

A Rebellious Issei Mother and her Angst-ridden Nisei Son in John Okada's *No-No Boy*

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Abstract

This paper explores the difficult relationship between Issei parents and Nisei children in John Okada's *No-No Boy*, a novel that unrelentingly depicts the struggles of Japanese American immigrants and their families during and after the internment. As the protagonist, Ichiro Yamada, is the elder son, and Mrs. Yamada, the parent with the most influence, the focus of the paper is mainly on their relationship. Ichiro can be seen as a typical Nisei in his struggle to understand his own identity and tenuous place in American society. Mrs. Yamada, on the other hand, is Japanese by blood, upbringing, and nationality and does not suffer from the same confusion as her son. However, although she had spent most of her life in the U.S., she could not become an American citizen and suffered the indignities of discrimination throughout her life. Ichiro often voices anger and resentment toward her militant rejection of American ways. Ultimately, however, she is a tragic figure, representing the story of an immigrant who was kept from fulfilling an American Dream and who could never return home.

Key words : John Okada, Japanese American, identity, minority, gender

Introduction

In his preface for *No-No Boy*,¹ John Okada describes the reaction to the bombing of Pearl Harbor in the following way:

The indignation, the hatred, the patriotism of the American people shifted into full-throated condemnation of the Japanese who blotted this land. The Japanese who were born Americans and remained Japanese because biology does not know the meaning of patriotism no longer worried about whether they were Japanese-American or American-Japanese. They were Japanese, just as were their Japanese mothers and Japanese fathers and Japanese brothers and sisters. (viii)

The term "American people" mentioned here does not include Japanese Americans and the Japanese people in America are referred to as things "blotting" the land like some kind of stain. However, Okada also introduces concepts that influence one's sense of identity: the idea of biology and the idea of family, the ties of blood and those of a social institution. This passage also brings to the forefront the question of how nationality and environment fit into the equation with biology and how this determines one's concept of identity. In this paper, I will discuss these ideas in the context of an examination of the relationship between Issei parents and Nisei children with particular emphasis on Ichiro and his mother. The central conflict between the two reveals the delicate and complex interaction of race, family, and nationality as the Nisei son, Ichiro, attempts to define his own identity and both mother and son search for a home.

I. The Roles of Blood and Nationality for the Issei and Nisei

Okada places a key passage regarding relations between the generations and the ties of blood and nationality in the middle of the book. It succinctly explains the lack of close relations and understanding between many Issei and Nisei. Mr. Kanno, the Issei father of Ichiro's friend, Kenji, recalls the words of a young sociologist's lecture in camp:

"How many of you are able to sit down with your own sons and daughters and enjoy the companionship of

conversation? How many, I ask? If I were to say none of you, I would not be far from the truth.... You are not displeased because of what I said but because I have hit upon the truth. And I know it to be true because I am a Nisei and you old ones are like my own father and mother. *If we are children of America and not the sons and daughters of our parents, it is because you have failed....* Change now, if you can, even if it may be too late, and become companions to your children. This is America, where you have lived and worked and suffered for thirty and forty years. This is not Japan." (124-125) (italics mine)

The Nisei speaker assumes a blunt and disrespectful tone because he wishes to impress upon the Issei what he sees as an immediate need to remedy the sorry state of relations between the generations. He points out that Nisei children do not identify with being Japanese despite the blood tie for they are American-born, and that Issei parents need to change in order to bridge the gap between them. While the sociologist's argument may have some validity, it squarely places blame on the Issei for the poor relationships with their children, calling on them to change themselves—to be more "American." It represents a direct attack of the Issei by the Nisei. Not surprisingly, many of the Issei react with derision to the impertinence of the young man. Mr. Kanno, however, chooses to heed this advice and makes an effort to assimilate as much as he can; he decides to embrace the American way of life since it is the only way of life his children know. As a result, he is able to enjoy close relationships with his children and, Kenji, when asked about his father, tells Ichiro unreservedly that he is "one swell guy" (138). Unfortunately, for Ichiro, he cannot speak of either his own father or his mother in such glowing way.

