JAPANESE RELOCATION STUDY OF UTAH

(Preliminary Report)

by

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I.

Introduction and Background

This is not intended to be a complete report on the project undertaken by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and the School of Social Work of the University of Utah under a research grant made by the University of Utah Research Committee. It is rather a listing of the basic statistical data collected to date on the problems involved in the study of the settlement and movement of persons of Japanese ancestry in the specific area of Salt Lake City. It is hoped that the data here presented may be of some use to various agencies and groups interested and actively engaged in the working out of the resettlement and rehabilitation of these persons.

The social scientist, if he is to be of assistance in this time of emergency, cannot wait to work out a complete analysis of all factors in the theoretical field involved in such a study as this and comparable studies. Rather, should the social scientist, when he has data available on a specific subject of grave importance, present the pertinent material to be used as the time and places require. The more theoretical aspects can wait to be worked out later when more material and rechecks are made available. Therefore, this report is timely inasmuch as it presents certain concrete data for action; theoretically the data holds many possibilities to be worked out later.

The problem of minorities in Utah, at least in terms of ethnic groups, is a recent one. The old settlers of Utah were primarily of one ethnic group (Caucasian with mere sprinklings of negroes, Indians, and orientals). However, with the evacuation requirements of the Pacific Coast Command of the Army where persons of Japanese ancestry were concerned, the hinterlands of the Pacific Coast received large numbers of these evacuees. Utah situated in a strategic position became almost overnight a center for relocation and dispersion of Japanese. The rapid industrialization of the "Wasatch Front" required an increase in manpower along with the decrease in civilian labor induced by the selective service act. Thus Japanese found themselves to be in demand as labor--at least in a limited degree. (See Smith, Elmer R., WE TOO HAVE OUR MINORITIES, in Proceedings of Utah Academy of Science, Arts and Letters, 1944.)

The problem presented for study revolved around at least the following approaches: (1) What is the economic position of the Japanese in Utah (Salt Lake Area)? (2) What are the

living conditions of the evacuees? (3) What type of social life and personal life do these persons lead? (4) What are the attitudes of the dominant groups in the area toward these new-comers? The following preliminary report will attempt to summarize the main aspects of each of these basic questions as well as to suggest some possible theoretical and practical approaches to further study and action. A more detailed study will appear in the future after more material has been gathered, and more checks have been made by the present study and others now in progress.

The study as a whole revolved around ten (10) basic questions, the final report to consider these questions will be published in due time. The following are the basic questions:

(1) Who constitute the dominant group in the community and on what basis (race, ethnic interests, economic status) ?
(2) What racial, religious, and nationality groups do pupils and adults, who belong to the dominant group, exclude from personal relations on terms of equality?
(3) Do the members of the Japanese-American population customarily become barred from positions of prestige and authority either in school, economic, or community life?
(4) To what extent are especially gifted or trained individuals in the Japanese-American population allowed to assume and exercise the leadership to which their abilities and training entitles them?
(5) Are groups whose avowed purpose is to supress Nisei activity organized in the community?
(6) Are groups whose avowed purpose is to help the assimilation of the Nisei active in the community?
(7) To what extent do the Nisei deliberately avoid social contacts with other groups? Is this behavior primarily a function of their own desires or a reaction against majority-group discrimination?
(8) Do the individuals of the Japanese-American group attribute prejudices against them on the basis of individuals or on the basis of social forces consolidating whole groups of non-Japanese?

(9) Do the Nisei allow fallacious stereotypes to guide their action toward individuals of the majority group and other minority groups, including their own?

(10) What do the Japanese-Americans expect to do after the war is over?

The study to-date would have been impossible without the whole-hearted cooperation and assistance of a large number of individuals. The following have given invaluable aid, and to them the writer wishes to express his most sincere thanks: Dr. A. L. Beeley, associate director of the study and Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and Dean of School of Social Work, Miss Frances Brimhall, Miss Loretta Brown, Dr. Charles E. Dibble, Mr. Joe Gabardi, Mr. John Kitsuses, Mr. John Lawson of the Federal Fair Employment Practice Council of Denver, Mr. Takuya Maruyama, Miss Helen Miyoshi, Mr. Hal Osborn, Dr. George Pierson, Miss Margaret Pitts, Mr. Mitsuo Sambonmatsu, Mr. Bert Smith, Miss Kazuye Tanabe, Mr. Wallace Takiguchi, Mr. Larry Tajiri, Mr. George Nomaguchi, and Mr. Heber Taylor. Miss Dora Nate, Miss Rosie Terashima, and Mr. Hideo Hoshide also aided in the study.

