Japanese American Redress: Impacts on Intergenerational Socioeconomic Status and Relevance to the Modern Reparations Movement

Ashley Rodarte
Senior Comprehensive
Urban and Environmental Policy
April 7, 2021
Professor Rodnyansky
Abstract

This paper explores the legacy of the Japanese American Redress and Reparations movement and the 1988 Civil Liberties Act. Interviews with Japanese Americans who were incarcerated during WWII and their descendants were conducted to determine whether there was a long-term impact on the socioeconomic status of Nikkei due to reparations from the 1988 Civil Liberties Act and to explore the relevance of the Japanese American Redress movement to the modern fight for redress for Black Americans. Interview responses aligned thematically to existing testimony and literature that expressed the importance of community rebuilding and the uplifting impact of speaking up at the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians hearings. Interview responses on the potential improvements to the Civil Liberties Act provided suggestions for future reparations proposals for other groups.
Acknowledgements

This paper and the research I conducted to produce it would not have been possible without the incredible support I had from academics, participants, and peers. I have infinite gratitude for the ten upstanding and intelligent Nikkei who agreed to share their experiences and opinions. Thank you Miya Iwataki, Richard Katsuda, Suzy Katsuda, Iku Kiriyama, Kathy Masaoka, Alan Nishio, Kay Ochi, Nicole Rodriguez, Reiko Takai, and Janice Yen. I would like to express my great appreciation to Professor Rodnyansky, my research advisor, for the dedicated, careful, and consistent guidance on my paper and methods throughout the entirety of this work. I am also very grateful to Nikkei Progressives members for discussing my research topic with me and June Hibino especially for connecting me with wonderful interviewees. I would also like to thank Professor Matsuoka and Donna Nagata for the guidance on reaching out to Nikkei. Thank you Russ Tremayne for guidance on resources for my research and encouragement. I would also like to thank Alexandria Yawata for her encouragement and support throughout the research process.
Table of Contents

*Introduction* ........................................................................................................................................... 4

*Background* ........................................................................................................................................... 5
  - Historical Examples of Reparations ................................................................................................. 6
  - Japanese Incarceration and Redress .............................................................................................. 9

*Literature Review* ................................................................................................................................. 15
  - Economic Impacts ........................................................................................................................... 16
  - Socioeconomic Status of Japanese Americans ............................................................................. 18
  - Racial Trauma and Relevance to Reparations ............................................................................. 19

*Methods* ............................................................................................................................................... 22

*Data Findings* ....................................................................................................................................... 24

*Analysis and Discussion* ....................................................................................................................... 31

*Policy Recommendations* ................................................................................................................... 36

*Conclusion* ........................................................................................................................................... 39

*Bibliography* ......................................................................................................................................... 42

*Appendix* ............................................................................................................................................... 45
Introduction

The Incarceration of Japanese populations in America during World War II is a significant portion of Japanese American history that illuminates fear, power, racism, and regret in overall American history. The history and experiences of Japanese people in America are complex, and therefore the subject of a lot of research and interest. Through the difficulty and suffering, the movement for redress is recognized as a successful campaign and an example to other minority groups in the US. The fight for reparations after incarceration, which is explained in the Background section, increased national awareness of the mistreatment of Nikkei, Japanese immigrants and their descendants, in the US and bolstered Japanese culture. This national movement progressed because of work from the Civil Rights movement but also inspired new activism and other movements for reparations.

For many Nikkei, the apology and acknowledgment of wrongdoing was the most crucial and meaningful part of the redress. There is existing research on the traumatic impacts of internment (Nagata 2019), and existing data on the inadequate monetary compensation relative to value lost (Kashima, 1997), however, there is not clear data or research on how that apology and the monetary restitution has impacted Japanese Americans who were incarcerated nor the impact on their descendants in the long term. This is important to understand because today, Japanese Americans are considered a successful minority despite historical trauma, considering they have higher educational attainment than the general US population (See Appendix C). Considering the existing research and the modern interest in reparations-type policies, it is important to research and understand the following questions:
- Did redress have a long-lasting impact on the socioeconomic status of Japanese Americans?

- How are reparations for Japanese Americans relevant to the modern fight for reparations for Black Americans?

I hypothesized that in completing my research I will find that reparations did not have a substantial or significant impact on the socioeconomic status of Japanese Americans or more specifically, the descendants of incarcerated Japanese people. I also hypothesized that the findings would be meaningful for the modern fight for reparations for Black Americans, as they encourage substantial monetary compensation and community investment and analyze the impact of reparations if the government is not willing to provide a meaningful sum.

**Background**

Reparations, defined as the allocation of money to people who have been wronged, are a topic of growing interest in social justice and politics. Most recently, reparations for Black Americans are being debated and requested for discrimination, systemic oppression, and racism. Various cases of reparations paid out by governments have been completed around the world and on a smaller scale in the United States. One of the most well-known instances of redress was the reparations given to Japanese Americans who were placed in concentration camps, commonly known as internment camps, during the second world war. These reparations are often discussed in the debate for slavery reparations, as they represent the only direct cash reparations to individuals from the government completed in the United States. Reparations in most cases involve a lot of deliberation on the sides of the perpetrator and the
victims, as in some instances, the victims’ desires are not prioritized. The following examples of completed reparations display significant appropriations of funding and uncertainty from victims in various cases.

Historical Examples of Reparations

Reparations have successfully been offered in several other countries, to attempt to make amends for a variety of ills. In Canada, reparations were provided to Aboriginal people who were forced to attend residential schools where students were separated from their families and forced to assimilate. These federally established schools were centers for physical and sexual abuse for a lot of students and caused significant trauma and loss of culture. Approximately 150,000 Aboriginal children were placed into these schools between the late 1800s until the last school was closed in the 1990s (Government of Canada, 2018). The Canadian government passed the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement in 2007, which was developed with Indigenous organizations, legal representation from students and churches, and the government. This settlement, along with a formal apology, included a base Common Experience Payment for all the students who were in residential schools, an Independent Assessment Process that provided a specific pathway for survivors of sexual and physical abuse to receive additional compensation, endowments for healing resources including a foundation, a health support program, memorial actions, and a commission of Truth and Reconciliation to facilitate claims and commemorative actions (Government of Canada, 2019). As of 2018, the ten year anniversary of the formal apology from the Canadian government, 80,000 former students were paid $1,600,000,000 in Common Experience Payments,
$3,000,000,000 in payments through the Independent Assessment Process, while a $125,000,000 endowment was paid to the Aboriginal Healing Foundation, and more than $20,000,000 was committed to 144 commemoration projects (Government of Canada, 2018). Totaling $4,745,000,000, this was the largest settlement in the nation’s history. This is the most modern case of reparations highlighted in this paper, and so there is not extensive research on the impact of these reparations. Two notable factors from this example are the involvement of Aboriginal groups and the large sums of money for remembrance and healing in addition to direct payments.

