

A Study on the Transmission/Acquisition Process of Ethnic Culture among Jewish Families in Japan

— Case Studies in Tokyo and Kobe⁽¹⁾ —

Izumi Sato

I. Introduction

This research study focuses on a religious minority group, that is the Jewish families in Japan, and their attempts to survive or retain a unique ethnic culture while being immersed in a foreign culture (i.e. Japanese culture). The transmission/acquisition process which allows them to retain their ethnic culture and identity is an example of inter-generational interaction based on the actors' free "interpretation" of their interaction process.⁽²⁾ As for the older generation, they have two choices: to transmit selectively and/or augment on what they have received from their former generation and/or to transmit from those values they have discovered and/or invented in their own generation. Furthermore, even among the younger generation choices are made as they are not receiving the older generation's information passively but selectively receive according to the situation at the time; their local milieu and their personal credo. This is an on-going process which grows through behaviors criticism and modification of their predecessors. Therefore the researcher thinks that the "acquisition" process is as active as the "transmission" process. In the case of Jewish families in Japan, how and what to transmit, and whether to continue to uphold their parents' values or not is their everyday concern. They are forced to "judge" and "interpret" in a completely different environment from that in Israel or the Jewish community of their own country.

According to the 'Facts about The Jewish Community of Japan',⁽³⁾ about 160 families or about 450 individuals currently belong to the organized Jewish Community of Japan in Tokyo. The average length of their stay in Japan is only 3.3 years; they are mostly businessmen and diplomats; and their accompanying family members.⁽⁴⁾ In the Jewish Community of Japan there is a Rabbi and a religious school for children so that we can see to a certain degree the institutionalized transmission/acquisition of their ethnic culture. Most of the members are from the United States and Europe, and the style of religious service is that of Ashkenazim (German and East European Jews) and the content is so-called 'traditional'.

However, in Kobe there is another synagogue called the Jewish Community of Kansai. About 70 families in Kyoto, Osaka and Kobe area belong to this synagogue.⁽⁵⁾ Its liturgical style is Sephardic relying on Orthodox rituals and observances prevalent in Middle-Eastern or Spanish communities. They do not have a Rabbi at present. Although there are about 10 families residing in Kobe, because most of the members are elderly, it is rather difficult for them to attend the synagogue service every week. As for those members in Kyoto and Osaka, the commuting distance to Kobe is a problem. Therefore, the synagogue activities suffer from lack of attendance as compared to Tokyo. Many of the Kansai region members have been living in Japan for more than ten years, and many of them are engaged in trade and retail businesses. As the Hebrew school has been closed since 1972, the transmission/acquisition of ethnic culture is mainly initiated at home by the parents.

Taking into account the distinctive differences in length of stay between the Jewish families⁽⁶⁾ in Tokyo (short time), and those in Kansai (long time) is an important research focus. According to the length of stay in Japan, as well as whether or not they have the institutionalized educational system; the motivation behind coming to Japan; the number of the members in each community, and other factors can affect the way of transmitting and acquiring their ethnic culture.

The Preceding Studies

Miyazawa (1982) has studied and pinpointed several trends which form the image of Jews among Japanese since Meiji period up to the 1970s. Further analyses were made on the changes in these images after the Middle-Eastern War in 1973 (Miyazawa, 1980). Kobayashi (1977) has studied the image of the Jews from the perspective of Western history, and it is this perspective which we should take to study Jewish history. Kotani (1985) addressed popular misconceptions on Jews raised by the Japanese, and tried to answer them quoting various historical documents.

However, there are only a few records on the life of Jews who lived in Japan since Meiji period. There are mainly three reasons for this: First, Jews came to Japan as individuals in each era, and their number was always very small. Secondly, the military leaders of the Japanese government before and during the Second World War were intent on encouraging Jewish migration for their own ends. Therefore, this period of history was classified and encapsulated until well after the War's end: This will be more fully described later. Thirdly, many of the long-time residents of Japan have become aged and either passed away or left Japan to retire, making it difficult to follow their lives.