II.

Economic Aspects

The economic aspects of Japanese relocation in Utah may be divided for general purposes into the following categories: (1) Population, (2) Economic status, (3) Types of jobs desired or preferred by Japanese, (4) Employment of Japanese in Salt Lake City and Ogden.

(1) Population: Persons of Japanese ancestry in Utah in 1920 numbered 2,936; in 1930 this number had increased to 3,269; but by 1940 the exodus from Utah left the number at 2,210. The number of persons in Utah as of March 1944 was approximately 4,950. The distribution and comments follow:

Area(by counties)	Number 1940	March 1944
Boxelder and Weber	607	1650
Davis	424	1100
Salt Lake	773	1500
Carbon	193	190
Utah	37	300
Sevier, Juab, Sanpete	?	210
Total		4950

The 4950 persons of Japanese ancestry are to be considered as more or less permanent residents, and are not to be confused with the persons who stay in Utah for a short time and move on to some other region, or who are on short time or seasonal leave from the W.R.A. Centers, or who are residents of Topaz, Utah. As a matter of fact there are a large number of these 4950 persons who are not intending to remain in Utah for any great length of time, but who are here because of friends or relatives.

At certain times of the year one will find that the "Japanese" population of Boxelder, Weber, Davis, and Utah counties will be more than the number given in the above table. This is true because of the demand for laborers to work in the fields and factories. The Salt Lake county population of persons of Japanese ancestry is in a very high degree of fluidity. The surveys which the Japanese Relocation Study have made shows many persons stay in this area only two or three weeks and then move on to other regions or return to the relocation centers.

Persons of Japanese ancestry are concentrated in four main areas in Utah because of the following factors:

1. Shortage of manpower in agricultural pursuits. The farming areas--especially fruits, vegetables, sugar beets--have used large numbers of persons of Japanese ancestry in the last year in planting and harvesting. In some instances that have been called to our attention, the Caucasian farmer has turned over large acreage to "Japanese" to farm while the Caucasians have taken jobs in the various defense works in the vicinities of Ogden, Layton, Provo, Salt Lake City, and Brigham City. The Caucasians have found in many instances that by renting their farms to the "Japanese" the income from the farm thus rented will pay most of their basic expenses while the income from their defense jobs will be more or less pure profit.

2. We find Ogden and Salt Lake City with a goodly number of persons of Japanese ancestry because of the increased demand for labor in hotels, cafes, warehouses, and as domestics.

One of the main economic problems at the present time (March, 1944) seems to be centered around the position occupied by "Japanese" in the agricultural areas. The Caucasian farmers in the vicinity of Tremonton and Brigham City in Boxelder county have been exerting pressure on persons of

Japanese ancestry to move out of the area and to cease buying of farm land. This pressure has taken the form of farm associations passing resolutions against the "Japanese", and in one instance at least of the firing of a gun into the door of a residence where some Japanese families resided. The following table, obtained from a report by Dr. Seth Shaw to the State Post-war Planning Committee on Agricultural-Industrial Relations, lists the number of families engaged in agriculture in the respective counties:

Counties	Prior to 1941	Prior 1943*	Estimated No. owning Farms.
Boxelder	81 families	?	40
Weber	6 families	?	3
Davis	450 people	Over 1000 people.	2
Salt Lake	40 farmers	150 farmers	?
Utah	7 families	500 to 600 people	?
Sanpete	3 families	?	1

* (Does not include "Japanese" laborers. Most of these new families came into Utah from the West Coast before the general evacuation.)

The discussion of economic-agricultural factors in relation to Japanese relocation in Utah should not lose sight of the fact that the majority of farmers in Utah are under the direct influence of the philosophy governing the "Mormon" use of land. The common settlement type in Utah is the "farm village," a type remaining more or less unique in America. The basic pattern of rural communities revolves around the "farm village" where the farmer and his family live while operating the farm outside of the village proper. In general, one finds the absence of farm buildings on the agricultural plots, thus creating a problem of housing for the transient labor or "Japanese" farmer. The person of Japanese ancestry thus meets two important problems upon moving into the typical Mormon village farm area; the first has to do with the erection of a place of residence; the second rests upon the attitude of the citizens of the village where he may be forced to live for an indefinite time. This Mormon farm village pattern cannot be overlooked when Japanese relocation in Utah is considered. To over look this important element will cause undue hardship for all concerned. This is especially true when applied to the central and southern parts of the state.