In another foreign example, the German government paid restitution to Holocaust survivors and Israel after World War II. Payments to individuals and Israel came after a long debate over whether or not to accept money for such horrific acts and the establishment of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany. In 1952 Germany agreed to pay $845,000,000 to Israel which bolstered up the economy (Jewish Virtual Library). Not until 1988 were individual survivors paid reparations and until 1990 did the government formally apologize and admit fault. The government allocated $125,000,000 for survivors, who would receive $290 each month for the rest of their lives (Jewish Virtual Library). This example is interesting because of the original strong opposition from victims, and the payments to another government. As in the case of the aboriginal people of Canada and examples of reparations from the US, reparations include payments to individuals and groups and a formal apology.

There have also been cases of reparations in the United States, though not at as large of a scale as examples from other nations. One example is the payment to the participants and their family members in the unethical Tuskegee Experiment. The Tuskegee Study was
government research on syphilis in the middle of the 20th century, where researchers withheld treatment from study participants, African American men who were targeted because of their race and socioeconomic status. The study was ended in 1972 after criticism of unethical behavior and a class action lawsuit was filed in 1974, from which a $10,000,000 settlement was made out of court for the participants and their families (CDC, 2020). The government also developed a lifetime health insurance program for the survivors and their wives, widows, and children, called the Tuskegee Health Benefits Program. At the time of writing, 11 children of participants remain a part of the program. In 1997 the American President issued a formal apology to study participants. This example is similar to the previous foreign cases in that they all include a formal apology, however, it is distinct in that the payment was settled out of court and the targeted group was smaller in size.

The US also gave reparations to American Indians in the form of monetary payments. The Indian Claims Commission operated between 1946 and 1978, to give compensation for illegally taken land and land bought for absurdly low prices. The commission required tribes to file a claim and have it substantiated by the commission. Payments were given to tribes after they went through a legislative process where they were required to act as plaintiffs and the US acted as defendants in front of a judge, who then assigned judgment. In some cases, reparations were divided between all tribe members, however in others, like that of the Lakota people, monetary compensation was not accepted, as the preferred reparation was the return of the stolen land; although tribes reported feeling obligated to accept whatever compensation was decided on (Wishart, 2011). Over $800,000,000 was given as compensation throughout the existence of the Indian Claims Commission, however, no land was returned, bringing into
question the value of the monetary compensation (Indian Claims Commission, 1980). This example highlights the tension between victims and perpetrators, as well as the ways reparations can be less meaningful without group participation and symbolic components like an apology.

In nearly every example of completed reparations, there is hesitation and deliberation on the side of the victims, and a formal apology from the perpetrator, the government. These examples highlight the difficulty of developing reparations that are meaningful to those impacted by the injustice restitution is aiming to address. Another potential instance of reparations in the United States is the battle over H.R. 40 in the House of Representatives. The Commission to Study and Develop Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act, also known as H.R. 40, is a bill that would establish a commission to determine the nation’s role in slavery, discrimination against freed enslaved people and their descendants, and the lingering impacts of slavery. Notably, this bill is not debating reparations proposals, it is only debating the opportunity to investigate government wrongdoing against Black Americans. This bill, at the time of writing, was introduced to the 116th Congress by Representative Sheila Jackson Lee, after 28 years of Representative John Coyner introducing the bill into Congress to no avail. Reparations for slavery have had the least success in government despite efforts from organizations and members of Congress.

Japanese Incarceration and Redress

The most mainstream example of reparations in American history are those given to survivors of Japanese Incarceration during World War II. Japanese “Internment” is also referred
to as relocation, evacuation, and incarceration. Reparations are also referred to as redress and restitution. While “internment” is the most commonly known word to describe the forced removal and imprisonment of Japanese people in America after the attack on Pearl Harbor, it does not properly describe what happened. For the remainder of this paper, “internment” will not be used to describe the incarceration of Japanese people in American concentration camps. This diction is respectful of interviewee wishes, reflective of language used by Japanese American Organizations, and the most factually accurate. Reparations for Japanese Americans were meant to address the incarceration of people of Japanese ancestry in the US during World War II. The American decision to officially enter the war was spurred by the bombing of Pearl Harbor by Japanese air forces on December 7, 1941. Two large ships were destroyed at the Pearl Harbor naval base in Hawaii, and 2,403 people were killed, which prompted the United States to enter the war and President Roosevelt to enact Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942 (JANM.org). Executive Order 9066 required that Japanese and Americans of Japanese descent be rounded up and housed in relocation camps. With anywhere between four days to two weeks of notice, Japanese Americans were forced to dispose of their personal belongings and sell their property. They were instructed to only bring what they could carry, resulting in lost businesses, property, and land due to their forced evacuation. This was happening in an era of anti-Japanese racism and so was accepted by the larger American public. It was required that people with as little as 1/16th Japanese lineage be removed, including young children and the elderly (history.com). People of Japanese descent were mainly of concern to the government on the west coast of the US, however, when Japanese people willingly moved to more inland states, they were met with racist resistance from governors. Ultimately about 120,000 people
of Japanese descent were evacuated from areas along the west coast and put into relocation centers and then into permanent wartime camps.

Incarcerated people were placed into 10 various concentration camps spread across the nation, enabled by another executive order, 9102, which established the War Relocation Authority (WRA) and provided $5,500,000 to the program under the guidance of Milton Eisenhower, who resigned after about three months (JANM.org). Before being moved to permanent wartime camps, people were temporarily housed in relocation camps, which were notoriously dehumanizing, as they were reported to have food shortages and cram people into areas previously used for animals or storage (history.com). Camps existed in Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, California, New Mexico, and Arkansas. There were also nuances in the experiences of special groups, including a very restrictive isolation camp in Santa Fe for people considered troublesome or accommodations for the families of Japanese American men who were allowed to work during incarceration. These camps, once referred to as concentration camps by President Roosevelt, were alleged to function like small towns with schools, factories, and stores, however, they were monitored by armed guards (JANM.org). A few evacuees were even killed by guards at the main camps. In one case at the Heart Mountain Camp in Wyoming, James Hatsuki Wakasa was shot to death for attempted escape. It was later found that the 63 year old was not even facing the fence when he was shot and the guard who killed him was found not guilty (JANM.org). One camp, the Tule Lake camp in northern California, was known to contain Japanese Americans who were deemed disloyal based on a test incarcerees were forced to take that asked about loyalty to the US while being imprisoned
and removed from their homes. At Tule Lake, another man, Shoichi James Okamoto, was shot to death by a guard (JANM.org).

Incarceration ended in 1945, after the Supreme Court ruled that the WRA did not have the authority to detain loyal citizens in Endo v. The United States. The last concentration camp, Tule Lake, did not close until 1946. Executive Order 9066 was not officially repealed until 1976 by President Ford. In 1988 President Reagan signed H.R. 442, the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which states that the imprisonment of people of Japanese ancestry was “largely motivated by racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a failure of political leadership” and lists its goals as to acknowledge the injustice, apologize, provide restitution and education, and prevent similar injustices from happening again (H.R.442). This resulted in about 80,000 survivors each receiving $20,000 and $1,250,000,000 being appropriated for the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund. The first restitution payments were made on October 9, 1990.