After the Second World War, Rabbi Marvin Tokayer had become the first officially recognized Rabbi of the Jewish Community of Japan in Tokyo. As he met many of the long-time residents in Japan and the former residents in Shanghai and in Manchuria in his congregation, he started to accumulate the life histories of the members and compiled them into a novel with the help of Mary Swartz (Tokayer

and Swartz, 1979). Although it is a fiction, strictly speaking, it elaborates and confirms the aforementioned second reason for a lack of historical data on Jews: Japanese military leaders in the Japanese government intended to ask for the help of the leaders of the Jewish community in America to thwart the participation of the United States in the war against Japan. Also, they encouraged Jewish migration into Manchuria, in an attempt to both exploit Manchuria, and capitalize on their own stereotype which held that Jews were rich and technologically savvy. Although their appeals were in vain, the Jewish refugees who escaped from the East European countries under the hegemony of Nazi Germany headed for Japan and the Japanese territory of Manchuria, and later the Japanese quarter in Shanghai, passing through Siberia. They were 'protected' and treated equally as well as other foreign residents who stayed in Japan in spite of their ethnic ancestry. In 1953, when the Jewish Community of Japan was formally established, it included many of those former European refugees and other Russian Jewish businessmen.

Based on this historical background of the community, Krisher (1987) not only interviewed the long-time Jewish residents in Japan but also read the articles written from the Japanese side, and interviewed a Japanese witness to analyze the historical data pertinent to the WWII-era intrigues (i.e. the history of the two ethnic groups: Jews and Japanese). Kranzler has studied the life of Jewish refugees in Shanghai during the Second World War (Kranzler, 1976). Rabbi and Doctor Herman Dicker is a former Jewish chaplain, Rabbi to Japan, and a historian who helped the Jews in Tokyo to start organizing their community after the War. He also recorded the life of the Jews immediately after the Second World War (Dicker, 1962).

Cohen (1972) focused on the life of the present short-time residents in Tokyo based on her personal experiences, especially in child-rearing. In her essay she described the activities at the Sunday school where her own children were in attendance. Kotani (1977) who is a member of the Japan-Israel Women's Welfare Organization attached to the Jewish Community of Japan gave some description on the life of the present residents in Japan.

However, both Cohen and Kotani chose to rely on their personal insights and they did not base their research on an intensive study of the Jewish life in Tokyo. Few studies were carried out on the life of the Jewish families in Kobe. Therefore the writer started to conduct research on the life of Jewish families in Tokyo and in Kobe in 1987. Some of this report has already been published in Sato (1988) based on interviews with the parents of the Sunday school at the Jewish Community of Japan, their children, and the Sunday school teachers. It was also necessary to see the changes in the Jewish communities in Japan so as to reveal how ethnic identity of Jewish families in Japan has changed as the nature of their stay has changed. Studying the transition/acquisition process of ethnic culture among the Jewish families in Japan, the writer would like to analyze crucial elements that allowed them

to maintain their ethnic identity, over time, and to see how Japanese society has affected their lives.

II. Methodology

In order to understand the life of the Jewish families in Japan, the researcher has participated in the Shabbat ("the day of rest") service held at 'The Jewish Community of Japan' in Hiroo, Tokyo, on Friday evenings and Saturday mornings between June, 1987 and February, 1990. The researcher also had an opportunity to observe the classroom interactions at the Sunday school attached to the Jewish Community of Japan from September, 1987 until June, 1988. Interviews were conducted with three Sunday school students, sixteen parents, and six present or former Sunday school teachers. In September and October, 1989, the researcher attended the High Holiday services (Rosh Hashanah; the Jewish New Year, and Yom Kippur; the Day of Atonement) at the Jewish Community of Kansai in Kobe, as well as the Passover service there in March, 1987. Between October, 1988 and February, 1990, the researcher interviewed four Jewish community members who are raising their child/ren in Kobe.

In order to understand the changes in the Jewish communities in Japan and in Shanghai, the researcher interviewed some other members in Kobe, and two individuals in Israel in August, 1990. In November, 1988, the researcher met the former Rabbis of the Jewish Community of Japan who currently are residing in the United States and asked about their educational programs. Questions were posed in an attempt to grasp the atmosphere and involvement of their congregation while they were in Japan. The researcher also visited a Hebrew afternoon school in a suburb of New York, two Jewish day schools, and the Jewish Board of Education in Greater Washington, D.C. area in 1988. In order to observe the transmission/acquisition process of ethnic culture in Israel, the researcher interviewed public school teachers and visited kibbutzim in August, 1989. Until 1972, there was a Hebrew school at the Jewish Community of Kansai. The researcher interviewed two former teachers who taught at the school between 1962 and 1967 and asked about the educational program, its goals, the family backgrounds of the students, etc. The researcher interviewed one of their students who also came back to Japan. Analyzing the birth records and the records of the rites of passage (Bar/Bat Mitzvah) of the Jewish Community of Japan was also helpful in understanding the community changes.

