MINORITY CHURCHES AMONG JAPANESE CANADIANS: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY

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Abstract

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This dissertation elaborates and applies the sub-typology of minority churches initially designed by Millett (1969) for the study of religion in Canada. The utility of this framework for comparative sociological research was considered through an empirical analysis of the two largest minority church organizations within the Japanese Canadian community: the "foreign-oriented" Buddhist Churches of Canada (BCC) with 18 congregations, and the "nativeoriented" Japanese United Church Conference (JUCC) with 11 congregations.

From a review of the literature on religion and ethnicity, two central questions were identified to provide the orientation for this study:

(1) Are Japanese minority churches effective agents of cultural preservation in Canadian society? or

(2) Does the assimilation process force Japanese churches to de-ethnicize and accommodate to the acculturated generations for organizational survival?

The significance of Millett's sub-typology for organizational analysis was explored in relation to these key issues.

In comparing the effectiveness of these minority churches as social forces for ethnic persistence, it was hypothesized that the foreign-oriented BCC would have shown a greater concern to maintain ethnicity than the native-oriented JUCC. On the issue of organizational change, it was hypothesized that the native-oriented JUCC would have been better able to make adaptations for the acculturated generations than the foreign-oriented BCC. Although the divergent patterns of ethnic persistence and organizational adaptation suggested by the sub-typology were only partially supported by the data, the comparative analysis did demonstrate its heuristic value. The typology draws attention to important factors which should be recognized in the study of ethnic religious organizations. The character of the "administrative reference group" and the different "membership orientations" are clearly significant variables influencing the course of minority church evolution.

This dissertation concludes that minority churches are most accurately viewed as transitional organizations. The organizational dilemmas confronting both the BCC and JUCC as a result of advanced assimilation indicate that in most cases these churches face either organizational dissolution or transformation into multi-ethnic congregations

within another generation. The assimilation of Japanese in Canada and the precarious future of most minority churches casts serious doubt upon the long-term survival of ethnic subcultures in Canadian society.

DEDICATION

For Cindy

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CHAPTER ONE: THE STUDY OF MINORITY CHURCHES

Introduction

The study of religious organizations has long been an important focus of investigation within the sociology of religion. The dominant perspective guiding research in this area developed out of the church-sect typology originally formulated by Weber and Troeltsch. Since the typology was first utilized in the study of religion in North America (see, Niebuhr, 1929; Clark, 1948), there have been numerous attempts to refine the basic categories of analysis. Over the past several decades most of these efforts have been preoccupied with the nature of Protestant sectarianism and have neglected other types of religious organizations equally important in North America.

Some years ago Bryan Wilson, the foremost sociologist of sectarianism, wrote that: "If the sociology of religion is to move forward, we must create categories which allow us to study comparatively the social functions and development of religious movements" (1969:361). Sub-typologies of sects have been elaborated and our understanding of the dynamics of sect development has advanced.[1] Similar refinements of the church-type, however, "have been few and unprofitable" (Beckford, 1974:98).

Recognizing the inadequacy of existing schemes of classification for the study of religion in Canada, Millett (1969; 1971) proposed a sub-typology of minority churches. The concept "minority church" was initially designed by Roger Mehl, a French theologian and sociologist, to aid in the analysis of religious minorities in various European countries.[2] Observing the marginal position of Protestants in France, Spain, and Italy, Mehl recognized that minority churches without the same legal status and political rights of the dominant religious institutions are under continual pressure to become sects. This pressure is usually resisted, he explains, because minority churches have a larger reference group which relativizes their marginal status in society.

> The minority church considers the international community to which it is spiritually connected to be a sort of reference group, whose extensiveness, power, and universality helps keep the minority church from becoming a sect, from feeling itself to be a sect, from sectarian behavior (1970:257).

Millett found that the minority church sub-type could be fruitfully applied to the study of religion in Canada. In his analysis of Canadian Census data he observed that approximately 90 percent of the population conformed to "church-like" behavior. Thus, a more adequate analysis of religion in Canada would require that some distinctions be made "within the huge category known as 'churches'" (1969:112). Millett then used the minority church sub-type

to identify hundreds of ethnic congregations in Canada.

The minority status of these churches is related to two issues. First, they operate in a non-official language. Second, they are not self-sufficient; that is, they are dependent upon a parent organization for leadership and authority in religious matters. Millett divided these minority churches into two classes: "foreign-oriented" and "native-oriented" (1969:113). Foreign-oriented minority churches are defined as those ethnic organizations which are linked to a mother church in the old country; consequently, their primary reference group is outside of Canada. Native-oriented minority churches are those ethnic organizations operating in non-official languages which are sponsored by an indigenous Canadian church.[3]

In his review of sociological studies of religious organizations, Beckford recognized the value of Millett's sub-typology for clarifying the Canadian Census data on religion. He went on to point out, however, that "its relevance for the strictly organizational aspects of religious groups has yet to be demonstrated" (1974:99). Does this sub-typology have additional potential as a tool for organizational analysis? Can its application in empirical studies lead to a more refined understanding of the dynamics and evolution of ethnic religious organizations? A major concern of this dissertation is to explore these questions.

To consider the heuristic value of Millett's sub-

typology this study provides an analysis of religion among one of Canada's "visible minorities": the Japanese Canadians. Since the immigration of Japanese to Canada began in the late nineteenth century, the population of this minority has grown to approximately forty thousand. During this period numerous ethnic religious organizations have been established. This study focuses upon the two largest minority church organizations within the Japanese Canadian community: the foreign-oriented Buddhist Churches of Canada with 18 congregations, and the native-oriented Japanese Conference of the United Church of Canada with 11 congregations. In the course of examining the utility of this sub-typology for comparative sociological research, this dissertation seeks to answer a number of empirical questions, including the following:

(1) What is the size and geographical distribution of Japanese churches in Canada?

(2) What is the membership composition within the various churches?

(3) What are the patterns of religio-ethnic behavior among successive generations of Japanese Canadians?

(4) To what extent have these churches been able to prevent intermarriage and language loss?

(5) Given the current rates of immigration from Japan and the organizational dilemmas posed by the assimilation process, what is the probable future of these ethnic churches?

Before further elaboration of the typological framework and hypotheses guiding this research, it is important to place this study within the broader theoretical context of perspectives on religion and ethnicity.

Theoretical Background: Religion and Ethnicity

It is widely recognized that religion and ethnicity are closely related phenomena in North America. In fact, the story of religion in the New World has been largely shaped by the patterns of immigration and the establishment of various ethnic traditions (Herberg, 1955:10; Handy, 1977:5). Most sociological assessments of the relationship between religion and ethnicity usually follow two general interpretations. Both deserve brief consideration.

One major perspective on this relationship emphasizes the conservative role of religion in maintaining ethnic customs, language, and group solidarity. This approach is clearly reminiscent of Durkheim's functionalist theory of religion elaborated in the Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. Religious beliefs and rituals, he maintained, bind individuals together and provide the social context necessary for the transmission of traditions and values (1965:391). A number of sociologists have recently emphasized the traditional functions and integrative consequences of religion for ethnic groups in modern pluralistic

societies. Millett, for example, writes:

> One observation occurs repeatedly as one studies various ethnic groups in Canada: of all the institutions supporting the survival of distinctive cultures, the church is usually the strongest and the most active (1975:105).

Similarly, Mol notes that:

> In the countries of immigration, migrant churches have always been the most effective bastions of ethnic preservation (1976:174).

The conservative functions of religion in relation to ethnicity have been summarized at greater length by Anderson and Frideres:

> Many of the functions of religion are oriented toward the preservation of ethnic identity. As various social scientists have pointed out, religion contributes to a sense of identity in an age of depersonalization; it may be a nationalistic force and assume the role of the protector of ethnic identity; it promotes social integration; it attempts to validate a people's customs and values; it inculcates values through socialization; it affirms the dignity of ethnic group members who might be considered by non-members as having low status; it tends to be a pillar of conservatism; and it often encourages conscious social isolation from outsiders (1981:41).

Few sociologists would deny that religion is often oriented toward the maintenance of ethnicity. What has not been adequately analyzed, however, is the long-term effectiveness of ethnic churches as agents of cultural preservation. In order to determine their actual role and effectiveness a cross-generational study is needed. A review of the

literature on religion and ethnicity reveals a lack of studies analyzing religio-ethnic behavior through successive generations.[4]

A second perspective on religion and ethnicity emphasizes that immigrant churches are best viewed as adapting organizations. The basic assumption of this approach is that the assimilation process invariably transforms an ethnic group over the course of several generations. Organizational survival, therefore, will eventually require adapting to the acculturated generations. In the Social Sources of Denominationalism, Niebuhr provides the classic expression of this position.

Niebuhr's analysis is rooted in the recognition that immigrant churches tend to be conservative and, during their early stage of development, are "primarily conflict societies, intent upon maintaining their distinction from other groups" (1957:224).[5] Nevertheless, the history of immigrant churches reveals that the tendency toward conformity is ultimately the dominant force shaping their character. The process of assimilation forces the churches to choose between accommodation and extinction. As the second and third generations are raised in the new environment, the language and culture of the old world becomes increasingly unfamiliar and foreign. This inevitably leads to generational conflict over which language should be used in religious and social activities. Progressive leaders

maintain that the adoption of English is essential for the successful incorporation of the younger generations. Conservatives, on the other hand, resist the language shift since it represents "the abandonment of all the ways of the fathers."[6] The hard reality of the progressive position is usually grudgingly accepted in the end. "Though churches may delay the moment of their surrender," Niebuhr remarks, "few elect to perish with their mother tongue" (1957:212).

Contemporary sociologists have also maintained that the survival and growth of ethnic churches require organizational adaptations. In his study of ethnic groups in Southern Alberta, Palmer (1972:239-245) discovered a general pattern of accommodation in various immigrant churches in their efforts "to stem the defection of the second and third generations." Similarly, in the United States Steinberg (1981:67-68) points out that "ethnic subsocieties must adapt to the prevailing culture to curtail the loss of more assimilated members." Fishman (1972:621) also supports this view observing that "the more 'successful' religion becomes, the more *de-ethnicized* it becomes." (Italics mine.)[7]

These two perspectives on religion and ethnicity correspond closely to the popular contrasting images of the nature of society in Canada and the United States: the "ethnic mosaic" and the "melting pot." These images, or "rhetorical idealizations" (Simpson, 1977:18), imply

that the assimilation of immigrants proceeds in dissimilar patterns in these two countries. Ethnic minorities in the United States are expected to abandon their distinctive features and conform to "Anglo-Saxon" culture (Herberg, 1960:21), whereas in Canada they are both able and encouraged to maintain their cultural distinctiveness indefinitely.[8]

The foundation for Canada's ethnic mosaic is, presumably, the biculturalism of its charter groups. This image of Canada has flourished over the past decade with the federal government's new policy on multiculturalism. Anderson and Frideres suggest that:

> Ethnic persistence has doubtless been encouraged in Canada by a general (if new) emphasis or toleration of multiculturalism as an ideology or goal. In other words, in a majority-minority situation, ethnic persistence will be enhanced if the majority does in fact accept the minority's right to distinctiveness (1981:107).

There are sociologists dissenting from this popular understanding of Canadian society. Dahlie and Fernado, for example, argue that in spite of the policy of multiculturalism and the existence of two charter groups with distinctive cultures, the pressure towards "Anglo-conformity" is also a dominant social reality of Canada:

> Although the locus of power has always been with the "charter groups" (vis-a-vis all other incoming groups) the relationship between the two has been asymmetrical with the "British" dominant and the "French" disadvantaged. An important consequence

> of British dominance is that Angloceltic institutions and ways of thinking have come to constitute the major components of Canadian norms, the ethos which "Other" ethnic groups, including the original habitats of this land, are supposed to assume in the process of becoming truly Canadian (1981:1).

Does Canada provide an environment in which ethnic minorities can maintain their cultural distinctiveness or is Anglo-conformity expected to accompany integration into the host society? This case study of the Japanese experience should provide some clarification of this issue.

According to Gordon, in Assimilation in American Life, the persistence of ethnicity or the "sense of peoplehood" depends to a large degree upon the development of a subsociety; that is, a network of ethnic organizations, informal social relationships and institutional activities (1964:37). In this study, minority churches are regarded as key components of the Japanese subsociety. These religious organizations are the "plausibility structures" (Berger, 1969:45) or "base-institutions" (Shimpo, 1981:20) upon which the maintenance of the Japanese subculture largely depends.

From the foregoing discussion emerge two central questions that will provide the orientation for this study:

(1) Are Japanese minority churches effective agents of cultural preservation in Canadian society? or

(2) Does the assimilation process force Japanese minority churches to de-ethnicize

and accommodate to the acculturated generations for organizational survival?

The following pages will attempt to provide empirically grounded answers to these questions.

Hypotheses

The significance of Millett's sub-typology for the study of Japanese minority churches will be elaborated in relation to these two general perspectives on religion and ethnicity. In considering the further potential of this typology, I have shifted the focus away from the problem addressed by Mehl and Millett, that is, whether or not minority churches maintain their church-like character or become sectarian, to examine the issues of ethnic persistence and organizational adaptation. Millett's sub-typology draws attention to important differences between minority churches which could elucidate their effectiveness as social bases for ethnic persistence and/or their ability to make organizational adaptations for acculturated generations.

The hypotheses guiding this research are based upon observed differences between the foreign-oriented Buddhist Churches of Canada (hereafter the BCC), and the native-oriented Japanese United Church Conference (hereafter the JUCC). These hypotheses are related to the general orientation of their founding members and the character of

the sponsoring religious body or administrative reference group. As far as the membership orientation is concerned, it is commonly recognized that for most Japanese immigrants in Canada the Buddhist churches symbolized Japanese culture and ties to the old country, whereas the Christian churches were viewed as hakujin (Caucasian) religion (Young and Reid, 1938:95-107; Shimpo, 1977:122-123; Adachi, 1976:113). According to the "definitions of the situation" in the Japanese community, therefore, those affiliating with the Buddhist churches tended to be more conservative and supporters of Japanese traditions. Conversion to one of the Christian churches, on the other hand, was interpreted as a movement into Anglo-society and an indicator of an assimilationist orientation.

The general orientation of the founding members of these two minority churches is closely connected to the character of the sponsoring religious bodies. The religious authority and legitimacy of the BCC is based upon its relationship to the Mother Temple of Jodo Shinshu (True Pure Land Sect), the Nishi Honganji in Kyoto, Japan. This organizational link with the old country reinforces the traditionalism of the BCC membership. Having a Mother Temple in Japan encourages the preservation of the ethnic language and culture in the BCC. This administrative reference group tends to be conservative and resistant to adaptations which would diminish its power and the

dependence of the immigrant churches. The sponsoring religious body of the JUCC is, of course, the United Church of Canada. The organizational relationship to an indigenous church reinforces the assimilationist orientation of the JUCC membership. According to the earlier administrators of the United Church, these ethnic congregations were viewed primarily as a stepping stone to full integration in the Anglo-Saxon community (MacDonald, 1951:53-54). For this indigenous sponsoring religious body, therefore, the Christianization process was inseparable from the process of Canadianization (Clifford, 1977:24).

With these basic differences in mind, hypotheses were formulated to clarify the issues of ethnic persistence and organizational adaptation. In comparing the effectiveness of BCC and JUCC as "plausibility structures" (Berger, 1969:45) for ethnic persistence, it is hypothesized that the foreign-oriented BCC has probably shown a greater concern to maintain ethnicity than the native-oriented JUCC. To test this hypothesis and the relative success of minority churches in preserving ethnicity data on language maintenance and endogamy will be examined.

In exploring the assimilationist perspective of minority churches as adapting organizations, it is hypothesized that the native-oriented JUCC is better able to make the adaptations for acculturated generations than the foreign-oriented BCC. Since the JUCC is sponsored by an

indigenous Anglo-church and its members tend to be more assimilationist in orientation, it seems reasonable to expect that adaptations would be facilitated in this minority church organization. The BCC, with its ties to the old country and more conservative membership, would tend to be more resistant to adaptations. In order to test the hypothesis regarding divergent patterns of adaptation, this study will examine religious leadership (whether bilingual) and the introduction of English language materials and services in these two minority church organizations.

Since Niebuhr's study of the consequences of "homogenization" (or "Americanization") upon immigrant church development, the conceptualization of the assimilation process has undergone considerable refinement within sociology. This study utilizes the framework advanced by Gordon in which seven distinct sub-processes or variables of assimilation are distinguished. Two of these sub-processes are of particular importance. According to Gordon (1964:70-75), cultural assimilation (or acculturation) is usually the first type of assimilation to occur and involves a "change on the part of the ethnic group to the cultural patterns of the host society." Structural assimilation, the second process, involves "large-scale entrance into the cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society, on the primary group level." Once structural assimilation occurs, Gordon maintains, the other types of assimilation usually follow.

Full participation in the institutions of the host society naturally leads to marital assimilation (exogamy), identificational assimilation (the development of a sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society), attitude receptional assimilation (absence of prejudice), behavior receptional assimilation (absence of discrimination), and civic assimilation (absence of value and power conflict). In terms of Gordon's model of assimilation, this study of minority church adaptation is concerned with the organizational dilemmas posed particularly by cultural assimilation, structural assimilation, and marital assimilation.

Summary

For some years sociologists have devoted considerable attention to the study of religious organizations. Their preoccupation with Protestant sectarianism and new religious movements has led to a neglect of an area equally important for understanding the nature of religious pluralism in North America--the immigrant or ethnic church. A general concern of this dissertation is to redirect attention to this often overlooked field of research.

Less than a decade ago, Hiller (1976:349) could safely write that the sociological study of Canadian religion "is still in embryonic form." Although valuable studies have made their appearance since this assessment was made (see, for example, Crysdale and Wheatcroft, 1976; Coward

and Kawamura, 1977), many aspects of Canadian religious life have yet to receive systematic study by sociologists.

This dissertation is intended as a modest contribution to this developing discipline in a twofold sense. First, this study elaborates and applies a sub-typology initially designed to aid in the analysis of Canadian religion. Millett (1969), a Canadian sociologist, showed that the sub-typology was a useful tool for identifying and classifying forms of religion in Canada which had been neglected in the previously used categories of church, sect, and cult (Clark, 1948; Mann, 1956). I have suggested that the typology has additional potential for the study of ethnic organizational dynamics. Second, in the process of exploring the utility of Millett's sub-typology, this dissertation provides an empirical study of religion among one of Canada's ethnic minorities. The collection and analysis of data on Japanese Canadians will increase our understanding of minority religious life. Moreover, it will clarify the multicultural nature of Canadian society. What happens to the religion of ethnic minorities after several generations in Canada? Is the "ethnic mosaic" a reality, and does the policy of multiculturalism encourage ethnic persistence? The findings of this study on Japanese Canadians should reveal something about the nature of this host society and be suggestive of the future of other ethnic minorities in Canada.

Thesis Overview

The remainder of this dissertation proceeds in several steps. In Chapter Two, I provide a historical overview of the Japanese experience in Canada. A basic assumption underlying this discussion is that minority church evolution cannot be understood apart from a knowledge of the socio-cultural changes within the larger Japanese Canadian community.

Chapter Three describes the development of the Buddhist Churches of Canada and analyzes the foreign-oriented character of this largest minority church organization. In Chapter Four, I sketch the development of the Japanese United Church Conference and discuss the nature of its native-oriented social organization. These two chapters provide the necessary background for the comparative analysis which follows.

In Chapter Five, I examine the tendencies of ethnic persistence and organizational adaptation suggested by the sub-typology. The comparative analysis reveals that in spite of their different orientations and administrative reference groups, these two minority church organizations share a great deal in common. Chapter Six provides an analysis of the central problems that the BCC and JUCC have encountered over the course of their development. The organizational dilemmas confronting minority churches as

a result of cultural and structural assimilation indicate an uncertain future for most Japanese churches.

In Chapter Seven, I offer some generalizations regarding the typical life-cycle of minority churches and reconsider the utility of Millett's sub-typology for illuminating this process. In concluding this dissertation, I explore the implications of this case study for our understanding of religion and ethnicity in Canadian society.[9]

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

[1]Wilson's early work provided one of the most important contributions to the sociology of sectarianism. He challenged Niebuhr's widely known thesis that sectarian movements are inevitably transformed into church-type organizations after one generation. Niebuhr (1957:19-20) had argued that sect-to-church evolution was determined by two basic factors. First, "the natural processes of birth and death" bring with them a change in the structure and character of sects. In contrast to the first generation for whom an emotional conversion experience was central for membership, the second generation are educated and socialized as members and there is a noticeable decline in enthusiasm. Second, as sect members submit themselves to the "discipline of asceticism in work and expenditure" they usually experience an increase in wealth and move rapidly up the economic ladder. Economic success leads to compromise with the world and to the adoption of church-type morals. Wilson (1959) convincingly argued that the process of sect-to-church evolution was far from universal. Through an analysis of a variety of sects Wilson was able to isolate a number of factors in the organization and environment of sects which promote or retard this pattern of development. According to Wilson, key variables influencing the path of sect evolution are the nature of the host society (whether feudalistic, totalitarian, or democratic), the character of the sect ideology (based upon the sect's definition of mission), and the use of insulating and isolating mechanisms. Taking these factors into consideration, Wilson introduced a sub-typology of sects useful in determining which sects were the most likely candidates to follow the course of development outlined by Niebuhr.

[2]Mehl's work on minority churches appeared in his Sociology of Protestantism, published in French in 1965 (English edition, 1970).

[3]Following Mehl's line of thought, Millett also emphasizes the role of the parent church as a reference group preventing sectarian behavior. Minority church members are distinguished from sectarians "by their willingness to gradually accommodate to the religious behavior of the English speaking majorities" (1969:113). One could say that temporary language and cultural differences, rather than sectarian ideology, separate minority church members from the larger society.

[4]The lack of adequate studies analyzing religio-ethnic behavior through successive generations has been well-noted. Gordon (1964:199), for example, observes that "we do not have demographic trend studies of the national parish as a phenomenon in American Roman Catholicism which would provide clues to its changing role and function, or studies of a particular national parish or group of such parishes through the crucial transition from the period of dominance of the first generation to that of the native-born and third generations as adults." Kayal (1973:409) likewise points out: "In spite of contemporary sociological interest in ethnicity, little empirical evidence is available on the role, nature, and effect of religious institutionalism (or the lack, thereof) on ethnic group formation, identity, solidarity, intergroup relations, and eventual assimilation in a religiously pluralistic and structured society such as ours. None of the general hypotheses dealing with the supposed religious and social proclivities of the assimilating 2nd and 3rd generation have been operationalized or tested." Crispino (1980:3) also notes the "paucity of data" on the religio-ethnic behavior of later generations.

[5]Because of this preoccupation with the preservation of old world cultures, Niebuhr referred disparagingly to this social form of religion as "racial sectarianism." It should be remembered that as a theologian Niebuhr's central concern was ethical not sociological. For him, sects, denominations, and immigrant churches represented the moral failure of Christianity since they sanctioned divisiveness and a "religion of the caste system" (1957:6). What social form "authentic" Christianity would take is not made entirely clear by Niebuhr (see, 1957:281-284).

[6]Niebuhr suggests that the intuitions of the conservatives have usually been correct "for the adoption of the native tongue is only the most obvious symptom of the assimilation of the native culture as a whole" (1957:212).

[7]Other sociologists have also recognized the need for ethnic organizations to adapt to the needs of the acculturated generations. See, for example, John E. Hofman, "The Language Transitions in Some Lutheran Denominations," in Joshua A. Fishman, ed. Readings in the Sociology of Language (The Hague: Mouton, 1968, 1972 Second edition); and Baha Abu-Laban, "The Canadian Muslim Community: The Need for a New Survival Strategy," in Earle H. Waugh, Baha Abu-Laban, and Regula B. Qureshi, The Muslim Community in North America (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1983).

[8]Herberg pointed out some years ago that the process of assimilation in the United States is not accurately represented by the "melting pot" metaphor. The American's image of himself is not just a synthesis of various ethnic elements. The United States, he suggested, is in reality a "transmuting pot" in which various ethnic groups are "transformed and assimilated to an idealized 'Anglo-Saxon' model" (1960:21). Herberg recognized that the British cultural heritage constituted the primary influence upon ethnic minorities during their assimilation into American society.

[9]For a discussion of the research methods used in the collection of data for this study, see Appendix A.

CHAPTER TWO: RELIGION AND ASSIMILATION: THE JAPANESE EXPERIENCE IN CANADA

Introduction

Over the past century the circumstances of the Japanese in Canada have changed in remarkable ways. One indicator of this is the diverse way in which the Japanese have been regarded by the host society. During the course of their history in Canada they have been seen as much needed "cheap labor," as the "yellow peril," as "enemy aliens," and, finally, as a "model minority." These different labels point to important transformations that have occurred in the social conditions of Japanese life in Canada. Apart from a knowledge of this changing social environment, an accurate understanding of minority church evolution cannot be attained. A historical perspective is indispensable for determining those conditions encouraging minority church persistence and those contributing to minority church dissolution. In order to provide this necessary context, this chapter will briefly review the experience of the Japanese in Canada, focusing on the nature and extent of their assimilation.[1]

A particular concern of this chapter is to describe the major religious developments within the Japanese

Canadian community. Millett (1979:183) has suggested that as immigrants settle in the New World at least four forms of religious adaptation usually occur:

(1) secular assimilation - the abandonment of religion;

(2) religious assimilation - the integration of immigrants into the existing religious institutions of the dominant group;

(3) linguistic diversification - the organization of ethnic language congregations sponsored by the indigenous churches of the dominant group (i.e., native-oriented minority churches); and

(4) new formal organizations - the establishment by the immigrants of their own religious traditions in the New World (i.e., foreign-oriented minority churches).

The degree to which Japanese religious adaptations have followed these four patterns will be analyzed in the following discussion.

Historical Overview

This chapter's survey of Japanese Canadian history utilizes the framework elaborated by Shimpo in Nihon No Imin (1977:30). Shimpo divides the history of Japanese Canadians into four periods according to their changing legal status. Since the assimilation of minorities depends to a certain extent upon their acceptance or rejection by the dominant group, this framework is well-suited to our purposes. The process and limits of Japanese assimilation in Canada during each period has been determined by

the attitudes and policies of those wielding political power. The first period, 1877-1907, Shimpo describes as one of "free entry;" there were no quotas on the number of Japanese immigrants permitted to enter Canada for these first thirty years. During the second period, 1908-1940, the number of Japanese allowed to enter Canada was limited and various aspects of Japanese economic activity and employment were restricted by the government. The third period, 1941-1949, begins with the severing of diplomatic relations between Japan and Canada. Throughout this period Japanese immigrants and their Canadian-born children were regarded as enemy aliens and denied their rights as citizens. In the last period, 1950 to the present, Japanese Canadians finally received full legal status and rights as citizens of Canada.

With Dreams of Riches: 1877-1907

The first phase of Japanese immigration to Canada began in the late nineteenth century and was comprised primarily of men who had come to meet the demand for manual laborers in the developing industries of British Columbia. The internal causes for this movement have been related to the rapidly increasing population and its attendant economic pressures, especially among the peasant class from the districts of southern Japan (Yoshida, 1901:384). Many of those who came to Canada intended to return to

Japan after a few years of diligent labor with enough capital to purchase their own farms or establish businesses. For most Japanese immigrants this dream never materialized (Adachi, 1976:13015).

The economic activities of the early Japanese immigrants were concentrated in fishing, lumbering, railroading, and mining. While those in control of the developing industries of British Columbia encouraged laborers to come from Japan, they had no interest in the Japanese becoming full participants in Canadian life. To ensure that Anglos maintained control of the province, the legislature of British Columbia denied the vote to Japanese immigrants in 1895.

The increasing number of Japanese arriving in British Columbia was accompanied by growing anti-oriental sentiments. To the white working class the Japanese represented cheap labor and unfair competition. The hostility towards orientals culminated in 1907 when the Asiatic Exclusion League held a rally in Vancouver. The rally was effective and a riot ensued, with a white mob storming the Japanese Powell Street community and China Town. As a result of this conflict, the Japanese and Canadian governments negotiated a "Gentlemen's Agreement" to restrict the number of Japanese permitted to enter Canada, and announced it the following year (Shimpo, 1977:73).

The assimilation of the Japanese during this first

period of settlement in Canada was extremely limited. One important factor discouraging their assimilation was their rejection by the Caucasian community. Due to their experience of prejudice and discrimination, the Japanese tended to labor together in groups and live in segregated communities. In addition to the outside hostility of the host society, the language and cultural differences of the Japanese also encouraged the development of a distinct subsociety. In Vancouver a section of town known as "Little Tokyo" grew rapidly and became the centre of the Japanese community. By the end of this first period, the Japanese ghetto consisted of thirty-two restaurants, twenty-six boarding houses, and two Japanese religious institutions (Shimpo, 1977:51). Christian missionary efforts among the Japanese immigrants in British Columbia were initiated during this period. Together, the Methodists and Anglicans had several missions offering religious services and instruction in the English language. In spite of these efforts, cultural assimilation was not significant during these early years.

The Family Building Phase: 1908-1940

As a result of the "Gentlemen's Agreement," in 1908 the Japanese government began issuing passports and restricted the number of Japanese male laborers entering Canada to four hundred per year. The consequence of this

new policy and the hostile political climate was the drastic decline in Japanese immigration to Canada, from a high of over 7,000 during 1907-1908 to only 244 the following year (Adachi, 1976: Appendix 1). Excluded from this restriction, however, were returning residents and relatives of those Japanese already in Canada (Shimpo, 1977:73). The composition of the Japanese population changed considerably as male laborers sent for "picture brides" and family members in Japan. In the Japanese Canadian community, Adachi observes, "1908 marked the beginning of the 'family-building' phase (1976:87)." Between 1901 and 1941 the percentage of Canadian-born Japanese in Canada increased from 1.4 to 59.1 percent (Shimpo, 1977:150).

The economic activities of the Japanese during this second period continued to be shaped by racial discrimination and increasing government restrictions. In the fishing industry, for example, the government began cutting back the number of fishing licenses issued to the Japanese due to the growing animosity and pressure from occidental workers. Because of these discriminatory practices, the number of Japanese involved in fishing declined from 2,933 to 1,998, or 31.8 percent, between 1922 and 1932 (Shimpo, 1977:81). Similar practices also contributed to the decline of the number of Japanese involved in railroading, mining, and lumbering during the same decade. Restrictions in these areas encouraged the Japanese to pursue more independent

economic ventures in agriculture and commerce. The increase in Japanese businesses was particularly evident in Vancouver where by 1931 they held over eight hundred trading licenses. "There was one license for every ten Japanese in the city," Adachi notes, "to only one for every twenty-one non-oriental" (1976:151).

The exclusionary practices of the host society encouraged the continued development of a separate Japanese community. In this unfavorable environment the Japanese maintained a relatively segregated society. By 1941 approximately 96 percent of the 23,149 Japanese in Canada were in British Columbia, and about three-fourths of them were concentrated within seventy-five miles of Vancouver (Adachi, 1978:6). During this second period the Japanese subsociety was characterized by a high degree of "institutional completeness" (Breton, 1964). A network of Japanese prefectural associations, religious institutions, businesses, newspapers, and schools developed and limited the degree of contact between Japanese and Caucasians, thereby discouraging assimilation. The growth of this separate Japanese society has been described as follows:

> In the matter of a few decades, then, the Japanese built up a vast complex of associations and clubs, involving at least 230 units of secular and religious associations in British Columbia, of which 84 functioned in the Vancouver colony which contained, by the 1930s, nearly one-third of the province's Japanese population (Adachi, 1976:122).

The organization of Japanese language schools was a central concern of this period. The first Japanese language school was established in 1906. By 1940 there were 48 language schools with 4,012 students and 97 teachers in the Japanese communities across British Columbia (Shimpo, 1977:105). The Issei (first generation) sought to establish language schools for two main reasons. First, since Issei were generally unable to speak or understand English, intergenerational communication would only be possible if the Nisei (second generation) learned Japanese. Second, some Issei still had intentions of returning to Japan with their families and they knew that their children would have to be fluent in Japanese if they were to survive upon their return (Shimpo, 1977:105-106). Those Nisei forced by their parents to attend Japanese school were later to find their language ability to be a great asset; as they were subsequently excluded from full employment in the Caucasian community, Nisei found that they needed Japanese language ability in order to work in the Issei dominated subculture (Sunahara, 1979:2).