The passage of the 1988 Civil Liberties Act was impossible without the Japanese American community organizing and advocating for redress. The National Coalition for Redress/Reparations, currently known as Nikkei for Civil Rights and Redress, formed in 1980, 35 years after Endo v United States, to fight for redress that included meaningful “punitive damages” (Hirabayashi, 2018). This group worked with other large Japanese American organizations including the Japanese American Citizens League and the National Council for Japanese American Redress. Critical actions included encouraging Issei and Nisei people to share their experiences at the Commission for Wartime Relocation and Internment hearings and lobbying Congress for redress. The redress movement and the community organizing involved had significant rebuilding benefits for the Japanese American community and
uncovered many emotions and stories that had been buried for years. For a more comprehensive explanation of the grassroots struggle and personal accounts of the process from members of the Los Angeles chapter, which warrants detail that is not provided in this paper, read NCRR: The Grassroots Struggle for Japanese American Redress and Reparations.

There is not a complete understanding of how much was lost and damaged, financially, culturally, and emotionally. There were efforts to study the losses accrued and smaller efforts to financially compensate incarcerated people for their economic losses. Before H.R. 442, Congress passed the Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act of 1948, which allowed for incarcerated people to file claims of land damage or loss. This resulted in 26,568 claims totaling $148,000,000, to which the government gave about $37,000,000 (Kashima, 1997, pg 118). The Commission of Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC), which was established in 1980, recognized the difficulty of gathering accurate information and records of property and income due to incarceration and the fact that the government did not aim to cover emotional or physical damages.

Substantial accounts of Japanese Americans losing value while attempting to liquidate assets in a hurry due to the short notice of Executive Order 9066 exist, in one case a family sold their pickup truck for 25 dollars, having just spent 125 dollars on new tires and other parts (Kashima, 1997, pg 130). Many accounts exist of opportunists purchasing property, tools, furniture, and other goods for absurdly low prices, taking advantage of Japanese residents in desperate need to sell (Kashima, 1997). One report released by the CWRIC estimated property losses to be between $335,000,000 and $1,700,000,000 in 1945 dollars, and income loss between $108,000,000 to $164,000,000, also in 1945 dollars (Pippert, 1983). The economic
losses are significantly large considering what their value would be in 1990s dollars, when the first reparation payment was made, and in comparison to the $20,000 paid as redress for these losses. Due to the hectic and abusive nature of Japanese evacuation, there are not accurate records to determine a more certain calculation of losses.

The other monetary program that was a part of Japanese Redress was the Civil Liberties Public Education Fund. The goals of this fund were to ensure the remembrance of Japanese incarceration and to understand the causes of events in this and similar situations. $3,300,000 from the fund were used to sponsor 135 projects including art, research, fellowships, landmarks, and curriculum development (Yamato, 2013). Other awareness actions sponsored by the public education fund include public service announcements, the republishing of the Personal Justice Denied report, and editing the transcripts of testimonies from CWRIC hearings for future accessibility.

The topic of redress was not always agreed upon, even in the Japanese community. The Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians listened to about 750 testimonies from witnesses in 1981 which eventually led to their recommendations for restitution to Congress (JANM.org). In the Japanese community, the Nisei generation is made up of the children born in the US of Japanese immigrants and the Sansei generation was in camp at a very young age or born after the war. These two generations had different worldviews on behavior which led to conflict on the topic of reparations. Kibei refers to a person who was born in the United States but educated and raised in Japan and returned to the US after obtaining their education, adding to the complexity of culture and language for Japanese people on the West Coast. The Nisei generation was more traditional in their views
and believed that what happened could not be undone and so they would aim to move on gracefully while the Sansei generation grew up through the Civil Rights Movement and looked back on Japanese Incarceration with a racial justice lens and pushed for government redress. After organizing from groups like the National Coalition for Redress/Reparations, the Japanese community as a whole rallied around redress as an issue that would force the government to face its faults and prevent a similar injustice in the future.

**Literature Review**

There is substantial literature on the emotional impacts of Japanese incarceration as well as personal testimony from survivors. Less literature exists on its economic impact and its connection to reparations for Black Americans. Relevant literature on the subject of reparations and Japanese incarceration concludes that there are distinct differences between Japanese Americans who were incarcerated and the descendants of enslaved African Americans. They state that these distinctions make the discussion of reparations for each group very different and somewhat irrelevant to each other. However, research relevant to the modern movement for reparations, which is literature on the long-term effects of redress on descendants of incarcerated Japanese Americans, is not comprehensive. Important research on the economic impacts of incarceration shows significant losses not adequately supplemented by the reparations given in the 1988 Civil Liberties Act. Research should be expanded on the generational economic impacts of reparations.
Economic Impacts

Most work on the economic impact of incarceration shows significant financial losses for Japanese Americans who were incarcerated. Economic losses largely stemmed from having to sell personal items and property at a loss, losing businesses, and lost opportunity for wages. More specifically losses came from selling automobiles to individuals or the government for significantly reduced prices, selling land to opportunists also at significantly reduced prices, losing small businesses due to the inability to maintain them during incarceration, and entrusting items or property to caretakers who often abandoned property or never returned items (Kashima, 1997). There were also significant losses in the agriculture industry, as about two-thirds of the Japanese workforce in the western coastal states relied on the agriculture industry and about $80,000,000 worth of farmland and equipment belonged to Nikkei on the west coast (Kashima, 1997).

Other significant losses came from lost wages. All estimates, including conservative estimates, on how much incarcerated Japanese Americans lost due to property and wage losses show significantly higher losses than what was paid by the government to address those losses through the 1948 Japanese American Evacuation Claims Act and the 1988 Civil Liberties Act. In the Evacuations Claims Act, the US government paid about $37,000,000 in total to the majority of the 26,568 claimants, and the 1988 Civil Liberties Act paid $20,000 to all surviving incarcerees, which was about $1,600,000,000 from the government (Kashima, 1997). However, a study by Broom and Riemer in 1949 found that based on conservative measures of income and property loss, there was about $77,000,000 worth of losses to claim from the Evacuations Claims Act, a notably higher number than what was paid in the 1948 Act. This Act was criticized
in the congressional deliberation for the 1988 Civil Liberties Act for not accounting for the loss of financial documents due to incarceration that were needed to prove financial losses. Broom and Riemer focused on Los Angeles as a sample and used conservative measures like basing calculations on 1941 costs although theirs is still considered the most thorough analysis of economic impacts of evacuation (Kashima, 1997).

