, but I mean not a whole lot. Just one time, a couple of incidents that made me feel that way.

This same daughter later reported that she hesitates to self-disclose to her mother because of language complications.

A lot of times I don't tell her things or I hesitate to tell her things cause it's frustrating when you have to explain things in every single detail about certain things. And so I just, I don't really tell her things ... and unless I speak slow or put it in simple terms, she doesn't understand. But I'll tell her something ... I have to repeat things over and over, and that gets frustrating for me. So a lot of times I don't tell her things because of that.

Similarly, D70 described how she sometimes reacts to her mother:

I tend to get short, I get impatient, and I kind of, I think she and I jump to conclusions what the other person is thinking. I know I do, thinking that she's coming from this point of view. So when I find myself getting kind of impatient and curt with her, then I try to step back and go back to the beginning of the conversation and find out exactly what she wants or try to convey to her what I want.

One daughter, when asked what a current relationship challenge was in her life, contemplated whether she is doing her mother a disservice by carefully choosing words to use when speaking with her mother:

Even when I speak to her I have to be ... I can't talk like I do to anybody else. I have to choose the words I say because I know she won't understand. And sometimes I think that's wrong. I think I should speak to her just like I speak to anyone else, using the same words, so that she'll learn. But it's too hard. And so I have to pick and choose when I talk to her. Even when I'm reading something to her, I don't read what's really there. I change it so that she can understand it. That's always a challenge.

For one daughter, her mother's discomfort with English was played out in interaction with other family members. D10 reported:

What used to irritate me was she used to ask me what they said, when I knew she understood a little bit. It used to irritate me when she'd make me go pay for something 'cause she didn't want to talk to the cashier or the teller, and so I used to just say, "No, why don't you go? You can." Which made me feel bad and look bad 'cause I was being defiant. But, I just wanted her to be more self reliant 'cause I see other people who come from another country and they can talk good English.

Parent-child difficulties in communicating because of language barriers, for some, stretched to other generations. M30 expressed her situation with her daughter's son who at the age of 9, has a difficult time understanding her:

My daughter's son is more far away from me and more close to my husband because he [husband] can joke with my grandson ... it's not funny to me because I don't understand [grandson's joke]. It hurts because he decide not to say anything anymore. So he's more far away from me, so what can I do? It's kind of hard more harder and harder start growing.

M30 later discussed her embarrassment when her grandson corrects her pronunciation. For this mother, it was okay for her daughter and friends to correct her English, her grandson's correction bothered her.

While acknowledging that their relationships with their mothers had always been this way, several daughters shared stories about wanting to learn Japanese. D10 reported that she's spent her lifetime trying to learn Japanese and that she's embarrassed that she does not speak the language.

I'm trying my hardest to learn this Japanese, but I can't. It just doesn't seem to get in there.

This daughter explained that her mother spoke Japanese and that she responded in English. She also expressed concern over her husband's and her mother's lack of communication.

Especially since I got married and my husband doesn't know that much Japanese, it just irritates me. She talks Japanese because she doesn't understand ... He talks English and I know sometimes he understands what she says but he still asks me "What did she say?" Then he talks English to her, and she asks me what he said, but I know she understood.

Some daughters reported that as they grew older, they obtained a greater appreciation for their mother's language difference. Accepting the way in which they must communicate with each other, daughters indicated that they used simplified English when interacting with their mothers. In the words of D60, "A lot of times when we talk, I use the type of English that I know she understands." With the assistance of the translator, M20 reported that she and her daughter managed to understand each other and that her daughter assisted her in pronouncing words.

Moreover, D60 indicated that she and her mother were able somehow to communicate:

Basically we understood each other pretty well...Like anything, I would get frustrated because she didn't know what I was talking about. But most of the time it was pretty okay. We managed to just somehow communicate where we could understand each other.

D80 reported:

I think I just grew up a little bit and appreciated my mom more. I didn't care if anybody said anything. I think when I was younger, I just kind of felt that way.

Some participants reported that language barriers did not pose major communication or relationship difficulties. According to D90, learning Japanese enabled her and her mother to enjoy communicating.

D50 reported that she and her mother, at times, were able to enjoy their language differences:

We always have fun with language ... The half-half kind of thing ... till this day, a little bit of a barrier cause she has an idea and can't put it into English.

M80 reported that she and her daughter, in spite of their language differences, are able to communicate and that this is the way it has always been.

Role of others. Some participants found ways to circumvent communication obstacles resulting from language barriers through intermediary communicators. D80 cited her father's assistance in diffusing potential strife between her and her mother because of miscommunication:

It used to be frustrating, still is. A lot of the arguments we get into is because she's trying to tell me something and she's saying it wrong. Okay, so I'm only hearing what she's saying, I'm not seeing what she's trying to say. So a lot of times my father will, after I'm already upset and I just want to leave. I remember this one time my father pulling me on the side ... and he says, "You have to understand that when she's trying to say something, you have to go around what she's saying and try to find what she's REALLY [Daughter's emphasis] saying, because her words are coming out wrong."

Similarly, D10 reported that she often sought her father's assistance to communicate complicated information. "If I couldn't talk to her, I talked to my dad."

In addition to sharing experiences of communication difficulties with her mother, D40 also reported how she helps her mother with her English and how she sees it as a way to reciprocate her mothers' general assistance:

It kind of balances out. Like with her helping with [son] and then I'm able to give something back. And I don't know how she feels about it, but I'm glad I'm able to give something back. I'm glad I'm not just taking ... And it's a good feeling....I

enjoy her depending on me in that way. I want to help because I feel like I'm doing something good.

Moreover, M40 indicated that a friend assists her with refining her English speaking abilities:

[Friend] born here. She speak proper English, plus she educated [at] mainland college, plus she working secretary. She speak really good English, and she speak slow. She tell me I'm cheating because I talk fast, so [I] cover up with language, sliding kind. She said, "speak slow, you have to learn."

Transitions and Turning Points

Mothers and daughters spoke about past and anticipated transitions and turning points in their relationships. These stories centered on marriage, motherhood, personal changes, and family restructuring and support.

Marriage. Marriage was a common topic for mothers moreso than daughters. Mothers and daughters noted changes in relationships and their views of their daughters following marriage. Through a translator, M10 reported that until her daughter got married, it was as though her daughter was still a child. However, since her daughter's marriage, M10 reported that she treats her relationship with her daughter as mother-mother relationship rather than a mother-daughter relationship. D70 noted similar changes in her relationship with her mother after she married.

I guess that feeling of mother-daughter has waned. Now that I'm married, I think maybe she might be relieved. [The relationship has become] a little bit different as a wife or something. So that has definitely changed because of the marriage.

One mother anticipated how her daughter's marriage would alter their relationship. M90 reported that by the time her daughter is married, she will be prepared to "cut, like an apron string, off." M90 reported that even though her daughter is pursuing a college degree and will get a job, she desires very strongly for her daughter eventually to become a mother.

I still prefer she become [a] mother and raise children because raising children is the most difficult and biggest job in the world. No other career and job can level with that--motherhood. That's the most important job because it's going to mold the next generation. Mother's influence is the greatest.

When questioned further and asked what she thinks her relationship with her daughter will be like after her daughter marries, M90 said:

I want to say, just, "I'm here." And when she need me, I'm here. Instead I give her sort of like, not like setting her, pushing her, my help or my hand. Instead of doing that, I'm going to wait for her when she need help, when she need hand, I'm available. So, I intend to let her know that way. And she can come to me. But, I'm not going to HER [Mother's emphasis], give her hand, "okay take my hand," not pushing, like just like selling your kindness, sometimes become annoying.

When her daughter marries, M90 hopes her daughter will follow her example and become a supportive wife:

I wonder if she can be very domestic wife ... sort of devoted to husband, so called, maybe it's oriental, oriental sense. If she can be very devoted wife ... they cater to husband and it's like, back up husband. If husband has dream, "okay let me help

you" and support him all the way, back him up all the way. I wonder if she can be that type of wife. Maybe that's my wish for her.

M40 shared feelings similar to M90's about the significance of marriage for her daughter. M40 reported that although it is every parents dream to have children settle down and own a beautiful home, she recognizes it may not be her daughter's wish.

It's always mother's feeling [for her daughter] to settle down, to have beautiful home, families. I guess that's parents' dream for any kid ... like normal life, that's the dream. See, the parents feel [that if] anybody get married, release us, job is done. See, I have four kids, one more child is not done yet. So, it's always [in] my mind, I got one more to go. Even [though] she's independent, do herself, still, one more to go ... Maybe it's not that important for them ... see that's the part from Japan. Marry means you make one family and you off from parents' hand, that's how all culture is in my head too. My kids too, even marry, settle down, have family. That's what I want.

Motherhood. Daughters' entrance into motherhood affected relationship outlooks and interactions. This life transition had an impact on the mothers and daughters in this study. M50 reported that she regarded her daughter more highly after her daughter had a child and that she tries not to tell her daughter how to behave any longer:

I respect her more ... I didn't complain about "do this, do that, don't do this." I used to, so much. So, I keep [to] myself, "don't do." I stop myself. So, she's big girl, adult.

Many daughters reported a new found respect and acceptance of their mothers after they had a child. D120 discussed how her first childbirth experience, and the troubles she encountered with it, gave her a new appreciation for her mother.

I didn't realize what you had to go through to have a child. I had a traumatic childbirth ... I looked at her a whole ... I thought, "Oh my gosh, the things you have to do to be a mother." Just to give birth ... even when I took my daughter home ... the sacrifices you make, and then I started thinking about the sacrifices she [mother] must have made.

Another daughter, D30, remarked that after she gave birth she had a sudden love for her mother because she realized what her mother went through to give birth. D20 also reported that after she had her son, she realized how much her mother cared for her.