The exclusionary practices of the dominant group kept many Japanese isolated. Nevertheless, significant links with Anglo-society for the second generation led to a considerable degree of cultural assimilation. The most important acculturative force upon the Nisei during this period was the public school. As Table II-1 shows,

Table II-1

Second Generation Japanese Enrolled in Public Schools of British Columbia, 1917-1940

YEAR	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL	HIGH SCHOOL	UNIVERSITY
1917	600	11	6
1922	1,422	--	--
1924	1,725	43	8
1925	2,477	--	--
1930	4,128	410	--
1935	5,405	697	--
1940	5,395	1,359	--

SOURCE: Shimpo, 1977:103.
Note: --Dash means no data available.

a substantial number of Canadian-born Japanese were enrolled in the public school system during this period. The second generation, therefore, were socialized in two vastly different social worlds: the Japanese world of their parents, and the Anglo world of their Caucasian peers. At home and in the ethnic language schools the Nisei were inculcated with the traditional Japanese value of social conformity. Upon entering the public schools they were faced with other cultural values. In Japanese American Identity Dilemma, Maykovich aptly describes the predicament of the second generation:

> In school, the Nisei were taught to question and challenge, and were encouraged to make their own decisions, to be agressive, and to assert their individuality. To make matters even more confusing, the

> parent that they respected and obeyed at home, in turn urged them to respect and obey teachers who were indoctrinating the youngsters with a conflicting philosophy (1972:58).

It was inevitable that intergenerational conflict would occur as the Caucasian community became an increasingly important reference group for the second generation.

Another important acculturative force upon the Japanese in Canada was the missionary activity of several Christian denominations. Although the Japanese immigrants were predominantly Buddhist, their evangelistic efforts met with considerable success. The most serious attempts to evangelize the Japanese were carried out by the United and Anglican Churches (Mitsui, 1964; Nakayama, 1966:31). Before the Second World War, their combined work consisted of thirteen missions in British Columbia. On a smaller scale, missionary work among the Japanese was also undertaken by the Roman Catholic Church.

In addition to providing religious services, these Christian churches organized English night schools to assist the immigrants in their adjustment to the new environment (Sumida, 1935:122, 132). Special efforts were made among the Canadian-born young people. Sunday schools and kindergartens were established, and various Christian youth clubs were organized. As a result of these many efforts, scores of second generation Japanese were exposed to the Christian religion at some point during

their childhood. In 1938 alone, for example, there were 1,161 Nisei enrolled in 18 Sunday schools and 834 involved in some 47 through-the-week organizations such as Canadian Girls in Training and Mission Band.[2] A 1934 survey of 10,774 Nisei in British Columbia indicates that these efforts were not in vain; 43.6 percent identified themselves with one of the Christian denominations.[3] Since Japanese viewed Christianity as the religion of Canada, conversion to one of the Christian denominations symbolized movement into hakujin (white) society and is therefore an indicator of cultural assimilation (Shimpo, 1977:123).

Although the Japanese Buddhists were slower in organizing their religious services in Canada, by the mid-1930s there were six Buddhist Churches in British Columbia and one as far east as Raymond, Alberta (Kawamura, 1977:505). The Buddhist tradition, of course, symbolized Japanese culture, and its organization and activities in Canada provided a basis for maintaining Japanese identity (Shimpo, 1977:122). Representing familiar customs and values, the Buddhist activities were especially attractive to the Issei. Nevertheless, even among the first generation the Christian denominations began to make an impact. By 1941, the foreign-born Japanese in Canada still identifying themselves as Buddhist had declined to 69.7 percent.[4]

In summarizing the extent of assimilation during this period, it could be said that the Issei largely remained

an unacculturated generational unit within the Japanese community. While there were some conversions to one of the Christian denominations, most Issei remained enclosed within the network of ethnic institutions and relationships. For the Nisei, on the other hand, cultural assimilation was quite advanced. In addition to the religious changes already noted, the language abilities of Canadian-born Japanese were rapidly transformed through their exposure to the public school system. A 1935 survey of 4,261 Nisei revealed that 41.5 percent could read English only, 44 percent could read both English and Japanese, and a mere 14.3 percent could read Japanese only. According to this study, most of those who could only read Japanese had been sent back to Japan for a significant portion of their education and then returned to Canada.[5]

In spite of their high degree of cultural assimilation, Nisei were denied free entry to the jobs for which their education had prepared them. Many businesses refused to employ Japanese Canadians because of the attitudes of many occidental workers. Even university educated Nisei were barred from government employment and the teaching profession (Sunahara, 1979:2). The prejudice and discriminatory practices of the dominant group meant that even though the Canadian-born Japanese were acculturated to Anglo society structural assimilation would not occur for many years.

Life as Enemy Aliens: 1941-1949

With the severing of diplomatic relations between Japan and Canada in 1941, Japanese immigrants and their Canadian-born children faced further discriminatory actions. Under the direction of Prime Minister Mackenzie King, all Japanese in Canada were ordered to register with the government on January 8, 1941. Apparently, this was a racist policy to which Germans and Italians in Canada were not subjected. As a result of this order 1,950 Japanese Nationals (8.9 percent of Japanese in Canada) were issued yellow cards; 3,200 naturalized Japanese (14.5 percent of Japanese in Canada) were issued pink cards; and 16,860 Canadian-born Japanese (76.6 percent) were issued white cards (Shimpo, 1977:139).

The bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, marked the end of an era for the Japanese in Canada. Japanese immigrants and their children were immediately regarded as enemy aliens and the government began to impose restrictions under the authority of the War Measures Act (Adachi, 1978:18-21; Barr, 1978:346). The Canadian government closed the 51 Japanese language schools in British Columbia, stopped publication of the three Japanese language newspapers, and confiscated 1,200 Japanese owned fishing boats (Shimpo, 1977:140; Adachi, 1976:200).

More radical measures were yet to be implemented

against the Japanese. Under "racist pressure" (Adachi, 1976:215) the government abandoned its initial plan for a selected evacuation of Japanese Nationals; it decided that all enemy aliens, including naturalized citizens and Canadian-born Japanese, would have to be removed from the "protected area"--a 100 mile strip of land along the coast of British Columbia--where most of the 23,149 Japanese in Canada were concentrated. The evacuation program was implemented by the British Columbia Security Commission, and completed by the end of October, 1942. After being temporarily housed in the livestock stalls of Vancouver's Hasting Park, the Japanese were assigned to several different projects. Many of the men were placed on federal road projects in the interior of British Columbia. Several thousand men and their families were sent to work on the sugar-beet farms of Alberta and Manitoba. The majority were assigned to relocation centres in the ghost towns of southeastern British Columbia (La Violette, 1948:96; Shimpo, 1977:153).

The systematic removal of all the Japanese from the coastal areas of British Columbia irreversibly altered the social and economic structure of the Japanese community. The evacuation meant, of course, the disintegration of "Little Tokyo" in Vancouver as well as other Japanese communities scattered in the coastal area. The authority and leadership of the Issei, the immigrants who had been

the backbone of the pre-war community economically, declined as they lost their homes, stores, fishing boats, and farms (Sunahara, 1979:5-13). Upon orders of the federal government, the Custodian of Enemy Property disposed of all Japanese owned property located within the "protected area." The profound impact of these government actions upon the Japanese community has been summarized in the following manner:

> It was the government's intention that the uprooted Japanese should subsist on their own resources until those resources were depleted while being detained by the government. Forced to subsist on the little capital remaining after the realtors' and auctioneers' fees, the handling and storage charges and past relief benefits had been deducted, many Japanese Canadians became impoverished. The property sales also destroyed the social and economic ties which had bound the prewar Japanese Canadian community in British Columbia (Sunahara and Wright, 1979:82).

The disposal of Japanese property was undertaken by the government without the consent of the Japanese and at a considerable loss to them. A survey conducted by the Japanese Canadian Committee for Democracy in 1947 indicated that the Japanese had incurred a loss of 25 percent in the liquidation of their property (Miyata, 1971).

In order to continue their missionary work among the Japanese during the war years, the United, Anglican, and Roman Catholic Churches reassigned their ministers and lay workers to the various relocation centres (Mitsui,

1964:272; McWilliams, 1943). The churches gained many new members through their efforts during the war. In addition to religious outreach, a key factor accounting for their success was the educational programs they organized in the centres. The evacuation had removed many Japanese young people from areas where public education was available; therefore, where the government did not provide assistance, the Christian churches made every effort to set up "stopgap schools" and kindergartens (Sunahara, 1981:87-97). For most high school students this simply meant that the churches provided tutors to supervise their correspondence courses. Nevertheless, in many cases attendance at church sponsored classes was simply the prelude to church attendance and membership in one of the major denominations.[6] A comparison of the religious composition of Japanese Canadians in 1941 and 1951 reveals the progress made by the Christian denominations. Table II-2 indicates that those Japanese identifying themselves with one of the major Christian denominations increased from 30.5 percent to 56.7 percent during this ten year period.

An important topic of discussion during the war was the future of the Japanese in Canada. Politicians, particularly those in British Columbia, frequently argued that extreme measures would be required to solve the Japanese problem. The virulent attitudes of many Caucasians is well-illustrated by the following statement of Liberal

Table II-2

Japanese Population According to Percentage Adhering to Each of the Four Principle Denominations, 1941 and 1951

DENOMINATION	1941 NUMBER	1941 PERCENTAGE	1951 NUMBER	1951 PERCENTAGE
Buddhist	14,759	63.75	8,792*	40.58
United Church	4,965	21.44	8,448	38.99
Anglican	1,653	7.14	2,933	13.5
Roman Catholic	450	1.94	921	4.25
TOTAL POPULATION	23,149		21,663	

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1941 and 1951.
Note: *The 1951 Census did not keep a separate category for "Buddhist"; it is assumed here that the majority of those in the "Other" category of that census were Buddhist.

MP Thomas Reid, January 15, 1942:

> Take them back to Japan. They do not belong here, and there is only one solution to the problem. They cannot be assimilated as Canadians for no matter how long the Japanese remain in Canada they will always be Japanese.[8]

This extreme position gained wide popular support and significantly influenced the federal government's decision regarding the future of the Japanese in Canada.

As the Second World War came to a close, the Canadian government informed the Japanese that they had two options: either cooperate with the policy of geographical dispersal and resettlement east of the Rockies or be repatriated back to Japan. Adachi explains why almost 7,000 Japanese made application for repatriation to Japan:

> The majority of those who signed for repatriation signed because they were not prepared to accept the alternative of being forced to move east at the earliest possible date. They signed not because they wanted to go back to war-ravaged Japan but because that seemed less repugnant than the prospect of trying to re-establish themselves in Canada in the face of existing restrictions, discriminations and hostility (1978:30).

There was considerable inter-generational conflict over the issue of repatriation. Many Nisei resisted their parents decision to return to Japan because they identified themselves as Canadians and had an inadequate knowledge of the Japanese language (Barr, 1978:348; Shimpo, 1977:187). Of those who initially signed up for repatriation, only about 4,000 actually returned to Japan (Adachi, 1978:30).

As a result of the policy of geographical dispersal and resettlement, cities and towns in eastern Canada absorbed thousands of Japanese after the war. A comparison of the geographical distribution of Japanese in 1941 and 1951 reveals the success of this government policy. As may be seen in Table II-3 in 1941 over 95 percent of the Japanese were concentrated in British Columbia; a decade later, however, only 33 percent of the Japanese remained in this western province.

The policy of the Canadian government toward the Japanese during the war was considerably more severe than the treatment of the Japanese in the United States. Maykovich points out that "internment began earlier and

Table II-3

Distribution of Japanese in Canada, 1941 and 1951

PROVINCE	1941	1951
Newfoundland	0	2
Prince Edward Island	0	6
Nova Scotia	2	4
New Brunswick	3	7
Quebec	48	1,137
Ontario	234	8,581
Manitoba	42	1,161
Saskatchewan	105	225
Alberta	578	3,336
British Columbia	22,096	7,169
Yukon	41	23
Northwest Territories	0	12
TOTAL	23,149	21,663

SOURCE: Adachi, 1976:413; Shimpo, 1977:191.

ended later in Canada" (1975:103). Furthermore, the restrictions upon Japanese Canadians and their status as enemy aliens remained until 1949. In that year the Japanese were finally allowed to return to the coastal areas of British Columbia and granted equal citizenship rights by the Provincial Legislature (Adachi, 1976:344).

Home at Last? 1950 to Present

The war, evacuation, and resettlement brought about massive changes in the character of the Japanese community in Canada. In the prewar period the Japanese

were a highly visible and segregated group with many of their own social and economic institutions. The evacuation and disposal of Japanese property effectively destroyed the ethnic subsociety which had developed for over half a century in British Columbia. Also, their dispersal across Canada since the war has significantly reduced their visibility. Consequently, racial discrimination has decreased and economic opportunities for the Japanese have increased as they have no longer been perceived as a threat by the white community (Barr, 1978:49). Since 1950 the Japanese Canadians have had for the first time in their history full legal rights as citizens. As the social and economic barriers to full participation in Canadian society have been gradually reduced by the dominant group, economic mobility has increased among the Japanese population, and their assimilation into Anglo society has been accelerated.

An indicator of cultural assimilation is the adoption of the religion of the host society. The 1971 Canadian Census shows that the pattern of Christianization which began early in the history of Japanese in Canada has continued in the post-war environment. As may be seen in Table II-4, approximately half of the Japanese population identify themselves with one of the Christian denominations. The United Church claims 30 percent of the population, and the Anglican Church claims 10 percent, clearly indicating

the lasting influence of their missionary endeavors. The 17 percent claiming "No Religion" appears unusually high when compared to the 4.3 percent average for Canada. Just over 90 percent of those claiming "No Religion" among Japanese are urban residents.[9]

Table II-4

Religious Affiliation of Japanese in Canada, 1971

DENOMINATION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Anglican	3,955	10.60
Baptist	600	1.60
Greek Orthodox	75	.20
Jewish	--	--
Lutheran	175	.46
Mennonite/Hutterite	85	.22
Pentecostal	220	.59
Presbyterian	440	1.10
Roman Catholic	1,795	4.80
Salvation Army	50	.13
Ukranian Catholic	10	.02
United Church	11,455	30.70
Other	11,945	32.00
No Religion	6,445	17.20
TOTAL	37,260	100.00

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1971, Vol. 1, Table 18.

What is "hidden" within the religious categories of the Canadian Census, however, is a considerable amount of ethnic religious activity. There are at least 52 Japanese

churches scattered across Canada. These churches are located primarily in those provinces with the largest concentration of Japanese, as indicated in Table II-5. The size of these churches varies considerably--from a small group of about 40 (Tenrikyo) to a large congregation of 800 (Toronto Buddhist Church). Most of these churches were organized during the decade following the traumatic experiences of the evacuation and relocation. Many of the churches in British Columbia, of course, are churches which existed prior to the war; they were simply reorganized

Table II-5

Distribution of Japanese Population in Canada and Number of Ethnic Churches

PROVINCE	POPULATION	CHURCHES
Newfoundland	20	--
Prince Edward Island	15	--
Nova Scotia	85	--
New Brunswick	40	--
Quebec	1,745	4
Ontario	15,600	17
Manitoba	1,335	3
Saskatchewan	315	--
Alberta	4,460	11
British Columbia	13,585	17
Yukon	40	--
Northwest Territories	15	--
TOTAL	37,260	52

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1971, and Church Reports.

after 1949 when the government again permitted the Japanese to settle in the coastal areas.

Within the Japanese Canadian community both native-oriented and foreign-oriented minority churches have been well-established. As shown in Table II-6, almost half of the churches are related to various Christian traditions. The United Church with 11 congregations, and the Anglican Church with 4 congregations, maintain the most substantial native-oriented churches. The Buddhist Churches of Canada with 18 congregations remain the largest foreign-oriented

Table II-6

Japanese Churches in Canada by Denomination

DENOMINATION	NUMBER
Anglican	4
Buddhist Churches of Canada (Jodo Shinshu)	18
Free Methodist	1
Gospel Churches (independent/evangelical)	5
Grace Church (independent/evangelical)	1
Konko Church	2
Nichiren Buddhist Church	1
Pentecostal	1
Presbyterian	1
Roman Catholic	1
Sei-Cho-No-Ie	1
Seventh Day Adventist	1
Tenrikyo	4
United Church	11
TOTAL	52

SOURCE: Interviews and Church Reports.

religious organization. While remaining quite small, some of the 'new' Japanese religions--Konko, Sei-Cho-No-Ie, and Tenrikyo--have also been established in Canada.

In addition to the religious accommodations made by Japanese in Canada, the decline in the number of those claiming Japanese as "mother tongue" (i.e., the language a person first learned in childhood and still understands) is another indicator of cultural assimilation. According to the Census of Canada, between 1941 and 1971 those claiming Japanese as mother tongue declined from 22,359 to 16,890. Although 45 percent of the Japanese Canadian population claim Japanese as mother tongue, 72 percent indicated that English is the language most often spoken at home.[10]

Although Census data on changes in religious identification and language use provides rough measures of the extent of cultural assimilation, an accurate understanding of the nature of assimilation requires that generational distinctions be considered. The contemporary Japanese Canadian community is by no means one homogeneous group; rather, there are three major generational units within this community which makes separate treatment necessary in the analysis of assimilation.

Generational Profiles

The terms "Issei," "Nisei," and "Sansei" refer to three subgroups within the Japanese Canadian community

whose life experience has been extremely diverse. As Sunahara points out, these terms "have sociocultural referents as well as generational ones" (1979:2). Exposure to and participation in changing sociocultural environments has caused the Japanese to identify themselves as members of separate generational units. On the basis of generation location, therefore, one can determine the 'probable' or 'typical' modes of thought and behavior. Mannheim explains that:

> Any given location, then, excludes a large number of possible modes of thought, experience, feeling and action, and restricts the range of self-expression open to the individual to certain circumscribed possibilities. This negative delimitation, however, does not exhaust the matter. Inherent in a positive sense in every location is a tendency pointing towards certain definite modes of behavior, feeling, and thought (1952:291).

Because of the unique historical experience of the Japanese in Canada these generational terms have special significance, suggesting divergent patterns of assimilation within this ethnic community.

The life experience of most Issei began with socialization into the cultural norms and values of rural Meiji Japan. It was during the Meiji era (1868-1911) that the first wave of Japanese immigration to Canada occurred. These immigrants brought with them the values of traditional Japan and managed to institutionalize them by establishing their own language schools, prefectural associations,

churches and businesses. These immigrants were "proud of their race and culture" (Maykovich, 1972:36) and concerned that their heritage be maintained in the New World. This strong ethnic orientation was reinforced by the hostility of the hakujin (white) community.

The Nisei experience in Canada was more confusing than that of their parents. At home and in the ethnic community the Canadian-born Japanese were taught the traditional Japanese values of their parents. Education in the public school system taught them another language and the values of individualism and self-expression. Acculturated to Anglo society, yet excluded from free entry and full participation, the Nisei were marginal individuals unable to feel completely at home in either the Japanese ghetto or the Caucasian community.

The Sansei have grown up in an altogether different environment. While some were born in relocation centres during the war, most were born during the resettlement period. Consequently, they have never been exposed to a tightly knit ethnic community as were their parents. Neither have they had to experience the intense racism and discrimination that was so much a part of Japanese Canadian life for decades. The geographical dispersal of the Japanese since the Second World War has meant that most Sansei have been raised in Caucasian neighborhoods and experienced very little of their life among a Japanese

peer group.

These vastly different life experiences have shaped the generational patterns of assimilation within the Japanese Canadian community. Useful data for the construction of generational profiles have been provided by two sociological studies of Japanese in Toronto conducted during the past decade. Maykovich's (1980) findings are based upon a randomly selected sample of three generations of Toronto Japanese in 1974. The response rate of 42 percent included 48 Issei, 100 Nisei, and 102 Sansei; for comparative purposes, 103 Caucasians of "approximately the same age and education levels as the Sansei" were also selected (Maykovich, 1980: 72). Makabe's (1976) study focused upon Canadian-born Japanese in Toronto and was based upon a sample of 100 Nisei and 20 Sansei.

The Issei are now an elderly sub-group within the contemporary Japanese community. If adoption of the language of the host society is regarded as a key indicator of cultural assimilation, this group is far from acculturated. Of Maykovich's sample of 48 Issei, "not a single respondent showed fluency in English" (1980:72). The lack of ability in English has meant that the nature of the relationships cultivated by members of this generation have been very limited. Although there is no longer an ethnic ghetto as such, Maykovich found that the friends of those in this sub-group "are predominantly other Issei"

(1980:73).

Due to their education in the Canadian public schools, the cultural assimilation of Nisei is considerably more advanced. Maykovich discovered that all of the Nisei in her sample spoke English fluently. The efforts of Issei to transmit and maintain the Japanese language is reflected in the fact that 89 percent of the second generation attended language schools in British Columbia before the war. Maykovich found that one-quarter (24 percent) of the Nisei sample speak Japanese fairly well, one-fifth (21 percent) speak practically none, and one-half (55 percent) speak some Japanese (1980:76-77).

While Nisei are involved outside of the ethnic community in occupational associations and for employment, both Makabe (1976:174) and Maykovich (1980:77) found that they tended to prefer members of their own ethnic group for intimate friends. According to Maykovich, 83 percent of the Nisei are likely to choose other Nisei as close friends (1980:77). Makabe found that 55 percent of the Nisei men in her sample "did not include a single non-Japanese among their five intimates" (1976:214). In view of their traumatic history and harsh treatment by the Caucasian community for so many years, it is not surprising that they are most comfortable among their ethnic peers.

The Sansei represent a highly assimilated sub-group within the Japanese Canadian community. Raised in the

post-war environment outside of the ethnic ghetto, Sansei speak English fluently but less than one-third speak some Japanese. The 9 percent able to speak Japanese fairly well, Maykovich points out, are mainly those few college students specializing in Japanese studies (1980:78-79). The Caucasian sample in the Maykovich study were more concerned that Japanese parents transmit their ethnic heritage than were the Sansei.

Friendship patterns among Sansei are a good indicator of their integration into the Caucasian community. Maykovich (1980:79) found that "the majority of the Sansei have more non-Japanese (62 percent) than Japanese friends (38 percent)." Similar friendship patterns were discovered in Makabe's study: "Half of the Sansei sample claim not to have a single person of Japanese origin among their five intimates, whereas 55 percent of their fathers did not include a single non-Japanese" (1976:214). One important consequence of acceptance by the Caucasian community and new friendship patterns is the rapid increase in intermarriage among the Sansei. In Makabe's study, 86 percent of the Sansei married outside of the ethnic community, exclusively to Caucasians. "Both married and non-married (Sansei respondents)," Makabe found, "agree with the idea that ethnic origin is not important in their choice of their spouses, and that they have no preference for ethnic endogamy at all" (1976:216). Toronto is not the only area

of Japanese concentration where high rates of intermarriage among Sansei have been noted. Hirabayashi (1978: 63-65) investigated the occurrence of intermarriage among Japanese Canadians in Southern Alberta and reported similar high rates. In Lethbridge between 1970 and 1974, 82 percent of Japanese marriages were with non-Japanese. During the same period in the rural community of Taber the intermarriage rate was 71.4 percent. With intermarriage reaching such large proportions, it seems probable that both cultural and structural assimilation are nearly complete among the third generation Japanese.

Summary

From the foregoing survey it is apparent that assimilation has progressed with each successive generation of Japanese in Canada. What makes the Japanese experience so interesting is the fact that they are a "visible minority" and were at one time considered unassimilable. What accounts for their rapid movement toward assimilation? It is certainly related to the unusual treatment of the Japanese by the Canadian government as a result of the Second World War; their evacuation and geographical dispersal transformed the nature of the ethnic community almost overnight. In the case of the Japanese, their ethnic ghettos were artificially and prematurely dismantled and their mobility forced. It could also be reasoned that the unique

achievement motivation of the Japanese (Bellah, 1957:3; DeVos, 1973:23, 173-174), analogous to the Protestant work ethic, has encouraged education, socio-economic advancement, and, as an unintended consequence, assimilation.[11] Montero (1981), in his study of the Japanese in the United States, has shown that the concommitant of upward mobility is outward mobility and the loosening of the bonds of the ethnic community. Finally, during the postwar period the racism and discriminatory practices of the dominant group have declined significantly.[12] All of these factors have encouraged the assimilation of Japanese in contemporary Canadian society.

Using the objective indicators of language maintenance and endogamy, "ethnicity" is clearly a declining phenomenon as far as the Japanese Canadian community is concerned. This is hardly surprising since the experience of many minorities is about the same. DeVries and Vallee explain that:

> Unless these minorities are regularly supplemented by large numbers of entrants from elsewhere (that is, through sustained flows of immigrants into the country), or unless they establish fairly high degrees of segregation from the English parts of North American society (as do the Native Indians and Inuit, the French in Quebec, and the Mennonites and Hutterites in western Canada), they will eventually be absorbed into an English North American society, in which the only remnants of the original cultural mosaic may well be such things as folk dancing groups, choral societies and various types of handicraft. *Strong*

> *countervailing forces must be developed and cultivated to enhance the chances of survival for such minorities* (1980:171). (Italics mine.)

Since the Second World War, the Japanese Canadian community has neither been segregated from Anglo society nor "regularly supplemented by large numbers of entrants from elsewhere." In fact, between 1946 and 1976 only 10,332 Japanese immigrated to Canada and some of these returned to Japan or moved to the United States (Ueda, 1978:21). As noted above, apart from segregation and/or significant replenishment from abroad the survival of minorities requires the development of "strong countervailing forces."

In Chapter One, it was noted that ethnic religious organizations are often regarded as central agents of cultural preservation. The two largest ethnic religious organizations within the Japanese Canadian community are the foreign-oriented Buddhist Churches of Canada and the native-oriented Japanese Conference of the United Church of Canada. Are these ethnic churches effective "countervailing forces" for the preservation of Japanese subculture? Has organizational survival required adaptation or accommodation to the acculturated second and third generations? What are the consequences of the advancing structural assimilation for these minority churches? The remainder of this study will consider the development and social organization of the BCC and JUCC, and analyze their role in the Japanese Canadian community.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

[1]This review of the Japanese experience in Canada is based upon a number of historical and sociological studies. Two standard works which cover the entire history of Japanese in Canada are The Enemy That Never Was (1976), by Nisei journalist Ken Adachi, and Nihon No Imin (1977), by Japanese sociologist Mitsuru Shimpo. While many of the details of this chapter have been drawn from these two texts, more specialized studies have also been utilized. For the Japanese Canadian experience prior to the Second World War, Sumida's thesis "The Japanese in British Columbia" (1935) and the study by Young and Reid, The Japanese Canadians (1938), have been valuable sources of information. Sunahara's recent study, The Politics of Racism (1981), and La Violette's The Canadian Japanese and World War II (1948), both provide a detailed analysis of the evacuation, internment, and geographical dispersal of Japanese Canadians which resulted from the government's policies during the war. The sociological studies by Makabe (1976) and Maykovich (1980) analyze the nature of the contemporary Japanese Canadian community. This chapter draws upon all of these works as well as various archival materials and Canadian Census data.

[2]Reported in The Japanese Contribution to Canada: A Summary of the Role Played by the Japanese in the Development of the Canadian Commonwealth (Vancouver: Canadian Japanese Association, 1940): 31; University of British Columbia Special Collections, Japanese Collection.

[3]Report of the Survey of the Second Generation Japanese in British Columbia, (Vancouver: Canadian Japanese Association, 1935): 35; University of British Columbia Special Collections, Japanese Collection. It should be noted that in this survey "small children who were too young to belong to any religious organization were given the religious denomination of their parent or the same denomination as older children (1935:35)." It is interesting to note that even in this early period the number of those identifying themselves with "no religion" was already quite high. This survey found that 10.3 percent of the second generation "definitely expressed the non-possession of any religious connections or sentiments" (ibid).

[4]Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Religious Denominations in Canada 1871-1941, Ottawa: 1947.

[5]Report of the Survey of the Second Generation Japanese in British Columbia, ibid., p. 40.

[6]This observation is based upon information gathered in interviews and discussions with Nisei members of the Hamilton Japanese United Church.

[7]In addition to the active missionary work conducted by the Christian denominations, another factor is probably related to the decline in the Buddhist population during this period. Since Japanese Buddhists tended to be more conservative and least oriented toward integration into hakujin (white) society, they were probably over-represented in the number of those repatriated to Japan at the end of the Second World War (Young and Reid, 1938:99-100; Shimpo, 1977:122).

[8]Quoted in 1877-1977 The Japanese Canadians: A Dream of Riches, (Vancouver: Japanese Canadian Centennial Project, 1978): 77.

[9]The 1981 Canadian Census data on religion has not yet been made available to the public. Mr. Bob Stewart, Archivist at Vancouver School of Theology, had an opportunity to examine the unpublished reports and informed me that the "No Religion" category among the Japanese in 1981 has increased to 27.7 percent, the average for Canada being 7.3 percent.

[10]1971 Census of Canada, 92-725, Vol. 1, Part 3, Tables 17 and 26.

[11]Economic mobility among second generation Japanese in Canada has been phenomenal. Baar has made the following observations: "In 1935 less than 1 percent of Japanese in Canada were professionals. Yet over a third of the Nisei aspired to enter the professions despite the discrimination of the period. Makabe's analysis of 1971 census data indicates that Nisei within Metropolitan Toronto achieved this goal. Those of Japanese ancestry were found to be overrepresented in science, health, medicine, the arts, teaching, and clerical occupations--in professional and semi-professional occupations. They were underrepresented in sales, services, construction, and transportation. By 1974, a sample of Toronto Nisei had an average family income of $23,167.00 annually, almost twice the Canadian average" (1978:349-350). Baar goes on to point out that some have "argued that to achieve this degree of economic success, the Nisei sacrifices ethnic cohesiveness and distinctiveness" (ibid.).

[12]The decline in discriminatory practices is, of course, closely related to the labour shortage economy of Canada following the Second World War (I am indebted to Dr. Mitsuru Shimpo, St. Jerome's College, University of Waterloo, for bringing this point to my attention). Richmond (1961:42) notes that "because of the low birthrates of the inter-war period, the additions to the labour force by natural increase were insufficient to meet the needs of a rapidly expanding economy in the first decade after the war and immigration played a vital part in sustaining economic growth." Not only was the Canadian economy able to accommodate the Japanese minority group, it was also able to absorb "over 800,000 post-war immigrant workers" between 1946 and 1961 (Richmond, 1961:69).

CHAPTER THREE: FOREIGN-ORIENTED MINORITY CHURCHES

Introduction

Foreign-oriented minority churches are ethnic religious organizations which operate in a non-official language and are dependent upon a parent organization overseas for leadership and authority in religious matters. Linked to a mother church in the old country, the primary administrative reference group of these churches is outside of Canada. The Buddhist Churches of Canada represent the largest foreign-oriented minority church organization within the Japanese Canadian community. Since the Japanese immigrants were dominantly Buddhist, it was almost assured that some form of Buddhist association would develop over the course of their settlement in Canada. In Japan, these immigrants had been affiliated with various Buddhist sects or schools. After their arrival in Canada, however, it was the Nishi Honganji, one of the two Jodo Shinshu (True Pure Land) schools, which responded to their religious needs (Kawamura, 1977:41). As a result, it has been the True Pure Land Buddhism which has been most effectively established among Japanese in Canada.

This chapter will briefly sketch the historical

development of the BCC and describe the central religious beliefs, rituals, and social activities of its members. The foreign-oriented character of these churches will also be explored through an analysis of their social organization in Canada and relationship to the Mother Temple in Kyoto, Japan.

Historical Development

The origins of the Buddhist Churches of Canada can be traced to the informal gatherings of Japanese immigrants around the turn of the century. As early as 1901, Japanese were meeting regularly for "Dharma Talks" in the home of a dedicated Buddhist layman near New Westminster, British Columbia (Izumi, 1983:2). Within this initial association of Buddhist immigrants there arose an apprehension regarding the evangelistic efforts of various Christian denominations. According to one account, the progress of these Christian missions among Japanese immigrants served as an impetus for Buddhists to become more formally organized (Ikuta, 1981:16).