There is a significant lack of research on the economic impacts from the 21st century and the generational impact of incarceration from an economic perspective. Chin (2004) is the most recent economic study and sole study on the extent of losses specifically due to wage loss and labor market withdrawal and its long-term effects after incarceration. To understand how male working-age Japanese Americans would have fared if incarceration had not happened, Chin used the Japanese population of Hawaii, which was not subject to incarceration, as a control group. Chin found evidence of earnings losses up to 25 years after incarceration. The greatest earning losses were for the youngest group of male incarcerees and was determined to be $48,000 over the rest of their lifetime, in 1969 dollars (Chin, 2004). This is significant considering that reparations given were $20,000, but $6,000 in 1969 dollars, indicating a severe difference in earnings losses to redress earnings. In other terms, imprisoned males earned about $500 less each year than the control, had lower occupational prestige scores, and occupied fewer managerial and professional roles, all of which indicated that working-age imprisoned males were set back a whole generation (Chin, 2004). It is also important to state that this study does not represent the total effect of incarceration but only the impact of labor market withdrawal. Examination of earnings losses does not include the economic status of children of incarcerated Japanese, only for working-age males who were themselves
incarcerated. Research conducted on the economic impacts of incarceration largely focuses on the losses from property and earnings on those incarcerated and should be expanded to include the impacts on the children of incarcerated Japanese Americans.

Socioeconomic Status of Japanese Americans

The discussion of the impacts of incarceration must be contextualized by the socioeconomic status of Japanese Americans throughout the 20th century. Data on the educational attainment and occupation of Japanese Americans was recorded by the United States War Relocation Authority before incarceration, however, as mentioned in *Personal Justice Denied* the IRS destroyed income tax records of the incarcerated from 1939 to 1942 (Kashima, 1997). This study also found that Japanese Americans were also successful before the war, with particular strength in the agricultural industry. For example, Japanese florists accounted for 16 out of 25 million dollars in flower market business in Los Angeles (Kashima, 1997). A 1973 study on the socioeconomic mobility of Japanese Americans looked at three generations and found unsurprisingly that the educational attainment level of the 1st generation was highly correlated with the educational attainment level in the following generations but focused on the impact of assimilation styles rather than the impact of incarceration (Levine, 1973).

Another study by Caudill and Mixon (2012) looked at the impacts of incarceration on human and physical capital. Caudill and Mixon (2012) found that because of the economic losses from incarceration and specifically the losses of physical capital like land and other property, Japanese Americans post-incarceration were more likely to invest in human capital,
like higher education, instead of physical capital like land, which had proven to be a risky investment for this ethnic group because of the losses from incarceration (Caudill and Mixon, 2012). This research was completed using the data from the Japanese American Research Project and found that behavior from Japanese Americans post-incarceration aligned with economic theory, however, this research did not include a thorough analysis on the impact on changing from investing in physical capital to human capital on socioeconomic status. Analysis of the larger socioeconomic and wealth impacts on investing in human capital instead of physical capital would be relevant to the discussion of effective reparations and information on the state of Japanese Americans post-incarceration.

More recent data on the socioeconomic status of Japanese Americans is important yet lacking. Modern data include research from the PEW research center and the US Census, however, it is important to note that this data exists without academic analysis of the data or its relation to incarceration and redress. Chin’s 2004 study found that incarceration resulted in the financial setback of one generation in the incarcerated group, which is critical considering there are unspecified differences in the socioeconomic status of Japanese Americans who are descendants of incarcerated individuals and newly immigrated Japanese in America.

Racial Trauma and Relevance to Reparations

Aside from economic impacts, there were also obvious emotional and physical traumas that resulted from incarceration and evacuation. Research has found significant racial trauma among Japanese Americans post-incarceration and positive impacts for health from reparations (Nagata 1990, Nagata 2019, Kim 2015). The Kim (2015) study found reactions to redress were
generally positive but were influenced by one’s worldview. Importantly this research also
determined that reparations do not completely heal trauma although victims do view them as
generally positively impactful. The 2019 Nagata study on racial trauma from wartime
incarceration details the stressors that Japanese people faced due to incarceration and the
intergenerational impacts of such trauma while the 1990 Nagata study found that behavior of
victimization was found in the generation of Japanese Americans after incarceration who were
not incarcerated. Nagata concludes that historical and sociocultural events are important for
understanding racial trauma. This study includes extensive impacts during and after
incarceration but does not include a discussion of other groups with obvious racial trauma like
Black Americans when it does include details on how Black Americans collaborated with
Japanese Americans to fight for redress. It also does not include how findings were relevant to
the socioeconomic status of those studied. Further research would benefit from the inclusion of
a discussion of the relevance to racial trauma that Black Americans face. As Bryant-Davis
highlights in her 2007 article, Japanese incarceration is recognized as a race-based wrong and
wrongs against Black Americans are often not recognized as such. Further research should also
expand on the impacts on the generation after those who were incarcerated, as Nagata (1990)
found mental-emotional trauma passed down, it would be relevant to understand if
socioeconomic status is impacted as well.

Redress and reparations given to Japanese Americans are often cited in the debate for
reparations for Black Americans for discrimination and slavery. Although reparations were not
given to victims of evacuation immediately or even in the next 40 years, most literature
determines that there are significant differences in the two fights for reparations that make the
reparations given to Japanese Americans a less relevant model for reparations for slavery. Important considerations are raised in Yamamoto’s 1998 article about racial reparations, including the questions of worthiness that Japanese Americans were deemed to have and the risk of re-victimization. Yamamoto points to the difficulty of legal framing for Black Americans because arguments that suggest slavery reparations are too long ago to be achievable are fighting against arguments that affirm excluding slavery from reparations is ineffective because it sacrifices the largest emotional and moral argument. Yamamoto’s article is impactful because it highlights the challenges relevant to reparations for Black Americans, which are still relevant today, instead of highlighting the ways the debates for reparations for Japanese Americans were different. Key conclusions include the necessity for convergence of interests between groups seeking reparations and the ruling class, and the necessity of reparations to restructure institutions for them to be meaningful.

Howard-Hassmann (2004) on the other hand, explains the challenges facing Black Americans in comparison to Japanese Americans. Overall, most of the factors that made reparations possible for Japanese Americans are significant challenges in the case of Black American reparations. Howard-Hassmann suggests limiting the size of monetary reparations, identifying limited and living victims, and claiming a clearly recognizable harm. A key challenge mentioned in the work of both Howard-Hassmann and Yamamoto includes the identification of a clear victim and clear perpetrator. Literature on the comparisons between reparations for Japanese and Black Americans reinforces the difficulty of obtaining reparations for Black Americans. Research can be expanded to determine ways to achieve reparations for Black Americans that are less limiting or skeptical.
The existing literature on the subject of Japanese reparations does not include a follow-up on the socioeconomic impacts of reparations and largely denies a connection between Japanese reparations and the movement for reparations for Black Americans. Research needs to be expanded to include more modern socioeconomic impacts of reparations, and generational impacts of reparations. This research would be especially relevant to the modern fight for reparations for other groups in America, namely, Black Americans and descendants of enslaved people. My research aimed to expand on the existing research by examining the generational impact on socioeconomic status reparations had for Japanese Americans and relating the findings to the movement for reparations for Black Americans.