The age, sex, and marital status of the population of Utah of persons of Japanese ancestry shows, from the survey conducted to date, to be made up about 77 percent of persons between the ages of 16 and 35 years of age. There are, in

terms of sex, 75 percent male and 25 percent female; and of the total group nearly 84 percent are single.* The figures thus available show that the number of persons of Japanese ancestry are primarily American citizens with a background basically American in every sense of that word. More recent check-ups have shown that the sex ratio is tending to be more equalized within recent months (March 1944), and as more and more of the young males are taken into the army and as more females come out of the relocation centers, the sexes will be more equally distributed.

2. Economic Status: The average weekly wage of persons of Japanese ancestry in Utah averages about $24.75, but when the income of students who work only part-time is not considered, and when the persons who have board and room furnished are eliminated from consideration, we find that the average weekly wage runs about $40. This low income can be understood only if one recognizes that the jobs open to persons of Japanese ancestry are mainly in the low income groups. The following table will give the number of persons occupied in certain types of economic acitivity as of October, 1943.

Domestics	18
Public Eating Places	21
Mechanics	10
Laundry	5
Professional	10
Hotel	3
Bus Boy	6
Washing Cars	4
Hospital Kitchen	2
Delivery	1
Janitor	5
Foreman	1
Rock Wool Mfg	2
Stenographer	3
Common Laborer	3
Stockroom	5
Elevator	1
Cashier	1
Welder	1
Greenhouse Worker	1
Truckdriver	4
General	1
Finishing Work	1
Nursemaid	1
Tireman	2
Gardening	4
Unemployed	16
Attending School	10

(cont'd)

*All these percentages based upon statistics available at the University of Utah, and are of the summer of 1943.

Swamper.....	3
Meat Packing.....	8
Foundrymen.....	3
Wallwasher.....	1
Handsewing.....	1
Fruit Production.....	2
Baker.....	1
Total.....	161*

3. Types of Jobs Desired or Preferred by Japanese: As stated previously and shown by the above table, the regular type of employment of persons of Japanese ancestry rests in the fields of the lower income group, but these figures do not represent the preferences of the "Japanese". The following table shows the type of jobs desired or preferred by 151 persons of Japanese ancestry contacted in the survey.

Commerce.....	23	Carpenter.....	1
Medical.....	17	Florist.....	1
Biological.....	2	None or ?.....	28
Social Work....	2	Ministry.....	1
Engineering....	18	Teaching.....	2
Stenography....	6	Law.....	1
Agriculture....	11	Research.....	1
Truck driving..	8	Govt. Service...	1
Seamstress.....	4	Baker.....	1
Cosmetrician...	2	Housewife.....	2
Cancer Research	1	Mechanic.....	4
Clerk.....	3	Welder.....	4
Cashier.....	1	Com'l. Artist...	1
Laundry.....	1	Chemist.....	3
Barber.....	1		

The above table when compared with the training these people have had or are now getting will show that most of them desire the type of work in which they are acquainted in the specialized sense. It is also noteworthy that large numbers fall within the fields of commerce, engineering, medicine, and agriculture.

4. Employment of "Japanese" in Salt Lake and Ogden: During the summer and late fall of 1943 representative industries were surveyed in Ogden and Salt Lake City to determine the number of persons of Japanese ancestry employed by Caucasians. The following tables present the basic findings and are self explanatory.

*The farm groups were not considered in this survey.

Employment of Japanese

No. of surveys sent to:	Ogden:100	Salt Lake:81
No. of surveys returned to:	Ogden: 48	Salt Lake:49
Percent employing Japanese:	Ogden:18.75%	Salt Lake:20.4%
Percent not employing Japanese:	Ogden:81.25%	Salt Lake:79.6%

Ratio of White and Japanese Employed as reported*

Ogden:		Salt Lake:	
White	1569	White	4452
Japanese	124	Japanese	90

* This ratio would be much greater in favor of the Caucasians if all firms had reported the number of whites employed, as it was, only 22 firms reported the number of whites employed and 78 firms did not. All firms reported the number of "Japanese" employed. This must be considered when the above figures are given.