II. Confusion from a Reversal of Traditional Gender Roles

One of the reasons Ichiro finds family life problematic is the reversal of traditional gender roles. Mr. Yamada, Ichiro's father, is pudgy in appearance and gentle in manner. He is a man who avoids confrontations at all costs and drinks to escape from his problems. He takes on the role of the housewife, cooking meals, making tea and cleaning the house. Ichiro himself comments that his father "should have been Ma and Ma should have been Pa" (112). It is Mrs. Yamada, Ichiro's mother, who is in charge of the family grocery store and who ventures outside to deal with American society. Possessing the "skinny body of a thirteen year old which had dried and toughened" (10) and a domineering personality, she does not fit into the feminine stereotype of a warm, nurturing mother. While Ichiro sees his father as a foolish nonentity in the household, he looks upon his mother as a force of hate, beating those around her into submission (12). Ichiro also blames her for making him the person he is and he expresses hatred toward his mother constantly. The violence of feeling that Ichiro feels for his mother is in direct contrast to his contemptuous and dismissive feelings toward his father.

Since Mr. Yamada never asserts himself, Ichiro and his brother, Taro, have no strong male figure to respect or emulate. Because Mr. Yamada fails to involve himself in the lives of his children as a father figure, he as well as his wife is responsible for the lack of communication and fragmented state of the family. Even when he notices Ichiro's mental anguish after returning from prison, he merely gives him money to go out and play as if this will solve everything. In the Yamada family, the children get neither the nurturing of a loving mother nor the stabilizing support of a strong father. The absence of such natural family relations is one significant source of frustration for both sons and both seek surrogates outside of the family. However, as the older son, Ichiro finds his mother's influence a pervasive part of his life.

III. The Tie Between a Mother and Her Oldest Son

Ichiro's strong feelings regarding his mother result in part from the strong tie that exists between a Japanese mother and her oldest son. Mrs. Yamada's main source of pride is Ichiro. Wanting her son to be as Japanese as herself and to stay alive, she tells him to say "no" to the questions on the loyalty questionnaire.² For her, the two nos actually mean two yeses—"yes" to loyalty as a Japanese and "yes" to life and a future in Japan. However, for Ichiro, these two nos

represent something completely different: one as an unwilling negation of his American side and the other a refusal to betray his bond with his mother. Ichiro's loyalty to his mother compels him to choose his family over his country. Oddly enough, he does not blame the American government for forcing him to choose between the two but instead blames his own mother for relying on the feeling of obligation that a Japanese son would feel towards his parents.³ On the other hand, for Mrs. Yamada, his choice involved not only loyalty to her and the family but also loyalty to their motherland. Are the ties of family or of blood stronger or more natural than those of one's nationality or environment?

Apparently, Mrs. Yamada and people like Mrs. Ashida believe they are because, as Issei, blood and nationality are the same. Mrs. Yamada is proud of Ichiro because he refused to fight "against their own people" (23). Mrs. Ashida concurs with this view and also criticizes those who betray blood ties in the following way:

"It is not enough that they must willingly take up arms against their uncles and cousins and even brothers and sisters, but they no longer have respect for the old ones. If I had a son and he had gone in the American army to fight Japan, I would have killed myself with shame." (23)

Here Mrs. Ashida is also lamenting the loss of respect toward the older generation. Ichiro's adherence to filial piety reveals a Japanese side to his character and shows that he is not completely American in his thinking. His inability to reconcile both sides is the source of his psychological distress and his feeling of not being "whole." Okada shows a clear misunderstanding between Ichiro and his mother regarding what lay behind the decision to say "no." It is no wonder that they are constantly at cross purposes for the catalyst for much of what happens in this novel results from this fateful decision.

Ichiro says repeatedly that the decision was a mistake, sometimes blaming himself, sometimes blaming his mother, and sometimes blaming both. He wishes that his mother would admit that they had made a mistake, but his mother does not believe that the decision had been wrong. Her frequent insistence on his relationship to her in her frequent refrain, "you are my son," shows that she always wishes him to be aware of their natural blood bond and the obligations that go with it. Unfortunately for her, this stubborn insistence causes the adult Ichiro to deny that she is a mother to him. However, he does recall a time in the past when he did feel that he was her son:

There was a time that I no longer remember when you used to smile a mother's smile and tell me stories about gallant and fierce warriors who protected their lords with blades of shining steel and about the old woman who found a peach in the stream and took it home and, when her husband split it in half, a husky little boy tumbled out to fill their hearts with boundless joy. I was that boy in the peach and you were the old woman and we were Japanese with Japanese feelings and Japanese pride and Japanese thoughts because it was all right then to be Japanese and feel and think all the things that Japanese do even if we lived in America. (15)