In November 1904, a small group of Japanese met to discuss the possibility of establishing a Buddhist organization in Vancouver. By the end of this meeting two important decisions had been made: one was to form a religious body under the name Nihon Bukkyo Kai (Japanese Buddhist Church or Association), and the other was to

petition Nishi Honganji, the Mother Temple of one of the Jodo Shinshu schools in Kyoto, Japan, to send a Buddhist priest to provide religious services in Vancouver. The Mother Temple responded favorably to this petition, and the first Buddhist missionary arrived the following year (Ikuta, 1981:17; Tsunemitsu, 1964:308).

During the priest's first year of residence in Vancouver religious services were conducted in rented facilities. By 1906, the priest and a building committee of Nihon Bukkyo Kai had raised enough funds from sympathetic Japanese in Vancouver and the surrounding communities to purchase several lots of land and a house on Alexander Street. In addition to holding weekly religious services, an English night school and a Young Adult Buddhist Association (Bukkyo Seinen Kai) were organized by the priest in these new quarters. The religious and social activities of the Buddhist Church held considerable attraction for many immigrants who were not yet fully at home in their new environment. Within a few years the membership of the Nihon Bukkyo Kai grew to approximately 650 (Izumi, 1983:3; Shimpo, 1977:122). In 1909, this first Buddhist organization in Canada was incorporated under the laws of British Columbia and officially recognized by the provincial government (Tsunemitsu, 1964:309).

The demographic changes occurring within the Japanese Canadian community as a result of the "Gentlemen's Agreement"

encouraged other developments within the Vancouver Buddhist Church. After 1908, the number of Japanese women entering Canada increased significantly. Many of these women were quickly drawn into the life of the Buddhist Church. In 1913, a chapter of the Buddhist Women's Association was organized in Vancouver, and approximately one hundred women attended the inaugural meeting (Ikuta, 1981:29).

In 1920, the Vancouver Buddhist Church faced its first major crisis. The membership split into two factions with the dissenting group accusing the minister of inappropriate use of funds. This group left to organize a new church on Jackson Avenue. The leadership of this new group named its organization Canada Bukkyo Kai (Canada Buddhist Church or Association) and immediately petitioned the Mother Temple in Kyoto to send another priest. Within a short time, Nishi Honganji sent a priest to provide religious leadership for this new Buddhist organization. In 1921, Canada Bukkyo Kai was incorporated under the laws of British Columbia. Under the leadership of this new priest the first Buddhist Sunday school was established in Canada. The leaders of the Bukkyo Kai began to realize that the future of Buddhism in Canada depended upon an effective program of religious socialization for the growing families in the Japanese community (Ikuta, 1981:35).

Four years after the schism, the Mother Temple sent another priest to Vancouver with the difficult assignment

of reconciling the two Buddhist factions. The priest interviewed representatives from both sides and was finally able to negotiate a joint meeting to discuss reunion. The meeting proved successful and the two Buddhist groups were reconciled in 1924 under the new name Honpa Canada Bukkyo Kai (Ikuta, 1981:42-45).

Although Vancouver was the centre of Buddhist activities during this early period, Buddhist groups were also being organized in other communities where Japanese were settling in significant numbers. As in Vancouver, most of these other groups began as informal gatherings in homes with occasional visits from the priest of the Vancouver Buddhist Church. By 1930, there were Buddhist churches established in New Westminster, Marpole, Steveston, and Mission, British Columbia, and one as far east as Raymond, Alberta.

The growth of these churches was accompanied with a concern for greater organizational independence. During the first three decades of Buddhism in Canada, these churches were regarded as part of the North America Buddhist Mission which had its headquarters in the United States. In February of 1931, priests and lay delegates from the various churches in Canada met to consider separating from this unbrella organization. As a result of this meeting, the leadership of these churches petitioned Nishi Honganji regarding their desire to become an independent missionary

district with headquarters in Canada. The Mother Temple approved this request and the following year these churches formally separated from the Buddhist Mission of North America and became the Buddhist Mission of Canada (Ikuta, 1981:61).[1]

The steady progress of the Buddhist Mission of Canada over these first three decades may be seen in Table III-1. In 1934, there were 12 Buddhist groups established with a total membership of over 1,500. There were also

Table III-1

Buddhist Churches and Membership in Canada, 1934

CHURCH	MEMBERSHIP
Honpa Canada, Vancouver	300
New Westminster	130
Royston	100
Fairview	180
Steveston	300
West Second Avenue	150
Marpole	40
Maple Ridge	100
Mission City	50
Kelowna	145
Chemainus	40
Raymond (Alberta)*	124
TOTAL	1,659

SOURCE: Young and Reid, 1938:96.
Note: *Statistics for Raymond are based upon the number of individuals who pledged for the building of Raymond Buddhist Church in 1930.

six priests to provide religious leadership for these churches. While the numbers involved are not overwhelming, they represent a considerable increase in organizational strength. It should be remembered that during the first decade of Buddhism in Canada there were only 650 supporters ministered to by one priest.

By 1940, the number of Buddhist churches in Canada had increased to 17 with 8 priests providing religious leadership (Ikuta, 1981:91-93). There were also 10 Buddhist Sunday schools by this time (Tsunemitsu, 1964:312). According to one report, the membership of these churches had grown to a total of 4,235.[2] The reason behind this increase of over 2,500 members between 1934 and 1940 is not entirely clear. It seems probable that the statistics of 1934 were based only upon adult supporters, whereas the statistics of 1940 included the number of children enrolled in the Buddhist Sunday schools, kindergartens, Young Buddhist Associations, and perhaps language schools.

The Second World War had a profound impact upon the development of the Buddhist churches in Canada. The federal government immediately prohibited these churches from holding any special gatherings and regular religious services. Priests were only permitted to perform funeral services (Ikuta, 1981:85). Once the Canadian government decided to evacuate all Japanese from the "protected area," all of the churches within this zone were closed and their

property disposed of by the British Columbia Security Commission. Only the churches in Kelowna, British Columbia, and Raymond, Alberta, were outside of this area and were allowed to remain open through the war years. At the time of the evacuation the Buddhist priests serving the churches in the coastal areas of British Columbia were relocated with the rest of the Japanese. During the war the eight priests continued Buddhist services in the interior of British Columbia and in Southern Alberta. Six priests served the Japanese in the following locations within British Columbia: Tashme, Slocan, Sandon, New Denver, Lemon Creek, and Kelowna. Two priests served the growing Japanese population in Picture Butte and Raymond, Alberta, until the end of the war (Ikuta, 1981:94).[3]

Since the centre of Buddhism before the war had been in the Vancouver area, the government policy of evacuation and resettlement east of the Rockies made it necessary for Buddhist leaders to seriously plan for the future of Buddhism in Canada. In April 1946, some thirty representatives from the pre-war Buddhist churches met with four of the priests at Raymond Buddhist Church to discuss the reestablishment of Buddhism in Canada. Under the leadership of these ministers, this group formed the Canada Bukkyo Fukyo Zaidan (An Economic Committee for the Propagation of Buddhism in Canada). Raymond Buddhist Church was selected as the new national headquarters and the

committee began to publish a monthly newsletter to keep the Japanese who were scattered across Canada informed of Buddhist activities. The Canada Bukkyo Fukyo Zaidan encouraged Japanese Buddhists to reorganize churches in cities and towns where sufficient numbers resettled. Within a few years new churches were established in Coaldale, Taber, Lethbridge, Winnipeg, Toronto, Hamilton, and Montreal.[4]

The major difficulty facing these new churches was the lack of trained religious leaders. This was not an entirely new problem. Between 1905 and 1942, for example, eighteen priests had served in the various Buddhist churches. On the average, priests spent less than four years in Canada, hardly enough time to become oriented to Canadian culture and fluent in the English language (Ikuta, 1981: 87-90). At the end of the war this problem became critical. In 1946, the Canadian government ordered that the seven Japanese-born priests be deported. Five of the seven returned to Japan that year. The Japanese in Southern Alberta, with the support of Senator W.A. Buchanan, the editor of the Lethbridge Herald, signed a petition protesting the deportation orders. As a result of this protest, the two priests serving the Japanese Buddhists in Southern Alberta were permitted to remain in Canada.[5] The only other Buddhist priest remaining in Canada was a Canadian-born Japanese who had received religious training in Japan

just before the outbreak of the Second World War; he moved east to Toronto to minister to the Japanese as they resettled, and helped establish new Buddhist churches in Ontario and Quebec.

The Canada Bukkyo Fukyo Zaidan recognized their desperate need for trained religious leaders, especially priests who were Canadian-born and bilingual. Many of the second generation Japanese in Canada were not fluent in Japanese and it was clear that their children would be even less able to understand Japanese. The Buddhist churches needed priests who could communicate effectively with these increasingly acculturated generations. In an effort to meet this need, the Canada Bukkyo Fukyo Zaidan sent two Canadian-born Japanese back to Japan to receive Buddhist training. These two priests returned in 1950 to serve Buddhist churches in Winnipeg and Southern Alberta.[6]

Since Japanese were not permitted to move back within the "protected area" until 1949, the reorganization of Buddhist churches in the coastal areas of British Columbia lagged a few years behind the formation of new churches in eastern Canada. When the British Columbia Buddhist Federation was organized in 1955, the Japanese had reestablished churches in Kamloops, Vernon, Fraser Valley, Steveston, Vancouver, and Kelowna (Izumi, 1983:7-8).

During the 1950s, two developments occurred within these churches. One was that all of these churches came

to be known collectively as the Buddhist Churches of Canada (BCC), replacing the earlier designation Buddhist Mission of Canada. The other was the division of Canada into four districts (Kyoku). This division was a natural development since churches were geographically dispersed, but shared the religious services of an inadequate number of priests. Representatives from various churches in a district composed the Kyoku Board which coordinated the ministerial assignments when necessary. The four districts were British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, and the Eastern district (Ontario and Quebec).

In 1965, the priests from all four districts met to discuss organizational changes within the BCC. The ministerial association made two important decisions at this meeting: first, Toronto was selected as the new national headquarters of the Buddhist Churches of Canada, and, second, it was resolved that the BCC "should have its own Bishop" (Kawamura, 1977:496-497). Prior to this time, the Canadian churches had been served by the Bishop of the Buddhist Churches of America. With the approval of Nishi Honganji, Rev. N. Ishiura became the first Bishop of the Buddhist Churches of Canada.

During this same year, the BCC experienced a major rift in one of its four districts. Until 1965, the Alberta Kyoku was the official governing body of the Buddhists in Alberta; it was the administrative link between individual

churches and the national organization. At one of the regular Kyoku meetings, a number of delegates were dissatisfied with the manner in which business was being handled and left the meeting declaring that the Kyoku was dissolved (Kawamura, 1977:500).[7] Some of those who remained at this meeting became the steering committee which drew up a constitution for a new Buddhist organization in Alberta named the Honpa Buddhist Church of Alberta. When the dust finally settled, this new Buddhist organization had affiliated churches in Raymond, Rosemary, and Lethbridge. The old Kyoku organization, revived as a result of opposition from the new Honpa group, had affiliated churches in Picture Butte, Taber, Coaldale, and Lethbridge.

The Honpa Buddhist Church of Alberta was not recognized officially by the national organization (that is, the Board of the BCC), and therefore was not regarded as legitimate by the Nishi Honganji in Kyoto, Japan. When the Honpa churches applied for membership in the BCC, they were notified that application had to be made through the old Alberta Kyoku. This was an administrative procedure to which Honpa churches were not willing to submit since it required an admission on their part that the Alberta Kyoku was in fact the legitimate district organization and representative body of the BCC. Efforts to reconcile these two Buddhist factions in Alberta were unsuccessful for about fifteen years.

In the late 1970s, the Calgary Buddhist Church began sponsoring an annual Alberta Buddhist Conference aimed at reconciling these opposing groups. Since the Calgary Buddhist Church had not been involved in the earlier problems, it was regarded as neutral by the other churches in Alberta. Both Honpa and Kyoku churches were invited to participate in these annual meetings. The conference was supported by members of both groups who were in favor of reconciliation. As a result of these annual meetings, the Alberta Buddhist Federation was formed. The chief concern of this new organization was to facilitate cooperation between the Honpa and Kyoku churches. In an attempt to speed up this process, the Bishop of the BCC assigned two rotating ministers to the seven churches affiliated with the Honpa and Kyoku organizations. While the objective of this ministerial arrangement was to encourage the sense of interdependence between these two groups and decrease their feelings of alienation, one lay Buddhist confessed that "there would be less ill-feeling if the Bishop and the Alberta Buddhist Federation had moved more slowly."[8]

In spite of these efforts, the Honpa and Kyoku churches have not been fully reconciled. The BCC Board recognized that the Honpa churches would never apply for membership through the Kyoku organization because of so much past conflict and resentment. In 1982, the Board

changed the constitutional by-laws of the BCC so that individual churches could apply directly for membership without submitting their application through the district organization.[9] The three Honpa churches made applications that year and were finally accepted as member churches of the BCC.[10] Table III-2 shows that there are currently 18 churches in the BCC with a total membership of 3,185.

Table III-2

Buddhist Churches of Canada Membership, 1983

CHURCH	MEMBERSHIP
District of British Columbia	
Kelowna	103
Fraser Valley	50
Kamloops	163
Steveston	452
Vernon*	6
Vancouver*	472
District of Alberta	
Calgary	150
Rosemary	22
Raymond	100
Taber	45
Coaldale	36
Lethbridge Honpa	225
Lethbridge Buddhist Association	190
Picture Butte*	35
District of Manitoba	
Manitoba Buddhist Association	190
Eastern District	
Toronto	800
Hamilton	66
Montreal	80
TOTAL	3,185

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaire.
Note: *Statistics for Vernon and Vancouver are from the 1982 Annual Report, and those for Picture Butte were provided by Rev. Okada (Interview, 7 June 1983).

Religious Beliefs and Practices of the BCC

The Buddhist Churches of Canada belong to the Nishi Honganji, one of the two Jodo Shinshu schools (True Pure Land) of Japanese Buddhism. Although many Buddhist schools emphasize that enlightenment must be achieved through personal effort or self-power (jiriki), the True Pure Land school proclaims a path to salvation through other-power (tariki). According to this tradition, a Buddha named Amida (Infinite Light) will provide salvation: that is, rebirth in the Pure Land at death for all those who have faith in his goodness and accept his merit (DeBary, 1972:316; Cook, 1975:231).

From the perspective of Pure Land Buddhism, this present age is one of confusion and degeneracy (mappo). The imperfections of this world and the basic requirements of daily life (such as, working for a living and caring for parents and children) prevent most individuals from following the disciplined religious practice required to achieve enlightenment in this life. It is for those who are unable to follow the path of self-effort that Amida Buddha established the Pure Land, a perfect environment where all beings can attain enlightenment. The only requirement for rebirth in the Pure Land is reciting the Nembutsu, "Namu Amida Butsu," which literally means "I rely on Amida Buddha." If the Nembutsu is recited with

the mind of faith (shinjin), rebirth in the Pure Land at death is assured.[11] The Bishop of the Buddhist Churches of Canada summarized Pure Land Buddhist beliefs with the following confession of faith:

> I believe in the Amida Buddha who has established a Pure Land.
> I believe that the Jodo Shinshu teachings were taught by Shakyamuni Buddha in the three Sacred Scriptures of the Pure Land.
> I believe that our lives should be ones of gratitude to Amida and through that feeling of gratitude we should follow the eightfold path and the four noble truths.
> These are the cardinal beliefs.[12]

It is interesting to note that the form of Buddhism institutionalized in Canada is the tradition which on the popular level is most similar to Christianity. A central affirmation of the Christian religion has always been that personal salvation is based upon faith in Jesus Christ (other-power).

In the North American environment, Buddhism has undergone some significant modifications.[13] The organization of Sunday schools and regular Sunday services are clear departures from the normal practice of Buddhism in Japan. In Japan, except for special festivals and holiday services, most rituals and ceremonies are conducted before the Buddhist altar (butsudan) in the home without the assistance of a priest (Beardsley, 1959:448; Earhart, 1974:6, 126).

The shift from a family focus to a congregational form of religion has not been entirely successful in Canada. As may be seen in Table III-3, attendance at regular Sunday

Table III-3

Attendance at Regular and Special Services in the BCC, 1983

CHURCH (MEMBERSHIP)	REGULAR SERVICE	NEW YEARS	HO-ONKO	NEHAN-E	HANAMATSURI	GOTAN-E	OBON
Toronto (800)	100	175	175	150	600	175	700
Hamilton (66)	15	40	40	--	40	40	100
Montreal (80)	20	20	60	15	50	30	60
Manitoba (190)	35	60	60	35	100+	60	100+
Fraser Valley (50)	40	--	65	--	100	--	100
Kamloops (163)	30	50	60	--	70	60	80
Kelowna (103)	20	25	20	--	100	35	125
Steveston (452)	25	15	50	30	100	30	150
Vancouver (472)	125*	150	125	125	250	150	500
Taber (45)	--	--	50	--	80	--	80
Raymond (100)	35	50	100	--	100	--	120
Rosemary (22)	30	--	50	--	75	--	75+
Calgary (150)	75	105	90	75	120	90	135
Coaldale (36)	25	--	70	25	80	25	100
Lethbridge Honpa(225)	50	50	180	--	250	80	250

(N=15)

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaire, 1983.
Note: *Statistics for Vancouver regular service is for their combined monthly family services.
--Dash means no data available.

services in most Buddhist churches is generally low. There has always been, however, a substantial turn out of members for those special Buddhist services that are recognized in Japan. These special religious days and services include: Hanamatsuri and Nehan-e, commemorating the birth and death of Shakyamuni Buddha; Gotan-e and Ho-onko, commemorating the birth and death of Shinran Shonin, the founder of the True Pure Land tradition in Japan. A festival and service which is well-attended by both members and numerous nominal Buddhists in the various Japanese communities is the O-Bon. Observed in either July or August, this day begins with a visit to the cemetaries. The graves are cleaned and flowers and incense are placed before them. Frequently, a Buddhist priest conducts brief services for families at various grave sites. The day concludes with a memorial service at the church for all the deceased members of the church families. In some of the larger Japanese communities in Canada, the traditional O-Bon dance follows the religious service.

Apart from these special occasions, the memorial service (hoji) is the central ritual of the Buddhist churches and performed at least once a month. Depending on the dedication of the Buddhist member, a death in the family can begin a long chain of other services. After the funeral service, a memorial service is held on the seventh day after a person's death, the forty-ninth day, the one-

hundredth day, and subsequently, on the first year anniversary, third year anniversary, seventh year anniversary, and so on (Tsunoda, 1955:284-289). In Japanese society, the elaboration of these death-oriented rites is what bound Buddhism to the Japanese family with its traditional concern for ancestors.[14] While these rituals were well-suited to traditional Japanese society, they are an anomaly in contemporary Canadian society.[15] The negative consequences of this association between Buddhism and death are recognized by BCC leaders. The following excerpt from the 1983 Message from the Chairman (BCC) clearly expresses this wide-spread concern:

> The concept of Buddhism and the Buddhist Church must be changed. Too often Bukkyo is related to death. How many times has one heard that it's too early to become a member of the Buddhist Church, "I wish I could do a little living before I join." Or a young chap would come to church and say, "This is where I come after death." The only time many of the young people come are to funerals and to memorial services. They come as a family unit. We must do our utmost to retain the attendance of the family--be it to volleyball, cooking demonstrations, flower arrangements, fun night where gaji, mah jong, bridge, etc., can be played; as well as a place to recite the Nembutsu. The church should be a sociable and enjoyable place to come.

While death-oriented rituals appear to have little meaning for third generation Japanese Canadians (Shimpo, 1981:20), they are regarded as the chief raison d'etre for Buddhist churches by the first generation. Until the first generation

members (and possibly the second) disappear from the scene, these rituals will probably remain the central focus of the BCC.

In addition to these adult religious activities, Sunday schools have also been an important part of Buddhist church life in Canada. Since Buddhist priests had little or no experience with religious education for youth in Japan, their earliest Sunday schools were modeled after those found in the Christian churches. One of the most direct examples of borrowing from Christian sources can be seen in some of the early Buddhist Sunday school choruses. The lyrics of the traditional Christian tune, "Jesus loves me this I know, for the Bible tells me so," was modified to, "Buddha loves me this I know, for the Sutras tell me so" (Adachi, 1976:114). While Buddhists have made considerable efforts toward developing their own Sunday school curriculum, it is well-recognized that they have borrowed from Christian sources for many of their "ideas on the leadership and operation of a Sunday school" (Horinouchi, 1973:293).

As in most Protestant churches, the typical Buddhist Sunday school program begins with a general assembly led by the Superintendent. Following introductory remarks and announcements, an opening hymn (gatha) is sung and children carry their offering forward to the altar. A lay leader or resident priest then leads the teachers and

students in a traditional Japanese chant and in the recitation of the eightfold path. After a brief children's sermon, the students are dismissed to separate classes where traditional Japanese stories, Buddhist beliefs and moral teachings, and arts and crafts (including flower arranging and calligraphy) form the basis of instruction and activity.[16]

At the present time, most Buddhist Sunday schools are going through a period of decline. This is due in part to the natural generational changes which are occurring. Many of the third generation are no longer of Sunday school age and there are not yet many fourth generation youth available for recruitment. Table III-4 presents data on the Sunday school programs currently operated by the BCC (with the exception of the Vancouver Buddhist Church Sunday school). If the number of teachers and students are combined, there are slightly over three hundred individuals involved in the youth education programs in Canada.

Social Organization and Foreign-Oriented Character of BCC

The foreign-oriented character of the BCC is related not only to its organizational dependence upon the Mother Temple in Kyoto, Japan, but also to the "definitions of the situation" within the Japanese Canadian community. For most Japanese immigrants in Canada the Buddhist churches

Table III-4

BCC Sunday School Programs, 1983

CHURCH	TEACHERS	SANSEI	YONSEI	CHILDREN OF NEW IMMIGRANTS	OTHER
Toronto	10	20	10	4	0
Montreal	1	4	0	0	0
Manitoba	3	15	0	3	0
Fraser Valley	2	7	0	5	0
Kamloops	6	10	0	0	0
Kelowna	10	10	15	4	0
Steveston	7	22	4	3	0
Raymond	10	20	7	8	1
Calgary	4	0	30	2	3
Coaldale	2	7	0	5	0
Lethbridge Honpa	3	25	0	0	0
Lethbridge Assoc.	--	5	0	0	0
TOTAL	58	145	66	34	4

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaires and Interviews.
Note: --Dash means data not available.

symbolized Japanese culture and ties to the old country, whereas, Christianity was regarded as a hakujin (Caucasian) religion. Consequently, those who affiliated with the Buddhist churches tended to be more conservative and supporters of Japanese traditions, while association with Christian churches was generally regarded as a movement toward assimilation (Shimpo, 1977:123).[17]

Over the years, the strong orientation towards Japanese culture has been gradually diminishing as the number and influence of the immigrant generation (Issei) in the Buddhist churches has declined. Since they were born and raised in Canada, the second and third generation Japanese do not have such strong emotional attachments to Japan. Although the psychological ties with Japan may be on the wane, the following analysis of the organizational structure of the BCC and its dependence upon Nishi Honganji clearly reveals the continuing foreign-oriented character of this religious body.

The religious authority and legitimacy of the BCC is based upon its relationship to the Lord Abbot (Monshu) of Nishi Honganji. The Lord Abbot holds the highest office in the True Pure Land sect and is a direct descendent of Shinran Shonin (1173-1262), the founder of Jodo Shinshu. The Bishop of the BCC is regarded as the sole representative of the Abbot for all religious matters in Canada. Although

nominated by the Ministerial Association of the BCC for this position, the Bishop's authority is conferred upon him by the Abbot. Actual appointment as Bishop requires a return to Nishi Honganji, Kyoto, for an induction service.

While religious legitimacy is based upon the relationship to the Lord Abbot, the actual administrative relationship and supervision of the BCC is conducted through the International Department (Kokusaibu) of Nishi Honganji. The International Department usually sends a representative annually to visit the Buddhist churches across North America. There are several organizational levels within the BCC: the National, District (Kyoku), and Congregational; each of these will be considered in turn.[18]

At the national level, the BCC is managed by a Board of twelve directors. Board members are nominated and elected at the annual general meeting by delegates from each of the churches and serve two year terms of office. The National Board has several functions. It is the mediating administrative body between the individual churches across Canada and the headquarters in Japan. When additional ministers are needed and finances are available, the National Board is responsible for making the request to the International Department in Kyoto. This Board also manages various accounts, such as the Minister's Training Assistance Fund, the Minister's English Training Fund, and the account for Religious Education. It also

administers grants sent from the International Department for expenses related to the orientation and language training of new priests from Japan. Due to the shortage of priests in Canada, this Board in cooperation with the Ministerial Association sponsors seminars for the training of lay teachers.

The revenue required for the operation of this Board comes from annual assessments made of all the congregations within the BCC. Individual churches must adopt the by-laws of the BCC and pay the annual dues for membership and representation at the general meeting. The funds collected from the member churches are used to cover the expenses of the regular Board meetings, the moving expenses of ministers across Canada, and pay the annual dues to the International Department. In addition to these annual dues, the BCC Board also collects funds from all of the churches to send to Nishi Honganji on special occasions. For example, in 1977 the BCC sent approximately $3,000 to Nishi Honganji to participate in the Inauguration Ceremony of the new Lord Abbot. Over the next four years it was assessed by the International Department and made payment of another $22,000 as their contribution to the cost of a new complex built to commemorate the appointment of the new Abbot. The financial obligations to both the BCC National Board and the Mother Temple has resulted in considerable discontent among members of many congrega-

tions. An active Nisei member of the Manitoba Buddhist Church explained this wide-spread dissatisfaction as follows:

> The BCC is too costly. Since the churches are spread across Canada, it is expensive even to have a Board meeting. Local congregations have a difficult time keeping themselves going, let alone paying for the BCC. People are not too happy about making financial donations to the Mother Temple either, since we get almost nothing back in return. But as local congregations we are stuck because we have to get our ministers through the BCC and the Mother Temple.

Even though these financial responsibilities are resented by some members, the fact that payments continue to be made indicates that these churches recognize their dependence upon the Mother Temple. Since trained priests can only be recruited through the International Department of Nishi Honganji, those churches whose aim is to survive will undoubtedly remain foreign-oriented for many years to come.

The Bishop of the BCC also serves as the Director of the National Board. In that role he is expected to attend all of the Board meetings, providing "religious and administrative guidance and clarifying disputed points of faith whenever necessary."[19] Along with the general responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the BCC, the Bishop has the more specific task of making all ministerial appointments, transfers, and dismissals. The Constitutional By-Laws of the BCC make it clear that these duties are

to be discharged in consultation with the National Board, the Ministerial Association, and the church members involved in the personnel changes. Due to the current financial condition of the BCC, the present Bishop is only employed on a part-time basis. To supplement his income as Bishop, he also serves as a part-time minister of the Toronto Buddhist Church.

The Ministerial Association consists of all the Buddhist priests ordained by Nishi Honganji and employed by one of the member churches of the BCC. Unlike in Japan, where priests control both the religious and financial affairs of the temple, priests in Canada are regarded as "employees" hired by congregations to provide religious services. The Association meets annually and its members attend the general meeting of the BCC. The number of votes controlled by priests at this general meeting is suggestive of the minimal role played by the Association in shaping the policies of this organization. The total of 22 votes are distributed as follows:

1 - Bishop
1 - Ministerial Association
1 - National Board of Directors
1 - Women's Buddhist Federation
18 - Lay delegates from individual congregations

With lay delegates controlling most of the votes, it is apparent that the priests are without significant political power in this administrative structure. Consequently, the Ministerial Association functions primarily as a support

group for priests facing similar frustrations and difficulties.

In the preceeding discussion, the role of the Bishop, Board of Directors, and Ministerial Association in the national organization has been analyzed. The organization of the BCC at the district and congregational levels also requires brief consideration.

As noted earlier, the Buddhist churches in Canada are divided into the following four districts (Kyoku): the British Columbia Buddhist Federation, the Alberta Buddhist Federation, the Manitoba Buddhist Association, and the Eastern District (Ontario and Quebec). Since the BCC churches are scattered across Canada, the district organization provides a mechanism for churches within a particular geographical area to promote common interests. The various districts usually hold at least one conference a year giving area churches an opportunity to discuss mutual problems and concerns. In some cases, the district organization is responsible for arranging the service schedule of those ministers serving several different churches (Kawamura, 1978:46). The districts also sponsor fund-raising and social activities. For example, the six churches in the British Columbia Buddhist Federation support a Ministerial Training Fund, the Young Adult Buddhist Association, and organize sight-seeing parties to Japan (Nihon Kanko Dan).

At the congregational level, each church is managed by a Board of Directors elected at an annual meeting. In addition to this Board, the BCC churches consist of several other sub-groups distinguishable by generation and sex. The generational differences of language and culture lead naturally to these separate associations. The Toronto Buddhist Church, for example, contains the following sub-groups:

> Sangha: an English-speaking men's club for Nisei with about 200 members;
>
> Dana: an English-speaking club for Nisei women with about 200 members;
>
> Gohokai: a Japanese-speaking club for Issei men with about 140 members;
>
> Fujinkai: a Japanese-speaking club for Issei women with about 200 members;
>
> Young Buddhist Association: an English-speaking club for Sansei youth.[20]

These different associations within the Buddhist churches sponsor a variety of social activities. Table III-5 shows those social activities that are prominant features of BCC churches. The annual bazaar is the most important fund-raising activity held in all of these churches. As in most Protestant churches, these associations also sponsor sports activities, annual picnics, dances, and church dinners. The ethnic character of the BCC churches is evident in the range of activities related to their Japanese heritage including Japanese cooking classes, flower

Table III-5

Social Activities Organized and Sponsored
by the Buddhist Churches in Canada

CHURCH	DANCES/ SOCIALS	TRIPS TO JAPAN	JAPANESE COOKING	SPORTS ACTIVITIES	ANNUAL PICNIC	ANNUAL BAZAAR	JAPANESE MOVIES	OTHER
Calgary	x			x	x	x		
Coaldale					x	x		
Fraser Valley	x				x	x	x	
Hamilton						x		x
Kamloops	x		x		x	x	x	
Kelowna	x				x	x		x
Lethbridge*	x	x			x	x	x	
Lethbridge**	x				x	x	x	x
Manitoba	x				x	x		x
Montreal	x		x		x	x	x	
Raymond	x		x		x	x	x	x
Steveston	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Taber	x						x	
Toronto	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Vancouver	x	x	x	x	x	x		x

N=15

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaire, 1983.
Note: *Lethbridge Buddhist Association; **Lethbridge Honpa.

arranging, Japanese movies, mochi-tsuki (members gather at the church to prepare traditional Japanese rice cakes), and trips to Japan.

Conclusion

In this chapter, the history of the Buddhist Churches of Canada and their central beliefs, rituals, and social activities have been briefly described. The various levels of social organization within the BCC have also been analyzed. It is evident from the preceding discussion that the BCC is still a foreign-oriented religious body without organizational independence. Its religious authority and legitimacy is still determined by the Lord Abbot of Nishi Honganji. It also depends upon the International Department in Kyoto for all of its ministers. The BCC and Nishi Honganji are also linked financially; the BCC sends annual assessment payments and occasional special offerings to the Mother Temple, and the International Department sends grants to the BCC for the training expenses of new priests. Although Pure Land Buddhism has been "Protestantized" (Horinouchi, 1973:8) to some degree in Canada, many of the rituals and social activities of the BCC are still closely tied to Japanese traditions and culture. In spite of the considerable tension existing between the lay-oriented congregationalism of the BCC and the hierarchical priestly-oriented Mother Temple,

the survival of the BCC for the foreseeable future will require cooperation with this administrative reference group overseas. The significance of this foreign-oriented character for organizational change and adaptation will be explored in more detail in subsequent chapters.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

[1]Tsunemitsu (1964:311) cites different dates than those reported by Ikuta for the time of this meeting and when Nishi Honganji actually approved the request for status as a separate missionary district. Tsunemitsu indicates that this meeting occurred in 1930 and approval by the Mother Temple was not granted until 1933. I have followed the account provided by Ikuta and mentioned in the brief history sketched in the Vancouver Buddhist Church 75th Anniversary Publication (1979:2-3).