I think I respected her more for what she went through ... I know my mom always loved me, but you don't see how much until you become a mother because it's not, it's not something you can explain, and it's not something my husband will ever know either.

Later she added that her and her mother's relationship is unique because she is the only sibling with a child and that now she can relate to her mother about rearing kids.

Mothers spoke of their daughters' futures as mothers. M70 shared her wish for her daughter to start a family now that she is married:

My dream is make family. She don't have family, only husband [and] her. Eventually she going to have, just like us, educate kid, proper way, don't give kids spoil. I want [her] kids to know, appreciate people, appreciate everything.

That's what I want. [My] daughter, I think she knows.

M40 was concerned about her single daughter's and grandson's security, wondering who would care for them if they were to become ill, given that her daughter is unmarried.

Moreover, M40 acknowledged that having a grandson has brought her and her daughter closer:

I guess because of the son we are attach[ed] [to] each other. But, if she didn't have any kids, if she alone, I don't think we are that close because she don't need me.

Then, I don't have to help her. Careness and maybe, listening is what we feel for each other now.

Here, M40 described why she helps her daughter:

Never say no because ... involve most--my grandson. "Mom, do me favor." That means either pick up [grandson] from school or do something for grandson.

M40 was also motivated to help, in part, because her daughter is single. She sees her daughter trying her best to be both a mother and father to her son. Seeing her daughter cope with this circumstance has led her to develop strong affection about her daughter and the work she does:

She is trying to raise [her son] with herself. It's so hard. Sometime I get tears in my eye, just look, because she don't have enough to support herself. She do anything, everything for her son ... I give her credit.

Personal changes. Mothers and daughters identified many personal changes that led to positive adjustments in their relationships. According to M60, lessening the demands she placed on her daughter led to an improved mother-daughter relationship.

Her daughter, D60, concurred with her and also identified several personal changes she had made such as learning to share her feelings more openly and frequently.

Mothers and daughters who disclosed past conflict indicated that their personal growth contributed to an enhanced relationship. D50, who had a dispute with her mother and father several years ago, reported that she has "definitely matured" and hopes that trust can be developed with her mother again. Similarly, D40 and M40, a mother-daughter dyad, both indicated that self changes in maturity and patience helped them overcome relational strife.

Common among mothers was the way that they negotiated their tendencies to parent in what they characterized as a "Japanese" style with their tendencies to parent in American ways. Here, M40 commented on this challenge:

I have to learn myself to change my style, that's hard ... I want to be friend with kids, not mother and daughter ... So doing that way, I have to change, I have to change American way. I try hard. But once in a while my hard head come out, stick with Japan style.

Some mothers used their lives to measure the outcomes of their daughters' lives as well as to evaluate themselves as mothers. According to M60:

Because when I was 30, I had 3 kids already... my husband was in the mainland, and I was in Okinawa, and my mother was busy with raising my brother's kids and my husband and I, we decide everything ourself. My mother didn't say too much to me too, when I was about 30. I feel like my daughter, she's married and she has her life with her children and she has to do her own way with her husband. She got to

search her way, way to go, like I did.

Turning points in mother-daughter relationships occurred also as a result of daughters' geographical transitions. D20 reported that her move to the west coast as an adult was a personal transition that strengthened her relationship with her mother. Similarly, D10 found that when she moved from O'ahu to another island, she found herself viewing her mother, especially her mother's work, differently. Moreover, D70 indicated that spending time in Okinawa gave her a better understanding of her mother's behavior.

When I was growing up, I felt like ... we were in Hawai'i ... I always saw my mom as a Japanese person living here. And so, of course, she's trying to learn things the same time as I am. And I never, I guess, gave her credit for surviving in a different culture and so forth ... and I think it was only after I came back from Okinawa that I got a better understanding. I probably matured a little bit more and so I could sympathize a little bit more and I wasn't so, I guess harsh or judgmental.

Family restructuring and support. Changes in family structure as a result of parents' or children's divorce, parents' separation, or parents' death, left identifiable changes in mother-daughter relationships. Mothers and daughters relied on their personal skills, as well as the support of others, to manage events that challenged their relationships. D20's observation of her mother's strength during her father's substance abuse problems led her to appreciate her mother in different ways.

Because of my mother, we're still a family. Families go through rough times and my mother was in it [marriage] for the long haul. There have been her friends who've gotten divorced or separated, and they were all alone and in a country

that's not theirs... So, through it all, my mom stuck it through ... because of my mom, our family is still together.

Separation of her parents led D120 to assume new responsibilities in her relationship with her mother and with her family in general. D120 recounted how she became her mother's "administrative secretary"--taking care of parent-child conferences for her mother and brother, completing nearly all of her mother's paperwork--and how she continues these responsibilities.

Others were important not only in helping communication, but also they supported mothers and daughters through difficult times. Mothers described how their husbands helped them through trying times with their daughters. Husbands, familiar with American culture, assisted mothers in adjusting to relationships with daughters by teaching them how to balance Japanese traditions in an American context. Other mothers talked appreciatively about their husbands' support of their intercultural daughter. M50 commented that through her husband, she has learned the value of positive ways of thinking, such as viewing her daughter as special because of her intercultural background and her experiences with prejudice. Support from husbands was experienced in other ways. For M70, her husband, whom she described as strict and traditional, disciplined her daughter, and as a result, she has not had any problems with her daughter. Some daughters also found support for their relationships from their husbands. D100 indicated that her husband's liking of Japanese culture gives her and her mother more opportunities for contact.

Family support also came from other children and family members. In particular,

both M60 and D60, a mother-daughter dyad, acknowledged the assistance of their daughter and sister in helping them through M60's concern with D60's pregnancy. D60 reported:

My sister helped a lot. I know she did. She would talk to her. And my mom was the type to get advice from her friends or from her sister, but in this case, she didn't want to tell anyone that I was pregnant because I'm not married.

In the situation described above, M60 indicated that her sister in Japan provided invaluable support. Moreover, M110 indicated that because she has learned to not burden her daughter with work and family concerns, she calls her sister in Japan to discuss personal problems. Further, M90 reported that she relies on her sister who lives on the island for support.

Culture

All participants were asked about their culture and the salience of it in their lives and in their relationships with their daughters. In their responses, mothers and daughters talked about living and sharing their culture, as well as changing culture.

Living and sharing culture. When asked about culture, mothers reported that it was not something they consciously thought about but something that they simply lived. To them, Japanese culture was a part of their lives--the food they ate, the way they thought, the way they wanted to raise their daughters. Several mothers reported that they were extremely proud of their Japanese heritage, what their parents had taught them, and that they attempted to teach their daughters about their cultural beliefs (e.g., work hard, help others).

Several mothers expressed that they were not making an attempt to teach their daughters about culture. M90 found it important that her daughter learn by observing her rather than be told what to do. This mother avoided pushing her Japanese ways onto her daughter but she hopes her daughter will follow the behavior she has modeled. Likewise, M110 indicated that she did not force her daughter to learn about Japanese culture, she indicated that she shared her culture with her daughter in the types of food dishes she prepared. M110 indicated also that because she and her daughter live in America, the culture cannot be the way it was in Japan.

Several mothers reported that they did not attempt to inform their daughters about Japanese culture, but that they showed their daughters, through their lives, the significance of their culture. The most common behavior that mothers showed their daughters was respect for elders. Through a translator, M60 spoke of a special language used when speaking to elders in Japan:

Translator: In Japan, there's language that when the children speak to the parent, they have to speak in a respectful way. It's a different way of talking, [than] talking to the friend or same level or lower level. But, parent, you have to speak in way of respect. And here in the United States, they just ... speak up whatever they feel like. So, she teaches them, [that they] still have to respect talk to parents and [in] a respective manner. So, she used to teach, continue to lecture to the children.

Through a translator, M10 spoke of the vital role of parents in children's lives and that because of this, children must take care of their parents. In Japanese, she told the translator about a song that she sang with her daughter that expressed parental gratitude:

Translator: There is a song ... at night, you can count, if you want to count, you can count the star because they are so many stars there. But, if you really want to count, you can count the stars. But, what the parents taught, teach you, it's countless. That's how many more your parents tell you or teach you or guide you. So, the parents [are] very important and you must take care [of] the parents.

For several mothers, being humble and considerate were also important traits that they wanted their daughters to possess. M50 recalled verbal disputes between herself and her daughter when it appeared her daughter did not know what it meant to respect elders. When her daughter was younger, M50 tried to teach her daughter to respect her and other adults, but she could not because she herself did not have an education.

M10, a grandmother, regretted not having enough time with her daughter when she was growing up. Because she has more time now, she consciously attempts to teach her granddaughter about Japanese culture.

Daughters frequently mentioned food and Japanese names when discussing Japanese culture. D80 reported that she ate certain foods at certain times of the year:

Every New Year's we always have Japanese soup, ozoni, I guess for good luck.

D100 reported that she enjoys her mother's food preparation:

I'm able to learn the culture and how to prepare the food. And I guess because if she was a nisei, I wouldn't have that.

Daughters without Japanese names talked about how they wanted to have them and how they made sure that their children would. D20 reported:

When we got older and we met our friends that were hapa [half Japanese, half

white], they'd have Japanese middle names. We'd go "Why didn't you give us one of those too?" We were really wanting one. Me and my sister really wanted a Japanese or a middle Japanese name.

According to one mother, M30, she did not give her daughter a Japanese name to avoid stigmatizing her, especially since her daughter was of Japanese and European ancestry.

For one daughter, being of Japanese ancestry is a secondary identity to who she is in her daily life. D70 reported that only occasionally, does she experience Japanese culture.