Reasons Given for not Employing Japanese

Ranked in order of highest number checking the statements:

Salt Lake Rank		Ogden Rank
1	Unwillingness of employees to work with persons of Japanese ancestry.	2
2	Personal dislike of Japanese by employees.	1
3	Personal dislike of Japanese by employers.	3
4	Danger of sabotage.	4
4	Personal distrust of Japanese workers' integrity.	5
4	Fear that Japanese won't live up to shop regulations.	0
5	Inability to secure qualified Japanese workers	7
5	Past unfavorable experience with Japanese employees.	6

(The statements: Physical inability of the Japanese to do the work, and fear that the Japanese workers will be too aggressive, were not checked at all).

Rating of Japanese Workers by Employers.

Note: Two employers listed the number of Japanese workers falling under each category--thus the repetition in numbers on the following:

	Excellent		Good		Fair		Poor	
	S.L.	Ogden	S.L.	Ogden	S.L.	Ogden	S.L.	Ogden
Attitude toward work	1	2	6	3	6	2	1	1
Work habits	1	3	7	2	4	2	0	1
Dependability	1	1	5	4	5	1	2	1
Speed	2	1	5	5	6	1	1	1
Quality	2	1	8	5	3	1	1	1
	7	8	31	19	24	7	5	6

White Workers' Attitudes Toward Japanese:

	No. reporting	
	Salt Lake	Ogden
Negative	2	1
Belligerent	0	0
Varied	0	2
Cooperative	4	3
Tolerant	6	4

A number of employers made volunteer statements as to their attitudes toward persons of Japanese ancestry. A few of the more pertinent remarks are quoted in the following paragraphs. All of these remarks may be found in the files of the Japanese Relocation Study at the University of Utah.

> "In reply to your questionnaire will state that I employ no Japanese, Mexican, or Negro laborers. Would like to add that this is not due to any prejudice against these people, but to a combination of circumstances, among which figure the fact that I employ only a few men and that I have never been sent operators from among these people by the union."

> "We have never hired them (Japanese) due primarily to the public feeling against being served by any of the Oriental races."

> "The workers get along very well together because the Japanese are very good workers. They are citizens and very cooperative."

"These workers (Japanese) cannot be placed in one group as to their performance. There is probably just about as much variation as there would be in a like number of whites, living and working under the same conditions, ranging from poor in all respects to excellent."..."Very few characteristics or tendencies can be attributed to the Japanese as a group, only two have appeared to any extent, thus far: (a) They cannot stand up under severe physical work as well as whites. (b) They have a tendency to want to choose the job on which they are to work. (c) Closely connected with the foregoing, they are inclined to be 'babyish' in their complaints about working conditions which involve heavy physical effort."...."Our employment to date has not included Japanese women. We anticipate hiring women later in the season, and we believe that the attitude of our white women workers will prevent our mixing them."

"Before hiring Japanese we put the question to the vote (secret ballot) of the employees. We had but two dissenting votes (54 whites employed). We have been very careful to hand-pick those we hired. They have proved exceptionally good because of our selection and because it is difficult for them to secure employment--so are determined to make good. We will not tolerate any signs of excessive aggressiveness. We probably would have not hired Japanese if other help had been plentiful. We are pleased with those we have."

"August 2nd you wrote me considering the employment of Negro, Japanese, and Mexican labor in the area of Salt Lake City....In our organization we have never hired any of this type of labor, and my experience is limited wholly to my contact that I make on this kind of labor which I make on poultry farms. It is my opinion that the Negro help that we have in this area is much more dependable than either of the other two, and with reference to the Japanese labor,it seems to me that these people are not wholeheartedly supporting the movement in which we are depending on them for, and they expect the same rate of pay as our American people. Their demands are more than they are entitled to, and as to the Mexican labor, it is very similar to that of the Japanese."

"Have not found it necessary to employ Japanese or Negroes as yet. Believe they could be used if necessary."

"In May we had one Japanese working for us. We had to fire him due to the fact he said he could not live on .85¢ per hour. We told him to go back to Japan where he could live cheaper on rice...."

"The nature of our business limits our employment of men to ones having technical educations. Have never had occasion to consider Japs, Negroes or Mexicans. Do not believe we would hire Japs, even tho qualified to handle our work, under present conditions, if white help available."