[2]The Japanese Contribution to Canada, Canadian Japanese Association, Vancouver (1940:29), University of British Columbia, Special Collections, Japanese Collection. This report of Buddhist membership seems a bit exaggerated, but I have no other source to determine its degree of accuracy.

[3]According to Rev. Kawamura (Interview, 8 June 1983), the eight priests remaining in Canada were Mitsubayashi, Ikuta, Hirahara, Katazu, Tachibana, Asaka, Tsuji, and Kawamura.

[4]In this section I have relied upon Ikuta (1981: 111-112), Kawamura (1977:496), and Kawamura (Interview, 8 June 1983).

[5]Ibid.

[6]Kawamura (Interview, 8 June 1983).

[7]According to one informant, the Kyoku dissolved because of financial difficulties. Two years earlier the Kyoku had declined to hire Rev. Leslie Kawamura, a Nisei minister who had completed his Buddhist studies in Japan and was interested in serving the churches in Southern Alberta. The Raymond Buddhist Church then independently hired Rev. Kawamura as their resident priest, and subsequently requested that their share of financing for the Kyoku minister (that is, the minister shared by all of the churches) be reduced. They could not afford to support both a Kyoku minister and a resident minister. Withdrawal of financial support from the Kyoku by the Raymond Buddhist Church appears to be related to the disagreements and conflicts that ended in the schism of 1965.

[8]Rekyo Nishiyama, Raymond Buddhist Church (Interview, 8 June 1983).

[9]I was informed of this action of the National Board by Rev. Ikuta, Calgary Buddhist Church (Interview, 10 June 1983). It seems certain that the inclusion of the Honpa Buddhist Churches in the BCC would not have occurred without this change in the constitutional by-laws. As late as April 1981, in a letter of application for membership in the BCC to the Chairman of the National Board, the Secretary of the Honpa Buddhist Churches indicated that they would accept membership in the BCC only if they could avoid going through the old Kyoku organization: "Our only provision is, due to the delicate situation in our area, that we be recognized as a district organization with our present administrative structure kept in tact. This means our three churches will join as member churches, but all correspondence will be done through the Honpa Buddhist Church of Alberta Board."

[10]Minutes of BCC National Board of Directors Meeting, Vancouver, January 23, 1982.

[11]This synopsis of Jodo Shinshu beliefs is based upon interviews with priests and laypeople, various tracts, and pamphlets published by the BCC and Tsunoda (1955).

[12]Bishop Tsunoda (Interview, 19 February 1982).

[13]Kashima (1977) has noted that some of these modifications occurred in Japan after Buddhist priests visited Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth century. Reischauer observed some of these changes in Japanese Buddhism as early as 1917: "New methods of propaganda are being adopted, taken over bodily from Christianity. Thus on all sides we see springing up Young Men's Buddhist Associations, Buddhist Sunday schools, Women's Societies, Orphanages, Homes for ex-convicts, etc. Even street preaching and special evangelistic campaigns are getting quite common, and the content of some of the sermons and hymns is sometimes taken bodily from Christianity, only that the name of Buddha takes the place of Christ" (Studies in Japanese Buddhism, New York: AMS Press, 1970:154). For similar observations in a more recent study, see Shigeyoshi Murakami, Japanese Religion in the Modern Century (tran. H. Byron Earhart, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1980:55-58). Shortly after this chapter was written, a useful description and analysis of changes in Jodo Shinshu ritual in Canada was published: see David J. Goa and Harold G. Coward, "Sacred ritual, sacred language: Jodo Shinshu religious

forms in transition," (Studies in Religion 12/4, 1983): 363-79. Based upon a study of the Raymond Buddhist Church, the authors point out that "Seventy-five years in Canada have changed Jodo Shinshu's use of sacred language from a uniquely Buddhistic form to a pattern more characteristic of Protestant Christianity. The sermon is stressed, the chant downplayed" (1983:373).

[14]For a discussion of the relationship of Buddhism to death-oriented rites in Japanese society, see Tamaru Noriyoshi, "Buddhism," in Ichiro Hori (ed), Japanese Religion (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1972:51-52).

[15]See Shimpo's (1981) discussion of the "base-institution" supporting ancestor worship in Japan. Japanese in Canada are no longer dependent upon the household (Ie), the traditional socio-economic unit in Japanese society which provided the basis for survival. Shimpo explains: "The household requires the economic basis established by ancestors. In the case of the Japanese Canadians who immigrated directly from Japan to Canada, they had to start from scratch in a new land. In other words, their ancestors did not provide an economic basis for them. During the last world war, the Canadian Government deliberately destroyed the economic basis of the Japanese Canadians; therefore, the latter had very little to inherit. The descendents of these Japanese Canadians did not inherit occupations from their parents, therefore, there was no room to develop the institution of the household in Canada,..." (1981:14). Since the base-institution for ancestor worship did not develop in Canada, death-oriented rites become increasingly incongruous to successive generations of Japanese Canadians (1981:20).

[16]This description is based upon participant observation and interviews with various Buddhist priests and lay leaders.

[17]Before the Second World War, the foreign-orientation of Buddhists was not only related to their dependence upon the Mother Temple in Kyoto, but also to their stronger identification with Japanese Nationalism (Adachi, 1976:113). Kawamura notes that before the war, Buddhist churches held special services for the Emperor's birthday (1978:53).

[18]See Kashima (1977:172-180) for a discussion of the organizational structure of Jodo Shinshu in Japan and in the Buddhist Churches of America.

[19]By-Laws of the Buddhist Churches of Canada, 1979:5.

[20]Rev. Fujikawa, Toronto Buddhist Church (Interview, 21 February 1983).

CHAPTER FOUR: NATIVE-ORIENTED MINORITY CHURCHES

Introduction

Native-oriented minority churches are those ethnic religious organizations operating in non-official languages that are sponsored by an indigenous Canadian church. Over the past century, various Christian denominations have engaged in missionary work among Japanese in Canada. As noted in Chapter Two, these missions were an important acculturative force upon the Japanese. Since Japanese immigrants regarded Christianity as the religion of Canada, affiliation with one of these missions symbolized movement into the host society. It was not just the Japanese who viewed conversion to Christianity as a step in the assimilation process. This was also an assumption of many Christian leaders who shaped the vision guiding these evangelistic efforts. According to Clifford (1977:24), the arrival of many immigrants without a Christian heritage threatened the broad Protestant consensus in Canada; Christian denominations responded with a "crusade to Canadianize the immigrants by Christianizing them into conformity with the ideals and standards of Canadian white Anglo-Saxon Protestants."

The United Church of Canada has had the most successful denominational work among the Japanese. In addition to

those Japanese integrated into Anglo-congregations, the United Church also contains the largest native-oriented minority church organization within the Japanese Canadian community. This chapter will sketch the historical development of the Japanese Conference of the United Church of Canada and consider the religious and social activities central to these Japanese congregations. The social organization and "native-oriented" character of the Japanese Conference, that is, its relationship to the United Church of Canada, will also be analyzed.

Historical Development

The United Church work among Japanese in Canada was built upon earlier efforts initiated by Japanese Christians to evangelize their fellow-immigrants. In 1892, an evangelist from the Japanese Methodist Church of San Francisco arrived in British Columbia and held services in a number of Japanese communities.[1] Another evangelist arrived the following year, sent by the Japanese Christian Endeavor Society of Seattle, to work among the Japanese in British Columbia. Ill health forced him to leave his work after three years, but by that time Christian missions had been established in Victoria and Union. In 1896, a Japanese minister from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Columbus, Ohio, came to British Columbia to continue the work begun by these lay evangelists. He consolidated

these earlier efforts and brought all the independent Japanese missions under the supervision of the Methodist Church.

With the support of the Methodist Church, the Japanese missions continued to grow. The Missionary Society of the denomination provided financial assistance so that property and buildings could be purchased for the Japanese work. The Women's Missionary Society helped organize kindergartens and Sunday schools in many missions. English night schools and orientation classes for new immigrants were also an important part of the Methodist work among the Japanese. By the 1920s, the Methodist work among the Japanese in British Columbia consisted of six missions, six missionaries, and an adult membership of 482.[2]

In 1925, the Methodists joined the Congregationalists and Presbyterians to form the United Church of Canada. The Methodist work among the Japanese continued under the auspices of the United Church of Canada (Osterhout, 1929:133-134). The centre of the United Church work with Japanese remained in Vancouver. Between 1926 and 1942, almost 500 baptisms were performed in the Powell Street church alone. It was also in this church that Rev. K. Shimizu began special English services for the acculturated second generation and eventually organized a separate Nisei congregation in 1936.[3]

The United Church influenced many Japanese by

providing English night schools, regular religious services, kindergartens, through-the-week clubs for children, Sunday schools, and women's association meetings. According to a 1935 survey, 4,789 of the 22,205 Japanese in British Columbia identified themselves with the United Church.[4] Not all of those identifying with the United Church, however, were in fact members. Table IV-1 shows that by the end of 1940 the United Church work among Japanese consisted of 8 churches with a membership of 1,070, and 21 Sunday schools with an enrollment of 1,294. In addition, there were also a number of kindergartens, women's groups, and children's clubs organized by the Women's Missionary Society (WMS) workers in Steveston, Victoria, Duncan, Chemainus, Vancouver, New Westminster, and Mission City.[5]

The government policy toward the Japanese during the Second World War forced the United Church Board of Home Missions to review its work among the Japanese. In a 1941 Memorandum to the British Columbia Security Commission, the Board expressed their concern for the welfare of the Japanese as follows:

> . . . We have it as our duty in these days of terrible upheaval for our Japanese congregations, to follow them with our ministry and to assure them of our sympathy. We also desire by rendering this service to assure them that a great Canadian Church, while realizing that our Government must protect us so far as possible from insidious attacks, wishes to dissociate itself from vicious and unchristian attitudes, and to hold fast the faith that in Christ

there is no distinction of race or colour.
Looking to the future, the United Church wishes to continue its ministry to the Japanese people, so that, whatever their final disposition may be, it can serve them in the future as it has in the past.[6]

Table IV-1

Japanese United Church Work in British Columbia, 1940

LOCATION	CHURCH MEMBERSHIP	SUNDAY SCHOOLS	S.S. MEMBERSHIP
Cumberland	84	3	152
Fraser Valley	166	2	105
Kelowna	96	5	97
New Westminster	110	2	61
Ocean Falls	38	2	120
Steveston	156	1	129
Vancouver	326	3	473
Victoria	94	3	157
Total	1,070	21	1,294

SOURCE: Memorandum Re Japanese Situation, 1941, Vancouver School of Theology Archives, Vancouver, British Columbia.

Many Japanese were disappointed by the failure of the United Church to speak out against the radical measures taken by the government. Could the Christian Church support the mass evacuation and relocation of innocent Japanese children and adults?[7] What redeemed the United Church in the eyes of some Japanese was the fact that WMS workers and missionaries who had returned from Japan were all reassigned to work with the Japanese in the relocation

centres. Throughout the war they worked with the Japanese ministers among the evacuated population in Kelowna, New Denver, Roseberry, Lemon Creek, Tashme, Kaslo, and Greenwood, British Columbia, and further east in Southern Alberta and Manitoba. In October 1943, after visiting all of the Japanese settlements on behalf of the United Church Board of Home Missions and seeing firthand all of the hardships they faced and the losses they incurred, Rev. W.R. McWilliams poignantly remarked: "The evacuation business has uncovered the most unlovely page of our history, and whatever our people think of it, the day will come when we will be a lot less secure in it than we are at this hour."[8]

Japanese United Church ministers and WMS workers resumed their religious services among the evacuated Japanese as soon as they were reassigned. In the various camps in interior British Columbia, Sunday schools were established and both English and Japanese worship services were begun. Reports of the work in Tashme, for example, where over 2,500 Japanese had been relocated, reveal that attendance at United Church programs went as high as 80 for the Japanese language worship service, 120 for the English service, and up to 230 in Sunday school. Almost one hundred Japanese, predominantly second generation, were brought into formal membership through baptism as a result of these efforts during the war.[9] Other camps

had similar services organized by the United Church workers, although attendance tended to be lower.

In addition to religious services, United Church workers made considerable efforts in the area of education. Local school boards refused to accept responsibility for educating Japanese children who had moved into their districts as a result of the evacuation. Also, some Japanese young people were evacuated to areas where a public school system did not even exist. The British Columbia Security Commission finally assumed responsibility for compulsory education, that is, elementary school. Representatives of the Commission visited the camps to recruit volunteer teachers, and make-shift schools were set up. Most of the teachers for the elementary school programs were second generation Japanese Canadians who were already high school graduates. The government made no arrangements for high school students to continue their education. United Church workers were appointed to teach high school in several camps, but in most cases this primarily involved the supervision of correspondence courses. Not only did the churches assume responsibility for high school education, they also organized a number of kindergartens. The efforts of United Church workers to meet the educational needs of the young people helped establish respect for the Christian church among Japanese who were disillusioned by the churches' earlier silence.[10]

The United Church of Canada was also concerned for the welfare of those Japanese, primarily Nisei, who had already moved to eastern Canada for resettlement. In cooperation with the British Columbia Security Commission, the Home Mission Board of the United Church sent Rev. Shimizu, a bilingual minister serving the evacuated Japanese in Kaslo, to review the resettlement process in the east. Upon his return to British Columbia, Rev. Shimizu reported to the Conference of Japanese Workers on September 30, 1943, that the Japanese Christians who moved east "were so adapted that they have no thought of ever returning to British Columbia."[11] Although the resettlement process did present some problems, such as scarcity of adequate housing, Shimizu was convinced that resettling in the east was the best option for the Japanese. He was so certain, in fact, that he brought back movies of Japanese who had found new lives in the east to show among the evacuated families in British Columbia. Many resented his efforts to encourage Japanese to move east and disparagingly referred to him as a "government dog."[12]

In the spring of 1944, Rev. Shimizu was reassigned by the Home Mission Board to work with the Japanese Canadians relocated in Ontario and Quebec. After several months in his new position he realized that the adaptation of Japanese to conditions in the east had not been as complete as he reported the previous year. Although most

were engaged in gainful employment, Shimizu discovered that the majority of relocated Japanese were also "restless, bewildered, and unhappy."[13] In a report on Resettlement of Japanese Canadians, June 21, 1944, Rev. Shimizu attributed this wide-spread depression and discontent to a number of factors, summarized as follows:

(1) Family separations: many of those initially relocated in the east were young people separated from their families for the first time.

(2) Occupational maladjustment: most were employed in positions totally different from those for which they were trained and in which they had been engaged in British Columbia before the war.

(3) Housing problems: many Japanese seeking adequate housing found that they were turned away because of their race.

(4) Resentment towards government: the treatment of Japanese Canadians so differently from German and Italian Canadians, i.e., their evacuation and loss of property at the hands of the Custodians, led to deep resentment since it demonstrated that the Canadian government was dealing with citizens on the basis of race rather than citizenship or merit.

(5) Uncertainty regarding the future: Japanese could not help but wonder what the next government action would be in its quest for a solution to the Japanese problem; adverse public opinion, such as newspaper articles arguing for the total repatriation of Japanese, necessarily created some uneasiness even among those in eastern Canada.[14]

All of these factors understandably generated a sense of insecurity and uprootedness, a condition that would not be significantly altered until after the war.

The United Church work among the Japanese was changed again when the federal government made its decision to repatriate all Japanese to Japan or resettle them in eastern Canada. Ministers and WMS workers were to be reassigned as the church followed the Japanese to their new locations. The choice of repatriation or resettlement was the source of considerable tension, and divided many families and the Japanese community. As early as April 1945, R.C.M.P. detachments were visiting the Japanese centres with application forms for repatriation. A Japanese United Church minister reported that after almost 90 percent of the Japanese in Lemon Creek signed the repatriation papers, the minority who agreed to leave British Columbia for the east were under great pressure:

> Here in Lemon Creek, the people who had decided to relocate in Eastern Canada were afraid to tell the other people of their decision, since the majority of the people here in Lemon Creek considered such a decision as being disloyal to Japan and loyal to Canada. As a result, these people were sneered at and ridiculed. However, there was no actual physical violence committed. Naturally the people who had decided to go East wanted to get out of the atmosphere which was in Lemon Creek as quickly as possible.[15]

As Japanese settled in eastern Canada in increasing numbers at the end of the war, the administrators of the United

Church initially discouraged the organization of ethnic congregations. In their view, the formation of distinct Japanese churches would encourage the growth of ethnic ghettos. Duplicating the pre-war situation, this would provide a clear target for racial discrimination for those who argued that the Japanese were unassimilable. According to Mitsui (1964:261), the "Home Missions Associate Secretary in Toronto was always the chief promoter of this ideal of Japanese dispersement and integration."

In spite of this official church policy, Japanese congregations were again organized as soon as there were sufficient numbers and leadership. The goal of integrating Japanese into existing Anglo churches was clearly premature. Many of the first generation Japanese did begin to gather together regularly for services in Anglo churches, but they requested that someone be sent to provide supplementary services in their own tongue since they could not understand the religious services in English. The need for separate Japanese language services was the first factor forcing the Board of Home Missions to reconsider its policy and support the formation of Japanese congregations. A second factor was the failure of many second generation Japanese to attend and join the Anglo churches in their communities. A survey of church attendance among Japanese United Church families in Toronto revealed that only about 5 percent of those fifteen years or older were regular participants

in Anglo churches.[16] The only way to recover these members who were drifting away, in the view of one Japanese Christian leader (Shimizu, 1944), was to have Japanese ministers begin special outreach programs for them. Although the Nisei had no language barrier preventing full participation in the existing United Church, their experiences of racial discrimination kept many from becoming fully comfortable in congregations that were dominantly Caucasian. A Japanese United Church Deaconness explained why an ethnic congregation was needed even for the Canadian-born generation:

> The Nisei felt the need to be by themselves to worship freely. When they went to their local congregation, they felt like outsiders and soon lost interest in going. . . .In other words, a Nisei congregation was a necessary stepping stone to assimilation into a local congregation.[17]

These existing language and psychological barriers then led naturally to the organization of distinct Japanese congregations as they settled in new communities.

The Issei provided the primary leadership in the formation of ethnic churches during the post-war period. They began by holding home meetings, conducting services in YWCA facilities, and meeting in Anglo churches when facilities were not being used. Several of the Issei congregations had their beginnings in the All People's Churches, urban missions churches for various Non-Anglo-Saxon communities. The distinct ethnic language services that began in All People's Churches were viewed by the

Home Mission Board as temporary accommodations to the immigrant generation. Malcolm MacDonald, the Associate Secretary of the Home Mission Board, described the role of these multi-ethnic mission churches as follows:

> . . . the "language" churches' function is to help Non-Anglo-Saxon people to become merged or assimilated into the community and the church life of the district in which they live. The second and third generations speaking English readily are encouraged to join and share in the life of the regular churches in their own areas (1951:53-54).

While the goal of the Home Mission Board was to facilitate assimilation through the All People's Churches, the Issei congregations within these mission churches laid the foundation for separate Japanese churches that would include the English-speaking second and third generations. In 1944, the Issei in Winnipeg organized the first Japanese congregation since the evacuation experience. The Knox United Church, an Anglo-congregation, provided a basement room for the Japanese to hold their services. In eastern Canada, Issei congregations were formally organized within All People's Churches in Toronto, Hamilton, and Montreal during 1946. Just over a decade later, the last Issei congregation was organized in Vancouver. Since the Japanese were not allowed to return to the coastal areas of British Columbia until 1949, the United Church work among the Japanese there did not resume until the early 1950s. Services were held in the First United Church for several

years, and a congregation formally organized in 1957.[18]

Shortly after the Issei congregations were established, Japanese ministers began bilingual monthly family services in an effort to draw in the Nisei who were not attending the Anglo churches. Out of these early family services Nisei fellowship groups were formed. According to my informants, many Nisei gravitated towards these fellowship groups in search of suitable marriage partners. Since there was strong social pressure from Issei to marry within the ethnic group, even Nisei attending local churches eventually found themselves involved in social activities with their ethnic peers centred around the Japanese churches. As Nisei families were established, the need for regular English services and Sunday schools became apparent. With the growth in both Issei and Nisei religious and social activities, Japanese congregations found it difficult to continue as units within All People's Churches, meeting at times convenient with the host groups. Together, the Issei and Nisei sought greater independence that required separate church facilities. Fund-raising campaigns, grants, and loans from the Board of Home Missions made it possible for most of the Japanese congregations to purchase their own facilities. Approximately fifteen years after the war ended, Japanese congregations had been reestablished across Canada. Table IV-2 shows the distribution of churches, adult membership, and Sunday school enrollment

in 1961. In all of these locations both Japanese and English services were conducted in order to meet the needs of each generation.

Table IV-2

Japanese United Church Membership and Sunday School Enrollment, 1961

CHURCH	ADULT MEMBERSHIP	SUNDAY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT
Vancouver	80	63
Surrey	55	--
Okanagan	73	33
Alberta	128	26
Manitoba	111	--
Toronto	592	112
Montreal	154	82
Hamilton	118	27
TOTALS	1,311	343

SOURCE: Statistical Reports of Japanese Congregations, Japanese Conference, Winnipeg, Manitoba, June 28-July 1, 1962.
Note: --Dash means data not available.

An interesting exception to the pattern of Issei and Nisei congregational development just described occurred in Steveston, British Columbia.[19] Prior to the Second World War, the Steveston Japanese United Church was a well-established congregation with 163 adult members, a Sunday school enrollment of 101, and its own land and facilities. The evacuation, of course, meant that the Steveston Japanese United Church was closed along with

the others within the protected area. After 1949, some of the former members began returning to the area. Within two years, the Board of Home Missions reassigned a WMS worker and a missionary from Japan to resume work among Japanese in Steveston, Vancouver, and the Fraser Valley. The WMS worker organized a kindergarten, an English language night school, and several different youth organizations such as C.G.I.T. and Explorers during the first year back in Steveston. Rev. McWilliams also conducted Japanese language worship services on a weekly basis by 1952. These distinct Japanese activities did not lead to the organization of an ethnic church in Steveston, as they had elsewhere in Canada. According to one account, the Nisei in Steveston ". . . did not favor a separate Japanese United Church, and urged the Issei to join with the established United Church congregation. The United Church people also were anxious that the Christians should be one."[20] The small struggling Anglo church and the group of Japanese Christians gathered in Steveston decided that they needed each other. Representatives of the Home Missions Board, officials of the Steveston United Church, and representatives from the Japanese congregation began serious discussions regarding the amalgamation of these two groups. On February 15, 1953, the Steveston United Church and the Steveston Japanese United Church were officially merged. When the two congregations united, the Japanese contributed their

old church property that had been held by the Home Mission Board throughout the war years. At the time of the amalgamation, the total adult membership was 136, composed of 64 Japanese and 72 Caucasians.

After the amalgamation, regular Japanese language services were continued until Rev. McWilliams retired in 1956. The local English minister then began katei shukai (house meetings), and bilingual elders served as interpreters for his sermons. Over the past twenty-five years, this integrated congregation has been under the guidance of several different ministers, including a Korean, a retired Caucasian pastor, and two Canadian-born Japanese ministers. Although Steveston is an amalgamated congregation, it is still recognized as a part of the JUCC since the members of the katei shukai have continued to pay the annual Conference fees. The Japanese membership within this congregation has declined significantly since this merger occurred. As of 1982, only 30 Japanese were counted among a total membership of 116.

Over the past two decades, some of the other Japanese congregations have also experienced a decline in membership. Collectively, nonetheless, the JUCC has experienced some growth during this same period. As indicated in Table IV-3, the JUCC currently has an adult membership of over 1,500 in its 11 congregations across Canada (this includes the Japanese membership of Steveston United Church).

In Toronto and Vancouver, the two cities in Canada with the largest concentration of Japanese, the JUCC maintains separate churches for the Japanese-speaking Issei and the English-speaking Nisei and Sansei. Each congregation has different ministers and maintains distinct church boards. In the other JUCC congregations, Issei and Nisei serve on the same board and have separate language services or bilingual services conducted.

Table IV-3

Japanese United Church Membership, 1983

CHURCH	MEMBERSHIP
Vancouver Issei	130
Vancouver Nisei	45
Fraser Valley	58
Steveston	30
Okanagan	78
Southern Alberta	65
Manitoba	110
Toronto Issei	316
Toronto Nisei	349
Hamilton	209
Montreal	122
TOTAL	1,512

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaires and Correspondence.

Religious Beliefs and Activities

As pastoral charges of the United Church of Canada, the congregations within the Japanese Conference follow

the pattern of doctrine and ritual set forth by the national church. Full membership in Japanese congregations requires acceptance of the confession of faith and baptism. Although the services established by the United Church are essentially maintained, the interpretation of Christianity has been altered by the background and experience of the Japanese. Japanese Christians have reshaped this tradition so that their ethnic heritage is still valued and integrated into the activities of the church. This point deserves further consideration and illustration.

In sermons, Japanese ministers interpret the relationship between Christianity and Japanese religions in a manner which provides a sense of continuity with and appreciation for the past. Japanese religious traditions are not regarded as pagan and something to be despised; rather, Japanese ministers expand upon the fulfillment motif of the New Testament and teach that both Buddhism and Shintoism have been made complete through the revelation of Jesus Christ. The tragic history of the Japanese evacuation, internment, and dispersal across Canada is also given religious significance through references to Biblical narratives. The success and upward mobility of the Japanese since the war is compared to the story of Joseph who, with God's help, turned misfortune into opportunity after being taken as a slave into Egypt (Genesis 37-45).[21]

It is also apparent that the conception of

Christianity among Japanese United Church members has been shaped largely by their ethnic heritage. Earhart (1974:2-3) has observed that "Japanese traditions tend to be mutually syncretistic, rather than mutually exclusive." Since religions in Japan have rarely "claimed absolute truth to the exclusion of all other traditions," Japanese usually participate in various religious traditions at different stages of the life-cycle. This kind of religious orientation and understanding of religious truth has been carried over in some measure into the Japanese United Churches. One Nisei interviewed explained that he accepted his father's understanding of religion, summing it up as follows:

> There is only one Kami, there is only one God. When you draw a circle with a compass the centre of it is Kami. Where you stand around the circle are the different religions--Buddhism, Shinto, United Church, Roman Catholic--all looking to the centre (Interview, 9 February 1981).[22]

While noting this general orientation towards religion, it is hardly surprising, one minister explained, that Japanese have "come into the church for reasons other than that they were convinced Christianity was true (Interview, 2 July 1982)."

According to my informants, affiliation with the United Church has usually not been due to a profound conversion experience. Most explain that United Church

missionaries were helpful to the Japanese during their difficult times of adjustment before the war, throughout the evacuation experience, and during the period of resettlement across Canada. Since Christianity is the religion of Canada and the United Church is one of the influential churches, joining was only natural for those expecting to remain in Canada. A minister from Japan for whom commitment to Christianity meant serious religious reflection and decision found this attitude toward faith and membership disheartening, as the following incident reveals:

> The first time I was disappointed was when I took an elder out for personal evangelism and outreach with non-Christians. The Issei elder said to the people: "Christianity is the religion of Canada; it's your profit to become a Christian." For one who has come from Japan, that was a discouraging comment. Maybe he thought this was the best approach, but I was frustrated and tried to change that kind of attitude (Interview, 8 July 1982).

Undoubtedly, there are some individuals within the JUCC whose membership is based upon a profound religious experience and commitment. For the most part, however, affiliation with the United Church has been regarded as a part of the process of becoming Canadian.

The ethnic heritage of Japanese Christians has not only influenced religious consciousness, but also led to modifications in religious ritual. In addition to participation in the regular services and rituals

recognized by the United Church of Canada--baptism, confirmation, communion--the Japanese Christians have appropriated and modified the Buddhist memorial service (See Table IV-4). Although the memorial service is not held monthly as in the Buddhist Church, there is usually at least one memorial service held each year (in some churches on Easter Sunday). At this service, the names of the deceased from the various church families are all read aloud. Numerous families also have ministers conduct private memorial services at the first year anniversary of the deceased. This carry-over from Buddhism also appears on other occasions. At the 1982 National Ethnic Convention, for example, the Japanese Conference began with a memorial service for all those members who had passed away during the preceding two years.[23] One minister informed me that some of the names read aloud for this service actually had Buddhist funerals, but were still included in the memorial list (Interview, 2 July 1982). Thus, the traditional Japanese concern for ancestors has been effectively transmitted by the Issei to their children, and has led to the development of a ritual not commonly found in Anglo United Church congregations.[24]

As the earlier historical sketch indicated, religious education for youth has been a major concern of United Church workers among the Japanese. Along with kindergartens and Sunday school programs, Japanese congregations have

Table IV-4

Membership and Attendance in Japanese United Churches

CHURCH	MEMBERSHIP	REGULAR ATTENDANCE	EASTER	CHRISTMAS	MEMORIAL SERVICE
Hamilton	209	45	130	100	130
Fraser Valley	58	25	40	60	80
Manitoba	110	35	80	100	80
Southern Alberta	65	36	70	29	--
Montreal	122	35	70	80	50
Toronto Issei	316	--	600	600	500
Toronto Nisei	349	125	600	600	500
Vancouver Issei	130	55	30	40	30
Vancouver Nisei	45	35	30	40	30
Okanagan	78	56	91	91	91

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaires.
NOTE: Statistics on attendance for Toronto and Vancouver are for joint Issei/Nisei services at Easter, Christmas, and Memorial Services. Statistics for Okanagan include attendance at services held in three different locations.

organized the full range of United Church activities at various points during their history. Following the natural generational life-cycles, most Japanese congregations report a decline in the size of their Sunday school programs over the past five years. In spite of decline, Table IV-5 shows that there are still almost five hundred individuals (students and teachers combined) involved in the JUCC Sunday school programs across Canada.

Table IV-5

Japanese United Church Sunday Schools

CHURCH	TEACHERS AND STUDENT ENROLLMENT
Montreal	36
Toronto Issei	20
Toronto Nisei	158
Hamilton	85
Manitoba	39
Southern Alberta	19
Fraser Valley	12
Vancouver Issei	21
Vancouver Nisei	61
Steveston	12
TOTAL	463

SOURCE: United Church of Canada Year Book, 1982.
NOTE: Steveston is an amalgamated congregation with a total of 49 involved in the Sunday School, 12 of whom are Japanese.

The social activities in Japanese United Church congregations are similar to those found in the Buddhist

Churches of Canada (Table IV-6). The annual bazaar is an important social event for all the churches and usually attracts wide support from the larger Japanese and Caucasian community. In most churches it remains the key fund-raising method. The ethnic heritage of the Japanese is clearly visible on this occasion, and traditional foods such as sushi and udon are prepared for sale. Another well-attended church-wide event is the annual picnic.

Adults are also members of distinct groups within the congregations. United Church Women's groups (UCW) are active in most congregations. They engage in a number of fund-raising activities for the larger mission of the United Church of Canada as well as for financial needs of the local church. On many occasions these women's groups have promoted Japanese culture in other churches by providing demonstrations in Japanese cooking, flower arrangement, tea ceremony, and speaking about Japan. Japanese congregations also contain other groups aimed more at fellowship, entertainment, and recreation. The Toronto church, for example, has a Nisei fellowship club that has sponsored an annual dinner dance for years with as many as 400 attending. The Hamilton church has a men's group that frequently sponsors sports films at the church and holds an annual golf tournament and fish fry. These few examples illustrate the diverse activities which make up the social life of Japanese congregations.

Table IV-6

Social Activities in Japanese United Churches

CHURCH	ANNUAL BAZAAR	ANNUAL PICNIC	JAPANESE COOKING	JAPANESE MOVIES	DANCES/ SOCIALS	SPORTS
Steveston	x	x				
Fraser Valley	x	x	x	x		x
Vancouver Issei	x	x	x			
Vancouver Nisei	x	x				
Montreal	x	x	x	x	x	x
Hamilton	x	x	x	x	x	x
Toronto Nisei	x	x	x		x	x
Manitoba	x	x	x	x	x	x
Southern Alberta	x	x	x			
Okanagan	x	x				

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaire, Interviews, Church Reports.