Some daughters spoke of the pride they have in the Japanese customs that their mothers shared with them. They compared their first-hand knowledge of Japanese culture to peers' knowledge of it. D30 described a typical New Year's celebration:

My mother would do it the typical Japanese style from Japan whereas Nisei, oh they throw in all their local ... they took a little bit of both cultures, their plantation day cultures and ... what they've learned from their mother, and they've made it their own, and it's not real authentic or real similar.

D10 reported on the ways that Japanese culture infiltrates her daily life:

They know how you say it, when you say it. But, they don't go home and get [welcome in Japanese]. But, as soon as I come in the house [welcome in Japanese], as soon as I go [please return in Japanese].

Daughters who were mothers expressed a concern for having their children know their cultural roots. Many of them hoped to pass on their mothers' strong ties to Japanese culture via behavioral customs in the area of food and language. D50 reported:

I'm going to teach them because I learned a lot from my mom. Cause she went from total Japanese to marrying a gaijin [foreigner] and trying to make him happy.

D30 reported:

I told my mother when my son was born, I said, 'I want you to speak to him only in Japanese because I want him to learn Japanese.'

Moreover, D20 indicated:

We try to have them eat miso soup and sushi, and we've taught them a few Japanese jingles. But, it's not the same ... I want them to have some feeling for being part Japanese.

Changing culture. Daughters and mothers spoke of cultural transitions that mothers made in moving to the U.S. D10 imagined how difficult it was for her mother to leave Japan and move to the U.S.:

It took a lot of self-reliance, I think, to be able to be separated after living with your mother and your sisters all those years. Taking care of your mother, being surrounded by familiar things, and suddenly just moving to another place, to another language, to another way of life by your self. It's just very brave 'cause ... she moved to a different place, ... into a different relationship [marital relationship with husband]. Two new things introduced into your life, you got to learn how to change, how to cope, and when you get married, you don't think there's a way back. It's just that you have to learn how to adapt and how to be able to change your self and still keep what you were brought up with.

Another daughter, D50, discussed her mother's life:

Well, I guess it was a hard time in her life, a big change and exciting and different. I think she had to learn a lot so as she was learning for herself--it was probably hard for her to bring us up. Maybe she brought us up in her Japanese culture because she was learning the American ways and trying to bring up her children in the American ways. It must have been a very difficult time.

Several mothers reported that they experienced difficulties in teaching their children Japanese traditions. At some point in their relationships, most mothers reported that their daughters reminded them that they lived in America, not Japan. In the past, M90 insisted her daughter sit a certain way, and she scolded her misbehavior: "I try to make her, teach her the way I was raised. But she doesn't want to." Her daughter resisted by stating that she was American, not Japanese. For some mothers, the transition to America signified the end of Japanese ways and the ushering in and acceptance of American culture. M90 reported:

I was born to Japanese, I was raised in Japan--Japanese way and with Japanese culture. So, I follow their customs. But, I came to Hawai'i. It's Western culture, it's different ... just for convenience of life, so, I do whatever requested.

Some mothers challenged their beliefs and sought ways--after being repeatedly told that "This is not Japan," by their daughters, other children, and husbands--to incorporate American practices in their lives. M40 reported that her husband encouraged her to move beyond attempting to raise their children with Japanese ways because the children wouldn't change. He encouraged her to change her ways, and she did. Similarly, M50 reported that her husband encouraged her to reduce her tendencies to engage in Japanese

parenting styles of pushing their daughter to obtain an advanced education. Here, M50 shares her husband's influence on her parenting:

My husband say, "It's not your life." He keep telling me, "It's not your life. Let them decide. If you train [when] they was little, they grow up and get old, it's hard to do." So, we try to tell them "you decide." If they fight with friend, they come home, cry, they talk to us. "No, it's not our problem. We cannot help your problem. You have to decide, fix [it] yourself. So, if you cannot fix, we going help you."

M90 also expressed that unlike the way she was raised, she does not demand of her daughter certain behaviors that she was expected to engage in, such as laughing quietly and covering her mouth when laughing. She said that because she is less strict with her daughter than her mother was with her, her daughter is more "relaxed." M50 likewise reported that because she lives in America, she changed her ways of raising her children:

I try not to use Japanese way. I think about it lot, before. I'm not used to America, I use Japanese way [when] they was little, so [they] listen good. So, I live here, I go more American way. [But] it's [still] little bit, follow Japanese culture. So I don't have [to] push [her] anymore.

One mother, M70, discussed Japanese and American cultural influences in her life.

I forget this kind of culture, seems like I'm losing myself ... Is to me, really important these things, for example, New Year's, got to be bamboo. I took away mochi, but this kind of thing, if I keep doing, I'd still doing well. I'm Japanese, but the other side is that I usually have to be an American. Because I live in America, I

have to be, learn everything. But, I'm American too. I want to keep [Japanese] culture, everything because makes me so peaceful, so makes me happy -- relaxed.

Contact

A fourth dominant theme in mother-daughter relationship is contact. Mothers and daughters discussed contact motivators and well as how they spent their time together.

Contact motivators. Mothers and daughters discussed reasons for sustaining contact with each other. Through a translator, M10 expressed how her upbringing, with her mother working all day, left her with little time for her. Subsequently, M10 attempts to spend as much time as possible with her daughter:

Translator: She said it wasn't that the mother didn't have love, just didn't have time. So, now that she's in the better condition ... she's trying to have a deeper relationship with her daughter.

Like M10, M50 reported that she makes time for her daughter because as a child, her parents did not have time for her:

I didn't talk so much, my problem, with my mother [and] father. I go to my sister, they [parents] are so busy. Fifty years, forty years, that time we so poor. They left home, come home so late, [they] eat, [they] take shower, [and] go to bed. So, after I get off school, I go help [them] on the farm ... I didn't have time to study. I didn't have time to talk to them. They didn't make time to talk to kid that time. Now, I can do, I got time, so I keep going.

For this mother, spending time with her daughter was important also because she could not spend time with her son from her previous marriage.

I try close to my daughter because, before marriage, I have to work. My sister keep my son. So, I didn't have close to him. So, I try close to my daughter.

M20 lived in Japan she worked on her parents' farm and never expressed her feelings for her parents in a physically affectionate way. She followed that path with her daughter--demanding that they engage in work as children. However, after she became involved religiously, she became physically affectionate with her daughter.

Oriental ... never hug, I love you. This kind, I never did. We [mother and herself] never had close relationship. Just, WORK, WORK, WORK [Mother's emphasis]. I wish I had, my relationship with my two girls, I wish I had with my mom. I wish I had.

Remembering their mothers' background was a primary contact motivator for daughters. D100, for instance, reported that she knows that her mother does not have family with whom she can confide. Here, D100 discusses her feelings about and decisions that go into her continued interactions with her mother.

I felt bad in a lot of ways. I guess she only has me to really talk to. She has her friends but she doesn't have her family here. So, I'm like her only real family here so I can't really brush her off.

D60, too, keeps in mind, her knowledge of her mother's circumstance--with her origins in Japan:

I guess it's important for her to keep a pretty good relationship with me because she's so far away from her mom. So, she probably misses that and she doesn't really have ... like she had my grandma but my grandma passed away. So, I guess

there's really no other motherly like person that she can talk to. So I guess it's important that we do keep a close relationship.

Content of contact. Mothers and daughters spoke of the things they do for each other. Many mothers spoke of how pleased they were that they had frequent contact with their daughters. For instance, M40 reported her satisfaction with her daughter's daily phone calls to her:

It's nice I think. That's why when my second son got married, I told his wife, my daughter-in-law, "You don't have to visit your mom everyday, but at least call up your mom everyday, just say "Hi, how you doing Mom?"

M110 explained that she would like to call her daughter daily as well, except that her daughter's fluctuating work schedule precludes her calling. M110 enjoys cooking Japanese food for her daughter, her daughter's friends, and her daughter's extended family.

Other mothers spoke of the content of the time they spent together. For some mothers, an exchange occurred whereby mothers assisted daughters with childcare, Japanese food preparations, or financial assistance, and daughters aided mothers with shopping and doctors' appointments.

In one mother-daughter dyad, the mother helps her daughter with finances and childcare. M40 reported:

Cannot even say 'no' because involve my grandson ... "Mom do me a favor?" that means either pick up [grandson] from school or do something for grandson.

In return, D40 let her mother share in her son's upbringing, because she knows how much her mother enjoys it. In addition, D40 helped her mother learn English, from which D40

derived personal satisfaction:

It's being able to teach her English and kind of lead her ... Seeing her speak English [at work] and being proud because I think I had a majority to do with that ... I enjoy her depending on me in that way. I want to help because I feel like I'm doing something good.

Summary

Communication, transitions and turning points, culture, and contact were the four dominant themes that emerged from analysis of the interviews. Japanese and English language barriers led to communication obstacles and relational difficulties for some mothers and daughters. Mothers and daughters identified feasible modes of communicating. Moreover, mothers and daughters received solicited and unsolicited assistance from family and friends on ways to circumvent relational strife resulting from miscommunication. Transitions and turning points in mother-daughter relationships surrounded daughters' marriage and motherhood, as well as personal growth, and changes within the family structure. Daughters' motherhood and marital experiences were looked upon favorably by mothers. Daughters with children spoke of positive relationship transitions they experienced with their mothers. Moreover, mothers reported on ways that they negotiated their parenting styles to fit with the experiences of their intercultural daughters. Culture was lived and shared between mothers, daughters, and grandchildren. Mothers also learned ways to modify their cultural practices to incorporate aspects of other cultures. Mothers and daughters valued their contact time, knowing that mothers had minimal time to spend with their parents when they were growing up in Japan.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion and Conclusions

Life course and gender tenets provide a framework for conceptualizing the experiences of immigrant mothers and their adult daughters. These frameworks were used to achieve an understanding of mother-daughter relationships from the points of view of women whose relationships cut across uncommon and overlapping experiences of time, person, and place. The qualitative study provided 10 mother-daughter dyads, one unmatched daughter, and one unmatched mother an opportunity to discuss the positive, negative, and neutral components of their lives together. The mothers and daughters spoke openly about their relationships, revealing many intimate aspects of their lives.