This happy childhood memory shows that Mrs. Yamada did have motherly qualities before as she took the time to tell him Japanese fairy tales like Momotaro.⁴ At that time, Ichiro knew about the culture of his parents and ancestors and saw himself as Japanese, at least, by blood; in addition, being Japanese did not invalidate his status as an American. Ichiro also identified with Momotaro, and like many little boys, longed to be a gallant warrior. Ironically it was his mother, the one who instilled such a hope, who convinced him to give up this masculine dream. The warrior image is later repeated when Ichiro recalls his days as an engineering student when he carried a slide-rule, a tool of the trade, like a sword at his side (55). When he acted in accordance to his mother's wishes and was a loyal son, he gave up the chance to be a "gallant warrior" for the U.S. and the chance to declare his autonomy from his parents as an American-born Japanese. Symbolically speaking, he lost his manhood and part of his identity through a confused adherence to filial piety. From his mother's point of view, however, his being sent to prison saved him and represented a show of loyalty to her and to Japan.

IV. Finding a Home or Going Home?

Since Ichiro survived the war, Mrs. Yamada can dream of future in Japan with her family. Preparing for a better life in Japan is the purpose of her life. Her primary hope for Ichiro during their sojourn in the U.S. is for him to get a good education. Mrs. Yamada's insistence on education shows her to be perhaps one of the first Japanese American *kyoiku mamas* to appear in American literature. Despite the blank of four years, she encourages Ichiro to continue with his studies

because she believes that “with an education, [his] opportunities in Japan w[ould] be unlimited” (13). She does not understand the psychological toll of being in camp and then in prison has had on her son, that mentally he feels hopeless and alienated due to the difficulties he faces now that he is back in American society and the Japanese American community. Ichiro has to face discrimination from the Japanese American community for being a “no-no boy” and from American society in general for being Japanese. Mrs. Yamada fails to recognize the seriousness of his situation and just looks to a happier future in the motherland. She lives in a vacuum where despite “breathing the air of America... [she] had never lifted a foot from the land that was Japan” (11). Refusing to acknowledge Japan’s defeat and clinging onto an old letter from Brazil as proof, she awaits the ships that will take her and her family back to a victorious Japan.

Since Ichiro is the elder son and the younger son, Taro, has turned his back on the family, Mrs. Yamada plants all her hopes on Ichiro, holding tight to the dream of going home. Okada gives a description of her *dekasegi* mindset, explaining why many Japanese like Mrs. Yamada scrimped and saved, living in cramped quarters like transients even after thirty or forty years in the U.S.:

They rushed to America with the single purpose of making a fortune which would enable them to return to their own country and live adequately. It did not matter when they discovered that fortunes were not for the mere seeking or that their sojourns were spanning decades instead of years... They continued to maintain their dreams by refusing to learn how to speak or write the language of America and by living only among their own kind and by zealously avoiding long term commitments such as the purchase of a house. (26)

The first wave of Japanese immigrants held onto this kind of dream; however, by the second wave, dating from around 1908 to the 1920’s, the trend had changed to permanent settlement.⁵ However, alien land laws in Washington and other western states kept the Issei from owning property. In this way, people like Mrs. Yamada could not settle down and were stranded in a foreign land. Ichiro’s parents had not committed themselves to settling down in part because they could not own a house, the symbol of the American Dream, like an ordinary American family. With such an unstable family life, Ichiro feels that he has no real home both literally and figuratively. This contributes to his feeling of not completely belonging, of not being able to really be part of the American way of life.

In contrast, the Kumasaka family, like the Kanno family, gives up the idea of going back to Japan and shows a new commitment to the U.S. by purchasing a house. On a visit to their home, Ichiro notices with envy their comfortable living room because “it was like millions of other homes in America and could never be his own” (26). Mr. Kumasaka remarks to Ichiro that he and his wife “finally decided that America [was] not so bad,” thus showing the same decision to assimilate for their children’s sake as Mr. Kanno. However, with the accidental death of the son in whom they had planted all their hopes, they find themselves stranded, their sacrifice for the future in vain. Stephen Sumida in “*No-No Boy* and the Twisted Logic of Internment” asserts that the Kumasaka family, not the Issei parents but a Nisei child, probably bought the house with the death benefit (37). In the face of this tragedy, Mrs. Yamada feels triumph in having a living son who had not sacrificed himself for the U.S. She leaves the Kumasaka home, a place she sees as “a part of America” without any intention of returning (30), her dream of returning to her own country intact.