**Methods**

Qualitative methods were used to explore the research questions, specifically to understand the personal significance of redress and reparations to Nikkei, as well as to gain insight on the use of reparation payments and their potential economic impact. The utilization of this method aims to more completely understand the impact of redress on intergenerational wealth and race relations. Because there were approximately 120,000 Japanese people imprisoned in World War II, the majority of people were evacuated from California, and there is limited existing data that includes socioeconomic indicators and a detailed history of incarceration, this research focused mostly on individuals who currently live in Southern California whose family was incarcerated at any camp. Likely, people who reside in Southern California can trace familial incarceration to the Manzanar camp in California and the Rohwer camp in Arkansas because their prisoners largely relocated from Los Angeles County. While
quantitative research methods were considered, there was not adequate data on socioeconomic status and wealth for Japanese Americans specifically for a long enough time period. Information gained from quantitative data likely would not have impacted altered conclusions but rather added a quantitative perspective to the analysis that mirrors the findings from qualitative analysis. Quantitative methods also would have provided data for different research questions, specifically on the patterns and changes of Japanese American economic status, which are not explored in this study.

I interviewed the survivors of incarceration, the children of survivors of incarceration, and the grandchildren of survivors of incarceration to gather testimony on economic loss, to hear individual and specific accounts on how Redress money was used, and to learn more about the individual significance of redress. Many accounts exist of the emotional significance of the government recognition of fault and wrongdoing, so analysis was also conducted using existing testimony and interviews from survivors from various publications. Because redress payments were only given to victims of incarceration surviving at the time of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, about forty years after incarceration ended, it is important to hear from children of incarcerated Japanese Americans as those who experienced incarceration firsthand are not alive in as high of a number. Children and grandchildren of those incarcerated will also have more insight into the potential generational impact of reparations and incarceration. 10 interviews were completed with Nikkei descendants of internees or internees themselves. Relevant interviewees were contacted through Los Angeles-based Japanese American organizations, public advertising and recruitment, and personal connections, and then further through snowball sampling and networks. See Appendix B for guiding interview questions.
After conducting and transcribing interviews, transcriptions were analyzed for notable quotes and themes. Themes were discovered by individually analyzing responses from all interviewees for each question and were organized using excel. Because interviews were conducted for depth of responses rather than for breadth of respondents, special attention was given to each respondent’s comments, language choices, and tone. Once data was organized, specific responses that illuminated the long-term impacts of redress and any relevance to the modern reparations movement were charted and discussed.

**Data Findings**

To answer the research questions, I interviewed ten Nikkei people who had direct personal or familial connections to the wartime concentration camps. While each person could have detailed the lives their families were leading pre-incarceration, the questions mainly asked participants to think retrospectively and offer information on experiences and opinions on issues *post-camp and post-redress*. Although their stories of life before camp are not detailed in this paper, I would like to acknowledge the lives that were entirely disrupted by the wartime incarceration. For example, some of the interviewees’ families were just married, or just had their first-born child, or were busy running a grocery store.

The majority of interviewees, eight out of ten, had a background in organizing or participating in the redress movement that won reparations for Japanese Americans who were incarcerated. Of all the interviewees, six were incarcerated in their youth, one of which was born in camp. Notably, all the participants who experienced incarceration themselves were very young and expressed minimal memory of personal experiences that were not retold by
parents or relatives. The majority of interviewees, 9 out of 10, were born in the 1940s or 30s, and so while some of them were incarcerated, they are not considered adults during incarceration and were able to answer questions on their own experiences in addition to that of their incarcerated parents. Because interviewees were of various generations in relation to immigration, I will refer to interviewees and their families in the three following categories: the generation incarcerated as adults (IA), the children of the generation incarcerated as adults (CIA), and the grandchildren of those incarcerated as adults (GIA). Note that respondents in the CIA category may have also been incarcerated themselves, but at a young age.

One of the interviewees had a very limited memory of their experiences (due to old age memory loss) and therefore did not respond to all of the questions, though I was able to use all the answers they were able to provide in my analysis. All participants’ parents were also imprisoned in camps, except for one, who commented on their grandparents’ experiences. Half of the interviewees had one or more parents who were Kibei. Two of the interviewees had fathers who were in the military during the war, meaning they did not stay in camps because they worked for the military and were given redress. Camps that participants had themselves been incarcerated at or their family members had been incarcerated at include Manzanar, Poston, Rowher, Tule Lake, and a lesser-known camp in Santa Fe that held prisoners who were considered to be especially troublesome. All incarcerees lived in California at the time of evacuation orders, predominantly in Los Angeles, San Diego, and the Bay Area. Note that two interviewees are extended family members of mine.

When asked to rate on a scale of one to ten, with ten being the most, how much information they knew about their own or their parents' experiences in camp the average
answer was 4.1, with the lowest answer being zero and the highest being 8.5 (This is based on 8 responses, as 2 respondents could not answer this question). The two respondents who rated their knowledge the highest, one at 8.5 and the other at 6, had requested and received their family records of incarceration and evacuation from the national archives. These respondents credited the reports with providing a lot of additional knowledge about their families’ experiences relative to what they were told by parents and extended family.

Table 1. Select Demographic Information of Interviewees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Incarcerated and Received Redress</th>
<th>Educational Attainment Bachelor’s Degree or Higher</th>
<th>Involved in Redress Movement</th>
<th>Kibei Parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6/10</td>
<td>9/10</td>
<td>8/10</td>
<td>5/10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of participants, nine out of ten, have a bachelor’s degree or higher. For all the participants who had children, their children had at least a bachelor’s degree or were in the process of obtaining their bachelor’s degree. When asked about whether or not they felt they were economically better or worse off than their parent’s generation, most respondents felt they were better off than their parent’s generation. See Chart 1 for all responses. Interviewees reported the occupation of their parents, themselves, and their children, post-incarceration. Occupations of the grandchildren of adult incarcerees varied the most and did not show any particular trends. Grandchildren’s occupations included bartending, practicing law, teaching, union organizing, designing, and writing. Occupations of the children of adult incarcerees were mostly similar, with people working in teaching or school administration. The generation who was incarcerated as adults, according to their children, was employed after camp in various occupations including gardening, farming, teaching, produce markets, and small businesses.
Notably, there were 5 people who were employed in agriculture, which includes gardening and farming, whether or not they owned the farmland. For the generation born around the 1940s, or the children of the generation incarcerated as adults, there were 6 people employed in teaching or school administration, two people working in retail or markets, 1 person who worked as a lab technician, and 1 person who worked in various public positions in politics and radio.

Chart 1.

The majority of people who were able to answer this question felt they were better off financially. Some answers were categorized as “No Response” because respondents did not explicitly state whether or not they were better off than their parents but rather pointed to the differences in opportunities provided to them compared to their parents in terms of education and self-employment.