III

DOMESTIC LIFE

The domestic life of the persons of Japanese ancestry in Salt Lake revolves primarily around hotels and apartments. The following table will give the distribution of living quarters:

		Number of Persons.
Hotels		62
Apartments		29
Private Homes		37
Caucasian	19	
Japanese	11	
Other	7	
Auto Courts		4
Co-op		3
Unknown		6
TOTALS		141

The number of rooms available to persons of Japanese ancestry varies considerable, but the majority seem to live in one or two rooms, and is either alone or with one other person. The following breakdown presents the statistical picture.

No. of Rooms	No. of Persons recorded	No. of Persons per room.	Persons Ans.
1	103	1	57
2	28	2	63
3	11	3	14

4	3	4	11
5	13	5	5
6	1	6	3
over 6	9	over 6	7

The furniture available was evaluated upon the basis of (1) upholstry, (2) newness, (3) amount, (4) upkeep, (5) matching of pieces. Upon these criteria the following evaluation was made:

Valuation	Number of living quarters.
Good	39
Fair	23
Poor	12
Bad	4
?	19
TOTALS	97

The other home facilities, such as bath and lavatory, were nearly even in so far as private and public facilities were concerned. The following gives the main breakdown:

HOME FACILITIES.

BATH		LAVATORY	
Private	Public	Private	Public
48	31	47	31

The home privileges enjoyed by the residents in these various situations were hard to discover, and even harder to evaluate. Seventy-eight persons were contacted on this problem, and ten (10) stated that they had all the privileges, four (4) said none, and one (1) said some, but the rest sixty-three (63) in number did not answer. This may suggest that they had never given thought to the problem, or that they had never had to expect various "home privileges", or some of them may have been living in their own home, and thus did not see fit to respond to this question.

A few tentative conclusions might be drawn from the statistics available, but more study covering a larger number of persons should be made before any dogmatic evaluations were placed upon the statistics involved in the domestic life of persons of Japanese ancestry in and around Salt

Lake City. However, it may be said with quite a degree of safety that most of the persons of Japanese ancestry are not living in "ideal" home conditions. There is crowding, poor lighting and ventilation in many of the hotel and apartment rooms, and the "feeling of being at home" does not permeate the "home" atmosphere.

IV.

SOCIAL LIFE AND PERSONAL ACTIVITIES

Under this heading we will be interested in recreational activities, religious affiliations, types of discrimination encountered, and certain beliefs of persons of Japanese ancestry as shown in Salt Lake City. The recreational activities carried on by Japanese varies as much as among any other American group. The following table summarizes the principal statistical findings of 174 persons contacted:

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Type	No.	Places Sought	No.
Cards.....	8	Theatres.....	44
Bowling.....	31	Pool & Bowling....	16
Pool.....	6	Home.....	3
Shows.....	74	YWCA.....	3
Dancing.....	38	Gymnasium.....	40
Reading.....	17	Among friends.....	35
Hiking.....	0	With Nisei.....	5
Music.....	12	Mixed.....	1
Cycling.....	0	Public Places (?).	13
Needlecraft..	11	Not answered or ?.	14
General sports.	54		
None.....	2		
Discussions..	5		
Church.....	2		
Clubs.....	3		

The attitudes and opinions held by 97 persons of Japanese ancestry concerning what they believed was the attitude of the Caucasians toward them is of significance in aiding one to understand some of the behavior patterns shown by Japanese in public and private places. The following table presents these attitudes of the Japanese toward what they believe to be the Caucasians position:

ATTITUDE	NUMBER VOICING OPINION.
Kind	25
Indifferent	57
Helpful	7
Antagonistic	2
Question	6

The attitude of Salt Lake Japanese to other Japanese were believed to be about the same as that of the Caucasians, as the following table shows.

ATTITUDE	NUMBER VOICING OPINION.
Kind	11
Indifferent	53
Helpful	13
Antagonistic	7
Question	13

The majority of 97 persons of Japanese ancestry contacted believed there were too many Japanese in Salt Lake City. The following table shows this attitude:

ATTITUDE	NUMBER VOICING OPINION.
Too many	61
Not too many	19
Question	17

The question as to what was their reaction to things outside the centers gave the following results:

Better than they had believed.....17
Worse than they had believed.....12
About the same as they had believed...38
Question.....30 (of this number some had never been in a center)

The problem of discrimination was raised by 58 Japanese, and the situations involving such discrimination was divided into the following categories:

PLACES	NUMBER EXPERIENCING DISCRIMINATION
Cafes	3
Dances	3
Jobs	1
Very little	4
Swimming	1
Bus Depot	1
Service Station	1

(cont'd)

Union Pacific R.R.
Discharged on
racial basis.....1
Question.....43

The religious affiliation of persons of Japanese ancestry in Salt Lake City has a wide distribution as the following statistics will show.