Mrs. Yamada’s refusal to give up the *dekasegi* mindset could be a result of the discriminatory treatment of Japanese in the U.S. Since they were denied citizenship despite living in the U.S. for decades, the Issei could play no political part and therefore had no power over their own lives. Taking such factors in mind, it is natural that some Japanese longed to return home to a place where they believe they would be accepted. From Ichiro’s point of view, his mother appears to be fanatical in her pride about being Japanese. Yet, the idea of having no other choice may have also played a part. Mrs. Yamada struggles to make a living with her piddling grocery store, while her friend, Mr. Ashida, can only get a menial job, working the night shift at a hotel and “grinning and bowing for dimes and quarters from rich Americans whom he detested” (23). In terms of employment, the Issei had few opportunities to improve their economic situation. Mrs. Yamada’s refusal to assimilate fully into American society could be a show of defiance on her part, her way of taking a stand against such injustices. In this way, ironically, Mrs. Yamada is a rebel among her own kind, showing a willingness to not fit in with her community, and possessing more of the individualistic American spirit than her sons and other more compliant Japanese Americans.⁶

V. Rejection for Rejection: Japan vs. America

However, her refusal to assimilate, to be flexible and accepting of American culture also inadvertently worsens the generation gap between herself and her sons. Unlike Mr. Kanno who adopts the American way of life for the sake of his children, Mrs. Yamada pointedly rejects things she considers American. Ichiro remembers that when he borrowed a phonograph, his mother smashed it to pieces because she disapproved of his wasting time on such "foolish pursuits." Ichiro recalls his feelings at the time:

A radio, a record player, even a stack of comic books were small enough concessions. Had she made those concessions, she might have kept her sons a part of the family. Everything, it seemed, stemmed back to her. All she had wanted from America for her sons was an education, learning and knowledge which would make them better men in Japan. To believe that she expected that such a thing was possible for her sons without their acquiring other American tastes and habits and feelings was hardly possible, and yet, that is how it was. (205)

The violent destruction of the phonograph represents Mrs. Yamada's desire to destroy her children's American side and her way of rebelling against America. As shown earlier with the sociologist's speech, she is unrealistic in her hope of raising Japanese children in the U.S. Even though they are, by blood, Japanese, their environment and the experiences they have in the U.S. make it impossible for them to be free of all American influence. Her failure to understand this and her inability to accept the American side of her sons drives them away. For Mrs. Yamada, it is a matter of love and hate: she loved her sons and wanted them to love Japan and being Japanese. But they were American-born and lived in America—and this is what she strove to take away from them because to be American was to not be Japanese. As Emi, a young Nisei woman, later says to Ichiro, "You had to be one or the other" (91): there was no room for compromise for Japanese Americans either from the point of view of the American government or Issei parents like Mrs. Yamada.

Being Japanese means everything to Mrs. Yamada. She equates being a loyal Japanese as being the same as being alive and being a good parent. She tells Ichiro:

"I will be dead when you decide to go into the army of the Americans. I will be dead when you begin to cease to be Japanese.... I will be dead long before the bullet strikes you. But you will not go, for you are my son.... (42)

Mrs. Yamada takes it for granted that her son thinks like her, that he thinks of himself as Japanese. In her mind, she and Ichiro are almost one and the same. Therefore, she has no idea that he feels conflicted between his Japanese and American sides. She also fails to realize that Ichiro feels "dead" himself after his ordeal in prison and that for him, his mother, or rather the person he knew as his mother, has been dead for many years. When he calls her crazy, she refers to other Japanese who say the same thing to her:

"They say I am crazy, but they do not mean it. They say it because they are frightened and because they envy my strength, which is truly the strength of Japan. They say it with the weakness which destroyed them and their sons in a traitorous cause and they say it because they see my strength which was vast enough to be your strength and they did not have enough for themselves and so not enough for their sons. (43)

Mrs. Yamada sees herself as Japan personified, considering her strength "the strength of Japan." Although she sees this strength as something that binds Ichiro to her, it is actually the thing that separates them and fuels the hatred Ichiro feels toward her. She refuses to show the fear and uncertainty regarding her life in the U.S. that would have bound her to her son. Attributing her stubborn defiance to her being Japanese, he lashes out at her with "God-damned Jap!" This shows not only hatred of her being Japanese but also himself (30).