III. The Research Findings

1) Jewish Families residing in the Tokyo area

The Jewish families who are residing in the Tokyo area are not intending to stay in Japan for a long time. There may be some difficulties in transmitting a strong Jewish identity to their children as they are foreign residents in Tokyo sharing their

life with other non-Jewish foreign residents. Even before their coming to Japan, they were so-called "liberal Jews" and were not strictly observant. Both parents and their children are reinterpreting and reinforcing their Jewish identity by encountering many non-Jews and taking part in the transmission/acquisition process of ethnic culture in their own way in Japan.

The synagogue affiliation of the parents before coming to Japan is as follows; six families belonged to a Conservative congregation, five families to a Reform congregation, and five had no affiliation. The nationalities of the parents are mostly American, with some from Israel, and some from Europe. Their residences are usually confined to one of two adjacent areas; Minato-ku (14 families), or Shibuya-ku (12 families). Their children usually go to one of the International schools in Tokyo.

The main transmitter at home is the mother, though she seldom talks about the Bible, the holidays, or The Commandments with her children. Rather, most of her efforts are made to send her children to the Sunday school regularly. After coming to Japan, the families tend to keep family rituals such as lighting Shabbat candles and preparing Shabbat dinner. Their attendance rate at the synagogue services is declining, largely due to the participants' perception that the content of the services are closely aligned to more Orthodox tradition. The major holidays such as Rosh Hashanah (the Jewish New Year), Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement), Chanukah (the celebration of the rededication of the Holy Temple and the victory of the Maccabees), Passover (the Exodus from Egypt) are observed while in Japan. Coming home late, being out of town or out of the country on business since being transferred to Japan often gives a father less time to spend with his children. It is even difficult for the father to regularly attend the synagogue service with his family. Taking his children to the Sunday school and walking back together seems to be concerted efforts on the part of the father to talk with his children and spend some time together.

Whether the child is willing to go to the Sunday school or not is related to several factors: the degree of the parents' participation in the synagogue activities, the degree of overlap between the peer group at the International school and that at the Sunday school, the personality of the child, and the proximity of their house to the synagogue. Children seem to acquire the meaning of their ethnic identity from a completely different viewpoint from their parents: 'cultural scenes' at home, at the Sunday school, and at the International school, respectively. At home they learn their sense of duty from their mother. They have to go to the Sunday school as a Jewish child. Sunday school is another cultural scene for them to meet their Jewish friends weekly. They notice the difference in the degree of religious observance between their own family and that of the Sunday school teachers. Among the peer group at the International school children seldom talk about their being Jewish with their non-Jewish friends but they feel different from their non-Jewish friends. They cannot go out with them on Sundays, and they are often the

only members of their class absent on High Holidays (Jewish New Years' Day).

Parents evolve a sense of responsibility to uphold their Judaic heritage and even to discover ethnic pride as their child attends Sunday school and comes home with questions regarding customs and The Commandments. Parents hope that their child will attend a college or a university, and if the child wishes he/she will also pursue graduate studies. They also hope their child will marry a Jewish person. The attitudes of the parents as a transmitter of ethnic culture can be classified into several groups via their interpretation of Japanese culture, and the importance of their ethnic culture (i.e. The Commandments of Judaism and Jewish holidays, etc.):

I. Home-Country Oriented Type;

This type is often found among the families who are intending to stay in Japan only for a short time. The parents of this type try to choose an international school that offers similar educational systems to that in their country so that their child will have less difficulties reacclimating.

II. International Type;

The parents of this type consider their stay in Japan a good opportunity for their child to have international experiences and therefore they choose an international school where their child will meet more children from different nationalities rather than compatriots. They often take their child to some other countries in Asia and in Oceania. As for this type of families, Japan, the previous country they were appointed, and their home country are all regarded in the same degree of importance as their ethnic culture (i.e. Jewish tradition).

III. Preference-for-Jewish Culture Type;

This type is found among the intermarried couples (Japanese and Jewish), and the long-time residents in Japan. Up until the 1960s there seems to have been many families who belonged to this type. They do not practice any Japanese customs based on Japanese annual holidays nor Japanese rites of passage at home, but try to celebrate only Jewish holidays. However, the parents do think that their child must learn Japanese language as he/she lives in Japan. They usually plan to send their child to Europe or to the United States to receive higher education.