Besides the Sunday school programs, Sansei youth are involved in a number of other clubs and activities within these churches. Some Japanese congregations maintain the traditional United Church youth clubs, such as C.G.I.T. (Canadian Girls in Training) for girls ages 12-14, and Explorers, a group for girls ages 9-11. These clubs meet for cooking and craft periods, hold Mother and Daughter Banquets, sponsor various parties, and assist with the regular fund-raising activities of the church. Older Sansei youth in many churches also have groups that meet together for sports, movies, and retreats. All in all, the activities of Sansei youth in Japanese congregations differ little from the youth activities of the typical Anglo United Church.

Social Organization and Native-Oriented Character

The native-oriented character of the JUCC is based upon its organizational relationship with the United Church of Canada and the "definitions of the situation" within the Japanese Canadian community. As emphasized throughout this study, Japanese immigrants and their children generally regarded Christianity as the religion of Canada. Membership in Christian churches was viewed as a movement toward assimilation and a part of the process of becoming a Canadian. This general orientation and the supervision and support

provided by the United Church make the JUCC a prime example of a native-oriented minority church organization.

For most of their history, the Japanese congregations of the United Church were under the direct supervision of the Board of Home Missions. The Board of Home Missions appointed superintendents to each of the United Church Conferences to oversee the ethnic missions, community missions, educational and medical work in each geographical area. The Japanese missions were primarily the concern of the superintendent of British Columbia until the end of the Second World War. The role of this indigenous sponsoring body is evident in several areas. As far as the issue of religious leadership was concerned, it was the superintendent that made final personnel decisions: ministers were called from Japan and assigned to Japanese congregations by the superintendent. WMS workers were also assigned to various Japanese missions under the general direction of the Board of Home Missions. It should be recalled that the WMS workers were important agents of acculturation since they were largely responsible for the organization of English classes, kindergartens, and Sunday schools in a number of Japanese communities. The native-orientation is also related to the financial dependence of the Japanese congregations upon the Board of Home Missions. Immigrants struggling to establish themselves in a new country often do not have the resources needed to purchase

land and a building for a church, or to pay the regular salary of a minister. The United Church (and before it, the Methodist Church) through its Board of Home Missions provided grants and loans for land and buildings to be purchased for the Japanese missions. The income of Japanese ministers was subsidized by the Board and the missions received the services of WMS workers without any financial obligation. During the war this relationship continued. The Home Mission Board assigned personnel and provided financial support for the continuation of mission work among the Japanese relocated in interior British Columbia and Southern Alberta and Manitoba.

Since the war, the Board of Home Missions continued to serve as the administrative reference group for many Japanese members of the United Church. As noted above, the Board initially encouraged Japanese to join Anglo churches as they complied with the government policy of geographical dispersal and resettlement. When this approach was not successful, the Board did change its position and support the reorganization of separate Japanese congregations. The underlying goal remained, nevertheless, assimilationist in orientation. This aim of United Church missions was aptly summed-up by one of the WMS workers, as follows: "In all our work we must ever bear in mind the goal towards which we are striving--that is the gradual integration of our people into the existing churches."[25]

Even with this assimilationist goal, the Board generously funded the Japanese work and made it possible for Japanese to establish their own churches after the war. Grants and low interest loans enabled several Japanese congregations to move out of the All People's Churches they shared and purchase their own facilities. The Board also provided annual grants to assist with the regular operating expenses. In 1961, for example, seven of the nine Japanese congregations were receiving financial aid from the Board totaling over $16,000.[26] Thus, throughout most of their history, the Japanese churches have been subsidized by the Board of Home Missions. The Board also provided kindergarten teachers and assisted with ministerial housing from time to time. Without this ongoing support, the Japanese churches would have followed an entirely different course of development.

Organizational changes within the United Church of Canada since the early 1970s have significantly altered the circumstances of the Japanese congregations across Canada. The Japanese churches along with the other ethnic ministries in the United Church are no longer under direct supervision, nor do they receive support from the Board of Home Missions. This supervisory body has been eliminated and now the ethnic churches must go through the same administrative channels as the Anglo churches. The new position of Japanese congregations within the structure of the

United Church requires further elaboration.

At the present time, there are 2,391 pastoral charges divided among 92 Presbyteries and 12 Conferences in the United Church.[27] Within the new structure, all special funding (Block Grants) is administered by the Conferences according to the recommendations of the Presbyteries. The 11 Japanese churches scattered across Canada must now compete with Anglo congregations within their own Presbytery for recognition. In essence, these organizational changes have meant that the national leadership for ethnic missions has been weakened and ethnic congregations must fend for themselves in an Anglo-dominated church bureaucracy.[28]

This administrative change provides the context for understanding the current role of the Japanese United Church Conference. While Japanese ministers and lay delegates have met periodically throughout the history of Japanese mission work in Canada, the need for an ethnic association and regular meetings appears to have become more acute in recent years. The sense of abandonment and lack of recognition within this new structure has made the Conference a more important support group for Japanese clergy. Some ethnic ministers feel that they do not have the status of Anglo clergy and cannot be as effective in the new organizational set-up. One Japanese minister expressed his frustration as follows: "In my own Presbytery I feel like I'm at the bottom of the totem pole. I am not recognized

as an important voice and have no power."[29] The concern of ethnic leaders is that Presbyteries will not be as sympathetic to their unique problems nor as supportive of their specialized ministries as the Home Mission Board was for many years.

Because ethnic churches face unique problems not adequately addressed by the sponsoring religious body, the Japanese Conference has become an important association. The key role of the JUCC is to provide opportunities for clergy and lay leaders from Japanese churches to meet together to solve these mutual problems. Much like the Ministerial Association in the BCC, the Conference is a support group for leaders encountering the same difficulties of ethnic ministry. In the recently formulated Constitution of the JUCC, its central objectives were summarized as follows:

> To promote Christian fellowship amongst Japanese Christians (Ministerial and Lay) of the United Church of Canada.
>
> To promote and undertake programmes of evangelism that would benefit all the Japanese churches and the people in Canada.
>
> To provide encouragement, leadership, and assistance to the Japanese United Churches or Missions when requested and/or determined desireable by the Japanese Conference.
>
> To represent the Japanese United Churches on the National Ethnic Committee of the Division of Missions of the United Church of Canada.

> To promote and maintain liaison with the United Church of Christ in Japan (Kyodan) and other National Christian associations in North America.
>
> To receive and hold funds to further the above purposes and objectives.[30]

Each Japanese United Church that subscribes to the Constitution and By-Laws and submits the annual membership fee is considered a full member with voting privileges. At the General Meeting held every two or three years, each church is represented by one minister and one lay delegate.

The primary issue addressed by this Conference over the years has been the problem of religious leadership. Because of their Japanese-speaking membership, these churches cannot draw from the general pool of available United Church ministers. With only a few bilingual Nisei ministers available, the Conference has had to recruit ministers from Japan to provide services for many of the Japanese congregations. The United Church Block Grants do not cover the additional expenses of moving a minister from Japan so the membership dues collected by the Conference have been used to assist its member churches with this extra financial burden. The smaller churches in the Conference would not be able to call a minister from Japan without the financial assistance provided by the other Japanese congregations. While the JUCC must take the financial responsibility for bringing ministers from Japan, it should be noted that the sponsoring religious body still maintains

some control over this minority church organization. All Japanese ministers are required to meet the educational and doctrinal standards of the United Church of Canada. Occasionally, Japanese ministers are required to take additional course work in a United Church theological college before they are given full status as clergy.

Along with recruitment, the Conference has also coordinated all of the ministerial changes or rotations within the member churches. The general policy of the JUCC has been to change ministerial assignments every five years to the mutual satisfaction of both ministers and congregations. A major consequence of the Conference negotiating these ministerial changes has been a gradual loss of congregational power and choice.[31] When the time for rotation approaches, ministers submit their first and second choices for a new assignment to the Conference. Delegates from each of the churches also submit their first and second choices for their next minister. The Conference then attempts to work out new assignments so that each church will be satisfied and no minister will be without a church. This method of rotation has meant that ministers are over-protected. The Conference informs the congregations of whom they will be calling as their next minister, rather than the churches contacting directly the minister they wish to call. Ministers are assured of a future job and never have to suffer "loss of face"

by not receiving a call from one of the Conference churches.[32]

The fact that ministers tend to dominate the Conference activities, discussions, and decisions has led to apathy among some lay delegates. In their view, it is primarily for the benefit of the ministers that these Conference meetings are held. One Issei delegate summed-up the lack of lay interest in Conference activities as follows:

> I don't think there is any use in spending the money to get together. We don't need the Conference every two years. The ministers want the Conference, but the lay people really don't care about it.

While recognizing that it is the Japanese clergy who have the primary motivation for keeping the JUCC in operation, it would be wrong to imply that the Conference is simply a self-serving organization for ministers. The Conference has also sponsored activities benefiting all the Japanese churches. Periodically, for example, the JUCC sponsors a special speaker from Japan to visit all of the congregations across Canada. This is an event none of the churches could afford to undertake independently. Several years ago the Conference also intervened to help the Japanese church in Southern Alberta which was about to fold. A minister was sent to study the situation and recommended that the church remain open. The Conference then collectively requested additional financial aid from the Alberta Conference and reassigned a Nisei minister to the church in

an attempt to revitalize the congregation. These few examples sufficiently illustrate the various functions performed by an ethnic conference within an indigenous religious body.

The foregoing analysis suggested that ethnic churches have had difficult adjustments to make with the removal of direct supervision and support by the Board of Home Missions. More recent ideological changes within the United Church, nevertheless, indicate a more positive attitude toward ethnic churches. In the current environment of Canadian multiculturalism, the United Church has abandoned its earlier held goal of assimilation. At the 1982 National Ethnic Convention organized around the theme, "Unity Without Uniformity," a new Ethnic Ministry Policy and Guidelines paper from the Division of Mission in Canada was distributed. The new policy paper rejected the inherited assumptions that guided the ethnic ministries in the past: ethnocentrism, paternalism, and assimilationism. With different expressions of theology and ways of worship, the paper explains, ethnic peoples have a special contribution to make to the United Church of Canada. The paper also confesses that:

> In a day when the country is more and more multicultural, the United Church has decreased ethnic ministries. Although members of ethnic people are increasing in Canada, the United Church of Canada provided less funding and few personnel than formerly so that the perception may be that the United Church is a WASP enclave.[33]

In the case of the Japanese Conference, this statement is not entirely accurate. While Japanese congregations no longer have WMS personnel working with them, the JUCC has managed to obtain grants for the smaller Japanese churches in spite of the new funding arrangement. In 1980, for example, 5 of the 11 Japanese churches were still funded from Block Grants for a total of over $23,000.[34]

Although the JUCC has not fared too badly, there is a growing concern among United Church policy makers that ethnic minorities do not have a significant voice within the structure of the church to shape their own future. Since the United Church has had no national policy on ethnic ministries for the past decade, Presbyteries and Conferences have not responded to ethnic congregations in a uniform manner. Differential treatment across Canada has generated discontent among various ethnic groups. In an effort to alleviate this problem, the Division of Mission through the Working Unit on Congregational Planning and Growth established a National Ethnic Committee. This new committee is composed of members elected at the National Ethnic Convention by representatives from all of the ethnic churches. The purpose of this committee is to assist in the development of United Church policy toward ethnic work and by providing consultation to help eliminate some of the disparity of responses to ethnic churches in various Presbyteries and Conferences. It is not yet clear how

effective this committee will be nor what significance this new United Church attitude toward ethnic ministries will have upon the future of minority churches.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided a brief historical overview of the United Church mission work among Japanese Canadians. The development of the Japanese United Church Conference and its role within the administrative structure of an indigenous church was also analyzed. In the following comparative analysis, this organizational relationship will be explored further as the issues of ethnic persistence and adaptation are addressed.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

[1]This historical sketch draws upon a number of works, including: Kanada Nikkeijin Godo Kyokai Shi (A History of the Japanese Congregations of the United Church of Canada, 1892-1959), published by the National Japanese United Church Conference in 1961; Tadashi Mitsui, "The Ministry of the United Church of Canada Amongst the Canadians of Japanese Origin, 1892-1949," Master of Sacred Theology Thesis, Vancouver, Union College, 1964; and Kenneth Matsugu, "A Brief History of Japanese United Church of Canada," in Sumio Koga, ed. A Centennial Legacy: A History of the Japanese Christian Missions in North America, 1877-1977 (Chicago: Nobart, 1977).

[2]Reported in the 101st Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church of Canada, 1924-1925, Victoria University, United Church Archives, Toronto.

[3]Rev. Shimizu was well-prepared for his bilingual ministry. He had attended high school in New Westminster, was a graduate of the University of British Columbia, and had received his Master's degree from Harvard in 1924.

[4]The results of this survey are recorded in the Report of the Life and Work Committee, British Columbia Conference, United Church of Canada, 1935, United Church Archives, Vancouver School of Theology.

[5]See the Memorandum Re Japanese Situation, British Columbia Board of Home Missions, United Church of Canada, 1941, United Church Archives, Vancouver School of Theology.

[6]Memorandum Re Japanese Situation, 1941, p. 4.

[7]Even the 18 Japanese children in the Women's Missionary Society Oriental Home in Victoria, British Columbia, were evacuated from the "protected area" to a WMS school in Assiniboin, Saskatchewan (see Japanese Canadians, 1942-1946: A Scrap Book, WMS Home Missions, Oriental Work; United Church Archives, Victoria University, Toronto.

[8]Report of the Itinerary of Rev. W.R. McWilliams, October 19, 1943, p. 10; United Church Archives, Victoria University, Toronto.

[9]Further details regarding the United Church work among the Japanese in interior British Columbia, Southern Alberta, and Manitoba during the war can be found in Kanada Nikkeijin Godo Kyokai Shi (1961:93-120); "History of Japanese Canadian United Church: English Contributions," by various WMS missionaries, in the Yasutaro Yamaga Papers, University of British Columbia, Japanese Canadian Collection; and Digest of the Minutes of the Conference of Japanese Workers, September 30, 1943; United Church Archives, Vancouver School of Theology.

[10]These observations are based upon an interview with Mrs. Hide Shimizu, June 12, 1982, Toronto, formerly Hide Hyodo, a Nisei who was recruited by the Secretary of the British Columbia Security Commission to help set up these educational programs during the war. Details regarding the education of Japanese youth in these centres during the war can also be found in the Digest of the Minutes of the Conference of Japanese Workers (1943) and in the Report of the Itinerary of Rev. W.R. McWilliams (1943).

[11]Recorded in the Digest of the Minutes of the Conference of Japanese Workers, September 30, 1943; United Church Archives, Vancouver School of Theology.

[12]Mrs. Hide Shimizu, Interview, June 12, 1982, Toronto, Ontario.

[13]Report Made by Rev. K. Shimizu on Resettlement of Japanese Canadians, June 21, 1944; United Church Archives, Victoria University, Toronto.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Rev. T. Komiyama, Report for the Month of April, 1945; United Church Archives, File 27, Vancouver School of Theology.

[16]See Hide Shimizu, "A Brief History of the Nisei Church," in Toronto Nikkeijin Godo Kyokai, 1946-1971, Toronto, 1974:53.

[17]Grace Namba, Report of the Nisei Work in Eastern Canada, n.d., p.3.

[18]For details regarding the developments of Japanese congregations during the post-war period in British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec, see Kanada Nikkei jin Godo Kyokai Shi (1961:118-152); and Koga, ed. (1977: 346-359).

[19]Data for this discussion have been drawn from several interviews and the following historical materials: F.E. Runnals, A History of the Steveston United Church (1965), United Church Archives, Vancouver School of Theology; and Hedwig Bartling, "Steveston After World War II," in History of Japanese United Church in Canada: English Contributions, Yamaga Yasutaro Papers, University of British Columbia, Japanese Canadian Collection.

[20]Hedwig Bartling, "Steveston After World War II," op. cit.

[21]This illustration is based upon participant observation.

[22]The relationship between the Hamilton Buddhist Church and the Japanese United Church illustrates further the general lack of concern regarding ideological differences or competing truth-claims. During the first few years of their existence there was a sense of competition and conflict because both congregations were actively seeking members and support for their activities from the Japanese community in Hamilton. In recent years the sense of competition has diminished. There seems to be a mutual concern to support any ethnic institution. When the two churches celebrated their twenty-fifth anniversaries they both sent small checks of congratulations to each other. On another occasion, the Buddhist church sent one of its members as a representative to attend the dedication service for the new educational building at the Japanese United Church. The Japanese United Church also loaned its movie projector to the Buddhist Church when their visiting Bishop wanted to show films of his recent pilgrimage in Asia. These additional examples sufficiently show that ethnic ties transcend ideological differences and evangelical missionary zeal (cf. Mullins, 1982).

[23]This is based upon personal observation; I attended the National Ethnic Convention held at McMaster University, July 1-4, 1982.

[24]While this Japanese background has been influential, it should also be noted that the multicultural environment of Canada has also shaped the nature of activities in JUCC congregations. A 35th anniversary luncheon I attended in the Hamilton Japanese United Church provides ample illustration. The food for this festive occasion was catered by a Chinese restaurant and the Sansei and Yonsei (fourth generation) provided an interesting program of entertainment, which included: a violin solo, Japanese odori (dances), a folk-rock group, and a Yonsei (from

a mixed-marriage) performing two Highland dance numbers. The ethnic diversity of the program led the MC to remark that "the church did not discriminate against other ethnic groups (author's field notes, 4 October 1981)."

[25]Miss Madeline Bock, "Okanagan Valley Japanese Work," in History of Japanese United Church in Canada: English Contributions, Yamaga Yasutaro Papers, University of British Columbia, Japanese Canadian Collection.

[26]This information was included in the Japanese Congregations of the United Church of Canada Comparative Report: 1959 and 1961. According to an Issei minister, this special support made it possible for many Japanese churches to avoid the high indebtedness of Anglo congregations engaged in similar building programs.

[27]United Church of Canada Year Book, 1982.

[28]Rev. Gordon Hume, a staff person at the Division of Mission in Canada and Liaison Officer with the National Ethnic Committee, emphasized this point in an address to ethnic pastors and delegates at the National Ethnic Convention, 2 July 1982 (author's field notes).

[29]I recorded this comment when attending the Japanese meetings at the National Ethnic Convention in Hamilton, Ontario, 2 July 1982.

[30]These "objectives" were taken from a copy of the constitution circulated and discussed at the 10th National Japanese United Church Conference, Calgary, Alberta, May 4-6, 1981.

[31]A Nisei minister candidly explained this development to me.

[32]This point was emphasized by a Nisei board member in a personal conversation with me.

[33]Ethnic Ministry Policy and Guidelines Paper, Division of Mission in Canada, United Church of Canada, 1982:2.

[34]See the Report of the 10th National Japanese United Church Conference, Calgary, Alberta, May 4-6, 1981, p. 8.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENERATIONAL CHANGE AND ORGANIZATIONAL ADAPTATION: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Introduction

The preceding two chapters have briefly described the foreign-oriented and native-oriented characteristics of the BCC and JUCC. What significance do these divergent orientations have upon generational change and organizational adaptation? This broad question provides the focus for the following discussion.

As indicated in Chapter One, minority churches can be viewed from two different perspectives. According to one point of view, minority churches "constitute a strong force for ethnic persistence" and are an indicator "of ways in which people are trying to maintain their language and succeeding" (Millet, 1979:192-193). Are Japanese Canadian minority churches actually effective as "base-institutions" (Shimpo, 1981:20) or "plausibility structures" (Berger, 1969:45) for ethnic persistence? The following hypothesis derived from the sub-typology provides the framework for exploring this question: since the BCC is foreign-oriented, it has probably exerted greater efforts towards maintaining the Japanese language and

culture than the native-oriented JUCC. The analysis below will compare the efforts and success of these two minority church organizations in maintaining their ethnic heritage.

From another perspective, minority churches can be seen primarily as adapting organizations. This line of thought assumes that the powerful forces of assimilation will invariably transform an ethnic group over the course of several generations, and require internal adaptations on the part of minority churches to survive. Within an environment favoring Anglo-conformity, minority churches must adapt in order to meet the needs and attract the interest of increasingly acculturated generations. Once the language shift occurs among the second and third generations, organizational changes become necessary in several areas. Bilingual religious leaders must be recruited and additional English language services and church schools must be established. The materials used in religious services and educational activities must also be made available in both languages. Given the rapid assimilation of Japanese in Canada (see Chapter Two), it would be surprising if these minority churches had not begun to make some accommodations to the acculturated generations.

A hypothesis derived from the sub-typology related to this assimilationist perspective on organizational development is that native-oriented minority churches are more likely to make the language adaptations than foreign-

oriented churches. As elaborated in Chapter One, there are several reasons one could expect native-oriented churches to be better able to make these changes. First, native-oriented churches are sponsored by an indigenous church and would therefore be more naturally encouraged to conform to the language and practices of the host society. Foreign-oriented churches, on the other hand, are organizationally linked to the old country encouraging the preservation of ethnic language and culture. The mother church which constitutes the primary administrative reference group for these churches, would tend to be more conservative and resistant to adaptations thereby diminishing its power and the dependence of the immigrant churches. Second, the membership in native-oriented churches would tend to be less conservative and more willing to adapt the internal program and activities than the membership in foreign-oriented churches. The reasoning here is as follows: since members of native-oriented churches have identified with an indigenous church rather than maintaining ties with the religion of the old country, they are probably more assimilationist in orientation and willing to make organizational adaptations when necessary. Finally, as organizational adaptations are required of minority churches, native-oriented churches are more likely to be administratively prepared to make the necessary adjustments. Foreign-oriented churches with their dependence upon the parent organization overseas would tend to receive

religious leaders ill-prepared for cross-cultural work. Trained in the language and customs of the old country, these pioneer missionaries would probably be neither inclined nor equipped to make the adaptations needed. Native-oriented churches have an indigenous sponsoring organization and educational institutions; they should therefore more easily recruit religious leaders who are able to effectively work with the acculturated generations.

The remainder of this chapter will provide a comparative analysis of the BCC and JUCC on the issues of ethnic persistence and organizational adaptation. Data from Japanese churches across Canada will be examined in order to test the hypotheses discussed above.

Ethnic Persistence

Is there empirical evidence to support the view that Japanese minority churches are a strong force for the maintenance of ethnicity? Has the BCC been more concerned to preserve ethnicity than the JUCC, and has either minority church organization been successful? Ishwaran (1980:7) has suggested that "a group's commitment to ethnic identity and culture is directly proportionate to its capacity to preserve its linguistic identity." This discussion will begin by analyzing language maintenance in these two organizations and conclude with a discussion of endogamy, another key indicator of ethnicity.

Language Maintenance

A comparison of the data in Tables V-1 and V-2 indicates that the foreign-oriented BCC has shown a greater concern with maintaining the Japanese language. During the post-war period, 10 congregations within the BCC have had Japanese language schools for a total of 159 years. By contrast, only 3 congregations within the JUCC have had Japanese schools for a total of only 14 years. Although the BCC has exerted greater efforts in this area, neither minority church organization has been successful in generating or maintaining enthusiasm for the study of Japanese among the Sansei. Currently, both of these organizations are operating only 1 language school each with a combined enrollment of 11. It is interesting to note that the 5 students currently enrolled in the Manitoba Buddhist Church language school are all Caucasian.

Tables V-1 and V-2 also show the responses of Nisei church leaders to the questions: "Approximately what percentage of your Sansei can speak Japanese?" and "Approximately what percentage of your Sansei can read and write Japanese?" The estimates provided by Nisei respondents clearly suggest that efforts to maintain the Japanese language have largely failed within both minority church organizations. Respondents from BCC churches on the average estimate that less than 6 percent of their Sansei can speak Japanese and less than 2 percent are

Table V-1

Japanese Language Schools in the BCC and Sansei Language Ability, 1983

CHURCH	NUMBER OF YEARS WITH SCHOOL	CURRENT ENROLLMENT	SANSEI JAPANESE ABILITY SPEAKING	READING/WRITING
Steveston	20	0	10(%)	0(%)
Manitoba	30	5	0	0
Lethbridge Honpa	1	0	0	0
Lethbridge Assoc.	35	--	--	--
Kelowna	20	0	--	0
Montreal	4	0	--	--
Calgary	0	0	0	0
Toronto	--	0	--	--
Coaldale	0	0	--	--
Hamilton	0	0	1	0
Fraser Valley	2	0	20	10
Kamloops	25	0	10	5
Taber	2	0	0	0
Vancouver	0	0	15	5
Raymond	20	0	0	0
Rosemary	0	0	0	0

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaire.
Note: --Dash means no date available.

Table V-2

Japanese Language Schools in the JUCC and Sansei Language Ability, 1983

CHURCH	NUMBER OF YEARS WITH SCHOOL	CURRENT ENROLLMENT	SANSEI JAPANESE ABILITY SPEAKING	READING/WRITING
Steveston	0	0	0(%)	0(%)
Manitoba	9	6	0	0
Montreal	3	0	50	10
Okanagan	0	0	0	0
Southern Alberta	--	0	0	0
Vancouver	0	0	10	10
Toronto	0	0	10	5
Fraser Valley	0	0	70	50
Hamilton	2	0	5	5

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaire.
Note: --Dash means no data available.

able to read and write Japanese. On the average, Nisei respondents from the JUCC reported that approximately 10.5 percent of their Sansei are able to speak Japanese, and about 9 percent are able to read and write. While these are only crude measures of language ability, the estimates of almost all these respondents (and confirmed by other informants interviewed across Canada) indicate that the maintenance of ethnic language among the third generation has been the exception rather than the rule.

Intermarriage

An examination of endogamy should provide further clarification of the role of minority churches in maintaining ethnicity. In Chapter Two it was noted that studies of Sansei marriages in Canada indicate a definite trend toward exogamy. Makabe's (1976:216) study of Canadian-born Japanese in Toronto revealed that 86 percent of the Sansei married outside the ethnic community. Similarly, Hirabayashi's (1978:63-65) study of Sansei intermarriage in Southern Alberta between 1970 and 1974 discovered exogamous rates of 82 percent in Lethbridge and 71.4 percent in Taber. Is this tendency toward exogamy among third generation Japanese Canadians resisted in minority churches? Do these churches enforce a rule of endogamy, and is the foreign-oriented BCC more effective than the JUCC in discouraging intermarriage and maintaining the ethnic group?

Data presented in Tables V-3 and V-4 show the number and percentage of intermarriages among Sansei in the BCC and JUCC. Although data on this issue was not obtained from all of the Japanese churches, adequate data on churches across Canada indicates that a strong tendency towards exogamy exists even among the Sansei affiliated with these ethnic institutions. The BCC (N=9) reports that 163 Sansei marriages out of a total of 217 are with non-Japanese; that is, an intermarriage rate of 75.1 percent. Five other BCC congregations estimated Sansei intermarriage rates at between 70 and 100 percent, but provided no actual statistics. The JUCC (N=7) reports that 73 Sansei marriages out of a total of 101 are with non-Japanese; again, an intermarriage rate of over 70 percent. With intermarriage rates closely approximating those reported in earlier studies, it is clear that neither minority church organization has been an effective force for ethnic persistence (at least as far as this major indicator of ethnicity is concerned).

The data examined on language maintenance and endogamy indicates that the cultural and marital assimilation of Sansei affiliated with minority churches corresponds closely to the findings of earlier studies. When placed in a historical perspective, the view that minority churches are a "strong force for ethnic persistence" is clearly untenable. Although minority churches tend to be conservative

Table V-3

Intermarriage Rates of Sansei in the BCC

CHURCH	NO. TOTAL MARRIAGES	NO. INTER-MARRIAGES	PERCENT INTERMARRIAGE
Raymond	47	39	82.9
Taber	20	10	50.0
Kelowna*	16	8	50.0
Kamloops	50	40	80.0
Fraser Valley	12	7	58.3
Manitoba**	24	18	75.0
Montreal***	17	16	94.1
Hamilton	19	14	73.6
Coaldale	12	11	91.6

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaire and Interviews.
NOTES: *The resident minister of Kelowna Buddhist Church informed me in an interview that the younger Sansei tend to be more exogamous. During his three years of residence, only 1 Sansei out of 10 has married another Japanese Canadian. **The statistics for Manitoba Buddhist Church are only for those Sansei marrying within the church. Presumably, those Sansei marrying outside of the Buddhist church intermarry at even a higher rate. ***The statistics for Montreal Buddhist Church are only for the years 1970-1983 and were provided by the resident priest.

Table V-4

Intermarriage Rates of Sansei in the JUCC

CHURCH	NO. TOTAL MARRIAGES	NO. INTER-MARRIAGES	PERCENT INTERMARRIAGE
Toronto	32	16	50.0
Hamilton	17	15	88.2
Vancouver	14	13	92.8
Fraser Valley	10	4	40.0
Manitoba	12	12	100.0
S. Alberta	12	9	75.0
Steveston	4	4	100.0

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaires and Interviews.

institutions and make some efforts to preserve their ethnic heritage, the objective indicators of language and endogamy reveal a steady decline in ethnicity. Assimilation appears to take its toll progressively with each successive generation.

Organizational Adaptation

The other perspective on minority churches views them primarily as adapting organizations. Here it is assumed that assimilation is the dominant force shaping their development. The acculturation of native-born generations eventually forces minority churches to choose between accommodation and extinction (Niebuhr, 1957:203-212). This approach to minority churches recognizes that: "As the environments of organizations change, as the needs and demands of clientele change, organizations must, if they are to persist, be able to adapt goals, structure, and services" (Zald and Denton, 1963:214). Meeting the needs and demands of a changing clientele, in the case of minority churches, means providing religious leadership and services in their first language. Successful recruitment of members from among the acculturated generations, therefore, requires increasing "Anglification" (Hofman, 1972:621). The essence of this position has been captured by Fishman (1972:50) when he states: "the more 'successful' religion becomes, the more *de-ethnicized* it becomes, the more amenable

to mergers with other de-ethnicized churches, and the more disinterested in language maintenance." (Italics mine.)

On the basis of the sub-typology, it is hypothesized that the native-oriented JUCC has been better able to make the required adaptations than the foreign-oriented BCC. In order to evaluate this perspective and test this hypothesis, the following analysis will focus upon religious leadership and language adaptations in these two minority church organizations. Before examining data collected from churches across Canada, I will present the findings of two case studies that I conducted at an early stage of this research project.[1] Since these initial case studies supported the patterns of adaptation suggested by the sub-typology, it seemed worthwhile to examine adaptation in minority churches across Canada.

Two Case-Studies.

The two churches under consideration were both organized in Hamilton, Ontario, shortly after the Second World War. Approximately 1,000 Japanese settled in Hamilton following their evacuation, internment, and geographical dispersal east of the Rockies. It was from this pool of potential recruits that the Hamilton Japanese United Church and the Hamilton Buddhist Church drew their earliest members.

The Hamilton Japanese United Church: In spite of the official United Church policy discouraging the formation of Japanese congregations in eastern Canada, many of the Christian Issei began to gather regularly together at two of the United Churches in downtown Hamilton. Since they could not understand the religious services in English, they requested that someone be sent to provide additional services in Japanese. Responding to this request, a Japanese minister from Toronto began coming twice monthly to conduct these special services.

In 1946, the Issei formally organized their own congregation within one of the United Churches in downtown Hamilton. Due to a shortage of Japanese ministers, the congregation was led and supervised by women missionaries and part-time Japanese ministers for about nine years.[2] The congregation of 44 Issei finally obtained a resident Japanese minister in 1955. Even though as many as 70 Nisei attended the church-sponsored social activities for the Japanese young people, they had not been brought into the membership of the Japanese congregation.[3] The presence of a resident minister was quickly felt. Within five years the membership more than doubled, and an English-speaking congregation of 33 Nisei was organized.

With a rapidly growing membership, the Japanese congregation had visions of having its own separate church facilitiies. A grant of $5,000 and a loan of $13,000

from the United Church Board of Home Missions made it possible for them to purchase property and a building in 1962. The move into their own quarters was followed by an increase in social activities. After three years in their new location, the adult membership reached 151 (83 Issei, 68 Nisei) and 56 Sansei were enrolled in the Sunday school program.

Three other ministers have provided the leadership for this congregation since 1967. Each one has been bilingual and has continued services in Japanese for the Issei, and in English for the rest of the congregation. According to the 1981 Annual Report there were 206 confirmed members. Clearly noticeable are the generational changes affecting the composition of the congregation. The Issei membership has declined to 40, and only about one-fourth of them are able to attend services and social activities on a regular basis. At the present time, the 78 Nisei members provide the largest amount of financial support and lay leadership for the church. Over the past twenty years, the most significant growth has been among the third generation. There are 80 confirmed Sansei, and 33 others under fifteen years of age who are enrolled in the Sunday school. The remaining 8 members are all post-war immigrants.