Several research questions, informed by life course and gender perspectives, guided this study:

1. What influence do social context factors have on the interpersonal dynamics between immigrant mothers and second generation daughters?
2. How are immigrant mothers' and second generation daughters' relationships enhanced and challenged by mothers' and daughters' overlapping and unique cultural contexts?
3. How do mothers and daughters construct and assign meaning to their relationships?

The interview guide was designed to assess these theoretically-driven research questions. In the interview questions, five major domains were considered for their influence on mother-daughter relationships: perceptions of minority group status

influences perceptions of social mobility influences, language and communication abilities, ethnic community involvement, and relationship expectations. The connections between the interview questions and themes are described in the following sections.

Social Context Influences on Mother-Daughter Relationships

Life course and gender scholars contend that a critical analysis of people's lives includes examination of the context in which they are situated. For Japanese persons in the U.S., context is of extreme importance because of the ways, historically, that policies and people have regarded them (Sue & Sue, 1990). Society creates and supports marginal statuses through its policies (Freire, 1970). Marginalized persons such as interculturally partnered persons and intercultural children respond to their statuses in various ways such as internalizing negative images of themselves and consciously crossing heritage lines to fit social settings (Anzaldúa, 1990; Nakashima, 1992). Mothers and daughters in this study identified several context factors that influenced their relationships including economic and familial hardships and geographic location.

Economic and familial hardships. The mothers in this study were reared in Japan and were exposed to pre- and post-war influences (Glenn, 1986; Iwao, 1993) that shaped their individual and relational life courses. Mothers and daughters shared accounts of the troubling economic conditions that confronted mothers' lives in Japan. Some mothers met their future husbands through work they conducted on or near U.S. military bases. Mothers' marriages to U.S. citizens put them in a minority context within the Japanese community in Japan and the U.S. (Glenn, 1986). One mother reported that she was temporarily barred from returning to her family because she married an American. Women

who married nonJapanese persons have been alienated, to a degree, from families of origin and other kin (Glenn, 1986). Most mothers, however, gave no mention of problems with their families as a result of their marriage to Americans.

In the face of past economic and familial hardships, mothers sought to spend more time and develop stronger relationships with their daughters. Daughters used their awareness of their mothers' background to justify their mothers' behaviors towards them and their behaviors toward their mothers, as well as to rationalize their mother-daughter interactions. Thus, mothers' life trajectories influenced mother-daughter relationships.

Geographic location. The composition of people residing in a particular geographic locale sometimes levels the playing field for intercultural persons. Communities with a high concentration of ethnically diverse persons soothes awareness of self for persons of mixed ethnic heritages (Mass, 1992). Hawai'i's physical and cultural position between Japan and the U.S. provides Japanese persons with access to culture and traditions that resemble both Japan and the U.S. (Kitano, 1993). Moreover, many reminders of Japan are evident on the islands, including the presence of Japanese tourists and Japanese owned businesses (Okamura, 1994). Most mothers and daughters were comfortable with their Japanese or mixed ethnic heritages in Hawai'i. Moreover, in Hawai'i they tended to identify themselves not as outsiders or ethnic minority group members, but as members of the dominant group, of which they are (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1992). In addition, they acknowledged through discussions of problems in mainland locales, that Hawai'i was a fitting cite for them to live.

The geographic location and the ethnically diverse population in Hawai'i appeared to buffer the potential influences of daughters' social mobility on mother-daughter relationships. Previous studies showed that children of issei parents fared better, economically and educationally, than their parents (Levine & Rhodes, 1981; Montero, 1981). Moreover, researchers have argued that assimilation into American society has resulted in altered interaction forms between the generations (Montero, 1981). The participants in this study overtly and consistently denied that daughters' social mobility constrained or enhanced relational quality. Although daughters had higher skilled jobs than mothers, some daughters were employed in settings in which they became reliant on their mothers to assist them with their Japanese. Perhaps mothers' and daughters' residence in Hawai'i, the salience of Japanese culture in Hawai'i, and mothers' ability to assist daughters in their work, defrayed the significance of daughters' social mobility on their relationships with their mothers. Mothers' and daughters' perspectives on social mobility may also be explained by the valuing of other qualities in persons of Japanese heritage. For instance, earlier research indicated that Japanese-Americans in Chicago desired, like members of the middle class, to have their children succeed in whatever they chose to do, which in turn leads to their socioeconomic success (Caudill, 1952). Other research, however, indicates that this does not hold true in all situations. Johnson's (1972) research showed that persons of full Japanese ancestry who lived in Hawai'i held sociocentric rather than egocentric views. The mothers in the present study, while valuing educational and career achievement in their daughters, emphasized moreso, their desire for their daughters' orientation toward family. Mothers with mothering daughters were pleased that their

daughters' began families. Mothers with single daughters spoke about their daughters' futures as mothers.

Cultural Context Influences on Mother-Daughter Relationships

Mother and daughter participants have unique and overlapping cultural contexts. Mothers spent their childhood through young adult years in Japan and displayed qualities consonant with traditional Japanese attitudes and behaviors. Yet, they spent the majority of their adult years in the U.S. Daughters were reared by mothers from Japan and by fathers from America. Previous research indicates that family constructs for Japanese persons in the U.S. have been transformed through various means and for various reasons, such that speaking about Japanese constructs obscures the ways that they have been modified (Yanagisako, 1985). Much variation exists in the ways that families and individuals experience their lives. Interdependency, language and communication, family structure, and social support themes wove themselves throughout mothers' and daughters' dialogues.

Interdependence. Conceptual and empirical research on mother-daughter relationships points to the salience of dependence and autonomy issues for mothers and daughters (Fingerman, 1996; Phillips, 1993). The mothers in this study desired interdependence in their relationships with their adult daughters, wanting them simultaneously to exert their independence and to continually rely on them. Moreover, some daughters explained that their continual involvement in their mothers' lives stemmed from their recognition of their mothers' history and isolation from families of origin. Other daughters spoke of enjoying the time they spent with their mothers. In either case,

daughters did spend what sounded like sizeable periods of time with their mothers. Thus, interdependency issues were evident in this sample of mothers and daughters and may be related to norms of interdependency in Asian/Pacific Islander families (Yatabe, Koseki, & Braun, 1996).

Language and communication. Differences in language use may impede communication (Barresi, 1987; Osako, 1979). For the mothers and daughters in this study, language differences affected their relationships. Through various parts of the interview, mothers raised their concerns about English use and comprehension. Other research indicates that immigrant Japanese mothers find it difficult to express complex thoughts in English (Glenn, 1986). Moreover, mothers expressed that daughters, through no fault of their own, had a difficult time understanding cultural constructs such as filial piety because daughters did not have access to the language that expressed respect for elders.

In addition, language differences led to some strife in the relationships between mothers and daughters. von Hassell (1993) surmised that mothers dutifully worked to reduce intergenerational tension associated with language differences. In this study, mothers and daughters found ways around their language difference. For some, language differences became something that daughters could assist their mothers with and laugh about. Some mothers strategized and identified ways, such as developing physical expression of emotions, to sustain ties with their daughters when they observed that their relationship quality was diminishing because of communication difficulties.

Mothers, more so than daughters, expressed critical reactions over language differences. In some instances, mothers became reliant on their daughters for explaining information to them. Emerson (1962) reported that in parent-child relationships, the dependent person in a relationship is also the more powerless one. Glenn's (1986) research indicated that children sometimes assumed more authoritative responsibilities than immigrant mothers because of children's greater command of English. In addition to expressing concern over language differences with their daughters, mothers were concerned greatly about the ways that their relationships with their daughters' children would develop.

Family structure. Influences of unique and overlapping cultural contexts cut into mother-daughter relationships in other ways. Previous research indicates that daughters' motherhood sparks a relationship transition for mothers and daughters (Fischer, 1981, 1986). The mothers in this study were pleased to have or wanted to have grandchildren. In several interviews, mothers indicated that they enjoyed spending time with their grandchildren, helped their daughters with childcare when daughters' asked, and tried to communicate with their grandchildren. Moreover, mothers' discussions of their daughters' motherhood or mothers' future hopes of their daughters' motherhood centered on the significance of family and raising decent children. Daughters spoke of feeling closer to their mothers because of their shared birth experiences.

Social support. Overlapping and unique cultural contexts cut into mother-daughter relationships in the types of support they were able to obtain. Once they arrived in the U.S. some mothers in this study connected with friends or family friends from Japan.

Friendship communities eased mothers' adjustment to the U.S. and provided daughters opportunities to identify with other children whose mothers were Japanese and whose fathers were American.

Construction and Meaning of Mother-Daughter Relationships

Mothers and daughters used their knowledge of mothers' past and an understanding of their current geographical position to interpret their relationships. Mothers actively sought to develop close relationships with their daughters because they were not able to have close relationships with their parents. Daughters spoke of their mothers' isolation from family of origin and the subsequent need they felt to sustain contact with their mothers. Moreover, mothers and daughters indicated that living in Hawai'i made it easier on themselves and each other because of the presence of culturally diverse others.

Culture. Related to the influence of geography on mother-daughter relationship construction, was the manner in which mothers and daughters experienced Japanese culture. Mothers' and daughters' cultural experiences included preparing and eating certain foods and having objects from Japan displayed in their homes. For mothers, cultural identification also included thinking of others before self, showing modesty, and exhibiting respect for elders.