IV. Japanese Culture Oriented Type;

The parents of this type are usually Japanophiles and hope to let their child acquire Japanese language, and Japanese culture as much as he/she can while in Japan. They choose their child's school based on the Japanese program offered by the school. They tend to give preference to the child's interacting with Japanese friends rather than study at the Sunday school.

2) The Changes in the Jewish Community of Japan

Since the Jewish Community of Japan founding in 1953 up until 1990, there have been five Rabbis and one educational leader. The educational leader came to Japan to serve in the community and was in charge of the children's educational program in each period. Up until the 1960s there were many Russian-Jewish families, and other European Jewish families in Japan. The Rabbi at that time needed to guide the children to feel a sense of pride in their Jewish ethnic identity. These children were not accepted by the Japanese society, yet many had never been to their home country, and they were consequently suffering from an identity crisis. By the time these children reached college age, these families had left Japan for Israel, Europe or the United States. Even though some of the parents stayed in Japan, most of the children got jobs somewhere outside of Japan. On the other hand, since the beginning of the 1970s the families who were transferred to Japan temporarily on business have increased. Many of them are from the United States. These families often thought that coming to Japan would be a good opportunity for their child to experience something new, even though they would not be able to observe religious commandments very strictly. The increase of these liberal members primarily from the United States has promoted the participation of women in the synagogue services.

3) The Jewish Families living in the Kansai area

Many of the Jewish families in the Kansai area (Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe and their vicinity) are long-time residents in Japan and the transmission/acquisition process of ethnic culture is carried out mainly at home, as the synagogue activities in Kobe are not as active as those in Tokyo. Even synagogue attendance on Jewish holidays is low. Rather, their efforts are concentrated on celebrating Shabbat with their children at home by lighting Shabbat candles, saying special blessings over the wine (kiddush) and that over the braided bread called 'chalah' (motzi). They explain Jewish holidays and Jewish history to their children with the children's books so that the children's ethnic identity will grow. Since the long-time Kansai residents are surrounded by Japanese society, they seem to select one ethnic culture (i.e. Jewish culture) intentionally, and preferentially transmit/acquire it rather than transmit/acquire several cultures simultaneously. There is one case of a child who grew up, hearing four languages, which resulted in an apparent confusion of ethnic identity.

After the "Oil Shock" many families left Kobe. Before that, until 1972 there was a Hebrew school for the Jewish children in Kobe. Not only did they learn reading and writing in Hebrew, Hebrew prayers and about Jewish holidays, but also they acted in a play based on each coming Jewish holiday. According to the former teachers in that period, one of the educational goals at that time was to

form a peer group among Jewish children. This children's play not only fulfilled that goal but also attracted other adult members without children who looked forward to it, and came to the holiday services. There were a few Jewish families who lived near the synagogue. Each family had many children, so the children often came to the synagogue and played together even on weekdays. The relationship between Jewish families and other non-Jewish foreign families in Kobe at that time was very friendly, too. They were often invited to each other's holiday celebration. The decrease of the number of the families and the aging of the long-time members brought several changes in the community; closing of the children's school, decreasing of the number of weekly services, ceasing the slaughter of animals in a religious/ritual fashion (shachitah), and the declining of the synagogue activities in general. These changes tell us that in order to maintain a certain degree of transmission/acquisition of ethnic culture and keep one's ethnic identity as Jewish it is necessary to have some number of families live together as a community.

IV. Conclusion

Compared with life in Israel or in a Jewish community in their home country, the Jewish families in Japan have to face many difficulties in order to continue transmitting/acquiring their ethnic culture. The cases in the Tokyo area focused on the transmission/acquisition process among short-time resident families (3.3 years on average), depending on the institutionalized transmission/acquisition as it reflects knowledge of Judaism and Jewish history. On the other hand, the cases in the Kansai area focused on long-time residents and showed that the transmission/acquisition of ethnic culture was mainly carried out at home by the parents. The changes in the community in Kobe tell us that maintaining a certain number of families, or a concentration is necessary to help a Jewish community maintain the transmission/acquisition of ethnic culture.

In Israel Jews are the majority and the observance of Jewish holidays have been guaranteed as national holidays by the government. Children can learn about Jewish history and Bible as regular subjects in a public school. Many of the Jewish families in Japan are originally from a Jewish residential area in their home country. It is a place where various ethnic activities are maintained so that parents can depend on more than one institution (kinship, neighborhood, educational organizations, and other social and political organizations) to provide a transmission/acquisition process of ethnic culture for their children. If they wish, they can send their children to a private Jewish day school or a Hebrew afternoon school in these communities.