Money from redress was used in the following ways: savings, donations or gifts, practical uses, big purchases. Note that there are more data points on how reparations were spent because the people interviewed were able to report on how their parents, siblings, and self, when relevant, used their redress and because most people used the money for multiple
purposes. Three people reported either themselves or their parents using the $20,000 from the
Civil Liberties Act to add to their savings or “put it in the bank”. One respondent said that the
$20,000 doubled the entire savings of their parent. All people who reported the payment being
put into savings accounts reported the entirety of the payment being saved. Most other people
reported the $20,000 being used in various ways. 5 people reported donating or gifting all or
some of the reparations. Only one respondent donated their entire reparations. Donations
were largely to Japanese American organizations and family members, specifically children or
siblings who were not themselves incarcerated and who did not receive reparations. 5 people
reported using some of the payment on larger expenses that were enabled by the added
income, including furniture, home improvements, a new car, and a nicer wedding for their child
than they would have otherwise been able to afford. 5 people also reported the reparations
being used for what I categorized as practical purposes, meaning that these expenses would
have occurred regardless of redress. Specific examples include groceries and bills.

Chart 2.
This chart shows the frequency of the different ways reparations from the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 were used. Note that the chart shows more data points on how reparations were spent because the people interviewed were able to report on how their parents, siblings, and self, when relevant, used their redress and because most people used the money for multiple purposes. For example, if a person reported they spent their redress on a car and a donation to a charity, that would count as one report for “Donations/Gifts” and one report for “Big Expenses”. Also, note that two people reported they were unsure of how reparations were spent and there is no column on the chart that displays that. The “Donations/Gifts” grouping represents donations to nonprofit organizations, academic institutions, and direct monetary gifts to family members. The “Practical Uses” grouping represents uses that the respondent would have made whether or not they had redress money, including loan payments and other bills, combining the payment with their regular income, daily spending for children or general needs. The “Big Expenses” grouping represents larger expenditures that were enabled by the reparations, including paying for a more extravagant wedding, a new car, new furniture, or home improvements. The “Other/General Spending” grouping represents the uses that did not fit into the other categories which were investing and non-essential spending.

Some key themes from interview respondents included attitudes about the significance of the amount of money won and the general significance of the redress movement and victory. When asked, all of the respondents said the amount of money in the redress package was not sufficient. The amount was described as “token” four times, a “compromise” three times, and “symbolic” three times by respondents. See Table 2 for a selection of quotes. A majority of the respondents mentioned a social justice purpose or community activism attitude as an important outcome of the redress movement victory, and this response was seen in people who were and were not involved in the redress movement. When asked about the legacy of the redress movement and the future hopes for Japanese Americans, 5 respondents mentioned continuing to fight against injustices in communities other than Japanese Americans. Another theme was the impact of incarceration on the Japanese American community as a whole, which many respondents described as a quiet shame and corresponding silence about camp that was not overcome until the redress movement. Respondents also widely acknowledged the significance of winning redress and the precedent it set in American history. Another commonly mentioned idea was that of the struggle for redress, and the
difficulty rebuilding, uniting, and engaging a community that was accustomed to keeping its head down.

Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Select responses to the question:</th>
<th>“Of course not” (stated by 2 different respondents)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Was the $20,000 sufficient?”</td>
<td>&quot;No, I think it was token. I think that the loss of four years of work education and your life and the loss of property and everything you owned land farm stores businesses you know precious family heirlooms. you know the shame, humiliation, the fear, the anger and you know being ostracized as a people, I don't think there's anything that could compensate for that&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Well, it wasn’t sufficient for what they lost of course. It was meaningful enough that people felt vindicated”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation by Generation, Select Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ID#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 displays occupations held by different generations of people in the same family. Trend displays the transition from working class to professional class careers. Note occupations separated by a comma in the GIA column represent occupations held by different siblings.

Table 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Select Quotes about Community Healing through Redress Process and Victory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It [the hearings] was really kind of a very transformative moment for the Japanese American community &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“When people did get the apology, it did mean a whole lot. You could feel a real sense of redemption and the whole thing about being relieved of that burden of guilt”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“It [redress] changed all of us because it lifted that kind of maybe inferiority or shame”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I feel prouder. You know, I think our community feels certain pride. You know you could hold your head up better”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Analysis and Discussion

Data on the socioeconomic status of interviewees and their families help to answer the questions of whether or not redress had a long-term impact on the socioeconomic status of Japanese Americans and what can be learned from Japanese American Redress for the modern fight for reparations for Black Americans. As displayed in Chart 2 and the findings above, uses of reparations did not go to any class-altering purposes, examples of which might include a down payment on a house if the buyer previously did not own their housing, higher education tuition, or a new car if the buyer did not previously own a car. Note that while one person reported their parent purchasing a new car, they already had a car. As there were 5 reported “practical” uses, there is a question about whether the people who used redress money to pay off debt or supplement a low income would have experienced more opportunities for upward mobility had the payment been larger. Arguably, $20,000 was not enough to present a meaningful opportunity for upward mobility through housing as it was not enough to cover a down payment for the median cost for a single-family home in Los Angeles County in 1990, which was $242,360 (Flagg, 1991). It is also important to recognize that by the time redress was won and payments were sent out, the generation incarcerated as adults had largely already rebuilt their lives, purchased homes, and sent their children to college; all of which are clear demonstrations of upward mobility.

A couple of interviews included commentary on the economic challenges uniquely faced in the generation of grandchildren of those incarcerated as adults, including increased cost of living and fewer self-employment opportunities. Several interviewees also expressed the recognition that the amount was not “helpful” but instead served the primary purpose of
making the apology more meaningful and being a consequential cost to the government in total. This idea is also expressed in other previous testimony including an interview with John Tateishi and NPR where Tateishi stated the following:

“The redress campaign wasn't just about trying to gain monetary compensation. I mean, you figure three years of imprisonment and the 30 years of guilt and shame we lived with, $20,000 wasn't going to abrogate all of that. But the money was part of the message. The American public didn't give a damn until the minute we started demanding compensation” (John Tateishi, NPR Interview, March 4, 2020).

According to the American Psychological Association, socioeconomic status, which is indicative of class, is “often measured as a combination of education, income and occupation”. While data on income was not collected, socioeconomic status can still be analyzed by using data on education and occupation, both of which influence income. Occupations held by the generation that was incarcerated as adults were largely working-class, examples include farming, retail, gardening, fishing. When comparing occupations held by IA, CIA, and GIA, there is a trend towards more professional and higher income occupations in each successive generation. The occupational trend towards higher-income jobs is exemplified in two respondents’ families, shown in Table 3. This trend is supported by interviewees mostly reporting that they felt “better off” than their parent’s generation. There is no language in interview responses that indicate redress had any impact on the occupation trend.

As respondents reported redress money predominantly being used to donate to organizations or family, make purchases and payments that were going to be made regardless of redress, and make larger expenditures that do not significantly impact income, wealth, or socioeconomic status generally, there was no clear short or long-term impact on socioeconomic
status caused by redress money. There were however long-lasting impacts on community that can be attributed to the redress movement and winning redress. Many interviewees commented on the damage to the Japanese American community as a result of incarceration and subsequently commented on the relief the community experienced through the redress process and victory. Quotes from interviews that express this relief or vindication can be found in Table 4. Although there was a recognition of the victory there was also explicit mention of the continuation of social justice work from most of the interviewees. Previous work against anti-immigrant injustices, including anti-Muslim sentiments after 9/11 and in the Trump Administration, immigrant detention centers at the US southern border, or general recognition of government racism was mentioned by four people. Notably, NCRR as an organization voted to support HR40 at the federal level and AB 3121 in California. This sentiment of continuing social justice work in communities other than Japanese Americans is also reflected in other existing testimony about the redress movement, including a 1997 Susan Hayasi interview from the Voices of Japanese American Redress Conference in which Ms. Hayasi says that the “legacy of the redress movement goes beyond Japanese Americans” and cites a time Latin American organizers cited the redress movement as precedent in San Jose.