Marriage and motherhood. Marriage and motherhood, important constructs in mother-daughter relationships (Fischer, 1981) often marked a qualitatively different experience for both mothers and daughters in this study. The mothers in this study whose daughters were married expressed their contentment with that circumstance. Mothers

were satisfied when daughters' entrance into motherhood was preceded by daughters' attainment of a college degree, entry into a career, and establishment of a marital union. These prerequisites meant that mothers preferred daughters begin motherhood in their mid to late 20s. When antecedent events such as the completion of a college degree and a nonmarital union did not occur before daughters' entry in motherhood, mothers had a difficult time accepting the daughters' choices. Perhaps for these mothers, their daughters' behaviors elicited concerns that shame would befall their family--in Japan individual behavior reflects upon families (DeVos, 1960). Daughters spoke of knowing that they let their mothers down when they followed the latter rather than the former path, particularly nonmarital pregnancy. Daughters in this circumstance were dissatisfied with the social comparisons that mothers engaged in after learning about the news of their daughters' pregnancies.

Daughters who had children reported a change in their appreciation for and ability to interact with their mothers. Several daughters indicated that they developed new respect, acceptance, and love for their mothers after their first childbirth experience. Daughters' entry into motherhood often leads to mother-daughter relationship transformations (Fischer, 1981).

Contact. The frequency of contact and content of mothers' and daughters' joint time showed some defining features of their relationships. Intergenerational contact is associated with affectional outcomes (Lawton, Silverstein, & Bengtson, 1994). The mothers and daughters in the present study reported various degrees to which they assisted each other. The ethic of responsibility has been shown to be derived from the

contexts in which people are situated in society. Seelbach (1984) encouraged analysis of ways that responsible caring is linked to gender, race, ethnicity, and class positions. He hypothesized that relational responsibility to family members is heightened for African American families because of their marginalized economic and social conditions. In this study, relational responsibility appeared to be connected to participants' gender, ethnicity, and economic and social conditions. Because they were female household members in Japan, some mothers were expected to provide care to their younger siblings and forego their educational attainment. Some mothers' parents were unable to amass interaction time for them because of work-related exhaustion. In addition, mothers' families were generally monetarily divested after WWII and mothers were forced to seek employment. The mothers in this study based some of their mother-daughter interactions on their pre-immigration experiences. Moreover, mothers in the present study relished that interactions with daughters occurred informally and frequently rather than formally and rarely, for example. Daughters' sense of relational responsibility was related to their awareness of mothers' past plights. A primary contact motivator for daughters was their recognition that mothers were secluded from their family of origin. Other contact motivators for some daughters included recognition of their mothers' difficulties with forming intimate friendships. Daughters knew that mothers had a hard time forming friendships with long-time and same-aged Hawai'i residents because of the dissimilar cultural upbringing and language usage of both groups. Thus, mother-daughter interactions and their relational responsibilities are linked to mothers' backgrounds.

Closeness. Most mothers and daughters characterized their relationships as close. To most of the respondents, the time that they shared with one another was the basis for their definition of relational closeness. Henwood and Coughlan (1993) reported that mothers and daughters in their study had varied and multifaceted meanings of relational closeness. In their study, mothers and daughters spoke of closeness as a feeling of affection for each other--something that developed after daughters were older and mothers and daughters had more common experiences--ease of interaction, comfort around each other, and the exchange of practical tasks such as unsolicited vacuuming. Moreover, O'Connor (1990) found that although women define their relationships with their mothers as close, their relationships do not often include intimate confiding and high levels of interdependence. The mothers and daughters in this study confirmed aspects of previous research findings. Generally, discussions of closeness for the respondents surrounded explanations of frequent contact and spending time together shopping or attending medical appointments. Mothers and daughters vocalized that they did not share intimate discussions, often saving those exchanges for same-aged peers such as sisters and friends. For some mothers and daughters, this occurred when they acknowledged that daughters' transitions to marriage and motherhood brought their relationships to more common footing. However, mothers and daughters in the present study appeared to exhibit levels of interdependence, although it is not possible to compare whether the levels of interdependence they discussed fell below, matched, or surpassed the levels of interdependence found among participants in O'Connor's research.

Summary

Social and cultural context factors influenced mother-daughter interaction patterns and content. The social context of mothers' lives in Japan and transitions to the U.S. coupled with mothers' and daughters' residence in Hawai'i appeared to shape mother-daughter interactions. Cultural context factors that affected mother-daughter relationships included interdependence, language, family structure, and social support. Important to mothers and daughters were the ways they experienced Japanese culture in Hawai'i, assigned significance to past and future motherhood and marital experiences, and spent time with each other.

Implications of the Research

Research on women's lives should enrich women's lives. From its inception, this project was designed to highlight the ways that theory and research inform each other and the ways that research may be used to contribute to women's lives. The implications of the research include the utility of using gender and life course perspectives jointly, the importance of considering how policies have direct and lingering affects on people's lives, the significance of social geography, the need to attend to generational positions within immigrant families, and the usefulness of the research findings for support group settings and for counselors working with immigrant and ethnic minority group members.

The utility of using gender and life course perspectives jointly. Dilworth-Anderson, Burton, and Johnson (1993) reported that life course and gender frameworks are promising for guiding research on ethnic minority families because they reflect "interdisciplinary ways of thinking" (p. 640); attend to "the interlocking nature of kinship

networks in the context of temporal motion, culture, and social change" (p. 640); and "create culturally relevant theories for minority family research" (p. 642). Life course and gender scholars emphasize a contextualized approach to family issues and processes, including a sociohistorical analysis of issues and events that shaped families' lives. In combination, life course and gender perspectives emphasize examination of personal and social constructions of race, gender, ethnicity, and class. This research supports the use of the perspectives conjointly, as well as points to areas of further inquiry for life course and gender scholars interested in investigating policy implications, social landscapes, and immigrant families.

A sociohistorical analysis of the construction of Asian families and intercultural persons in the U.S. revealed a primary benefit of employing life course perspectives jointly to frame the present research. Societal laws and norms have been biased against groups such as Asian persons and intercultural persons of Japanese heritage. For decades, U.S. immigration policies shaped and reshaped Asian Americans' lives in the U.S. In the late 1800s, immigration policies reflected racist views of Asian women, giving immigration officials the right to determine if Asian women, but not Asian men, were decent and moral persons (Seller, 1994). Legislation in the 1800s identified "Chinese laborers" with others such as "idiots" and "lunatics" who should be barred from immigrating to the U.S. (Hing, 1993). A range of U.S. immigration legislation has prohibited all members of Asian groups from immigrating to the U.S. (Hing, 1993). Moreover, anti-miscegenation laws that prohibited race mixing were not repealed until 1967, serve as another example of the disapproval of persons of color and of intercultural persons (Root, 1992). Policies have

shaped the ways that others perceive Asian persons and intercultural persons in the U.S., the residential patterns and gender ratio of Asian persons, and the distribution of rights to members of Asian families (Hing, 1993; Kitano, 1995).

Societal norms reflected racist views that were found in immigration policies. Mothers and daughters recounted episodes of receiving disapproving looks and being treated unfairly as a result of being Japanese, while living on the mainland U.S. Some mothers did not give their daughters Japanese names because they were concerned about the stigma that a Japanese name would bring onto their daughters. Clearly, mothers and daughters were cognizant of others' behaviors toward them. Moreover, Japanese societal norms that reinforce ingroup marriages and family's selection of children's marital partners (Glenn, 1986) may have shaped perceptions of mother who broke the norms. Some mothers reported that their families disapproved of their marriage to Americans and that relationships with their families of origin were partially severed as a result of their actions. Mothers and daughters vocalized the familial hardships that fell onto mothers as a result of their gender and the society in which they were reared. The social and economic difficulties befallen upon Japanese families after WWII, led mothers to seek employment for individual and familial livelihood (Glenn, 1986). For some, employment brought them into contact with U.S. servicemen and the development of intercultural relationships ensued. A social historical analysis generated a comprehensive examination of mothers' and daughters' histories and led to an understanding of why researcher biases against Japanese women who married outside their group (Cottrell, 1979), for example, may have darkened perceptions of their relationships. Gender and life course theorists'

recommendation to study the construction of groups and individuals was clearly significant for this study. Analyzing the connections between the ways that societies have historically constructed Japanese women, Asian Americans, and interculturally partnered persons illustrated the importance of situating individuals and families within the larger social structure that seeks to define them.

The opportunities for women to vocalize and theorize about mother-daughter relationships was another important use of gender and life course perspectives for the present study. Collins (1991) maintained that searching personal experiences to identify important themes serves to validate marginalized persons' lived experiences and to develop merited social science investigations about and for their lives. In addition to relying on my social science tools, I trusted my personal hunches based on years of being an intercultural daughter, to inform my general ideas about the present study. Moreover, I counted on discussions with others who confirmed my belief that the experiences of immigrant post WWII Japanese women and their intercultural daughters needed to be documented. My conscientious reading of the literature on Japanese families alerted me to the glaring omission of the experiences of women who emigrated from Japan under different sociohistorical conditions. The several fine pieces that existed on immigrant post WWII Japanese women told of women's experiences as individuals and mothers, and alerted me to areas in need of further investigation (Glenn, 1986; Williams, 1992). My decision to focus on minority group status influences, social mobility influences, language and communication practices, ethnic community involvement, and personal meanings of relationships for mothers and daughters was a reflection of what I read and understood to

be important issues to pioneer Japanese families in the U.S. My decision to critically examine language and communication issues resulted from my reading of the literature, my feeling that language and communication issues had not been comprehensively examined, and my awareness of the potential seriousness of this issue for immigrant mothers and daughters. The salience of mother-daughter communication issues in this study supports the use of personal experience to identify themes on rarely studied populations.