If the parents cannot depend on these organizations or institutions, they have to be the role model for their children at home. It is important for the formation of a child's ethnic identity that their ethnic culture become part of their customs in daily life. However, the transmission/acquisition process depends on more than

one family's interactions. It was necessary for a certain critical number of families to live together, maintain regular synagogue services, and children's school to ensure the success of the transmission/acquisition process. For those children who didn't experience a peer group it seemed to be difficult to develop a strong ethnic identity. Besides providing knowledge to the children, school education seem to be effective on this point, too.

The study was made to analyze the transmission/acquisition process of ethnic culture among Jewish families in Japan as an example of religious minorities in Japan. Except those Jewish families who keep dietary laws (Kashrut) in some degree, most of the Jewish families' life style may not differ very much from that among the European and American residents in Japan. Besides learning the language, there is little element of cultural assimilation (i.e. the assimilation to the Japanese culture) in their daily life. However, in regard to the religious rituals and synagogue services where their ethnic identity is expressed at most, they are observed and conducted rather strictly.

The reasons why the life of Jewish families in Japan show few degrees of cultural assimilation to the Japanese culture, compared to the case of Korean residents in Japan (Maruyama, 1983) are follows: There has been little interest in Jews among the Japanese. Also, Jewish families in Japan have had less interactions with the Japanese society, as their number has been very small and never formed any distinct residential area.

Furthermore, the characteristics of their ethnic culture should be noticed: 1) Jewish people have their own language and own writing system (Hebrew) and have kept the holy scripture (Torah) written in the original text. 2) Jewish people do not have a religious specialist (a cleric) but rather require all the male members to study the holy scripture. 3) They have two rites of passage at the age of eight days old (brith milah) and thirteen years old (Bar Mitzvah). 4) According to each constituent unit such as an individual, a family, and a community, there are special rituals and prayers to be kept. 5) Since there are religious commandments as the core of their ethnic culture, Jews have clear duties that they must follow to fulfill Orthodox observances, which results in fully defining its membership. How far a person would like to deviate from the religious commandments, and how much a person would return to them are dependent upon each individual judgment. The sense of sin that one feels at the time of deviance seems to be quite different from the ethnic identity that the members of other ethnic groups have.

The researcher thinks that further analyses should be made to compare the case of the Jewish families in Japan to that of other minorities in Japan. It would also be necessary to compare Jewish communities in other parts of Asia, too (e.g. Hong Kong, Manila, Bangkok, Bombay, etc.). Then analyses should be made on the characteristics of each ethnic culture (e.g. the existence of own language and

writing system, the way of sharing the knowledge on the ethnic culture by the ethnic members, the existence of a rite of passage and the age to conduct and who to be initiated, the way to express ethnic identity according to each constituent unit and the degree of social pressure in forcing members to keep their ethnic culture), as well as the social stratification of the larger society, the size of the group and the power relation between the majority and the minorities, and the nature of interactions between the minority group members and the members of the majority group in terms of the length, the frequency and the degree of intimacy.

Notes

- (1) Although each individual name cannot be specified here in order to maintain confidentiality, the writer is very much grateful to all the people who have contributed to this study. Especially among them were the present and the former Rabbis of the Jewish Community of Japan, many members of the Jewish Community of Japan and the Jewish Community of Kansai and the educational leaders and teachers in Great Neck, New York and Greater Washington, D.C. in the United States and in Israel.

The writer would also like to express gratitude to the Ministry of Education of Japan who granted the financial support for this research under the name of *Monbushô Kagaku-kenkyûhi Hojokin (Shôrei Kenkyû A; # 63790047)* in the fiscal years of 1988-89 and 1989-90.

- (2) G. H. Mead (1973 [1934]), Shibano (1977; 28-33) and Funazu (1984; 49-57).
 (3) A leaflet published by the Jewish Community of Japan, n.d.
 (4) Based on the information given by the parents of the Sunday school students. Sato (1988; 183-184).
 (5) The interview with one of the board members of the Jewish Community of Kansai at that time.
 (6) The writer has already discussed the definition of Jews in Sato (1988; 179-180).