The Hamilton Buddhist Church: The Japanese Buddhists settling in Hamilton after the war did not have an existing church to accommodate their religious services. Nevertheless,

within a short time they began meeting on a regular basis in the homes of the more dedicated Issei. Under the supervision of a Buddhist priest from Toronto, a congregation was formally organized in 1946. Two years later a house in the north end of the city was purchased and remodeled to serve as their church. It is estimated that between 60 and 80 members were involved in the church during the early years.[4] While the Issei dominated the church in both numbers and leadership, the Nisei also organized a small junior congregation.

Because of their small size and limited financial resources, the Hamilton Buddhist Church was unable to support a full time minister for almost twenty years. All of the religious services were conducted by visiting ministers and lay leaders until 1965. At that time, a Buddhist priest came from Japan and served as their first resident minister for three years.

Shortly after the minister's return to Japan, the church had another major adjustment to make. Due to a redevelopment project in the north end of the city, the church was forced to relocate. They purchased and moved into a building in the east end of the city, far removed from any of the residential areas of the Japanese population. This move was followed by a gradual decline in attendance and membership.

In an effort to involve Sansei in the church,

the second generation leaders organized an English Sunday school in the mid 1950s. Parental support for this program was so minimal that the teachers had to pick up the children themselves. While between 12 and 20 young people were involved in the program at one time, by 1970 there were more teachers than students and the Sunday school folded. The collapse of the Sunday school merely reflected the waning interest among the adults. By 1972, the membership declined to an all-time low of 45.

A small and dedicated group maintained the church over the next few difficult years. With some financial assistance from the Buddhist Churches of Canada, the Hamilton Buddhist Church acquired its second resident minister in 1977. During his three years in residence, the number of religious services and social activities were increased and better attended. Since his retirement in 1980, the church has been dependent again upon visiting ministers and lay leaders. Consequently, services and activities are being reduced. Services were once conducted every Sunday; they are now held only once a month. According to the 1981 records, there is a total membership of 74 (42 Issei, 32 Nisei). There are no third generation members at the present time.

The weakness of the Buddhist Church and the relative strength of the Japanese United Church appears to be closely related to several factors. The availability of religious

leadership has certainly been a decisive factor in the development of these two congregations. The Japanese United Church obtained their first resident minister in 1955, and have had a minister since that time. The Buddhist Church, by contrast, did not secure a resident minister until ten years later. Furthermore, they have only had a resident minister for six years of their thirty-five year history. They lacked leadership at a crucial period when the Japanese United Church had an energetic minister who organized both an English-speaking congregation and a Sunday school. Also, the ministers of the Japanese United Church have all been bilingual, whereas, the Buddhist priests only conducted services in Japanese.[5] Since Nisei are generally more competent in English, and Sansei are almost without exception limited to English, the failure to provide bilingual services has doubtless been an inhibiting factor in the growth of the Buddhist Church.[6] Finally, the two congregations have had to deal with disparate financial situations. The Board of Home Missions provided encouragement and financial support for the Japanese United Church. Grants and loans made it possible for them to purchase facilities in a location ideal for the Japanese population. The small Buddhist Church had minimal outside support and found it necessary to purchase a building in the east end of the city, an inconvenient location where only the most dedicated have continued to attend.

These two case studies support the basic hypothesis regarding organizational adaptation derived from the sub-typology. With its dependence upon a Mother Temple overseas, the Buddhist Church was unable to make the necessary adaptations. The lack of bilingual ministers and English services are surely major factors accounting for the absence of third generation involvement. By contrast, the relationship of the Japanese United Church to an indigenous sponsoring organization has facilitated adaptation and growth.

Although these initial findings support the hypothesis, it is necessary to consider data on the other minority churches scattered across Canada in order to determine if these case-studies are representative or typical. Since the ability of churches to make adaptations hinges upon their securing bilingual priests or ministers, the following discussion will begin with a comparative analysis of religious leadership within these two minority church organizations. If the two churches in Hamilton are representative, we should find that the JUCC has had throughout its history more acculturated religious leaders than the BCC. As a result, we should also find that the JUCC has more effectively introduced English language services and more successfully recruited members from among the acculturated generations than the BCC.

Religious Leadership

Because of the Japanese Canadian experience of evacuation and resettlement during and after the Second World War, both the BCC and the JUCC went through a period of disintegration and reorganization. Most churches had to start over after the war, although there was a pool of members to draw upon as churches were reestablished in new locations. Since the development of these two minority churche organizations was so disrupted by the events surrounding the war, this analysis will focus upon the nature of religious leadership and organizational change during the post-war period. It is worth recalling, however, that the BCC operated almost exclusively in the Japanese language during the pre-war period. Apart from one Canadian-born priest who served the BCC for approximately one year before the war, all priests were Japanese-speaking Issei. The JUCC was also dominated by Issei ministers during the pre-war period. Nevertheless, a bilingual minister organized the first English-speaking Nisei congregation as early as 1936. In addition, the JUCC had the support of WMS workers who organized English night schools, Sunday schools, and kindergartens in a number of locations. What we must turn to consider now is whether this tendency toward more acculturated leadership in the JUCC has continued in the post-war period.

Within the BCC, the reliance of churches upon

Issei priests sent from the International Department of Nishi Honganji has persisted throughout the post-war period. As Table V-5 reveals, 22 of the 32 priests serving the BCC from 1945 to 1983 have been Issei. Thus, almost 70 percent of the priests have been less than adequately prepared to minister to the acculturated second and third generations. The 8 Nisei priests have on the average served almost 4 years longer than Issei priests during this same period. When the total number of years served are divided among the 18 congregations with the BCC, it is apparent that many churches have gone without a resident minister during this period. This is due to both the financial constraints of the smaller churches, and the difficulty of securing priests. The two Caucasian priests included in Table V-5, both served the Honpa Buddhist Churches of Alberta during the period in which they were not member churches of the BCC. Since the Honpa Churches were not recognized as legitimate by the BCC--the administrative authority for Jodo Shinshu in Canada--they had difficulty securing priests from Nishi Honganji during this time.

Although Issei religious leaders have continued to dominate the BCC, the presence of several active Nisei priests early in the post-war period encouraged the process of "Anglification" in many of the churches.[7] An examination of several indices will illustrate this general trend toward Anglification in the BCC: the introduction of

Table V-5

Religious Leadership in the BCC By Generation And Length of Service, 1945-1983

	NUMBER	PERCENT	TOTAL NUMBER OF YEARS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS
Issei	22	69	185	8.40
Nisei	8	25	97	12.12
Caucasian	2	6	7	3.50
TOTAL	32	100	289	9.03

SOURCE: Interviews and Historical Records.

English language services and Sunday schools, the use of English language materials (Scriptures and Hymns or Gathas) for these services, and the use of English for church publications (bulletins and newsletters, for example). Table V-6 shows that all 16 of the BCC congregations responding to the organizational questionnaire have had English services for a number of years.[8] It should be noted that the nature of these English services varies considerably from church to church. Generally speaking, in the smaller churches (Hamilton Buddhist Church, for example) priests only conduct one religious service, but provide brief remarks and "Dharma Talks" in both Japanese and English. Those churches without a resident minister might only have a visiting priest once or twice per month to conduct services. In the larger churches, priests conduct separate services; one in Japanese for the Issei, and another in English for the Nisei and Sansei. In the

Table V-6

English Services and Sunday Schools in the BCC
By Number of Years

CHURCH	YEAR ORGANIZED	ENGLISH SERVICES	ENGLISH SUNDAY SCHOOL
Toronto	1946	38	38
Hamilton	1946	10	18 (Discontinued)
Montreal	1946	15	35
Manitoba	1947	13	21
Fraser Valley	1955	15	23
Kamloops	1947	30	27
Kelowna	1932	20	20
Steveston	1952	15	27
Taber	1948	15	-- (Discontinued)
Vancouver	1951	30	30
Raymond	1929	33	41
Rosemary	1948	33	15 (Discontinued)
Calgary	1971	10	10
Lethbridge Assoc.	1948	36	36
Coaldale	1942	20	25
Lethbridge Honpa	1946	17	17

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaire.
Note: --Dash means data not available.

Toronto Buddhist Church, for instance, apart from one bilingual joint service each month, these separate services are held each week. Table V-6 also reveals that English language Sunday schools have been important in the post-war BCC. All of the 16 churches have had English Sunday schools (although 3 have been discontinued for lack of students) and in 7 cases for longer periods of time than they have

had English services for adults. This observation suggests considerable initiative on the part of lay leaders in the BCC; in the absence of bilingual ministers for adult English services, Nisei lay leaders organized English Sunday school programs for the Sansei youth.

Our findings on the other indices also show support for the trend toward Anglification. All of the churches included in Table V-6, with one exception, reported that both Japanese and English language materials were used for religious services. Again, with one exception, those churches printing bulletins and newsletters indicated that both languages were used. The exception in both cases is the Calgary Buddhist Church. It was not organized until 1971, and the Issei are not an important generational unit within the congregation. It was formed to meet the religious needs of the acculturated and upwardly mobile second and third generations moving to the urban centre. Calgary Buddhist Church uses English for all its religious services and for printing bulletins and newsletters.[9]

Although the Anglification process in the BCC appears to have progressed rapidly since the Second World War, Nisei lay leaders indicate that they are less than satisfied with the English-speaking ability of many of their ministers. Currently, the 18 congregations within the BCC are served by 11 priests, 3 of whom only serve on a part time basis. Only two are Nisei; the others

are Issei who have spent less than 9 years in Canada on the average. The Nisei lay leaders completing the organizational questionnaire were asked to rate their resident or visiting priest(s) on his ability to speak both Japanese and English. As may be seen in Table V-7, approximately two-thirds of those Nisei from churches served by Issei priests rated their English ability as only "passable." According to these same respondents, one of the key problems facing their churches is the inability of Issei ministers to effectively communicate with English-speaking members and their children. In spite of the language adaptations that have been made during this period, most Nisei lay leaders report that the BCC still desperately needs bilingual ministers.

Table V-7

Language Ability of BCC Priests According to Nisei Lay Leaders, 1983

	FLUENT	GOOD	PASSABLE	POOR	UNABLE
Issei:					
Japanese	15	0	0	0	0
English	1	4	10	0	0
Nisei:					
Japanese	2	0	0	0	0
English	2	0	0	0	0

N=16

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaire.
Note: The respondent for Toronto Buddhist Church rated both of its ministers.

An examination of religious leadership within

the JUCC during this same period reveals that a larger number of acculturated or English-speaking ministers have been active. Table V-8 shows that out of a total of 31 ministers, only 16 (52 percent) have been Issei (compared to 69 percent for the BCC). Their terms of service account for approximately 54 percent of the total number of years served. The 7 Nisei ministers, 2 of the Caucasian ministers, and the 1 Korean minister have been bilingual, and have provided services in both languages. The remaining 5 ministers have only provided services in English for the Nisei congregations. As in the BCC, the average term of service for JUCC ministers has been approximately 9 years. In addition to these ministers, the JUCC has had 8 WMS workers (7 Caucasian and 1 Nisei) assigned to the various Japanese congregations during the two decades following the war. These workers provided important leadership in organizing English Sunday schools, kindergartens, and, in some cases, English classes for adults.

With a larger number of English-oriented religious leaders in the JUCC, one would expect to find that the process of Anglification has proceeded more rapidly. Surprisingly enough, the findings of this study do not support that expection (see Table V-9). In fact, churches within the BCC have had English services offered for an average of about 22 years, whereas congregations within the JUCC have had English services for an average of 20 years.

Table V-8

Religious Leadership in the JUCC by Generation And Length of Service, 1945-1983

	NUMBER	PERCENT	TOTAL NUMBER OF YEARS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS
Issei	16	52	160	10.00
Nisei	7	23	88	12.57
Caucasian	6	19	41	6.83
Korean	1	3	2	2.00
Chinese	1	3	2	2.00
TOTALS	31	100	293	9.45

SOURCE: Interviews and Historical Records.

Similarly, BCC churches have provided English Sunday school programs for an average of 4 years longer than JUCC congregations. What accounts for this divergence from the expected pattern of development? As discussed in Chapter Four, the initial policy of the United Church toward Japanese in the early post-war period was one of total assimilation or integration into existing hakujin (Caucasian) congregations. In other words, the administrators of the United Church intended for Anglo-conformity to eliminate the need for transitional ethnic churches. Even after approving supplementary services for Japanese Issei meetings in Anglo-congregations, the United Church still encouraged the Canadian-born Japanese to join the churches in their own neighborhoods. English services for Canadian-born Japanese were only begun several years after church leaders recognized the failure of the integration policy. Since

there was never any intention of establishing Japanese churches that would incorporate successive generations, the organization of English services in the JUCC occurred more slowly than in the BCC.

Table V-9

English Services and Sunday Schools in the JUCC by Number and Years

CHURCH	YEAR ORGANIZED	ENGLISH SERVICES	ENGLISH SUNDAY SCHOOLS
Hamilton	1946	26	20
Toronto	1946	32	29
Montreal	1947	33	33
Vancouver	1957	12	12
Fraser Valley	1957	0	20
Manitoba	1944	20	40
Southern Alberta	1951	9	15
Okanagan	1922	20	2
Steveston	1953	30	30

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaire and Historical Records.
NOTE: In this table, the separate Issei and Nisei churches in both Toronto and Vancouver have been treated as one unit.

When examining the other indices of Anglification, it is apparent that the JUCC is as equally advanced as the BCC. If the separate Issei and Nisei churches in Toronto and Vancouver are treated as one unit, then all but two of the congregations use both Japanese and English in their printed materials for religious services and newsletters. The two exceptions are the churches in the Fraser Valley and Steveston: the former uses only Japanese

and the latter only English.[10]

Although the JUCC organized its English congregations more slowly than did the BCC, its leadership over these years has been more acculturated and English-oriented. The involvement of Caucasian ministers and WMS workers certainly substantiates this observation. Those Nisei lay leaders responding to the organizational questionnaire for the JUCC tended to perceive their ministers as more competent than did their counterparts in the BCC. The 4 Issei ministers serving bilingual congregations were rated in their English-speaking ability as follows: 2 fluent, 1 good, and 1 poor.

This data on religious leadership and Anglification indicate that the wide differences in adaptation which marked the initial case studies were not representative for the JUCC and BCC across Canada. The JUCC has had more English-speaking ministers, but it has not been consistently more effective in making adaptations. The results of the comparative study conducted in Hamilton provide support for the hypothesis that the JUCC would be better able to adapt and incorporate the acculturated generations. Many congregations within the BCC, however, have been able to make adaptations as effectively as those in the JUCC. Consequently, there is considerable variation within both minority church organizations in the ability to incorporate the acculturated generations. Table V-10 summarizes

data on generational composition in churches located in five different provinces. The findings reveal that the situation in Hamilton was far from being representative. In Lethbridge, for example, the Honpa Buddhist Church has been more successful than the United Church in providing English services and incorporating the second and third generation as members and lay leaders on the church board. Similarly, the Manitoba Buddhist Church also has a larger percentage of Nisei and Sansei members than the Japanese United Church. In Toronto, both churches had bilingual leaders throughout their history and have had quite active participation from both Nisei and Sansei. The higher percentage of Sansei membership in the Toronto Japanese United Church is somewhat misleading since membership criteria is different in these two organizations. Membership in the BCC congregations is based upon payment of annual dues or pledges by adult members; hence, active Sansei who have neither finished college nor have been employed full-time would be included as official members. In the JUCC, membership is based upon confirmation and baptism rather than the financial contributions of adult members. Therefore, the statistics on Sansei participation in the JUCC would tend to be exaggerated and those in the BCC understated. In any case, the data presented in Table V-10 reveals a number of variations from the hypothesized pattern of development.

Table V-10

Generational Composition of Membership and Boards in Selected JUCC and BCC Churches, 1982

	BOARD COMPOSITION					MEMBERSHIP COMPOSITION				
CHURCH	ISSEI	NISEI	SANSEI	OTHER	TOTAL NUMBER	ISSEI	NISEI	SANSEI	OTHER	TOTAL NUMBER
Montreal United	8	12	0	0	20	30(%)	55(%)	15(%)	0	122
Montreal Buddhist	0	5	0	0	5	8	86	6	0	80
Toronto United	30	26	6	0	62	45	33	22	0	632
Toronto Buddhist	4	25	2	0	31	35	60	5	0	800
Manitoba United	3	10	0	0	13	60	30	10	0	110
Manitoba Buddhist	1	15	2	1	19	20	70	10	0	190
S. Alberta United	4	8	0	0	12	63	32	1	3	65
Lethbridge Honpa	2	14	1	0	17	20	40	35	5	225
Steveston United	0	6	0	8	14		26*	0	74	116
Steveston Buddhist	3	12	0	0	15	25	70	5	0	452

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaires and Interviews; the membership columns are all in percentages.
NOTE: *Number includes Issei and Nisei. Statistics for Toronto United are based upon combinations of the separately organized Issei and Nisei congregations.

Summary

In order to evaluate the two general perspectives on minority churches, this chapter has examined data on the JUCC and BCC. The evidence presented in this analysis indicates that Japanese minority churches have not been effective forces for ethnic preservation, and are best viewed as adapting organizations.

The hypotheses derived from the sub-typology were only partially supported by the data. As expected, the foreign-oriented BCC has shown a greater concern to maintain its ethnic heritage. During the post-war period, the BCC sponsored 10 Japanese language schools for a total of 159 years, while the JUCC sponsored 3 schools for a total of 14 years. Although the BCC made greater efforts in this regard, data on language maintenance among Sansei revealed that neither minority church organization has been successful in transmitting this component of the ethnic heritage. High rates of Sansei intermarriage reported by both the BCC and JUCC is another indicator of the failure of minority churches to resist the pressure of assimilation.

Several indices were examined to test the hypothesis regarding organizational adaptation. As far as the availability of English-speaking leadership is concerned, the JUCC has had a larger percentage of acculturated ministers than the BCC. In terms of the total number of ministerial years served, Issei priests account for 64 percent in

the BCC and 54 percent in the JUCC. In addition to the higher percentage of English-oriented ministers, the JUCC has also had the 8 WMS workers (7 Caucasians and 1 Nisei) who have provided strong English leadership in many areas of church life. In spite of the stronger English leadership in the JUCC, the BCC more rapidly introduced English services and activities in its congregations during the post-war period. It was suggested that the JUCC was slightly slower in organizing English services and Sunday schools because of the initial post-war assimilationist policy of the United Church Home Mission Board administrators. Although the initial case-studies supported the expected pattern of development, the additional data collected revealed that there were variations within both the BCC and JUCC according to the availability of bilingual leaders.[11]

While Japanese minority churches have differed in their ability to adapt, they all have in common the need to adapt. In the following chapter, attention will be focused upon the central problems currently experienced by both the BCC and JUCC resulting from their common experience of assimilation and the need to accommodate to the acculturated generations.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

[1]These case studies are drawn from my paper, "Ethnic Churches Among Japanese-Canadains: A Comparative Study," presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1982, Providence, Rhode Island. The data for this paper was gathered through field work conducted over a one-year period (January-December, 1981). Participant observation, interviews, and church records have all been important sources of information.

[2]The early history of the congregation is recorded in Kanada Nikkeijin Godokyokaishi, pp. 134-138. See also the brief historical sketch in Koga, ed., A Centennial Legacy (1977:347-348).

[3]These activities were reported in the Minutes of the Hamilton Presbytery, United Church of Canada, 11 January 1949.

[4]This estimate is based upon several interviews with Nisei leaders; no church records are available before 1966.

[5]Although the Japanese United Church is essentially a native-oriented organization, it has had to rely on the Christian Church in Japan for some of its ministers. Still, half of the ministers who have served this congregation have been educated in Canadian theological colleges and have had a strong English orientation. The ministers from Japan have also been required to provide services in English as well as Japanese. The priests serving the Buddhist Church, on the other hand, have all been raised and educated in Japan; none were prepared to offer services in both languages.

[6]Although it appears too late to make any difference, the Buddhist Church did begin having bilingual services during the last several years. In addition to the language problem, several Nisei interviewed suggested that the lack of interest among Sansei is due to the fact that Buddhism is an alien religion in Canada. Evidently, Sansei are more interested in entering the mainstream of Canadian life than preserving an ethnic religious tradition.

[7]Hofman's (1972:621) study of the "Anglification" process in Lutheran congregations in the United States provided helpful background for this discussion of the language transition in Japanese minority churches.

[8]Data was not available for the other two churches in the BCC (i.e., Vernon Buddhist Church and Picture Butte Buddhist Church).

[9]The Calgary Buddhist Church is an unusual case, and will be discussed at greater length later in this study.

[10]It should be recalled that Steveston United Church is the only amalgamated congregation in the JUCC.

[11]In many cases, it has been extremely difficult to analyze the relationship between organizational adaptation and successful recruitment of the acculturated generations. Two examples illustrate this problem. In the JUCC, for example, ministers have been rotated approximately every five years. If a church experiences growth under the leadership of a bilingual Nisei minister, it may decline during the next five year term under the leadership of an Issei minister who is unable to communicate as effectively with Canadian-born generations. Although the church reported on the organizational questionnaire that English services were provided during both of these periods, the quality of English used in services has changed significantly. The character of the minister (whether Issei or Nisei), and not just the offering of English services, is an important factor which must be considered. Another factor complicating the analysis of adaptation has been the unexpected efforts of Nisei lay leaders in organizing English-speaking Sunday schools for their children in the absence of professional leadership. In many Buddhist churches, bilingual lay leaders established Sunday schools and incorporated a number of Sansei even though a bilingual resident priest was not available for many years.

CHAPTER SIX

THE ORGANIZATIONAL DILEMMAS AND FUTURE OF JAPANESE MINORITY CHURCHES

Introduction

Minority churches in the course of their development encounter a number of organizational dilemmas. These are related primarily to the tension between the old world language and culture of the first generation immigrants, and that of the adopted host society. The transformation of the ethnic group through the process of assimilation generates these critical internal problems. Religious institutions are generally recognized as conservative and notoriously slow in making adaptations to changes in the social environment. The problem of adaptation is accentuated in minority churches because of the extraordinary character and degree of the generational changes with which they must cope.

In the case of Japanese Canadians, the process of cultural change has been rapid. As a result, Japanese minority churches have had to manage a very diverse membership base: first generation members dominated by Japanese language and culture; second generation members with varying levels of competence in Japanese, but generally most

comfortable with English; and a third generation almost totally limited to the English language.[1] It is obvious that the needs, demands, and expectations of these different generations places considerable strain upon the coping skills of those in positions of leadership and responsibility.

This chapter will explore in further detail the central problems faced by most Japanese minority churches during their evolution in Canada. The different ways in which minority churches have responded to these organizational dilemmas provides the starting point for developing a prognosis regarding their likely future. Although definitive predictions cannot be made, it is possible to stipulate those major factors that are certain to shape the future course of these ethnic organizations.

Central Problems

Chapter Five indicated that Japanese minority churches have not been a strong force for ethnic preservation; furthermore, it showed that both the BCC and JUCC have had difficulty securing qualified (bilingual) religious leaders to work with the acculturated generations. Clearly, the required adaptations cannot be made effectively without appropriate religious leaders. Interviews with clergy and lay leaders from both the BCC and JUCC, as well as responses to the organizational questionnaire regarding

present and future problems, reveal that one of the most pressing concerns remains that of finding bilingual religious professionals to serve their congregations. According to these same church leaders, another crucial problem is the declining interest and attendance of the third generation. While the decline in Sansei participation is due in part to the shortage of bilingual ministers, it is important to recognize that other factors also contribute to membership leakage. A consideration of these key issues is a necessary prelude to the discussion of the future of Japanese churches.

Problem of Religious Leadership

At a time when the potential membership base of Japanese churches is increasingly English in orientation, both the BCC and JUCC find that they are largely dependent upon priests and ministers from Japan. In the BCC there are currently 11 priests serving 18 congregations, only two of whom are Nisei.[2] It is clear that the BCC has difficulty recruiting and retaining Canadian-born religious leaders. As mentioned earlier in this study, Issei priests serving in the BCC usually return to Japan after relatively short terms of service. Prior to the Second World War, Buddhist priests spent an average of less than four years in Canada. During the post-war period, Issei priests have tended to serve longer terms; the average is just

under nine years. With such short terms of service in Canada, it is apparent that many priests return to Japan before gaining the competence in English required to communicate effectively with the acculturated generations. What accounts for this high turnover rate within the Buddhist Ministerial Association and the inability of the BCC to recruit Canadian-born priests? Several factors deserve consideration here.

One of the most obvious reasons for Japanese priests serving only short terms in Canada is that they find it difficult to cope with the language and cultural differences. As mentioned above, most congregations within the BCC now contain representatives from three or more generations. The usual difficulties clergy face in dealing with different age groups within the typical Protestant Anglo-congregation are minor when compared to the demands placed upon leaders in ethnic churches. Priests must provide services in Japanese for the first generation members and in English for the rest of the congregation. In addition to the demand of bilingual competence, Japanese immigrants and their Canadian-born children expect priests to provide different services. Older Issei members usually assume that priests will perform the traditional rituals for which they will make the appropriate donation. Many church members socialized in Canada, however, have ministerial expectations based upon their exposure to the behavior

of some Protestant clergy. Consequently, some Nisei lay leaders encourage Buddhist priests to recruit new members for their declining congregation by making home visits to families who have been guests of the church on some occasion. Most Buddhist priests in Canada are ill-prepared and uneasy about pursuing such outgoing recruitment activities. These conflicting expectations and language difficulties, therefore, create tensions and pressures which discourage long-term service in the BCC.

In the second place, Buddhist priests are usually not prepared for their loss of status and power resulting from their move out of the Japanese temple system and into the lay-controlled congregations of the BCC. In Japan, priests are related to family-owned temples and control both religious and financial affairs. Temples remain in the possession of the priesthood, and are passed down from father to son each generation. In Canada, by contrast, priests are hired by various congregations and regarded as "employees" of the church. This is a designation most priests strongly resent. The relatively weak position of priests within the BCC administrative structure is clearly indicated by the number of votes allotted to ministers and laity at the general meeting each year. Only 2 of 22 votes are controlled by Buddhist priests. For this reason, the agenda and outcome of these meetings is largely shaped by the attitudes and decisions of the

laity. Since priests have virtually no political power in the BCC, one member of the Ministerial Association remarked that "they tended to be apathetic toward these meetings." If the status and power of priests in the BCC is compared with that of their counterparts in Japan, it is understandable why many priests serving in the BCC interpret their move to Canada as one of downward mobility.

A third factor contributing to short terms of service is the lack of financial security. Many congregations are small and unable to provide fully adequate compensation for their priests. Over the past few years, a number of priests have found it necessary to find part-time employment outside of the church to supplement their income. Currently, three priests serving in the BCC are employed outside of the church. While present financial conditions are less than ideal, some priests view their future as even more precarious. It was only a few years ago that the BCC National Board established a committee to consider a retirement plan for their ministers. Without an adequate retirement program, the BCC will continue to be plagued by the problem of priests returning to Japan after short terms of service. The housing arrangements of BCC priests compound this problem. Priests are generally provided with a manse during their term of service; upon retirement, they would be without a residence and lack the income required for basic living expenses. The prevailing

discontent within the Ministerial Association regarding these financial conditions was aptly summed-up by an Issei priest whom I interviewed:

> If I had a comfortable temple in Japan, I would think of going home. When my children were very young, they could have adjusted to Japanese life. But I don't have a temple and my children are no longer young. Right now I have no alternative and can get along in the present situation. When we (the Ministerial Association) get together for our meetings, a few ministers say they are really thinking about going back to Japan if there is a chance. Ministers have wives and children, and when the wife starts complaining you have to do something.

The financial situation within the BCC has not only contributed to short terms of service by Issei priests; it is undoubtedly related to the departure of four Canadian-born priests from full-time service. Some years ago, two of these Nisei priests left the BCC to work in the Buddhist Churches of America, a larger organization in the United States with greater opportunities and more adequate financial arrangements. As for the other two Nisei priests, one is employed as a university professor and the other manages a restaurant business.

One final factor contributing to the continual change of personnel within the Ministerial Association is related to the hereditary temple system in Japan. There, temples remain within a family with a long history of priesthood, and the management of the temple is usually

transferred from father to son. Many of the priests recruited for service in the BCC come to Canada with the understanding that it is only a temporary assignment. It is fully recognized that they are obligated to return to Japan to assume control of the family temple when the elderly priest retires from his duties. During the past five years, four priests have returned to Japan under these circumstances. The BCC will continue to face this problem as long as it remains foreign-oriented and dependent upon priests from Japan.[3]

Over the past few years, several efforts have been made within the BCC to solve, or at least cope with, the recurring leadership problem. In 1979, the Toronto Buddhist Church established a program known as "Financial Aid for Ministerial Aspirants in Canada" (FAMAC) in an attempt "to encourage and assist Canadian Buddhists to pursue Buddhist studies and become ministers of the BCC." The FAMAC brochure describes the need for Canadian-born priests as follows:

> Since the end of World War II our churches have experienced a shortage not only of ministers generally, but of ministers able to communicate effectively with congregations which were comprised in increasing numbers of English-speaking members. Meanwhile, fewer and fewer ministers in Japan were available to come to Canada (1979:1).

To encourage Canadian Buddhists to train for the priesthood, the FAMAC program will award five consecutive annual grants

of up to $10,000 for a student to complete an M.A. at the Institute for Buddhist Studies in Berkeley, California, and to study at Chuo-Bukkyo-Gakuin (Central Buddhist Institute) in Kyoto, Japan, for another two and one-half years. The only obligation a recipient of these awards has is to serve a three year term within the BCC upon the successful completion of his studies.

One year after FAMAC was established, the Chairman of the BCC optimistically reported that "this program will undoubtedly have very far-reaching effects on the Jodo Shinshu missions in all of Canada for many years."[4] This same chairman encouraged parents to persuade their children to become ministers. It has been five years since this program was initiated and, as yet, there have been no Canadian-born Japanese applying for this generous funding to train for the priesthood. My interviews with both Nisei lay leaders and Issei priests in the BCC indicate that most parents, rather than persuading their children to enter the priesthood, discourage them from pursuing a religious vocation. Because priests in the BCC have few benefits and are poorly paid, Nisei parents have little if any motivation to push their children into Buddhist studies. As one Nisei lay leader emphasized, "to become a Buddhist priest would mean a loss of financial status for most Sansei" (Interview, 13 May 1984). Another Nisei board member compared the leadership dilemma in the BCC

to a "vicious circle," explaining that:

> We need Canadian-born English-speaking ministers to attract new members to our churches. But some of our churches have so few members that they can't afford to pay ministers enough to attract any Sansei to the Buddhist priesthood. What Sansei will be interested in sacrificing a good-paying professional job for a poor-paying job as a Buddhist priest (Interview, 12 June 1983)?

The lack of Sansei response and these realistic observations by Nisei "insiders" suggests that the FAMAC program is not likely to alleviate the leadership problem in the BCC.

Another effort within the BCC aimed at solving the leadership problem has been led by the Buddhist priest in Calgary, Alberta, Rev. Kyojo Ikuta. In the early 1970s, Ikuta's assignment was to establish a Buddhist church in Calgary. With only 40 families in the congregation it was difficult to raise the money needed to purchase a church building. Led by Ikuta, the congregation decided to enter the restaurant business. To raise the capital necessary for this enterprise, shares were sold to churches and individuals in the BCC across Canada. While there were many against the priest getting out of the "religion" business and into "secular" activities, the Omi Steak House, a Japanese restaurant in Calgary, was successfully established. Calgary Buddhist Church holds 20 percent interest in this business to help it meet its financial obligations.