The present study enlisted women's accounts of their relationships. The responses I received from mothers and daughters during and after the interviews suggested that for some women, thinking about their relationships with their mother or daughter is something they had not done enough of or had an audience for. The semi-structured interview format provided women an opportunity to think and speak openly about their experiences, something women may find empowering (Collins, 1991). Research on marginalized populations such as bereaved mothers indicates that reflexive listening assists in the sorting of feelings and experiences (Farnsworth & Allen, 1996). More importantly perhaps, through carefully attending to the preservation of their experiences, immigrant Japanese women and intercultural daughters, a marginalized group, are helping to define social scientific knowledge, which has positive and significant implications (Collins, 1991).

Policy influences on families. Families are interconnected with political and economic societal institutions. State and organization policies, for instance, influence families' lives through implementation of mandated checks and services (Andersen, 1993). This research was informed by an analysis of policies governing Japanese persons' lives.

Policies opened and closed doors for persons of Japanese heritage. Until 1967, anti-miscegenation laws barred marriages in the U.S. between white and "mongolians" including persons of Japanese heritage, leading to negative depictions of mothers who married across racial lines and bore intercultural children. Some mothers and daughters in this study expressed concern for their intercultural children and themselves on the mainland. Examining ways in which immigration policies have shaped Asian America is critically important because of the historical evidence indicating that policies affected the development of Asian families in the U.S., formation of ethnic communities, perceptions of Asian men and women, and identities of Asian males and females, for example (Hing, 1993).

Social landscapes. Social geography is an important feature to analyze when studying marginalized persons' lives (Frankenberg, 1993). This and other research showed that the social composition of a geographic region leads to differential levels of comfort for ethnic minority members such as persons of Japanese ancestry (Mass, 1992). For most mothers and daughters, the social landscape of Hawai'i was critical to their feeling comfortable with mothers' background and English speaking abilities, and their dual or multiple ethnic heritages. Identification of the process by which mothers and daughters develop and sustain positive relationships in different social landscapes is needed. For example, analysis of the types of kin- and nonkin-support mothers and daughters receive may increase understanding of the resources needed to survive in different geographic regions. Also, research into the ways that others may facilitate positive family relationships through the affirmation of ethnic identities would also deepen understanding of mother-

daughter relationships in different geographies.

Generational position. This research suggests the importance for theorists to consider generational positions of ethnic minority members in research. Familial and cultural transformations occur over time and researchers need to examine the ways that transformed ideologies are experienced by immigrant generations (Paniagua, 1994). Mothers and daughters in this study supplied information on actual and desired transformed cultural ideologies. Over time, the mothers became less strict and more accepting of their daughters' behaviors. Like issei parents and nisei children, the mothers and daughters in this study had different expectations because of their different generational positions. Moreover, in comparison to families in Japan in which children are expected to heed their parents' recommendations, in the U.S., parents' and children's responsibilities as family leaders and caretakers were blurred because of children's ability to communicate and experience American culture (Glenn, 1986).

Support groups. One way in which the findings may be applied to mothers' and daughters' lives is in a support group setting. Preliminary research on support groups for Jewish mothers and daughters indicated that participation in the group allowed the women to discuss and negotiate expectations about their relationships (Bromberg, 1987). Support group topics may be taken directly from the themes identified from the data analysis. The goal of the support group meetings would be to discuss strategies for developing and maintaining psychologically adaptive relational patterns. Mothers and daughters would be interviewed after the series of support group meetings to determine the degree of assistance that the support group provided for them. The findings from this study suggest

that a separate support group for mothers or daughters would be useful given their differing degrees of language use and comprehension.

Counselor interventions. The growing interest in multicultural counseling is evident (Sue & Sue, 1990). Scholars are devising conceptual frameworks and models to depict the complexity of lives of persons belonging to ethnic minority groups (Paniagua, 1994; Sue & Sue, 1990). Differences between and among racial groups and ethnic subgroups is highlighted such that persons in counseling positions are able to offer the most culturally appropriate and possibly beneficial interventions (Paniagua, 1994; Sue & Sue, 1990). The results of this study of immigrant Japanese mothers and intercultural daughters suggest that several factors may be considered in working with women of this background, including attention to immigrant generational differences and transformed kinship ideologies. Further, the analytical strategies that mothers and daughters use to make sense of their experience (e.g., daughters' contextualizing their mothers' experiences - mothers away from family and receiving minimal support in the U.S.) may also help clinicians to understand the significance of women's social histories in women's lives. These findings remind counselors to attend to the multiple dimensions of culture and the ways culture is experienced by persons with different general statuses, educational backgrounds, and social histories.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The research design was carefully crafted to access a marginalized populations' experiences. However, the research could be improved in several ways as suggested below. Moreover, this research suggests several worthwhile avenues to examine in mother-daughter relationship research.

Population diversity and sample size. Qualitative in-depth interviews provided an opportunity to explore mother-daughter relationships among a marginalized population in detail. Though it provided strikingly rich information, it limited me, the researcher, to perform interviews with a small sample of mothers and daughters. The heterogeneity in the geographical, civilian/military, intercultural backgrounds of the mothers and daughters in this study would be best captured with additional research with more women of monocultural and multicultural backgrounds.

Researcher-translator issues. As a researcher I was interested in being a part of the research process. Though I am glad for the opportunity, I felt as though I were missing information in the interviews in which mothers used the translator to answer most of the questions (2 interviews). Sometimes lengthy exchanges occurred between the translator and the mother, yet the responses I received from the translator were short, and I felt as though I missed information and opportunities to be reflexive. In the future, I would suggest the use of a researcher who could also serve as translator. In circumstances where a researcher is not able to serve as a translator, it is critical for the researcher and translator to establish a relationship and for the translator to provide as complete of a translation as possible.

Support network informants. Research is needed that encourages the inclusion of persons whom mothers and daughters identified as critical in helping them to manage their relationships--other family members and nonfamily members. Because of the ways that fathers assisted mothers in adjusting to life in the U.S. and to having American daughters, it appears worthwhile to engage in a study of mother-daughter relationships in which attention would be given to influence of fathers on mother-daughter relationships. Further, the inclusion of information about other family members such as siblings would be useful. Matthews and Sprey (1989) reported that explaining family members' behaviors requires first identifying, describing, and understanding the social system of which they are a part, even if not all members are to be questioned or observed. Matthews and Sprey (1989) added that attending to the larger family system will "lead to more realistic and relevant explanations of why and how specific family members maintain their close relationships and provide clues to the circumstances under which familial ties become or remain active" (p. 73-74).

Communication in mother-daughter relationships. Blieszner and Shifflett (1989) reported that little research is conducted on affection and communication between adult children and their aged parents, in normative and nonnormative conditions. Collectively, the mothers and daughters in this study expressed concerns about communication in their relationships. The intensity of some of their responses suggested the salience of communication issues to mother-daughter dyads. For some mothers and daughters, communication problems resulting from language barriers remain a key issue in their interactions. Research that identifies effective communicative modes in the presence of

language barriers may be helpful parents and children for whom relational strife surrounds miscommunication. For immigrant mothers and intercultural children, future research should include the identification of the ways that significant others, such as family and friends, assist mothers and daughters with language use and the expression of ideas.

Identity salience. Atkinson (1989) suggested that researchers should examine crecive bonds (growing bonds) in which "identification occurs regardless of the consequences for self-esteem" (p. 88). Dimensions of crecive bonds include (a) anticipating future activities together and (b) sharing a sense of responsibility for each other including spending of time out of sympathy and empathy. The notion of crecive bonds suggests that daughters keep in contact with their parents out of sympathy and empathy rather than obligation. Some daughters in this study sustained interactions with their mothers because they knew that their mothers did not have other family members on whom they could rely. At what point do daughters develop crecive bonds? In what ways is the development of crecive bonds helpful for daughters and mothers? In what ways does the magnitude of a daughter's identification with so-called traditional Japanese cultural norms of displaying a sense of indebtedness to her parents, influence crecive bond development? Do daughters who identify minimally as compared to maximally with a sense of indebtedness to parents develop stronger crecive bonds than daughters? Understanding transformational qualities of cultural constructs is pivotal if scholars wish to ascertain the multiple ways in which culture is experienced over time, place, and by individuals and families (Yanagisako, 1985).

Conclusion

The qualitative data from this study expand upon existing discussions of ethnicity and relationships among family members of Japanese heritage. Though of Japanese heritage, participants in the present study represented a different immigrant era group than issei men and women and a different experience--they are women who met and married U.S. citizens and have intercultural daughters. Their remembrances of Japan, their upbringing with parents who reinforced values, and their exposure to WWII and western ideologies, provided them with life experiences that differed from those of earlier Japanese immigrants.

Like other post WWII immigrants, mothers in this study faced difficult times in Japan and the U.S. In privation during and after the war, uprooted from their native country, and in marriages with persons with different values and traditions, mothers in this study carried hope with them into their new lives. For some, life in the U.S. was a struggle, especially for those whose husbands were not supportive of their needs. For others, life in the U.S., though an obstacle, was made more bearable because of the support of husbands and other family members and friends. However, unlike the sample of post World War II immigrants in Glenn's (1986) research, my sample lived in Hawai'i, where many of them were comfortable with other ethnic minority group members. Moreover, like Glenn's (1986) participants, the mothers in this study felt a sense of fellowship with other women of similar circumstances.