When asked what could have made reparations more meaningful, several respondents mentioned the delay in redress. Specific concerns were that the generation who was incarcerated as adults had lost the most and therefore would have benefited the most from redress. However, at the time redress was won, many people from the Issei generation had already passed away and for the most part, rebuilt their lives. Note that in the interview sample, 3 people reported a parent passing away before the Civil Liberties Act was passed and
therefore not receiving redress. Several interviewees also mentioned the groups that were excluded from receiving redress, specifically the Japanese Latin Americans, when asked about what would have made redress more meaningful. The following quotes from interviewee #10 expressed recognition of the psychological damage that permeated the Japanese American community and the difficulty of creating meaningful redress:

"What happens to a people? Our people who get so collectively traumatized? How do you unwrap, unravel all of that stuff, especially now that most of the former incarcerees are gone"

"It was a victory. but in terms of what redress really means, you know, kind of like making a person whole again or try to get a person to go back to that person before this destructive act or events you know occur and so you know, I think there's a lot more that could have been done in in those terms."

This interviewee expressed desires to have more community rebuilding and healing efforts in redress and mentioned that redress work is an ongoing process. This quote and others about community trauma support the Nagata (1990) study that found patterns of victimization in generations after those who were incarcerated.

Overall participants expressed pride in the grassroots victory of the redress movement but acknowledged the compromises that were made. It is important to consider the heavy representation of people involved in achieving redress in the sample, which may contribute to the appreciation of grassroots organizing. However, the one interview respondent who did not have any participation in the redress movement and answered questions on social justice also expressed awareness of and concern about modern injustices in other ethnic communities. Interview responses overall suggest that while monetary compensation did not effectively help to rebuild the socioeconomic status of the Japanese American community, that was not the
main function of monetary compensation, but rather to force the government to engage in redress and add significance to the governments’ admission of fault and racism. When considering the monetary compensation aspect of redress for Japanese Americans and applying it to other minority groups it is important to understand that Japanese Americans experience less poverty than the American population as a whole and less poverty than all Asian Americans as a whole (Pew Research Center). This implies that monetary compensation might have a more uplifting effect on other American minorities.

One comment that stood out as different from the sentiments of loyalty and honor expressed by the interviewees in this research and previously existing testimony was about the “sanitation” of the incarcerated’s reactions to incarceration. The speaker expressed hope that future generations start to honor and appreciate those who were not “submissive” to incarceration, or were sent to Tule Lake, or were “no no” respondents to the infamous loyalty test. See a portion of the commentary below:

“People see them [The 442nd Regiment] as the heroes and then see the resisters as on the opposite side, the bad people, people who caused all the problems. [...] we should be proud of those who dissented because our country was built on this"

This idea still fits into the theme of a continuation of a fight for social justice, as it is an example of critically re-analyzing a movement for future generations and suggests a different perspective. Key themes from interviews included the importance of community healing and reaching out to support other communities fighting injustice. The theme of community rebuilding is also found in other reflections on redress, including the following passage from *NCRR: The Grassroots Struggle for Japanese American Redress and Reparations:*
“After the hearings, Nisei and Issei would say “If it weren't for you Sansei working so hard, we would never have been able to get where we are in working for redress”. But then we Sansei would reply “But if it weren't for you Issei and Nisei coming forward to tell your stories at the hearings, we wouldn't have been able to build the redress movement.” So with the hearings, the different generations of the community built stronger ties and deeper appreciation for each other. The community was thus strengthened and unified, with a new spirit to push forward together for redress” (Hirabayashi, 209, excerpt written by Richard Katsuda).

This quote specifically highlights the unifying impact of the commission hearings and the organizing that led up to it. This passage also connects to the theme of repairing the psyche of Japanese Americans, which several interviewees mentioned was an important result of the redress victory.

Interview responses were thematically similar to each other and to existing testimonies on redress and incarceration. Respondents were in agreement that improvements to redress would have been beneficial to the community and especially for those most impacted by incarceration. Simply, redress would have been more meaningful had it been more inclusive and expansive. Key points are that redress money did not significantly impact the socioeconomic status of interviewees or their families, the Japanese American community united itself in the process of organizing for redress, redress was a victory and a compromise, and there is a lingering passion for social justice in the Japanese American community.

**Policy Recommendations**

Given the testimony gathered from this study and existing literature on the impact of the redress movement, there is great value in redress and the redress process, even if compromises are made. Although there are many obvious differences between Japanese
American Incarceration and structural and systemic anti-Black racism dating back to chattel slavery, differences which are well explained in Yamamoto’s “Racial Reparations: Japanese American Redress and African American Claims” and Howard-Hassmann’s "Getting to Reparations: Japanese Americans and African Americans", there remains relevant comparisons and suggestions for the movement for Reparations for Black Americans. This recommendation is particular to the federal level legislation H.R. 40, and is simple; proceed.

As stated by Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee, the aim for H.R. 40 is the following:

“H.R. 40 is intended to create the framework for a national discussion on the enduring impact of slavery and its complex legacy to begin that necessary process of atonement. [...] The goal of these historical investigations is to bring American society to a new reckoning with how our past affects the current conditions of African Americans and to make America a better place by helping the truly disadvantaged” (Jackson Lee, 2020, ACLU).

The goal of creating a “framework for the national discussion on the enduring impact of slavery” is similar to what the commission hearings accomplished in the pathway to redress for Japanese Americans. Many interviewees explained how hearings broke the silence that engulfed the incarcerees for many years, and how organizing for the hearings united the community and how the commission understood the issue. Opening up the discussion about atonement for Black Americans is supported by the success of the commission hearings for Japanese Americans. Notably, holding hearings is already part of the powers of the commission proposed in H.R. 40. Additionally, having a commission would force a “reckoning” with American history that has not been previously meaningfully addressed or acknowledged. It is also important this process is undertaken at the federal level, given the scope of anti-blackness in America and that the 1988 Civil Liberties Act was at the federal level.
Notable differences include scale and time. While the 1988 Civil Liberties Act did amount to over a billion dollars for its education fund and over 1.5 billion in direct payments, direct payments only reached surviving incarcerees, about 80,000 people, which is significantly less than the number of people descended from enslaved people or the number of Black Americans who lived through Jim Crow laws, or the number of Black Americans living today. Additionally, the passing of the 1988 bill came over 40 years after incarceration, while H.R.40 is considering impacts accumulated since 1619. The differences in scale or time cannot be addressed in this paper, however, positive impacts from the CWRIC hearings are undisputed and support the development of a commission for structural anti-blackness in America and its foundation, regardless of potential cost or difficulty.