Out of this initial business venture, Ikuta envisioned the potential for supporting the entire BCC. He recognized that one of the major reasons for the failure of the BCC to retain priests for long terms of service was inadequate remuneration; furthermore, he realized that Canadian-born priests would never be recruited as long as priests remained poorly paid and without financial security. Ikuta decided to expand the business, with the ultimate goal of making the BCC more financially secure. Visiting churches across Canada, Ikuta raised the capital needed to establish Omi Equities, Ltd., and gave 20 percent interest to the BCC. Over the past few years this company has been expanding and presently manages the food outlets in the Gulf Square Building in downtown Calgary, the fast-food outlets in several shopping malls, and the food and liquor outlets in the Edmonton International Airport. According to my informants, the BCC has not yet benefited from its interest in this company. Apparently, the profits have been reinvested for the expansion of the business. It does not appear, therefore, that this business enterprise will significantly alter the BCC leadership difficulties in the foreseeable future.[5]

While the FAMAC program and Omi, Ltd. are two attempts to solve the BCC leadership problems on a long-term basis, the recently organized "Lay Speakers Training Program" is a more realistic effort by the BCC to cope with the

immediate shortage of ministers. Since there are only 11 priests serving 18 churches across Canada, it is clear that a number of congregations are without a priest for many of their religious services. The training program was not designed to replace the need for priests, but to prepare lay leaders to assist in liturgical proceedings and lead members in religious services if an ordained priest is unavailable for any reason.

After being discussed in BCC meetings for a number of years, this program was finally started in May 1983, and its first three-day training seminar was held in Calgary. The BCC budgeted $8,000 for this program and had 5 priests lead the seminars for the 17 lay leaders who attended from the various churches. BCC certification as a "Lay Speaker" requires seminars and study in the following areas:

(1) Meditation
(2) Sutra Chanting
(3) Buddhist Etiquette
(4) Ritual (Service Procedure)
(5) Fundamental Buddhist History and Doctrine
(6) Basic Pali and Sanskrit Terms
(7) Basic Japanese Terms (Shinshu)
(8) Buddhist Days of Commemoration and Memorials
(9) Jodo Shinshu History and Teaching

Even though all of these topics cannot be covered in depth, the study program does provide lay leaders with a foundation and knowledge of the Buddhist traditions that far surpasses that of the average member. This program should benefit the participating churches; nevertheless, it is not a

satisfactory alternative or substitute for a trained professional priesthood. Since the BCC is a church-type organization, members expect their important religious rituals to be conducted by ordained priests with "legitimacy" bestowed by the Mother Temple.

This discussion of leadership difficulties in the BCC suggests that the situation in most churches is not likely to improve in the near future. The continual vacancies created by the return of Issei priests to Japan and the few (if any) Canadian-born priests available for recruitment will leave the BCC still dependent upon the Mother Temple in Japan. Dependence upon new priests from Japan, one Nisei explained, means "that congregations will continue to face the discouraging task of starting from scratch again."

Turning to the leadership problems in the JUCC, it is apparent that this native-oriented organization is in a similar predicament. As the membership base in most of these churches has become increasingly English-speaking, the JUCC has become more dependent upon Issei ministers. Like the BCC, the JUCC has had Canadian-born ministers who have left the Conference after short terms. According to my informants, two Nisei serving in the JUCC some years ago were both too assimilated to remain in ethnic churches; both had married Caucasians and were not strong in the Japanese language. Also, they were

not convinced that separate Japanese churches were needed for the Canadian-born generations. In other words, they were in sympathy with the post-war integration policy of the United Church. Both are now serving in Anglo-congregations within the United Church of Canada.

Currently, there are 6 Issei and 2 Nisei ministers serving in the JUCC. During the past two years, several ministerial changes have created new vacancies that must be filled: one Nisei minister, after approximately twenty years of service, moved to the United States to serve a Japanese Methodist Church; a Caucasian bilingual minister retired; and an Issei minister returned to Japan as a missionary.

As in the BCC, the problem of leadership is one of finding ministers who can provide services in Japanese for the remaining Issei members, and in English for the second and third generation members. At the present time, the choice is between recruiting Issei ministers from Japan who are strong in Japanese and weak in English, or recruiting Nisei or Caucasian ministers who are strong in English but have little or no Japanese. Since the churches within the JUCC were initially organized to meet the language needs of the immigrants, it is unlikely that the Conference will abandon the Issei members during their later years and recruit only English-speaking ministers. Issei ministers will probably end up filling these vacancies

and provide Japanese services for the older members, and struggle with English services for the other members.

Chapter Five indicated that on the average, Issei ministers in the JUCC have served slightly longer terms than their counterparts in the BCC. This pattern will probably continue in the future. While JUCC ministers do face similar difficulties and frustrations in serving different generations (with the exception of the JUCC churches in Toronto and Vancouver where separate Japanese-speaking and English-speaking congregations have their own ministers), there tends to be less pressure upon them to return to Japan. As a part of the United Church of Canada, JUCC ministers have more financial security since they are included in the retirement program of this established indigenous church. Japanese Christian ministers also do not have obligations to return to Japan to assume the responsibility of a family temple. One Issei minister informed me that it is difficult to locate employment opportunities in churches back in Japan after several years in Canada. For these reasons, it seems probable that the JUCC will not have to cope with as many short Issei ministerial terms as the BCC.

Within another two or three decades, most minority churches will no longer have a Japanese-speaking membership. As far as the problem of religious leadership is concerned, the JUCC will be in a better position than the BCC. Since

most congregations will only need an English-speaking minister, the JUCC can recruit either Nisei or Caucasian ministers trained in Canada. Unlike the foreign-oriented BCC, it will not be dependent upon Issei or Canadian-born priests trained in Japan. This point will be significant as the future of these two minority church organizations is considered below.

Problem of the Third Generation

Another significant problem reported by many churches within both these organizations is the declining interest and participation on the part of the third generation. Should this observed trend be a cause for concern? Sociological studies of the relationship between age and church involvement indicate that participation varies with the life-cycle stages. The typical Protestant pattern usually involves declining participation in late adolescence and early adulthood (between the ages of 18 and 30), and an increase in church involvement after families are formed and there are Sunday school age children.[6] Since many Sansei are currently within this age category of naturally low levels of church participation, should it not be expected that Sansei involvement will again increase as they complete their education, become settled in their careers, marry and have children? The unique problems of ethnic churches complicates the situation in the case of Japanese Canadians. The widespread pessimism of religious leaders regarding

the future involvement of Sansei is supported by several factors.

As indicated earlier, most churches in the BCC and JUCC will be dominated by Issei priests and ministers for some time. Lay leaders across Canada have repeatedly pointed out that religious leaders from Japan are unable to effectively communicate with Sansei and attract them to deeper involvement in church life. Evidently, the provision of bilingual services is not an adequate response to the language problem. Since many Japanese churches are quite small, separate services for Japanese-speaking members and English-speaking members are not held. Rather, one bilingual service is conducted which satisfies neither the Issei members nor the acculturated generations. Many members complain that combining the languages into one service makes it too long and boring. Sansei quickly lose interest in services containing substantial portions of Japanese. Japanese churches are in a difficult period of transition and this problem will not be easily resolved in the near future. Churches need a strong English orientation to attract the Sansei, but the language shift cannot be made until the Issei disappear from the scene and English-speaking ministers can be recruited.

In addition to the language factor, the decline in Sansei participation in some churches is due to geographical mobility. The achievement orientation (DeVos, 1973:23)

and stress upon education within the Japanese community has contributed to this problem. According to the response of Nisei leaders to the organizational questionnaire, most Sansei attend college, trade, or technical schools upon graduation from high school. Higher education has led many Sansei away from rural communities to assume professional positions in urban centres. Those Japanese churches located in Southern Alberta and Okanagan, British Columbia, appear to be suffering the greatest loss of upwardly mobile Sansei. The Japanese churches in Montreal are also losing Sansei members because of geographical mobility. Ministers from both the Buddhist and United Churches report that they are losing the younger generation because they are leaving Quebec to find jobs in areas where there is not such strong government pressure to speak French. These churches have even lost some Nisei members for the same reason. While there is some possibility that the churches in urban centres such as Vancouver, Calgary, and Toronto could benefit from this mobility, it is certain that taken together Japanese minority churches will be negatively affected by this development.

The third generation is also problematic for minority churches because of unusually high rates of intermarriage. As indicated in the previous chapter, intermarriage rates for Sansei in both the BCC and JUCC are over 70 percent. What are the possible consequences of such a high number

of exogamous marriages for minority churches? If some of these couples are integrated into the Japanese churches, the most obvious result will be a diminishing of ethnic distinctiveness or separateness. Along with the non-ethnic spouse, the children of mixed-marriages enrolled in the Sunday school programs will not have the same characteristics of this "visible minority." Participant observation in a number of churches across Canada revealed that there are already a few Yonsei (fourth generation) of mixed-marriages enrolled in these programs.

It seems more probable, however, that exogamous marriages will tend to discourage affiliation and active participation in an ethnic church. This conjecture is supported by a recent study of Sansei behavior and attitudes in the United States. In Japanese Americans: Changing Patterns of Ethnic Affiliation Over Three Generations, Montero discovered that exogamous Sansei "consistently reveal evidence of movement away from things Japanese" (1980:72). Some of his observations comparing the behavior of endogamous and exogomous Sansei are significant and worth noting here:

> Exogamous Sansei are less likely to retain their traditional religion, Buddhism. Only about one in ten of the exogamous Sansei are Buddhists, as against over four in ten of their endogamous peers.
>
> Over twice as many exogamous as endogamous Sansei report having no religious affiliation (26 percent and 10 percent, respectively).

> Exogamous Sansei are less likely to belong to any Japanese American organizations. If they do belong to one, it is not likely to be that organization to which they devote most of their leisure time.
>
> The exogamous are least likely to want their children to socialize solely with other Japanese Americans. Rather, they want their children to take an active part in the activities of Caucasians (1980:72-73).

In a number of different areas, then, Montero's study indicated that movement away from the ethnic community "is particularly accelerated among the exogamous Sansei" (1980:75). If this pattern occurs among exogamous Sansei in Canada, many minority churches may face a membership shortage and be financially unable to maintain a church building and support a resident minister.

Summary

Since minority churches are special-purpose organizations established to meet the needs of a particular ethnic group, they are dependent upon ethnic identification and loyalty for their continued existence. Consequently, the assimilation process transforming the ethnic group over the course of several generations inevitably generates problems which minority churches must solve in order to grow and survive. Generational change is at the root of the organizational problems confronting minority churches. "What will give one generation a sense of unifying tradition," Yinger correctly notes, "may alienate parts of another

generation who have been subjected to different social and cultural influences" (1970:112).

The preceding discussion has shown that Japanese minority churches have not been effective organizations for ethnic persistence. Common problems in most minority churches stem from the rapid cultural assimilation of Japanese in Canada. Minority churches in their initial stage of development were naturally oriented to the first generation and dominated by the language of the old country. The cultural assimilation of Canadian-born Japanese and the inevitable language shift placed additional needs and demands upon minority churches. Both the BCC and JUCC have experienced considerable difficulty in recruiting the appropriate religious leaders to provide the services required by the acculturated generations. "Organizational rigidity" (Starbuck, 1965:471), rather than openness to change, has been a problem in some Japanese churches. In most cases, however, the "dominant coalition" (Eldridge and Crombie, 1974:83) in both BCC and JUCC congregations have recognized their need to make changes; nevertheless, financial problems and the difficulty of securing bilingual ministers has frequently made organizational adaptations impossible. Failure to adapt means an end to effective recruiting and a gradual decline in membership as the aging first generation begin to disappear from the scene.

The consequences of structural assimilation are

also beginning to be felt within Japanese minority churches. Clearly, the mere existence of minority churches is an indication that structural assimilation is far from complete. Still, the acculturation of Canadian-born Japanese and the reduction of barriers to full participation in non-ethnic institutions (i.e., racism and discrimination) are generating new problems for minority churches during this phase of their development. Structural assimilation has led to high rates of intermarriage among Sansei in both the BCC and JUCC. Socialization and education in the institutions of the host society has encouraged social mobility, especially for the third generation Japanese Canadian. Since upward mobility frequently requires geographical mobility, the solidarity of the ethnic community and the membership base of Japanese churches is gradually being eroded (Spiro, 1955; Montero, 1981). The pull of structural assimilation and the resulting outward movement of Sansei makes membership leakage a critical problem for minority churches as they face the future.

The Future of Japanese Minority Churches

On the basis of the foregoing observations, the remainder of this chapter will attempt to sketch the likely future of Japanese minority churches in Canada. I will argue that in most cases these ethnic churches are "transitional organizations" which will fold or lose their

exclusively Japanese character within the next generation.

In considering this issue it is important to review the social conditions under which most of these minority churches were organized shortly after the Second World War. First, the strong leadership of the Issei with their cultural and language differences provided the motivation and resources necessary for most of these churches to be established. Since Japanese language services were not offered in the existing institutions, it was only natural that they would organize their own. Second, discrimination on the part of the host society and exclusion from Caucasian churches made minority churches appear to be a desirable alternative for many of the first and second generations.

Over the past thirty-five years, both of these social conditions have been altered considerably. Nisbet (1953:61) has suggested that "no social group will long survive the disappearance of its chief reasons for being." I maintain that in the case of Japanese churches in Canada, their "chief reasons for being" are rapidly disappearing. The original immigrants will all be deceased within a few years. Many have already passed away and most have moved out of their positions of leadership in these churches. Since Nisei are generally more competent in English, and Sansei are almost without exception limited to English, soon there will no longer be a need for Japanese language services. The hostile political climate and government

restrictions once faced by Japanese have also been largely eliminated. Most Sansei were born after the Second World War and were never exposed to a tightly knit ethnic community, nor subjected to the racial discrimination to the degree that their parents were. For the third generation, therefore, ethnic identity has generally not been reinforced by outside hostility, and dependence upon minority churches is declining accordingly. Since the religious and social needs of Sansei can be met equally well within the institutions of the host society, the appeal of minority churches is gradually diminishing.[7] In terms of assimilation, the dynamics of minority church development can be summed-up as follows: As cultural assimilation occurs, the internal reasons for minority church existence are eliminated. When exclusionary practices of the dominant group decline and structural assimilation advances, the external pressure encouraging minority church persistence is also eliminated.

Organizational Dissolution vs. Succession of Goals

What is the future of Japanese minority churches as assimilation reaches an advanced stage? From an organizational perspective, our question is: What happens to a minority church when its "environment changes in such a way to make its goals irrelevant or unobtainable" (Sills, 1968:372)? As this study has shown, the ostensible purpose of minority churches when they are initially organized

is to meet the unique religious and social needs of a particular ethnic group. In the case of Japanese churches, this goal or purpose is becoming increasingly irrelevant. The acculturated Canadian-born generations by and large do not have the unique language and social needs which motivated the Issei to establish these churches. The changing character of the potential membership base and the decline in prejudice and discrimination by the host society has transformed the environment in which Japanese minority churches operate.

Over the past century, the social conditions which encourage minority church persistence have been largely removed. In light of these major changes, if minority churches continue to base their relevance upon "ethnic enclosure and support" (Kayal, 1973:424), their future is likely to be one of eventual disappearance as structural assimilation continues to take its toll. An alternative to organizational dissolution can be provided by a reorientation and "succession of goals" (Sills, 1957:257). In other words, minority churches have a "choice between going out of business or developing a new goal" (Hall, 1972:92). If minority churches de-ethnicize their religious tradition and broaden their base of relevance, organizational survival is a possibility. In order to recruit non-ethnics (and assimilated Sansei), minority churches must broaden their original goal to include these "outsiders" and create

an environment which would be equally attractive to them.

It is apparent that "goal succession" is generally not occurring in either the BCC or JUCC.[8] Many Japanese churches have, nevertheless, made adaptations to meet the language needs of their own acculturated generations. These accommodations have already begun to transform the internal character and environment of Japanese churches in a manner necessary for the eventual redefinition of their goals. At least some Japanese churches, therefore, have been "de-ethnicized" gradually over the course of their evolution in Canada. It may be that in some cases, minority churches will not consciously modify their original goals or purpose. Rather, as accommodations are made to English-speaking members and Sansei mixed-marriages are incorporated within these churches, congregations may slowly make the transition from an "ethnic" to an "inter-ethnic" or "multi-ethnic" organization.

The scenario of "organizational dissolution" or "amalgamation" could be altered by changes in the two social conditions mentioned above. First, the arrival of a significant number of new Japanese immigrants could provide a new pool of potential recruits for ethnic religious services. Second, a new wave of racial discrimination and exclusion from non-ethnic institutions could push some acculturated Japanese back into ethnic churches. Current conditions give no indication that either of these

changes will occur in the foreseeable future. Since only 10,332 Japanese immigrants arrived in Canada between 1946 and 1976 (Ueda, 1978:21), new recruits from among the post-war immigrants will probably have little impact on the Japanese churches apart from the centres of the Japanese population in Toronto and Vancouver. Several informants have emphasized that few post-war immigrants are interested in belonging to a Japanese organization. Those new immigrants joining the Japanese churches find that they do not fit in comfortably with the older Issei members whose language and attitudes were shaped by the culture of Meiji Japan. Neither do they identify with the Nisei members, whose character and personality were shaped by the old Meiji culture of their parents, and the childhood experience of rejection by hakujin (Caucasian) society. In essence, the new Japanese immigrants constitute a separate generational unit.[9] The lack of interest among new immigrants in affiliating with Japanese religious organizations is indicated in Table VI-1.[10]

Since many of the post-war immigrants are gijutsu-imin, or "technical immigrants," they are most likely to settle in the urban centres where their technical and professional skills are in demand. Most Japanese minority churches located outside of these centres, therefore, cannot count upon new Japanese immigrants to replenish their shrinking membership base. Even the Japanese churches

Table VI-1

New Immigrant Membership in the
BCC and JUCC, 1983

BCC CHURCHES	NEW IMMIGRANTS	(TOTAL MEMBERSHIP)	JUCC CHURCHES	NEW IMMIGRANTS	(TOTAL MEMBERSHIP)
Steveston	6	(452)	Hamilton	5	(209)
Manitoba	10	(190)	Toronto Issei	45	(283)
Lethbridge Honpa	10	(225)	Toronto Nisei	1	(349)
Kelowna	2	(103)	Fraser Valley	16	(58)
Montreal	4	(90)	Vancouver Issei	20	(130)
Calgary	15	(150)	Vancouver Nisei	5	(45)
Toronto	75	(800)	Southern Alberta	3	(65)
Coaldale	4	(36)	Okanagan	0	(78)
Hamilton	3	(66)	Montreal	10	(122)
Fraser Valley	6	(50)	Manitoba	0	(110)
Kamloops	20	(163)	Steveston	0	(116)
Taber	14	(45)			
Rosemary	9	(22)			
Raymond	56	(100)			
	(N=14)			(N=11)	
TOTALS	234	(2,492)		105	(1,565)

SOURCE: Organizational Questionnaire.

in Montreal, currently experiencing membership leakage due to the geographical mobility of Nisei and Sansei, are not likely to benefit in the future by Japanese immigration to Canada. The resident priest of Montreal Buddhist Church informed me that there have been no new immigrants in Quebec since 1970 because the government requires that they speak French. It seems probable that both the BCC and JUCC will be able to maintain Japanese-speaking congregations in Toronto and Vancouver indefinitely. The Japanese-speaking component of their congregations will, however, be shrinking as the original Issei pass away. Many of the post-war immigrants "are university graduates and able to converse in English" (Ueda, 1978:34). So unlike the original Issei, they are less dependent upon Japanese-speaking organizations.[11] Only a small percentage of these new immigrants can be expected to affiliate themselves with the existing minority churches.

Outside of Toronto and Vancouver, therefore, the future for most minority churches is either "fold" or "amalgamate." The assimilation of the Sansei through acculturation and intermarriage and the lack of potential recruits from among the post-war immigrant population suggest that there is no other option. Of course, there is a natural resistance to either one of these alternatives. After years of investment of time, finances, and emotions, church leaders and dedicated members will find it difficult

to face the fact that it is necessary to close a church due to membership loss and financial problems. On the other hand, it is also difficult for an ethnic church to change its vision and goals and attempt to incorporate non-ethnics.

In terms of Millett's sub-typology, I would suggest that the native-oriented JUCC will on the whole be better able to make the difficult transition from an ethnic church to a multi-ethnic congregation. As the Japanese-speaking Issei disappear from the scene, these churches can recruit Caucasian ministers to serve the acculturated generations and will be more naturally prepared to incorporate other non-ethnics who are interested in joining an indigenous Canadian church. The foreign-oriented BCC, on the other hand, represents a religion somewhat alien to Canada. For reasons already noted, it will have difficulty in making organizational adaptations as well as attracting non-ethnics to the Buddhist tradition. Obviously, the life-cycle of Buddhist Churches in areas with a larger Japanese population will be considerably longer. The Toronto Buddhist Church, for example, with 800 members, can shrink for many years before disbandment would be necessary. This might give it the extra time it needs to make the adaptations required for long-term survival. If de-ethnicization occurs, it may eventually be able to attract a number of other acculturated Asian minorities with a Buddhist background as

well as the few Caucasians looking for religious alternatives.

Thus far I have argued that assimilation is the dominant force shaping the future of Japanese churches in Canada. It would be misleading, however, to leave the impression that the inexorable forces of assimilation will totally determine their life-cycle. It has recently been emphasized within the sociology of religion that religious organizations need to be analyzed from an open-system or contingency perspective. This approach, according to Scherer (1980:10), views organizations as a "negotiated order" and stresses the "importance of human actors as decision makers and creators of policy." Throughout this study I have recognized this important component of organizations, stressing that the attitudes and orientations of members and lay leaders circumscribe the degree of minority church accommodation and adaptation. This is equally true as these ethnic organizations respond to the more advanced stage of assimilation. The future of the BCC and JUCC depends partly upon the attitudes and decisions of current members and lay leaders. Those shaping the policy of each Japanese church must answer a critical question: Are the religious goals, activities, and values of this organization worth perpetuating even if it requires the loss or abandonment of its original goal and ethnic identity? The decisions these churches make, along with

the availability of the religious professionals needed to serve a "de-ethnicized" organization, will together determine the next stage of their life-cycle. This point deserves additional elaboration and illustration.

It is well-known that within the BCC there is a conflict between those who want to preserve the "Japanese" character of Buddhism and those whose primary concern is that Buddhism survive and grow in Canada. The Issei and many of the older Nisei hold tenaciously to their Japanese traditions. There is a minority who maintain that Japanese culture and traditions are not essential to Buddhism and must be shed in order for the churches to survive in Canada. The only congregation in the BCC reflecting this viewpoint in a significant way is the Calgary Buddhist Church. This church is consciously making an effort to eliminate some of its Japanese peculiarities and attract other ethnic groups. Its ability to do so is related to two factors. First, the Calgary Buddhist Church was established in the early 1970s to meet the needs of the upwardly mobile Nisei and Sansei moving to this urban centre. There were very few Issei among the original members, so the congregation was primarily English in orientation from its inception. Second, the first resident priest serving this congregation, though now only on a part-time basis, was raised in Canada and educated at the University of Toronto before returning to Japan

for Buddhist studies. Though bilingual, he is clearly Canadian in orientation, and firmly maintains that the survival of Buddhism in Canada depends upon its ability to de-ethnicize and attract those outside of the Japanese community. The Calgary Buddhist Church has taken several significant steps to achieve this goal. All of their services are conducted in English and the "death-oriented" Japanese memorial services, a regular part of all the other congregations within the BCC, have been discontinued (with the exception of a few Japanese memorial services conducted privately in the homes of several older Japanese in the community). Although the membership is still primarily Japanese Canadian, the more inclusive character of this congregation has encouraged others to attend. In addition to the non-Japanese spouses of Sansei, there are several members representing other ethnic groups (for example, Chinese and Thai). Issei and older Nisei are not the "dominant coalition" within the leadership structure of this church so there is little resistance to these changes. In fact, the church board is composed of 4 Nisei, 4 Sansei, and 2 Caucasians. The resident priest informed me of another incident which illustrates this congregation's attempt to shed its Japanese identity and become a multi-ethnic congregation. When asked to participate in a picnic sponsored by the JCCA (Japanese Canadian Citizens Association), the church board officially declined. It in

no way discouraged Japanese from participating on their own, but the church board did dissociate itself from a community activity that was recognized as exclusively Japanese. These changes in the Calgary Buddhist Church clearly illustrate the "importance of human actors as decision makers and creators of policy" (Scherer, 1980:10).[12] It must be remembered, however, that the church in Calgary is unique. Most Buddhist churches contain members who would resist such radical adaptations. Even if they desired to follow the course of development being pursued by the Calgary congregation, the lack of suitable priests will make it next to impossible for many of these churches.[13] Unwilling and unable to make these major changes, the ultimate fate of many congregations within the BCC is undoubtedly organizational dissolution.

A Concluding Prognosis

In the foregoing discussion I have examined the generational changes occurring within the BCC and JUCC. Some of the key organizational dilemmas facing minority churches as a result of assimilation have also been analyzed. The findings of this study suggest that minority churches are prime examples of what Demerath and Thiessen (1970:241) call "precarious" organizations:

> The term "precarious" is appropriate for any organization that confronts the prospect

> of its own demise. The confrontation need be neither intentional or acknowledged. The only important criterion is a threatened disruption of the organization such that the achievement of its goals and the maintenance of its values are so obstructed as *to bring on loss of identity through deathly quiescence, merger, or actual disbandment.* (Italics mine.)

Without replenishment by post-war immigrants, this "loss of identity" (Ethnic) is almost certainly the future of Japanese minority churches in Canada. In concluding this chapter, I will enter somewhat hazardous territory and offer a more specific prognosis regarding the future of these two minority church organizations.

As far as the BCC is concerned, it seems probable that its 18 congregations will be reduced by half within a generation. Currently, there are 8 churches with memberships well under 100 (Fraser Valley, Vernon, Rosemary, Taber, Coaldale, Picture Butte, Hamilton, and Montreal). Given the high rates of intermarriage and mobility among the Sansei, these small struggling congregations will be unable to survive long enough to make the transition from an ethnic to a multi-ethnic church. As it is, these small churches are financially unable to maintain a full-time resident minister. Without professional leadership these congregations will be unable to make adaptations and attract the new members needed for survival. The future of these 8 churches will probably conform rather closely to the scenario suggested by a lay leader of the

Hamilton Buddhist Church: "As the remaining first generation pass away and the core group of the second generation enter retirement, the church will likely fold and give its property to the BCC."

The two large churches in Vancouver and Toronto will maintain small Japanese-speaking congregations indefinitely since they can recruit at least a few of the new immigrants. But when the original Issei are all deceased within a few years, even these two largest churches will be dominantly English-speaking. With high intermarriage rates among Sansei in these urban centres, long-term survival will necessarily involve continued de-ethnicization. As indicated above, the Calgary Buddhist Church has already begun to make the adaptations necessary for survival as a multi-ethnic congregation. The future of the other 7 Buddhist churches, with memberships of between 100-450, is not readily apparent. It depends upon the attitudes of members toward "goal succession," the availability of English-speaking priests, and the ability to make the necessary adaptations. What is certain is that without new immigrants all the BCC churches face a loss of their identity either through de-ethnicization or eventual disbandment.

The organizational future of the 11 congregations in the JUCC will differ somewhat. While small Japanese-speaking congregations will probably continue for the

new immigrants in Toronto and Vancouver, the rest of these congregations will be entirely English-speaking in only a few years. When the Japanese-speaking Issei disappear, these congregations can recruit ministers from the United Church who can provide English services and facilitate the transition from an ethnic church to a multi-ethnic congregation. Another option exists for the smaller JUCC congregations since they are a part of an indigenous Canadian church. If they are unable to maintain a large enough membership to keep their churches operating separately, they can merge or amalgamate with other United Church congregations struggling for survival in a nearby location. The Steveston United Church, which formed through an amalgamation of small Caucasian and Japanese congregations in the 1950s, offers precedent for this kind of development. Although applauded as the first and only combined Oriental-Occidental congregation within the denomination,[14] Japanese leaders do not consider the Steveston United Church an ideal model for the future. According to one Japanese minister: "The Steveston Church is a poor experiment embarked upon out of economic necessity. It is integrated, but it is not working well because the Japanese are not coming" (Interview, 2 July 1982). When the two churches amalgamated, Japanese composed 47 percent of the membership. Currently, Japanese represent only 26 percent of the congregation, and on an average Sunday they represent less than

10 percent of those attending the regular service. As far as the Japanese are concerned, therefore, mergers do not represent a very desirable option as they look to the future.

Nevertheless, apart from the continuation of small Japanese-speaking congregations for post-war immigrants in Toronto and Vancouver,[15] all of the other English-speaking Nisei congregations (in Toronto and Vancouver) and bilingual congregations (in Montreal, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Lethbridge, Okanagan, and Fraser Valley) will be well on the road to becoming multi-ethnic congregations, merging with similarly declining Anglo churches or nearing the point of organizational dissolution within the next three decades.[16]

The history of Japanese minority churches indicates that adaptation strategies which insure success for the short term are in fact maladaptations when related to the original goals of the organization (Eldridge and Crombie, 1974:85). "Decisions made for the purpose of solving immediate problems," Sills (1969:177) points out, "often determine the ultimate character of an organization." In this case, ethnic churches are "de-ethnicized" as leaders decide to adapt to the needs of successive generations. When assimilation reaches a more advanced stage and the original goals of minority churches must be displaced in order to survive, the life-cycle of these ethnic organizations is nearly complete.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

[1]Actually, the situation in some churches is even more complicated. Some churches contain post-war immigrants whose outlook and values are significantly different from the original Issei members. There are also a few Yonsei (fourth generation) beginning to make their appearance in the Sunday school program.

[2]I am including in the Nisei category one Japanese-born priest who was raised and educated in Canada and whose English language ability is equivalent to that of a Canadian-born Nisei.

[3]This discussion of factors related to the leadership problems in the BCC is based upon interviews with members of the National Board of Directors, with board members from various churches, and with priests serving in churches across Canada.

[4]Chairman's Report, National Board of Directors, Buddhist Churches of Canada, 28 March 1980, p. 6.

[5]An interview with Rev. Kyojo Ikuta (10 June 1983) in Calgary provided most of the information for this discussion.

[6]See, for example, the summary of studies on the relationship between age and church participation by Dean R. Hoge and David A. Roozen, "Research on Factors Influencing Church Commitment," in Dean R. Hoge and David A. Roozen, eds., Understanding Church Growth and Decline, 1950-1978 (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1979): 45-46.

[7]The resident priest of Lethbridge Buddhist Church explained to me that "Issei need the church for security in the unfamiliar Canadian environment. The Sansei are familiar with the Canadian environment and do not experience discrimination, so they have less need for an ethnic church" (Interview, 7 June 1983).

[8]I will note two exceptions to this observation below: the Steveston United Church, an amalgamated congregation, and the Calgary Buddhist Church.

[9]A similar observation regarding the relationship between the new immigrants and the original Issei and

Nisei has been made by Ujimoto (1980:141): "the language spoken by the Issei reflected the vocabulary of a past era. The vocabulary of the Nisei and Sansei was a mixture of English and Japanese. The post-war immigrants spoke the 'modern' Japanese and they looked down upon the 'illiterate' Japanese Canadians."

[10]Ueda's (1978:64) study of post-war Japanese immigrants in metropolitan Toronto notes that membership in any religious organization is quite low among the new immigrants--less than 20 percent. Of those who are members of religious organizations, 70 percent are affiliated with Japanese-speaking churches.

[11]Discussing immigrants arriving after 1966, Ujimoto (1980:137) explains that: "unlike their predecessors, the gijutsu imin consisted of both professional and technical people: they were highly educated, had several years of experience in their own occupations, and were able to converse in English. The gijutsu imin therefore did not have to rely upon the social organizations of the Japanese-speaking community and tended to establish a network of social affiliations in the host Canadian society."

[12]Information for this illustration is based upon discussions with Rev. Kyojo Ikuto (Interview, 10 June 1983) and the organizational questionnaire returned by the Calgary Buddhist Church.

[13]This is not to suggest that the JUCC congregations do not contain similar attitudes of resistance toward abandoning their Japanese identity. Some years ago, a bilingual minister in one of the JUCC congregations began recruiting Caucasians from the community since Nisei and Sansei were not attending. The Issei members made it very clear to this minister that they had established their church to be passed on to their children, not to hakujin (Caucasians). Although Canadian-born Japanese were obviously showing little interest in maintaining the Japanese church, the Issei were quite unhappy with this strategy for survival.

[14]See the article by Rhoda Playfair Stein, "East Meets West," in the United Church Observer (May, 1979): 24-25.