As much as he expresses his hatred toward his mother, Ichiro also has moments of sympathy when he realizes that she has tried hard to be a good mother. He can guess the inner conflicts that she is experiencing as an Issei:

Right or wrong, she, in her way, had tried harder than most mothers to be a good mother to him. Did it matter so much that events had ruined her plans which she cherished and turned the once very possible dreams into a madness which was a madness only in view of the changed status of the Japanese in America? Was it she who was wrong and crazy not to have found in herself the capacity to accept a country which repeatedly refused to accept her or her sons unquestioningly or was it the others who were being deluded, like Kenji, who believed and fought and even gave their lives to protect this country where they could still not rate as first class citizens

because of the unseen walls? (104)

Ichiro sees some reason in her madness or rather he sees her reaction as a normal kind of defiance when he considers the plight of the Issei. They were regularly discriminated against along with their American-born children. Not only did they suffer but they had to see their children suffer because of them. Ichiro comes to see his mother's stance as natural and not crazy, compared to those like Kenji who willingly sacrificed their lives for a country that rejected them.

VI. The End of the Dream of Going Home

Mrs. Yamada's defiant stance and her dream both come to an end when she receives a letter from her sister in Japan. In the letter, her sister begs for food and candy for her children and Mrs. Yamada is forced to face the desperate situation of her defeated homeland. At first, she fights off the truth and suspects some conspiracy; however, the telling of the childhood secret in which her sister reminds her that she had saved her from drowning proves the authenticity of the letter. The Japan of her happier past has vanished, taking away with it her dream of the future. In bringing up the old memory of Mrs. Yamada nearly drowning as a child, Okada also foreshadows her eventual end. Sadly, there is no one to rescue her and she falls into a real state of madness.

Accordingly, Ichiro does not react in shock to his mother's suicide and, instead, he expresses relief for both himself and for her:

Dead, he thought to himself, all dead. For me, you have been dead for a long time, as long as I can remember. You, who gave life to me and to Taro and tried to make us conform to a mold which never existed for us... (I)t was a mistake to think that you could keep us completely Japanese in a country such as America. With me, you almost succeeded, or so it seemed. Sometimes I think it might have been better had you fully succeeded. You would have been happy and so might I have known a sense of completeness.... Suddenly I feel sorry for you.

Not sorry that you are dead, but sorry for the happiness you have not known. So, now you are free.... Go back to the Japan that you so long remembered and loved. (186)

His feelings toward his mother in death are much more forgiving and he seems to finally understand the tragedy of his mother's life, that she had had "nothing to live for except making enough so that they could go back to the old country and be among their own kind and know a little peace and happiness" (201). Despite all of her efforts in life she had not been able to achieve this simple dream and could find no happiness in her life in the U.S. Her death freed her of a life that no longer had any meaning.

Mrs. Yamada's long-held belief that provided she return to Japan, she could find a place where she belonged, was an unrealistic one. While she could never be an American despite her long sojourn, it was that very sojourn that would have made her no longer Japanese in her own country. Sumida makes a convincing analogy between Urashima Taro and the fate of Japanese Americans when he relates what he, a Sansei, learned from his grandparents:

Through Urashima Taro our Issei grandparents taught us that if they were to return to Japan from the under-sea world of America, all would have changed, including themselves, and everything would look older than it should. The Issei of the West Coast became Urashima Taro twice over, first in leaving Japan, second in being forced from their West Coast towns and farms and returning four years later again as aliens, strangers, enemies. Their Nisei children were Urashima Taro once, when they went away to the camps, and those Nikkei who could remember or intuit the Japanese story found support in their mythology for how to narrate their awful experience of incarceration and alienation at least to themselves. (45)