RELIGION	NUMBER
Catholic	17
Buddhist	41
Protestant	22
Presbyterian	4
Methodist	11
United Church	1
Christian	15
Episcopalian	5
None	10
TOTAL	126

V.

CAUCASIAN ATTITUDES
TOWARD PERSONS OF JAPANESE
ANCESTRY.

The basic problem in any overall approach to the study of the relocation of persons of Japanese ancestry into any given geographical area within the United States, is to know the attitude of the majority group into which they are to be settled. If one knows this attitude, prediction as to problems the Japanese may have to meet and possible solutions may be presented. It was with this in mind that the present study undertook to sample Caucasian attitudes in Salt Lake City relative to persons of Japanese ancestry. The method of selection was based upon the "stratified random sample." The stratified random samples were based upon the 1940 census of occupational groups in Salt Lake City, and the non-labor groups of house-wives, students and "old people". The "quota" in each group consisted of a proportionate representation of each type of persons to be interviewed. The persons contacted within each "type" or "stratum" were picked at random by the use of the

Salt Lake City Directory for 1943.

The eight (8) questions chosen from a list of fifteen, were believed to be basic in terms of published and spoken opinions given current distribution around and in Salt Lake City. In other words, these eight questions seemed to be the ones around which the press and public meetings tended to center their discussions on the "Japanese problem." The questions were chosen with the help of following specialists: social worker, psychologist, economist, anthropologist, sociologist, and political scientist.

The total number of Caucasians in the various groups was three hundred (300). Table A. gives the "stratified types" and the numbers of individuals included in each.

The statistical enumeration of the attitudes shown by the Caucasians toward persons of Japanese ancestry will be found in Table B.

Table C combines the total percentages of negative and positive attitudes as shown in Table B for the purpose of getting a complete picture of the various sample groups and their ranking. It will be noted in this Table that the groups showing over 50 per cent positive attitudes toward persons of Japanese ancestry are (1) students, (2) professionals, (3) managers, and (4) farmers. On the other hand, the groups showing over 50 percent negative attitudes are (1) old people, (2) laborers, (3) craftsmen, (4) operatives, (5) service, (6) clerical, and (7) housewives.

The statistical breakdown of the opinion survey of Caucasians toward persons of Japanese ancestry in Salt Lake City has been given in the present study to be used only with reservations. The opinions listed must be used as a basis for generalizations only in-so-far as they are associated with other factors involved in the study. To assert any generalizations with a degree of belief which goes beyond the evidence, is to be guilty of the fallacy of "hasty generalization". It is very easy, in the case of these opinion statistics, to go beyond the evidence. In order to suggest some of the pitfalls in the way of making broad generalizations, the following "explanations" of the interviewers are presented. In each case, the in-

TABLE A

STRATIFIED TYPES USED IN
OPINION SURVEY.

TYPE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
House-wives	100		100
Students	36	18	18
Old People	16	8	8
Occupational Groups			
Professional and semi-prof.	14	7	7
Farmers	3	3	
Proprietors, managers and officials	18	16	2
Clerical, sales, etc.	40	24	16
Craftsmen & foremen	20	20	
Operatives	24	22	2
Domestic service workers	4		4
Service workers	14	8	6
Laborers	9	9	
Farm laborers	2	2	
TOTALS	300	137	163