Bibliography

- Ayabe, Tsuneo, 1984, "Soshikitai-yori Mita Yudaya-kei Amerikajin-no Minzokusei (The Ethnicity of Jewish Americans through organizational analyses)," in Ayabe, Tsuneo (ed.), *America-no Minzokushûdan (Ethnic groups in U.S.A.)*, Tokyo: Nippon-hôsôkyôkai.
 Benson, Bruce, n.d. "The Jews in Japan," in *Jewish Chronicle*, New Zealand.
 Birnbaum, Philip, 1977, *Ha-Siddur Ha-Shalem (Daily Prayer Book)*, New York; Hebrew Publishing Company.
 Cohen, Shirakigawa Tomiko, 1982, *Yudayajin-no Haha-toshite (As a Mother for Jews)*, Tokyo; Gakusei-sha.
 Cusick, Philip A., 1973, *Inside High School*, New York; Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc.
 Dicker, Herman, 1962. *Wanderers and Settlers in the Far East*, New York; Twayne.
 Ebuchi, Kazuhiro, 1985, "Kodomotachi-no Ibunka-Sesshoku (Intercultural Experiences among Children)," in Kobayashi, Tetsuya (ed.), *Ibunka-ni Sodatsu Kodomotachi (Children Growing up in Other Culture)*, Tokyo; Yûhikaku.
 Funazu, Mamoru, 1984, "'Kaishaku'-to Shakaikatei (Social Process and 'Interpretation')," *Shakaigaku-hyôron*, vol. 35, No. 1.

- Heilman, Samuel C. 1973. *Synagogue Life*, Chicago; the University of Chicago Press.
- Horoiwa, Naomi, 1987, "‘Kaigaiseichô-Nihonjin’-no Tekiô-niokeru Naibu-Kattô (“Conflict Within” among the Japanese Raised Abroad),” *Ibunka-kan Kyôiku*, No. 1.
- Kobayashi, Masayuki, 1977, *Yudayajin* (Jews), Tokyo; Seikô-shobô.
- Kotani, Mizuhoko, 1985, *Jûjika-no Yudayajin* (Japanese Views of the Jews), Tokyo; the Simul Press, Inc.
- Kotsuji, Abraham Setsuzo, 1964, *From Tokyo to Jerusalem*, New York; Bernard Geis Associates.
- Kranzler, David, 1976, *Japanese, Nazis, and Jews 1938-1945*, New York; Yeshiva University Press.
- Krisher, Debbie, 1987, "A Tale of Two Tribes: the Japanese Attitude toward Jews in the Modern World," A senior thesis submitted to Wesleyan University: Middletown, C. T.
- Maruyama, Kôichi, 1983, "Toshi-no Naka-no Mainoritii (A Minority in a City)," in Hiroshima-shi (ed.), *Hiroshima Shinshi* (A New History of Hiroshima), Hiroshima; Municipality of Hiroshima.
- Mead, G. H. 1973 [1934], *Seishin, Jiga, Shakai* (Mind, Self and Society), Tokyo; Aoki-shoten.
- Mitchell, William E. 1978, *Mishpokhe*, The Hague; Mouton Publishers.
- Miyazawa, Masanori, 1980, *Nihonjin-no Isuraeru Ninshiki* (The Image of Israel among the Japanese), Kyoto; Shôwa-dô.
- Miyazawa, Masanori, 1982 [1973], *Zôho Yudayajinron-kô* (Revised Study on the Images of the Jews among the Japanese), Tokyo; Shinsen-sha.
- Ogbu, John U. 1974, *The Next Generation*, New York; Academic Press, Inc.
- Rosen, Bernard Carl, 1965, *Adolescence and Religion*, Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Company, Inc.
- Sato, Izumi, 1983, "Inter-ethnic Relationships among Pittsburgh Middle-Class Jewish Families," M. A. thesis submitted to the University of Pittsburgh.
- Sato, Izumi, 1988, "Tainichi Yudayajin-niokeru Minzokuteki-bunka-no Dentatsu-Keishô-nikansuru Ichikôsatsu (A Study on the Transmission/Acquisition Process of Ethnic Culture among the Jewish Families Staying in Japan)," *Minzokugaku-kenkyû*, vol. 53, No. 2.
- Shibano, Shôzan, 1977, "Shakaikaron-no Saikentô (Restudy on Socialization)," *Shakaigaku-hyôron*, No. 107.
- Silverman, Myrna, 1976, "Jewish Families and Kinship in Pittsburgh," Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Pittsburgh.
- Spradley, James and David, McCurdy (eds.), 1972, *The Cultural Experience in Ethnography in Complex Society*, Chicago; Science Research Associates, Inc.
- Tokayer, Marvin and Mary Swartz, 1979, *The Fugu Plan*, New York; Paddington Press, Inc.