Numerous scholars contend that a one-fits-all approach to families is simplistic and that attention to diversity among families, along racial ethnic groups lines is necessary. Studies of families of different racial backgrounds should also consider the diversity of experiences between ethnic groups and within ethnic groups. Numerous investigators have played an integral part in documenting Japanese families' experiences. Johnson's (1972) and Yanagisako's (1985) works are such examples. Investigations of the triumphant experiences, saddening hardships, and neutral times experienced by immigrants from all time periods is needed (Glenn, 1986). Moreover, research that targets the experiences of dyads within families, such as mothers and daughters, is also important. Mothers and daughters are likely to spend the longest time occupying intergenerational roles and mother-daughter relationships are important for mothers' and daughters' well-being. Understanding mother-daughter experiences when mothers and daughters straddle different countries, culture, and time has the potential to highlight the intricacies of women's lives in families. Constructs are not essential and timeless qualities of immigrant families. The knowledge and biases that researchers bring to the research setting is also important to acknowledge in studying relationships among ethnic minority group members. Placing immigrant interculturally partnered mothers' and intercultural daughters' experiences within a framework that attends to sociohistorical analysis of families and interlocking systems of gender, race, and class is critical.

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Appendix

Appendix A

Consent Form

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

Informed Consent for Participants of Investigative Projects

Title Project: Issues and Processes of Adult Mother-Daughter Relationships:
Perspectives of Japanese American Women

Principal Investigator: Paula M. Usita

I. The Purpose of this Project

You are invited to participate in a study about adult mother-daughter relationships. The purpose of this study is to increase understanding about mothers' and daughters' thoughts about the importance of their racial minority group situation; beliefs of having power, privilege, and prestige in society; ethnic background and involvement in ethnic communities; and expectations of women's relationships within families for their relationships.

II. Procedures

You will be asked to complete an informational sheet, and participate in one personal interview and a follow-up telephone conversation. In the personal interview, you will be asked to respond to questions about mother-daughter relationships. The personal interview will last for one and one-half to two hours. In the follow-up telephone conversation, you will be asked to talk with me again to be sure I have interpreted your ideas properly. The follow-up telephone conversation will last for half an hour. The interview and follow-up talk conversation will be done at times and locations convenient to you.

III. Risks

No risks or discomforts surrounding your involvement in the interviews and follow-up discussion is expected. If you feel uncomfortable during the interviews and/or follow-up discussion, you may withdraw from the study at any time.

IV. Benefits of this Project

You can help us understand mother-daughter relationships better by talking about your experiences. The information will also help us to understand the experiences of Japanese women. You may also find the study helpful in terms of learning about the issues and challenges that other mothers and daughters confront.

No guarantee of benefits has been made to encourage you to participate. If you wish, you may receive a summary of the study by indicating so on the informational sheet.

V. Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality

Your name, and any other personal information will be kept in a locked file cabinet. Your personal information will be removed from any materials and code numbers will be used in its place. After the audiotapes have been transcribed, they will be destroyed. Only the named investigator will read all transcribed interview data. You will be allowed to look at interpretations of only your interview data.

If necessary, a professional transcriptionist will be hired to assist with the transcription process. This transcriptionist will have access to only coded tapes and will abide by the rules of professional transcription conduct. In future documents and presentations, I will use a fake name to identify you.

VI. Compensation

There is no compensation for participation in this research.

VII. Freedom to Withdraw

You are free to withdraw from this research at any time.

VIII. Approval of Research

This research has been approved, as required, by the Institutional Review Board for projects involving human subjects at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University and by the Department of Family and Child Development.

IX. Subject's Responsibilities

I know of no reason I cannot participate in this study.

X. Subject's Permission

I have read and understand the informed consent and conditions of this project. I have had all my questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent for participation in this project. If I participate, I may withdraw at anytime. I agree to abide by the rules of this project.

Signature

Date

Should I have any questions about this research or its conduct, I will contact:

Paula M. Usita
Investigator

808-621-2012
Phone

Rosemary Blieszner
Faculty Advisor

540-231-5437
Phone

Chair, Institutional Review Board
Research Division

540-231-6077
Phone

Appendix B

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Timing of Immigration

Tell me about the circumstances surrounding your immigration to the United States. For instance, when and what factors contributed to your decision? What was your life like before you left Japan? Did family and friends immigrate to the U.S. with you or did you do so by yourself?

Describe your plans once you arrived in the U.S., for instance, did you intend on staying in the U.S. permanently or temporarily?

Some people say that the time at which an event happens, such as when in their life persons immigrated, is important for personal development. What do you think? What has been your experience?

Minority Group Status Perceptions

Some people say that people who belong to ethnic minority groups (people who are not white/haole) in the U.S. have a difficult time because they lack power and advantage. What do you think?

Do you view yourself as a minority? Please explain.

Tell me how you think this affects your relationship. Has this led you to think about or behave in certain ways in your relationship?

Social Mobility Perceptions

Some people think that education and work is important to their life and their family's life. What do you think?

Sometimes as a result of education or work, people move to a different town or state. And some people say that relationships can change because of this.

Has this occurred in your relationship? Describe how this has shaped your relationship.

Some people believe that when people have more education they are more likely to earn money. Some people think that these type of experiences lead people to have more power and advantage.

What do you think? Has this happened in your relationship?

Is the level of power and advantage, because of education and income, the same or

different in your relationship?

In what ways has this led to positive, negative, or neutral events in your relationship?

Ethnic Involvement

Tell me about your racial or cultural background.

Tell me how important it is to you.

To what extent do you involve yourself in cultural events?

In what ways, if any, does your racial or cultural background and your involvement in cultural activities affect your relationship? Please describe for me why you feel this way.

Language and Communication Practices

Inform me about your _____'s use and your use of the Japanese and English language.

Have you ever thought about how language affects your relationship?

Some people say that when people speak and communicate differently, it is difficult on a relationship. What do you think? Has this been something that has occurred in your relationship?

Some people say that people of first and second generation status have different ideas about communication and that this affects parent-child relationships. Tell me your thoughts on this.

In what ways has this been the case in your relationship?

Have there been times at which you have tried to but have not been able to share information about yourself in your relationship?

Relationship Expectations

Some people think that mother-daughter relationships should have certain qualities. What do you think?

What has led you to think about the relationship in that way?

In what ways did your experience with your parent(s) or child(ren) contribute to your ideas?

What mother-daughter relationship expectations, if any, are shaped by your Japanese beliefs?

In what ways have American culture shaped your beliefs about mother-daughter relationships?

Do you think of yourself and your _____ as being different from other mothers and daughters? If yes, how so? Which mothers and daughters? Were there particular events that have contributed to your perceptions?

Relationship Pathways

Now that we have touched on specific topics in mother-daughter relationships, let me ask you a few global questions pertaining to rewarding, challenging, and neutral paths in relationships.

How would you characterize your relationship?

Tell me about the most satisfying aspect of your relationship. Why is that satisfying?

What aspects of your relationship have remained constant over the years?

What do you find challenging about your relationship? In what ways has your relationship changed over the years? (past year, five years, ten years?). What brought about that change? What led you to pay attention to that change?

What do you see as the next challenge in your relationship?

Are there aspects of your relationship that you would like to change? What are they? How might you change them?

Imagine that it is 20 years later, what do you see as the issues that you and your _____ will confront?

Summary Statement

Now that we have discussed various aspects of mother-daughter relationships, I have just a few more questions. In what ways would you think about your relationship if you were in _____'s shoes? If you had an opportunity to write your mother-daughter story, what would the various chapters be about? If 1,000 people were to read that story, what would they understand to have been the major items contributing to the story? How would they understand that these items have helped you to think, act, and feel?

Appendix C

Categories, Dominant Relationship Themes, and Dimensions

Categories, Dominant Relationship Themes, and Dimensions

A. Relationship Dynamics

100 Communication

- 101 Modes of Communicating
- 102 Reasons for Language Differences
- 103 Personal Reactions
- 104 Role of Others

200 Transitions and Turning Points

- 205 Marriage
- 206 Motherhood
- 207 Personal Changes
- 208 Family Restructuring and Support

300 Culture

- 309 Living and Sharing Culture
- 310 Changing Culture

400 Contact

- 411 Contact Motivators
- 412 Content of Contact

B. Background Information

500 Demographics

- 513 Age
- 514 Education
- 515 Ethnicity
- 516 Occupation

600 Significant Relationship History

- 617 Mothers' Immigration
- 618 Mothers' Families' Reactions
- 619 Military or Civilian Family
- 620 Geography

C. Methods

700 Methods Codes

- 721 Mothers' Feedback About the Research Process
- 722 Daughters' Feedback About the Research Process
- 723 Researcher's Comments: Research Journal, Other Thoughts

CURRICULUM VITAE

PAULA M. USITA

209 Old Cedarfield Drive
Blacksburg, VA 24060
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EDUCATION

Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Family and Child Development, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Major Area: Adult Development & Aging

Dissertation: Mother-Daughter Relationships in a Minority Context

Expected graduation date: May 1997

Candidate, Certificate in Gerontology, Center for Gerontology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

M.S. 1993, Department of Psychology, Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA

Major Area: General Psychology

Thesis: Personal Narratives in Alzheimer's Disease

Community College Instructional Certificate 1992, Woodring College of Education, Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA

B.A. 1991, University of Puget Sound, Tacoma, WA

Major Area: Psychology

AWARDS AND HONORS

Visiting Scholar, University of Hawai'i, School of Public Health, Center on Aging,
Dec 1996-Jan 1997

Minority Predoctoral Leadership Development Program in Aging Award, Gerontological Society of America, Washington, DC, 1996

Graduate Travel Fund Award, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1996

AARP Andrus Foundation Scholarship, AARP Andrus Foundation, Washington, DC, 1995

AARP (Area 3) Jim Edens Memorial Scholarship, AARP, Alexandria, VA, 1994

Sigma Phi Omega Honor Society in Gerontology, Charter President, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1994

McGhee Lin Education Scholarship, Western Washington University, 1992

Community College Faculty Preparation Program Honorarium, Western Washington University, 1992

Graduate Minority Fellowships, Western Washington University, 1991, 1992

TEACHING

Interests: Adult Development and Aging; Family Diversity/Ethnogerontology; Theories and Research in Adult Development and Aging; Research Methods

Human Development Instructor: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.
May 1996 to June 1996. Human Development II: Adult Development and Aging, 3 credits.
Taught one section of 20 students, five times per week. Full responsibility for classroom and course.