Perhaps Mrs. Yamada's death spared her even greater disappointment had she been able to return to the Japan of her dreams. Although she could not find acceptance in the U.S., she could no longer go home to Japan. The fate of Japanese Americans reflects that of Urashima Taro in that there is no place for them to return. In *No-No Boy*, Okada poignantly shows the dreams and hardships of two displaced generations in search of a spiritual home.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have explored the relationship between an Issei parent, Mrs. Yamada, and her Nisei son, Ichiro. Ichiro can be seen as a typical Nisei, unsure of his identity and full of angst about his future in American society and in the Japanese American community. Mrs. Yamada, on the other hand, appears to be an overbearing woman, proud of the nationality that was an essential part of her identity, who, partly out of necessity, held onto the *dekasegi* dream that her children did not share. Though she had spent most of her life in the U.S., she could not become an American due to discrimination, and she never could fit completely into American society. As a result, she rejected America and tried to encourage her children to do the same. Without any other recourse, she became a “No-No” woman who said “No!” to permanent settlement in a foreign land among foreign people and “No!” to allegiance to that foreign land. This stance ended up alienating her children and fostered a desire in them to deny their Japanese cultural heritage and in a sense, deny her existence. Her only hope was to return with her family to the Japan she remembered and all her efforts, both in childrearing and work, were toward that aim. Once the dream was destroyed, her life lost meaning and reached its end. Though the character of Mrs. Yamada often appears unsympathetic, she is really a tragic figure, representing the story of those courageous Issei souls stranded in America without an American Dream. Had John Okada lived to finish his second novel, which was to feature an Issei protagonist, he would have probably given readers an even more detailed portrayal of the tragedies and triumphs of these brave pioneers. As this was not to be, his first and only novel, *No-No Boy*, stands as a testimony and a tribute not only to the strength and courage of the Nisei but also to that of the Issei as well.

Notes

- ¹ John Okada, *No-No Boy*. 1957. Rpt. Seattle: U of Washington P, 1976. Subsequent references to this edition will be made throughout the text.
- ² The initial intention of the loyalty questionnaire was ostensibly to prove the loyalty of Japanese Americans so they could be released from the internment camps for resettlement. However, it ended up causing confusion, dismay, and anguish as it contained two potentially damaging questions: 27) Are you willing to serve in the armed forces of the United States on combat duty wherever orders? 28) Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the United States of America and faithfully defend the United States from any or all attack by foreign or domestic forces, and forswear any form of allegiance or obedience to the Japanese emperor, to any other foreign government, power or organization? (Weglyn, 136) Both appeared to be trick questions and answering the questions in the affirmative could make the Issei people without a country and imply that the Nisei had been loyal to Japan. However, if even one question was answered with a “no,” this could result in the person being branded a traitor or a troublemaker. This would result in the offender being separated from the family and being sent to another camp or prison. Ichiro was sent to prison.
- ³ Daniel Y. Kim in “Once More, With Feeling: Cold War Masculinity and the Sentiment of Patriotism in John Okada’s *No-No Boy*” points to the “culture of containment” discussed by Cold War scholars such as Elaine Tyler May as a way of linking “loyalty to the U.S. state” to loyalty to the family. Kim considers Ichiro’s blaming his family and himself for his incarceration as an example of this phenomenon (66).
- ⁴ Gayle K. Fujita Sato in “Momotaro’s Exile: John Okada’s *No-No Boy*” asserts that Ichiro sees “family and ethnic self in terms of a binary opposition whereby ‘Japanese’ identity can properly belong only to childhood” to be replaced by “an ‘American’ identity, as the child becomes an adult” (244). In addition, since Ichiro’s family does not fit the Momotaro prototype, the “paradigm is inverted... (as) Ichiro’s home becomes a battleground” and he cannot emerge triumphant like Momotaro.
- ⁵ For a detailed history of the immigration of the Issei, see Yuji Ichioka’s *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924*.
- ⁶ In the chapter entitled “Struggle Against Exclusion” in *The Issei*, Ichioka discusses the reinterpretation of the term *chukun aikoku* (loyalty to the Emperor and love of nation) by the *Nichibei Shimbun* to mean that the Japanese immigrants “should prove to the world that Japanese as a people were capable of adapting themselves to live and work outside of Japan” and that one of the “enduring traits inherited from the ancient Japanese past” was the ability to assimilate (184). The purpose of this reinterpretation was to foster permanent settlement. Taking this under consideration, Mrs. Yamada seems to be going against the interests of Japan, which was for the Japanese Americans to be a cultural bridge between the two countries.

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