[15]It is interesting to note that only about 45 of the 283 members of the Toronto Issei United Church are post-war immigrants. The membership of this Issei church will decrease rapidly during the next few years.

Ninety members are already over 80 years old and another one-third of the congregation is between 65 and 80 years old.

[16]The Japanese church in Lethbridge almost folded about a decade ago, but was temporarily renewed by the assignment of an active Nisei minister who was bilingual. Since his recent resignation and the filling of the vacancy by another Issei minister, the future of this church looks especially precarious. The Japanese United Church in Winnipeg will probably dissolve with the disappearance of its Issei members. It already uses the facilities of Knox United Church and operates a Sunday school in cooperation with this Anglo congregation. It seems likely, therefore, that the remaining English-speaking Nisei and Sansei will simply become members of Knox United Church or join other Anglo churches. The Japanese churches in Kelowna and Fraser Valley appear to be in equally precarious situations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

The general concern of this study has been to clarify the relationship between religion and ethnicity. To gain a more adequate understanding of this issue I have focused attention upon the JUCC and BCC by analyzing their role in the Japanese Canadian community. In this concluding chapter I will briefly review the central findings of this study and reconsider the value of Millett's subtypology as a tool for comparative sociological research. The implications of the foregoing analysis for our understanding of contemporary Canadian society will also be suggested.

Summary of Findings

The data presented in this dissertation has clearly shown that when viewed historically minority churches are most accurately understood as adapting organizations. Neither minority church organization has been an effective "base-institution" (Shimpo, 1981:20) for the maintenance of the Japanese subculture. The evidence collected in this study indicates that the assimilation process leads minority churches through a life-cycle of several stages. The ideal-typical pattern of minority church evolution

derived from this study is summarized in Figure VII-1.[1]

Minority churches are initially established to meet the needs of the immigrant generation. During this first stage, the services and activities are naturally dominated by the language and clergy from the old country. The emergence of a native-born generation leads minority churches into the second stage. In order to effectively recruit the acculturated generation, bilingual clergy must be secured and English services introduced. Failure to adapt means an end to successful membership recruitment and certain decline as the first generation disappears from the scene. Structural assimilation generates new problems for minority churches and brings them to a third stage. Membership leakage through mobility and intermarriage makes organizational survival a critical concern. The disappearance of the original immigrant members means that minority churches are again in a monolingual stage, but at this point they are dominated by the language of the host society. Data on the Japanese churches has indicated that most are approaching the end of the second stage and are beginning to face the organizational problems generated by advanced assimilation. During this last stage, minority churches "must ultimately face the question of relevance which either can be based on 'ethnic enclosure and support' or 'a de-ethnicized religious tradition'" (Kayal, 1973:424). With high levels of assimilation,

Figure VII-1

Selected Organizational Aspects of
Minority Church Evolution

STAGES	CHARACTERISTICS OF MEMBERSHIP	ENVIRONMENTAL CHANGES	ADAPTATION REQUIRED	CONSEQUENCES FOR ORGANIZATION
First	Original immigrants Monolingual			
Second	Original immigrants and Native-born generation; Bilingual	Cultural Assimilation	Bilingual minister and introduction of English language services	Effective recruitment of acculturated generation
Third	Monolingual	Structural Assimilation; membership leakage through mobility and intermarriage; disappearance of immigrant generation	Goal succession and de-ethnicization	Transformed from ethnic to multi-ethnic organization

organizational relevance and survival require goal-succession (Sills, 1957:257) and a broadening of the membership base to include individuals outside of the original ethnic community. Without new immigrants to replenish the ethnic membership base, the probable end of the minority church life-cycle appears to be either organizational dissolution or transformation into a multi-ethnic church.

Significance of Sub-typology

In the process of conducting this case study of Japanese churches in Canada, I have explored the utility of Millett's sub-typology for illuminating the dynamics of ethnic religious organizations. Although this addition to the church-sect typology was initially proposed to explain why minority churches resist the pressure to become sects (see Chapter One), I elaborated the significance of this sub-typology for the study of ethnic persistence and organizational adaptation. The preceding chapters have sufficiently illustrated and confirmed the importance of Millett's distinction between "native-oriented" and "foreign-oriented" churches. The typology draws attention to important factors which cannot be neglected in the study of ethnic religious organizations. Although the hypotheses derived from this framework were only partially supported by the data collected in this study, I would suggest that the relevance of this typology for organiza-

tional analysis has been demonstrated.

On the issue of ethnic persistence, I expected to find that the foreign-oriented BCC had a greater concern to preserve the ethnic heritage than the JUCC. As shown in Chapter Five, this expectation was confirmed. During the post-war period, the BCC made greater efforts to establish Japanese language schools for the third generation than did the JUCC. In spite of this stronger ethnic orientation, the BCC has not been a more successful social institution for the maintenance of ethnicity. Within both minority church organizations only about 10 percent of the Sansei have competence in the Japanese language. Similarly, an examination of intermarriage rates in these churches revealed that the vast majority of Sansei are marrying outside of the ethnic community.

On the issue of organizational adaptation, I expected to find that the JUCC had been better able to adapt to the acculturated generations than the BCC. Although the JUCC had a larger percentage of English-speaking religious leaders throughout its history, I discovered that during the post-war period the BCC more rapidly introduced English services and Sunday schools than the JUCC. To account for this deviation from the expected pattern of development I argued that the initial post-war integration policy of the United Church Board of Home Missions delayed the organization of English-speaking congregations within

the JUCC. It was also pointed out that during the bilingual stage of development the JUCC has, like the BCC, been dependent upon clergy from Japan to continue services for the original immigrant members. Since these churches are committed to meeting the needs of the Japanese-speaking members, both organizations will have to rely upon Issei clergy for a few more years as there are insufficient numbers of bilingual Canadian-born leaders. In any case, the hypothesis regarding the advantageous position of the JUCC for organizational adaptation lacked confirmation in this study.

As Japanese minority churches enter the third stage of their life-cycle, nevertheless, the character of the sponsoring religious bodies will be an important factor shaping their future evolution. The BCC will remain dependent upon priests from Japan even after the Issei membership disappears. Priests from Japan will continue to have problems communicating with acculturated Japanese Canadians and will tend to discourage the transformation of Buddhist churches into multi-ethnic congregations. The JUCC, on the other hand, will no longer have to recruit clergy from Japan when the Japanese-speaking membership is gone. It can draw upon either Canadian-born Japanese or Caucasian United Church ministers to meet the needs of an English-speaking multi-ethnic congregation. The problem of religious leadership will remain with the BCC

since it is too small to establish an indigenous training institution and there are no candidates for the priesthood in Canada.

In attempting to apply Millett's sub-typology I have heeded Weber's (1949:94) warning against using ideal-types as "a procrustean bed into which history is forced." Even though the development of these two minority church organizations did not conform entirely to the hypothesized pattern, the typology still had an instructive role to play. Wilson (1982:105) reminds us that divergence from expected patterns points the sociologist to search for other factors which will explain those cases "that contradict our hypothesized common-sense assumptions." Ideal-types are not intended to be exact copies of empirical reality; rather, they are conceptual instruments useful for generating hypotheses and comparing concrete cases. Theoretical constructs, therefore, are not ends in themselves but the "means to the end of our understanding" (Weber, 1949:106). In so far as Millett's sub-typology has led to a better understanding of ethnic organizational dynamics it has served its purpose.

Religion and Ethnicity in Canada

In closing, it seems worthwhile to relate the findings of this dissertation in a general way to current ideas in Canadian ethnic studies. Hansen's (1952:495)

often referred to principal of third generation return (i.e., "what the son wished to forget the grandson wishes to remember") has been expanded upon in recent years. Isajiw (1975:136; 1978:35) argues that modern technological society produces social alienation and identity crises; one solution to this problem is the rediscovery of ethnicity and a return to the social solidarity of the ethnic group and subculture. This theory of ethnic rediscovery supports the widely held notion of Canada as an "ethnic mosaic" where ethnic groups and their subculture survive indefinitely.

While it may seem premature to reflect upon a macro issue on the basis of this limited case study, I would like to suggest that this image of Canada is a misnomer as far as the Japanese community is concerned. Progressive assimilation of each generation with minority churches, the strongest ethnic institutions in the post-war Japanese community, indicates that the proverbial "melting pot" more accurately represents what is happening to the Japanese in Canada.[2] I have seen no evidence of a pattern of ethnic rediscovery among third generation Japanese. The loss of ethnic language ability and the unusually high rates of intermarriage demonstrate that the preservation of ethnic ties and heritage is a low priority for the vast majority of Sansei. These findings support the view that "Anglo-conformity" is a dominant social reality of Canada (Dahlie and Fernado, 1981:1).

It is only natural to inquire whether these changes in Japanese churches are also occurring in the religious organizations of other ethnic minorities in Canada. This query can only be answered definitively through additional comparative research. Nevertheless, there is already some evidence to suggest that the Japanese experience of assimilation closely corresponds to that of other groups. Even though the speed of the assimilation process varies somewhat from group to group,[3] it appears that most ethnic churches go through a life-cycle similar to the one outlined above.

Several sociologists have observed the consequences of cultural assimilation for other ethnic churches in Canada. In a study of Dutch-Canadians in a rural community north of Toronto, Ishwaran (1977:177) observed that English had replaced Dutch as the primary language used for religious services. The Canadian Mennonite Brethren have also been unable to withstand cultural assimilation. In the 1960s, Hamm (1978:224-225) notes, "most local churches were shifting from a predominantly German service to a bilingual or from a bilingual to English." Similarly, Palmer's (1972: 239-245) study of ethnic groups in southern Alberta showed that accommodation to acculturated generations was the pattern in all of the immigrant churches.

Structural assimilation has also had an impact upon other ethnic churches. In his analysis of ethno-

religious groups in Saskatchewan, Anderson (1972:270-271) found that both Norwegian and Swedish Lutheran churches were in a general state of decline. Some churches were already closed and others had been forced to merge in order to survive. Anderson's study also reported that Ukranian Catholic parishes were declining, with some churches "virtually abandoned." The type of organizational transformation projected for the Japanese minority churches has already occurred in Polish Catholic parishes in western Canada. Radecki (1979:90) observed that between 1950 and 1959 "over 100 parishes and mission parishes of Polish character and with Polish clergy disappeared altogether or were transformed into multi-ethnic parishes serving the general population of the area."[4] Although additional evidence is certainly needed, these findings alone demonstrate that assimilation takes its toll upon the ethnic churches of other minorities in Canada.

Perhaps these observed trends of de-ethnicization will be reversed in the future. Some Canadian scholars have suggested that the relatively new emphasis upon multiculturalism has enhanced the survival possibilities of ethnic subcultures in Canada (See Anderson and Frideres, 191:107). It could be argued, on the other hand, that multiculturalism symbolizes an environment more favorable for the rapid assimilation of ethnic minorities.[5] A review of the objectives set forth in the government's policy

on multiculturalism over a decade ago (1971) will clarify this issue:

> 1. The Government of Canada will support all of Canada's cultures and will seek to assist, resources permitting, the development of those cultural groups which have demonstrated a desire and effort to continue to grow and contribute to Canada, as well as a clear need for assistance.
>
> 2. The Government will assist members of all cultural groups to *overcome cultural barriers* to full participation in Canadian society.
>
> 3. The Government will *promote creative encounters and interchange* among all Canadian cultural groups in the interest of national unity.
>
> 4. The Government will continue to *assist immigrants to acquire at least one of Canada's official languages* in order to become full participants in Canadian society.[6] (Italics mine.)

The first objective shows a willingness on the part of the government to support cultural pluralism (which it has through grants for various cultural centres and ethnic festivals), but the remaining three objectives clearly foster assimilation. By assisting ethnic minorities in "overcoming cultural barriers," in learning one of Canada's "official languages," and through the promotion of "interchange among all Canadian cultural groups," the government's multicultural policy (if effectively implemented) would create an environment conducive to their long-term assimilation.

It is somewhat ironic to note that over sixty years ago Robert Park and Herbert Miller, in Old World Traits Transplanted, described conditions similar to those promoted by Canada's policy of multiculturalism which would speed assimilation rather than support cultural pluralism:

> If we give immigrants a favorable milieu, if we tolerate their strangeness during their period of adjustment, if we give them freedom to make their own connections between old and new experiences, if we help them find points of contact, then we hasten their assimilation (1921:308).

It could be reasoned, therefore, that other periods of Canada's history have provided the conditions most favorable for ethnic persistence. It is when minorities are without full legal rights and excluded from full participation in the larger society that they are forced to depend upon each other and develop a separate subculture and social life (Reitz, 1980:204). Acceptance of minorities and their distinctive cultures, by contrast, tends to "loosen the bonds of ethnic identity" (Rose, 1964:12).[7] It seems unjustified, therefore, to expect the government's policy on multiculturalism to reverse the trends of de-ethnicization documented in this study.

Apart from the insulating and isolating mechanisms so effectively used by some sectarian groups (Wilson, 1959), ethnic religious organizations cannot be expected to preserve distinct subcultures in Canada. They are best

viewed as transitional organizations that help immigrants and their children cope during a period of cultural adjustment. While there may be movements of ethnic rediscovery or revival in the years ahead, this case study has provided strong support for Coward's pessimistic outlook:

> The evidence presented indicates that they [ethnic minorities] are in danger of vanishing, of being either absorbed by the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture or wiped out by the conformity induced by the Twentieth Century technological society. It is without a doubt a time of testing for the religious ethnic minorities of Canada.[8]

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

[1]In developing this figure I have drawn upon the work of David Sills, "Voluntary Associations: Sociological Aspects," in David Sills, ed. Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences Vol. 16 (New York: Macmillan Company and the Free Press, 1968): 367-371.

[2]I am fully aware that these popular images do not capture the complexity of ethnicity and assimilation in either Canada or the United States (cf. Blumstock, 1979:6-7). Since they are commonly used in the literature, I have related my findings to them. Howard Brotz, in "Multiculturalism in Canada: A Muddle," (Canadian Public Policy Vol. VI, No. 1) has emphasized the inaccuracy of these images: "the greatest disservice that has been done to a correct self-understanding of Canadian society has been the invention of the fiction that the United States and Canada differ in their ethnic relations on grounds of 'principle.' This alleged principle was that the United States stands for the 'melting pot' which presumably compels every ethnic group to commit suicide while Canada stands for 'pluralism in equality'" (1980:44). The salience of ethnicity in contemporary Canadian society is not due to any profound differences in majority group expectations in these two countries but to the fact that "immigrants have continued to come in substantial numbers in proportion to the total population" (Palmer, 1976:527).

[3]Sociologists have noted that the speed of the assimilation process is related to a number of factors, including, the degree of difference between the host and immigrant cultures, the racial difference between the immigrant population and the host society, the comparative size of the groups involved, the degree of geographical concentration or dispersion of the minority group, the degree of institutional completeness, whether or not the economy is open and expanding, the legal status of the minority group, and the minority group experience of discrimination and prejudice (see, Yinger, 1981; Reitz, 1980; Anderson and Frideres, 1981). Breton has argued that even ethnic groups with a high degree of institutional completeness are eventually faced with "leakage" as members form attachments with individuals in the host society. While assimilation may proceed more slowly for some ethnic groups, Breton maintains that all will go through a life-cycle of formation, growth, decline, and disappearance:

"If the rate of migration is low or nil, the ethnic public will progressively decrease, because even a high degree of institutional completeness will not prevent some integration into the native community. With time--and it may be quite long--the ethnic organizations will themselves disappear or lose their ethnic identity, completing the life-cycle of the community" (Breton, 1964:205).

[4]Palmer (1972:239-245) goes so far as to suggest that the Catholic Church itself has been an important force for de-ethnicization, a melting pot, by bringing together Catholic immigrants from different European countries.

[5]In the conclusion of his essay, "The Mennonite Experience in Canada," Frank Epp expressed considerable skepticism regarding the government's policy on multiculturalism, observing that: "Multiculturalism was too recent to allow the conclusion that a favorable climate for religion and ethnicity would enhance it at the deeper levels and contribute to its survival in the long run. A case could be made for multiculturalism being another name for the melting pot of a new, less monolithic Canadianism, a fine way to get all minorities really to become Canadians..." (in Harold Coward and Leslie Kawamura, eds. Religion and Ethnicity. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1978): 33.

[6]Originally quoted in Evelyn Kallen's article, "Multiculturalism: Ideology, Policy and Reality," Journal of Canadian Studies Vol. 17, No. 1, 1982:54.

[7]Sociological insights regarding the consequences of inter-group conflict are relevant to this discussion of ethnic persistence and minority group cohesion. Simmel pointed out long ago that: "Discord, in fact, perhaps even more stringently than harmony, forces the group to 'pull itself together.' In general, common enmity is one of the most powerful means for motivating a number of individuals or groups to cling together" (Wolff, 1950: 193). In the Functions of Social Conflict, Lewis Coser (1956:34, 38, 90) elaborates upon this observation. Social conflict, according to Coser, creates and reinforces boundaries between groups in a social system and provides the basis for in-group/out-group distinctions. As conflict continues between groups, their identity becomes firmly established. The internal cohesion of the group is also enhanced through out-group conflict since members become more conscious of their common bonds and increase their participation in group life.

[8]Coward's pessimism is based upon the studies collected in Religion and Ethnicity, Harold Coward and Leslie Kawamura, eds. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1978).

APPENDIX A

RESEARCH METHODS

Sociological research on religious organizations can be guided by three types of study designs: exploratory, descriptive, and hypothesis-testing (Scott, 1965:267). This dissertation began as an exploratory study with field research conducted in various Japanese churches over a one-year period (January-December, 1981). This initial period of research resulted in a comparative case-study of the Japanese United Church and Japanese Buddhist Church in Hamilton, Ontario (see Mullins, 1982), which focused upon the problems of assimilation and generational change. After additional fieldwork in various Japanese religious organizations in the Toronto area (including such diverse groups as Tenrikyo, an evangelical Gospel Church, and an Anglican Church), I decided to focus my research upon the two largest ethnic religious organizations within the Japanese Canadian community: the Buddhist Churches of Canada and the Japanese United Church Conference. The study design of this larger project is both descriptive and hypothesis-testing. It attempts to describe the basic features of Japanese churches across Canada: their size, geographical distribution, membership composition, and

rates of attendance at religious and social activities. It also seeks to test hypotheses derived from Millett's sub-typology regarding their function and organizational development.

The comparative method is a common approach used in organizational studies since the controlled experiment is not possible. Blau and Scott (1962:19) point out that some degree of "control is introduced by comparing cases having strategic similarities and differences" (see also Befu, 1965; Smelser, 1973). In this comparative study, I attempt to analyze the consequences of different "administrative reference groups" for the organizational evolution of minority churches. The nature of this research problem necessarily made the dissertation an exercise in historical sociology and organizational analysis. Historical data was used to document the religio-ethnic behavior of several generations and identify the organizational changes occurring in Japanese churches.

Several different strategies of data collection were used to obtain the information necessary to complete this study. As a "methodological pragmatist" (Burgess, 1982:163), I applied multiple techniques to deal with the research problem, and was thereby enabled to gather fairly comprehensive data on Japanese churches across Canada.

To serve as a guide for the collection of data I constructed an organizational questionnaire (see Appendix

B). The questionnaires used by Kashima (1977) and Radecki (1979) to study other ethnic organizations were particularly helpful to me as I designed the questionnaire for this project. In April 1983, questionnaires were mailed to all but two of the congregations within the BCC and JUCC. The two congregations excluded from this mailing were the separately organized Issei Japanese United Churches in Vancouver and Toronto. Since these two churches serve only first generation immigrants, generational changes could not be analyzed. I did obtain basic data on these two churches through conversations with the resident ministers which I have included in this study. The questionnaires sent out were accompanied by a cover letter and, in the case of the BCC congregations, a letter of introduction from the Bishop. In November 1983, follow-up letters and questionnaires were sent to those churches that failed to respond to the initial mailing.

Interviews with approximately forty individuals were also an important source of information for this study (see Appendix C). Both clergy and active lay leaders were interviewed in order to supplement and clarify the information obtained through the questionnaire. The type of interview conducted changed considerably over the course of this study. Interviews for the exploratory case-studies tended to be open-ended. During the second phase of research, however, interviews were structured around the questionnaire

since specific information was required to test the hypotheses regarding organizational development. Several of the organizational questionnaires were completed, in fact, through face-to-face interviews when I visited churches in British Columbia, Alberta, and Manitoba on a field research trip during May and June of 1983. Between 1981 and 1984, I visited other Japanese churches in Ontario and Quebec to conduct interviews and analyze various church records and reports. In each case I selected informants who had been active members of the church for many years, who were familiar with the historical development of their congregation, and whose formal role in the organization had exposed them to the information I needed. Most informants were serving as official board members, Sunday school superintendents, or teachers.

In order to cross-validate the data obtained through questionnaires and interviews, I engaged in documentary research. This method provided a great deal of reliable information on the history and organizational structure of these two minority church organizations. I should point out that the cooperation of the "gatekeepers" (Shaffir, Stebbins, and Turowetz, 1980:22) for the BCC and JUCC facilitated data collection at all stages of this study. The Bishop of the BCC was willing to write a letter of introduction to accompany my questionnaire and inform the churches of my research. A minister of the JUCC, whom I

had interviewed for the exploratory case studies, introduced me to all of the Japanese clergy and lay delegates at the National Ethnic Convention of the United Church of Canada in July 1982. These manifestations of support made it much easier for me when I later contacted church leaders for interviews and tried to secure various records and reports. Clergy and church officers were generally interested in this study, and, in most cases, provided access to the materials necessary for documenting organizational changes. Annual reports, church constitutions, and minutes of board meetings were among the materials supplied to me by these informants. In addition to these primary sources, two historical accounts of the BCC and JUCC were also helpful: Kanada Bukkyo Kai Enkaku Shi (1981) and Kanada Nikkeijin Godo Kyo Kai Shi (1969). Both texts provided data useful for this sociological inquiry on the issues of religious leadership, language adaptation, and generational composition.

Finally, archival research gave me access to materials important for placing this study of religious organizations within the larger framework of Japanese Canadian history. The Japanese Collection at the University of British Columbia and materials contained in Vancouver School of Theology Archives and in the United Church Archives, Victoria University (Toronto), were all valuable resources. The diaries, personal correspondence, government and church reports kept in these special collections afforded me insights into the Japanese experience I would have otherwise lacked.

APPENDIX B

ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE

SURVEY OF JAPANESE-CANADIAN CHURCHES

1. What is the official name and address of your church or temple?

2. When was your church organized?

3. What was (were) the reason(s) for organizing a church in your city or town?

4. How many years has your organization owned its own church building/facilities?
   ( ) More than 50 years
   ( ) 30 to 50 years
   ( ) 10 to 30 years
   ( ) Less than 10 years
   ( ) We do not own the facilities

5. Did your organization experience difficulty in finding and purchasing property/building due to discrimination?
   ( ) Yes, great difficulty due to discrimination
   ( ) Yes, moderate difficulty due to discrimination
   ( ) No, no difficulties
   ( ) No, we do not own a church building

6. How is membership in the church determined?
   ( ) Payment of membership dues
   ( ) Confession of faith
   ( ) Both
   ( ) Other (Please explain)

7. What is the total number of individual members in the church?

8. How many families are members of your church?

9. What percentage of your church membership is: Issei? Kika-Nisei? Nisei? Sansei? Others? (Please specify)

10. How many new immigrants (post Second World War) are members of your church?

11. Does your church and minister provide services for branch missions or fellowship groups? (Please give the locations, number of individuals involved, and frequency of services.)

12. Does your church currently have a resident minister?
    ( ) Yes, an Issei minister
    ( ) Yes, a Nisei minister
    ( ) Yes, a Caucasian minister
    ( ) No, but we receive regular visits from a non-resident minister
    ( ) No, but we receive occasional visits from a non-resident minister

13. Is your resident or visiting minister bilingual? Please rate your minister's ability to speak:

a. Japanese:	b. English:
( ) Fluent	( ) Fluent
( ) Good	( ) Good
( ) Passable	( ) Passable
( ) Poor	( ) Poor
( ) Unable	( ) Unable

14. In the history of your organization, how many years have you been without a resident minister?

15. How many years has your church had a bilingual minister?

16. Please indicate how many persons on your official church board or Board of Directors are: Issei? Nisei? Sansei? Other? (Please specify)

17. What was the annual income of the church in 1982?

18. What was the annual expenditure of the church in 1982?

19. Please indicate what percentage of the income of your church is derived from the following sources:
    Membership Dues or Contributions
    Bazaars
    Grants from Church Headquarters
    Other (Please specify)

20. How often does your church hold religious services?
    ( ) Weekly
    ( ) Bi-monthly
    ( ) Monthly
    ( ) Other (Please specify)

21. What is the average attendance at your regular service?

22. Over the past five years has the attendance and frequency of services remained about the same, increased, or declined?

23. What special services are held in the church and what is the average attendance?

	Yes	No	Attendance
New Year's Service	____	____	_____
Ho Onko	____	____	_____
Nehan-E	____	____	_____
Hanamatsuri	____	____	_____
Gotan-E	____	____	_____
Ura Bon-E (Obon)	____	____	_____
Christmas	____	____	_____
Easter	____	____	_____
Memorial Service	____	____	_____

24. What language is used in your regular service?
    ( ) Japanese
    ( ) English
    ( ) Both
    ( ) Other (Please specify)

25. How many years have you offered services in English?

26. In what language(s) are the materials used in your religious service printed?
    ( ) Japanese
    ( ) English
    ( ) Both

27. Does your church print a bulletin for its regular religious services?
    ( ) Yes, in Japanese only
    ( ) Yes, in both Japanese and English
    ( ) Yes, in English only
    ( ) No, we do not print a bulletin

28. a. How often does your church publish a newsletter?
        ( ) Never
        ( ) Weekly
        ( ) Monthly
        ( ) Other (Please specify)

    b. In what language(s) is the newsletter printed?
        ( ) Japanese
        ( ) English
        ( ) Both
        ( ) Other (Please specify)

29. Does your church currently have a Sunday School Program?
( ) Yes
( ) No

If yes:
a. When was it organized?
b. How many teachers are involved in the Sunday School Program?
c. How many students enrolled in the Sunday School Program are: Sansei? Yonsei? Children of new immigrants? Other? (Please specify)
d. Over the past five years has the attendance and enrollment in the Sunday School remained about the same, increased, or declined?
e. In what language(s) is your Sunday School conducted?
( ) Japanese
( ) English
( ) Both
( ) Other (Please specify)
f. What is the total number of years your church has provided an English language Sunday School?

30. If the answer to question 29 is no, has your church ever had an English language Sunday School Program?
( ) Yes
( ) No

If yes, why was the Sunday School Program discontinued?

31. Does your church have a Japanese language school?
( ) Yes
( ) No

If yes:
a. How many teachers are involved in the program?
b. How many students enrolled in the program are: Sansei? Yonsei? Children of new immigrants? Other? (Please specify)
c. What is the total number of years your church has provided a Japanese language school?

32. If the answer to question 31 is no, has your church ever sponsored a Japanese language school?
( ) Yes
( ) No

If yes:
a. How many years?
b. Why was it discontinued?

33. What other programs and activities does your church organize and sponsor?

	Yes	No
Dances and socials	___	___
Trips to Japan	___	___
Japanese cooking classes	___	___
Sports activities	___	___
Annual Picnic	___	___
Annual Bazaar	___	___
English classes for new immigrants	___	___
Japanese movies	___	___
Other (Please list)		

34. Approximately what percentage of your Sansei can speak Japanese?

35. Approximately what percentage of your Sansei can read and write Japanese?

36. How many children of your Nisei members have married so far?
    a. Of that number, how many married other Japanese Canadians?
    b. How many married Caucasians?
    c. How many married non-Japanese orientals?
    d. How many couples of mixed marriage attend your church?

37. Approximately what percentage of your Sansei attend college, trade, or technical schools upon graduation from high school?

This section deals with the respondent.

38. a. What is your name?
    b. What is your age? (check one)

( ) 26-30	( ) 46-50
( ) 31-35	( ) 51-55
( ) 36-40	( ) 56-60
( ) 41-45	( ) over 60

    c. Where were you born?
    d. What is (or was) your occupation?
    e. How many years have you been a member of this church?
    f. What position(s) or office(s) do you currently hold in the church?
    g. What other positions have you held?

39. What do you see as some of the problems of your church today?

40. What do you foresee as the problems of the church five or more years from now?

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEWS

Abe, Rev. Gyosho. Steveston Buddhist Church. Steveston, British Columbia. 29 May 1983.

Akune, Roy. Secretary, National Board of Directors, Buddhist Churches of Canada. Steveston, British Columbia. 29 May 1983.

Fujikawa, Rev. Ohrai. Toronto Buddhist Church. Toronto, Ontario. 28 September 1981, 21 February 1983.

Fukumoto, Donna. Hamilton Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 26 October 1981.

Fukumoto, Wally. Hamilton Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 25 February 1981.

Furuya, Rev. N. Vancouver Issei Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 1 July 1982.

Harms, William. Minister, Vancouver Nisei Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 2 July 1982.

Hayashi, Rev. Yoshihara. Manitoba Buddhist Church. Winnipeg, Manitoba. 12 June 1983.

Hirayama, I. Manitoba Japanese United Church. Winnipeg, Manitoba. 14 June 1983.

Honda, Mike. Hamilton Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 10 March 1981.

Ikuta, Rev. Kyojo. Calgary Buddhist Church. Calgary, Alberta. 10 June 1983.

Ikuta, Mak. Vice-Chairman, National Board of Directors, Buddhist Churches of Canada. Steveston, British Columbia. 29 May 1983.

Imai, Rev. Gordon. Lethbridge Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario, 2 July 1982; Lethbridge, Alberta, 7 June 1983.

Iwai, Rev. Hiraku. Hamilton Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 8 July 1981.

Izumi, Rev. Yasuo. Vancouver Buddhist Church. Vancouver, British Columbia. 30 May 1983.

Kawamura, Rev. Yutetsu. Raymond Buddhist Church. Raymond, Alberta. 8 June 1983.

Komiyama, May. Vancouver Nisei United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 3 July 1982.

Kuwabara, Mas. Hamilton Buddhist Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 5 October 1981.

Masaki, Rev. Y. Winnipeg Japanese United Church. Winnipeg Manitoba. 15 June 1983.

Matsugu, Rev. Ken. Steveston United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 2 July 1982.

Masuda, George. Hamilton Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 2 November 1981.

Miyakawa, Rev. Yasuhiro. Lethbridge Buddhist Church. Lethbridge, Alberta. 8 June 1983.

Nagatakiya, Hikosaburo. Hamilton Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 18 August 1981.

Namba, Grace. Deaconness, Montreal Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 1 July 1982.

Nishiyama, Rekyo. Raymond Buddhist Church. Raymond, Alberta. 8 June 1983.

Okada, Rev. Shinji. Lethbridge Buddhist Church. Lethbridge, Alberta. 7 June 1983.

Okura, Janice. Hamilton Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 15 April 1981.

Ouchi, Edward. Okanagan Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 2 July 1982.

Saimoto, Cy. Chairman, National Board of Directors, Buddhist Churches of Canada. Vancouver, British Columbia. 1 June 1983.

Shimizu, Hide. Toronto Nisei Japanese United Church. Toronto, Ontario. 12 June 1982.

Suinaga, Sam. Hamilton Buddhist Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 8 November 1981.

Takahatake, Rev. Takamichi. Montreal Buddhist Church. Montreal, Quebec. 8 October 1983.

Taniyama, Rev. Norimaru. Kelowna Buddhist Church. Kelowna, British Columbia. 6 June 1983.

Teramura, Ken. Manitoba Buddhist Church. Winnipeg, Manitoba. 12 June 1983.

Tsuchiya, Yasuko. Hamilton Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 9 February 1981.

Tsunoda, Bishop Shodo. Toronto Buddhist Church. Toronto, Ontario. 19 February 1982.

Yamaoka, Shu. President, Kelowna Buddhist Church. Kelowna, British Columbia. 6 June 1983.

Yoshida, Tak. Religious Education Chairman, Buddhist Churches of Canada. Toronto, Ontario. 13 May 1984.

Yoshitomi, Hosaku. Hamilton Japanese United Church. Hamilton, Ontario. 2 September 1981.

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