Guest Lecturer and Invited Speaker: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.
August 1994 to present. Issues in Aging, Marriage and Family Dynamics, Human Development. Topics: Ethnogerontology, Asian-American Family Dynamics, Aging in Japan.

Psychology Instructor: Sante Fe Community College, Gainesville, FL.
January 1994 to August 1994. General Psychology, Developmental Psychology, Abnormal Psychology, 3 credits each. Taught six sections of 20 to 40 students per section, two to five times per week. Full responsibility for classroom and course.

Psychology Instructor: Skagit Valley Community College, Oak Harbor, WA.
March 1993 to June 1993. General Psychology, 5 credits. Taught one section of 30 students, three classes per week. Full responsibility for classroom and course.

Psychology Instructor: Edmonds Community College, Lynnwood, WA.
September 1992 to December 1992. General Psychology, 5 credits. Taught one section of 35 students, two times per week. Full responsibility for classroom and course.

RESEARCH

Interests: Dynamics in Aging Parent-Adult Child Relationships; Individuals' and Families' Narratives of Self and Selves During Illness; Ethics and Caring: Working with Families Confronting Terminal Illness; Family Diversity; Adult Friendship; Gender Issues; Educational Gerontology; Health Issues of Older Persons

Research Specialist Senior: Department of Family and Child Development, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. May 1996 to August 1996.
Edited manuscripts for a multiculturalism book: "Affirming Diversity through Democratic Conversations." Also, edited a module: "Working with Adults as Learners."

Practicum Research: New River Hospice, Christiansburg, Virginia.
May 1996 to October 1996.

Conducted focus groups about staff-patient ethical issues. Developed a report on the findings and presented the report to the Hospice Ethics Board. "Ethical Issues: Perspectives of Hospice Staff."

Research Specialist Senior: Department of Family and Child Development, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. May 1995 to June 1995.

Conducted literature reviews and corresponded with research firms in preparation for a national study on adult friendship. Research training sponsored by a Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University seed grant.

Graduate Assistant: Center for Gerontology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. August 1994 to present.

Collected data, reviewed literature, conducted data analysis, and prepared manuscripts. Projects included (1) Assessment of Gerontology Programs, (2) Older Women's Health Issues: Osteoporosis and Self-Esteem, (3) Diversity and Dynamics in Late-Life Mother-Daughter Relationships, (4) Processes in Adult Friendship, (5) Aging Parent and Adult Child Relationships, (6) Nursing Home Migration Patterns.

Master's Degree Research: Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA.
September 1992 to August 1993.

Studied the life stories of individuals with Alzheimer's disease as a means of maintaining a sense of self and interpersonal communication with caregivers. Conducted semi-structured interviews, administered the Folstein Mini-Mental Status Exam, Blessed Dementia Rating Scale, Wechsler Memory Scale, and Autobiographical Incidents Schedule, and coded and analyzed life stories.

Consultant: Big Brothers/Big Sisters of Whatcom County, Bellingham, WA.
September 1992 to June 1993.

Assisted agency with a study of the predictive validity of the 16PF in screening Big Brothers/Big Sisters volunteers. Utilized a stepwise discriminant analysis to assess the classification of successful and unsuccessful adult volunteers.

Research Assistant: Provost of Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA.
September 1992 to June 1993.

Identified potential factors hindering the academic success of minority students. Arranged computer visuals for undergraduate minority recruitment and retention data.

Research Assistant: Dean of Graduate School, Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA.
September 1991 to June 1992.

Developed and administered a survey that assessed variables influencing student acceptance of graduate admission.

Research Assistant: The Center for Cognitive Rehabilitation, Good Samaritan Hospital, WA.
June 1991 to September 1991.

Assisted with the development of a manual that assessed the community access, housekeeping, physical care, and transitional living abilities of adults who had sustained Traumatic Brain Injuries.

Research Assistant: Neuropsychological Testing, Madigan Army Medical Center, Tacoma, WA.
January 1991 to May 1991.

As part of a study on attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder, administered various neuropsychological tests to children with attention-deficit disorder.

APPLIED EXPERIENCE

Counselor: Sea Mar Counseling & Social Services, Bellingham, WA.
September 1991 to March 1993.

Provided 1:1 therapy and case management services to Native American, Hispanic, and Cambodian families at this community mental health center. Participated in inservices on migrant farm workers and culturally diverse clients.

Therapy Assistant: Center for Cognitive Rehabilitation, Good Samaritan Hospital, Puyallup, WA.
June 1991 to September 1991.

Provided cognitive, occupational, and psychosocial therapy to individuals who had sustained Traumatic Brain Injuries. Participated in rehabilitation planning and multi-disciplinary team conferences.

Counselor: Castelee & Associates, Tacoma, WA.
September 1990 to June 1991.

Provided intake assessments and offered supportive counseling to African American families at this outpatient counseling center. Participated in treatment planning.

Counselor II: Puget Sound Hospital, Tacoma, WA.
September 1989 to August 1991.

Conducted 1:1 and supportive group therapy with inpatient mentally ill elderly and adults.

Psychiatric Aide: Queen's Medical Center, Honolulu, HI.
September 1988 to August 1989.

Provided 1:1 and supportive group therapy to inpatient mentally ill adults.

ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE

Gerontology Forums: Center for Gerontology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.
August 1996 to May 1997. Coordinating six gerontology forums.

Brown Bag Series: Sigma Phi Omega, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.
October 1996, February 1997. Coordinated faculty presentations on Job Preparations.

Elder Abuse Workshop: Center for Gerontology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. October 1996. Assisted with the coordination of workshop for community members.

Environment and Aging Roundtable: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Warm Hearth Retirement Village, and Radford University Consortium. Fall 1995. Coordinated roundtable presentations for academic and lay community.

PUBLICATIONS (Peer Reviewed)

Blieszner, R., & Usita, P.M., & Mancini, J.A. (in press). Diversity and dynamics of late-life mother-daughter relationships. Journal of Women & Aging. [Simultaneously published in K.A. Roberto (Ed.), Relationships Between Women in Later-Life. New York: Haworth.]

Herman, K.C., & Usita, P.M. (1994). Predicting volunteer attrition with the 16PF. Child and Youth Care Forum, 23(3), 207-211.

Herman, K.C., & Usita, P.M. (1994). Predictive validity of the 16PF in screening Big Brothers/Big Sisters volunteers. Psychological Reports, 74, 249-250.

Roberto, K.A., Usita, P.M., Weeks, L.E., Wacker, R.R. (in press). Comparison of bachelor's and master's degree gerontology programs: Alumni characteristics, employment, and employer assessment. Gerontology & Geriatrics Education.

Usita, P.M. (in press). [Review of the book Adulthood and Aging: Research on continuities and discontinuities]. Journal of Marriage and the Family.

Usita, P.M., Hyman, I.E., & Herman, K.C. (in press). Narrative intentions: Listening to life stories in Alzheimer's disease. Journal of Aging Studies.

MANUSCRIPTS

Mancini, J.A., Blieszner, R., & Usita, P.M. Aging parents and adult children: Cohesion, companionship, and conflict. Manuscript in preparation.

PRESENTATIONS

McAuley, W.J., & Usita, P.M. (1996). State nursing home surveys for the certificate of need process: What they can tell us about patient origins and patient characteristics. Poster presented at the meeting of the Gerontological Society of America, Washington, DC.

Greenberg, P.A., Teaster, P.B., Usita, P.M., & Wilcox, K.L. (1996). The telling is in the asking: The use of qualitative methodologies in aging research. Roundtable conducted at the meeting of the Gerontological Society of America, Washington, DC.

Blieszner, R., & Usita, P.M. (1996). Social exchange and psychological well-being in late life. Paper presented at the meeting of the International Society for the Study of Personal Relationships. Banff, Canada.

Usita, P.M., Blieszner, R., & Mancini, J.A. (1996). Diversity and dynamics of late-life mother-daughter relationships. Paper presented at the meeting of the Association for Gerontology in Higher Education, Philadelphia, PA.

Usita, P.M. (1995). Sharing life stories. Paper presented at the meeting of the Southern Gerontological Society, Birmingham, AL.

Usita, P.M. (1994). Life stories of individuals with Alzheimer's disease. Poster presented at the meeting of the Southeastern Psychological Association, New Orleans, LA.

Usita, P.M., & Herman, K.C. (1993). Screening Big Brothers/Big Sisters volunteers with the 16PF. Poster presented at the meeting of the Washington State Psychological Association Convention, Seattle, WA.

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

Gerontological Society of America (National Student Representative: Task Force on Minority Issues, Behavioral and Social Sciences Abstract Reviewer)

Southern Gerontological Society

National Council on Family Relations

International Society for the Study of Personal Relationships

GRANTS

Graduate Research Development Project Grant (Principal Investigator), Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1996

Graduate Student Assembly Annual Funding (Developed and Presented the Grants to the Review Board), Sigma Phi Omega, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 1995-96

COMMUNITY SERVICE

CareRing Volunteer: Hospice of North Central Florida, Gainesville, FL.
September 1993 to August 1994.

Red Cross Volunteer: Madigan Army Medical Center, Tacoma, WA.
January 1991 to May 1991.

Respite and Bereavement Volunteer: Hospice of Tacoma, Tacoma, WA.
June 1990 to July 1991.