The other recommendation gleaned from interviewees in this study is to err on the side of overcompensation, which is arguably impossible. Many interviewees expressed belief in missed benefits that would have come from reparations being more inclusive and generous. All interviewees held the opinion that the payments given were not sufficient to cover actual losses, not including emotional trauma, and no interviewees that felt payments were too generous or even adequate. Interviewee sentiment implies that increasing meaning and effectiveness requires more funding. When considering economic reparations for Black Americans it is important to know that many Japanese Americans had largely recovered financially by the time the 1988 Civil Liberties Act passed, this is confirmed by interview responses. It is not the same general situation for Black Americans given the persisting racial wealth gap. This means
that monetary reparations, aside from an apology, for Black Americans need to be discussed in more depth for potential impact and amount.

Another important recommendation is to center affected community members in the reparations process. As expressed by interviewees, the redress process had an empowering and healing impact on community, aside from any financial or emotional healing from the reparations and apology itself. To potentially have a similar healing effect for Black Americans in the fight for H.R. 40 and reparations, Black community organizations and individuals need to be centered and their voices and decisions must be prioritized.

In summary, findings from this study support the passage of H.R. 40. Specifically for its proposed goals of opening an overlooked dialogue in American history and the potential of commission hearings. Because participants also expressed regret in the decreased funding for the Education Fund, commission members and organizations should pay special attention to funding appropriated for indirect payments. Based on findings from interviews with descendants of incarcerated Japanese Americans and survivors of incarceration, findings support (1) the swift passage of H.R.40, (2) considerable funding for reparations, and (3) significant influence from community members.

**Conclusion**

Interviews conducted with ten Nikkei with personal or familial experience with American concentration camps during WWII revealed trends similar to each other and existing
literature and testimony on incarceration. Important themes included the healing power of organizing for redress and the commission hearings, pride in the redress victory, and maintained investment in social justice issues. To answer the research question, *did redress have a long-lasting impact on the socioeconomic status of Japanese Americans*, no. No data findings suggest there was a long-term impact on the socioeconomic status of Japanese Americans who received redress and their descendants. Data also suggests that there was no short-term change in socioeconomic status because redress money was mostly used for gifts or everyday purposes. Benefits from redress were largely on personal and community levels. Personal benefits included lifting feelings of shame among the incarcerated and their children and community level benefits included setting a precedent for speaking out in the Japanese American community and for achieving redress in American history. To answer the research question, *how are reparations for Japanese Americans relevant to the modern fight for reparations for Black Americans*, the power of the commission hearing process for community rebuilding and the suggestions for improvement to the significance of reparations are relevant for the modern reparations movement. Specifically, interviewees said reparations would have been more powerful if they had come sooner, included Latin American Japanese, and had more funding. Given interview responses and reflections on redress, current proposal H.R.40 should be passed immediately and at the reparations deliberations stage, higher compensation should be included.

Future qualitative and quantitative research should be completed on the uses of reparations payments with a much larger sample size. This is especially important because of the current lack of data and the time elapsed since the 1988 Civil Liberties Act because so many
survivors have passed away and have not been able to provide retrospective input on the impact of the Act and reparations specifically. The data should also be prioritized because of the novelty of the redress victory and the minimal successful examples of reparations in US history. Also suggested is future research on the social justice engagement across all Asian American groups, to understand if redress had a measurable impact on activism. This study is limited in that the sampling method was snowball sampling, so a majority of the interviewees have similar backgrounds, specifically in regard to their involvement in the redress movement. A larger sample with more Japanese Americans who were not involved in the redress movement should be included if this study is to be conducted again.

Japanese American Redress is a historic grassroots victory and should be researched more comprehensively. This study adds to the existing literature on the importance and impact of reparations and the redress movement, but more quantitative research is needed to understand the socioeconomic impacts more completely. Redress and Reparations are especially relevant to Black Americans and the long-awaited confrontation with the anti-blackness persisting in America. Research on the Japanese American redress movement also warrants more detail because of its novelty in American history as a success. While there are clear differences in context for reparations for Japanese and Black Americans, there are valuable insights gained from the Japanese American movement that translate to the modern fight for reparations that should not be overlooked.
Bibliography


Socioeconomic Status. (N.D.). American Psychological Association, American Psychological Association,
www.apa.org/topics/socioeconomic-status.


Appendix

Appendix A. Immigration from Japan, 1860-2008

Immigration from Japan, 1860-2008

The data for this graph is sourced from the 2008 Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, collected by the Department of Homeland Security, and was analyzed and graphed by immigrationtounitedstates.org. This graph only includes immigrants who had legal permanent resident status.
Appendix B. Guiding Interview Questions

Background Demographics and Parent History
1. On a scale of one to ten, ten being the most, how much do you know about your parent’s experience in the internment camps?
   a. Explain how much information they shared with you and what that was like.
2. If you do not mind me asking, what year were you born?
3. What is the name of your parent(s) who were placed in internment camps? And what camp were they held in?
4. What was their occupation and highest educational attainment?
   a. Expand on this information before and after internment when relevant
5. What is your occupation and highest educational attainment?
6. Do you have any children, and if so, what is their occupation and highest educational attainment?
7. Did your family member ever apply for a claim from the Evacuation Claims Act of 1948?
   a. If yes, please explain any claims approved and any information you might know about the process
8. If you know, how was the money from redress used by your parent(s)?
   a. How did the 20,000 change your family spending habits during the relevant time period?

Socioeconomic Impacts and Personal Opinions
1. How has your socioeconomic status changed throughout your life (From childhood to adulthood to parenthood or any other life change)?
2. Do you feel personally impacted your parent(s) experiences in regard to internment? explain.
3. Do you think you are “better” off, about the same, or “worse” off economically than your parents’ generation? Why?
4. Do you think monetary reparations given to your parent(s) and the other survivors of internment were sufficient? Why or why not?
5. Do you think redress reparations and apology were meaningful to your family? How so?
6. Do you feel personally impacted by the programming funded by the Civil Liberties Education Fund? Why or why not.
7. Do you feel more or less connected to your Japanese heritage and culture than your parents?
8. What are your hopes for future generations of Japanese Americans?
9. Is there anything else you would like to say or any insight that you think would be relevant or important to add to the conversation about Japanese internment?

% of those ages 25 and older, by educational attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>High school or less</th>
<th>Some college</th>
<th>Bachelor's degree</th>
<th>Postgrad degree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. born</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign born</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Asians</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Americans</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: “High school” refers to those who have attained a high school diploma or its equivalent, such as a General Education Development (GED) certificate. “Some college” includes those with an associate degree and those who attended college but did not obtain a degree. Figures may not sum to 100% due to rounding. Figures for Japanese and all Asians based on mixed-race and mixed-group populations, regardless of Hispanic origin. See methodology for more detail.


The data for this graph are sourced from the American Community Survey and analyzed and formatted into the chart by the Pew Research Center, as a part of their factsheet on the Japanese population in the United States.