TABLE B

CAUCASIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD JAPANESE

IN SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

Stratified Samplings	Should persons of Jap. ancestry be kept in concentration camps?			Are people of Jap. ancestry more disloyal than German or Italian?			Should people of Jap. ancestry be permitted to make home in S.L.C.?			Should they be permitted to own property?			Have separate churches, schools, and recreation for social reasons?			Willing to hire a Jap. as readily as a white?			Do you believe Japanese-Amer. make good soldiers?			Should Jap.-Amer. have same rights as other citizens?		
	Yes	No	?	Yes	No	?	Yes	No	?	Yes	No	?	Yes	No	?	Yes	No	?	Yes	No	?	Yes	No	?
Housewives	63	32	5	47	46	7	53	42	5	40	56	4	54	44	2	17	79	4	37	53	10	60	38	2
Students	36	51	13	58	42		90	10		68	32		42	58		42	58		55	45		61	36	3
Old People	73	18	9	82	18		46	46	9	18	82		64	27	9	9	91		18	73	9	18	82	
Professional	48	48	4	62	38		72	28		59	41		21	76	3	21	76	3	62	35	3	72	28	
Managers	40	60		73	25	2	85	13	2	53	45	2	36	64		22	78		67	29	4	67	31	2
Farmers	50	50		50	50		100			50	50		50	50			100		25	75		100		
Clerical	56	42	2	73	23	4	69	31		38	58	4	54	44	2	13	88		46	48	6	52	48	
Operatives	67	30	3	57	43		54	43	3	30	67	3	57	40	3	22	78		35	60	5	40	60	
Service	55	45		73	27		45	50	5	32	68		32	68			100		59	41		41	59	
Laborers	72	28		67	33		33	67		28	67	5	67	33		19	81		29	52	19	43	57	
Craftsmen	75	25		66	31	3	47	51	2	17	80	3	49	46	5	15	83	2	41	54	5	34	63	3
TOTAL	58	39	3	64	34	2	62	36	2	39	59	2	47	51	2	19	81	1	46	48	6	52	47	1

TABLE C

TOTAL PERCENTAGES OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ATTITUDES OF CAUCASIANS IN SALT LAKE CITY.

(Note: Questions 1, 2, and 5 are used differently in getting the percentages in this table. The answer "Yes" to these questions places the attitude in the negative in relation to the others answered "Yes")

GROUP	POSITIVE %	NEGATIVE %	QUESTION %
Housewives	41	54	5
Students	58	40	2
Old People	21	74	5
Professional	56	42	2
Managers	55	43	2
Farmers	53	47	0
Clerical	41	57	2
Operatives	37	61	2
Service	39	60	1
Laborers	31	66	3
Craftsmen	32	65	3
Totals	43	55	2

terviewers name is given at the end of each "explanation."

"In the questions as a whole I believe that people were not credited with being aware that there were differentiations within the "Japanese Race". The inconsistancy of people was very evident by the results of the survey.

#1. Opinion was divided on this question if the answer was "no". Many people believe that the Japanese should be made to work under supervision and not supported. A concentration camp was regarded as living at the expense of the group and not desirable. Many persons believed also when they said "no" that the Japanese should not be allowed in the U.S.--they suggested such things as ship them back, or put them on a boat and drown them in the Pacific. Some people were aware that the loyal Japanese should not be kept in a "concentration camp", and as soon as their loyalty was determined, these people should be released. Others were aware of this loyalty, but would not take a chance with the few, and so all should be in "concentration camps".

#2. There was very little ambiguousness on this question.

#3. Many people were of the opinion that if the Japanese were to be in the U.S., they should be able to live in Salt Lake as well as anyplace. People here again were aware of disloyal and loyal Japanese. Some opinioned no Japanese in the U.S.

#4. On this question people familiar with the California law were affected differently, some thought that Utah would be forced to take the Japanese from California and others thought that a law such as the California law would allow the "Jap" to ruin the land. Personal experience with the Japanese in this as in all the questions had a varying effect upon persons having contact with the Japanese. Some were favorably influenced while others found them trustworthy in all respects, but still claimed

them a " sneaky race".

#5. In this question many people thought to have separate churches, schools, and recreation was a privilege to be denied the Japanese and were unaware of the Americanizing that would be carried on in a mixed association. Many people who were aware of the desirable results to be gained from a social mixture would be for the Japanese having separate churches if they desired, but not schools and recreation.

#6. Many people who answered this question, "yes", would not (we think) do as they say when faced with the actual situation.

#7. There was very little detectable variance of meaning of "yes" or "no" on this question. A few opinions were vocalized to the effect that Japanese should be put in front line trenches and shot by the enemy. Many also thought that they should be watched while in the army.

#8. Many people were aware that if they answered "yes", they were contradicting themselves, but they answered, and said "yes" anyway. Some were for restricting the rights but yet giving to the Japanese "constitutional" rights. Some said "no" to be in harmony with the previous answers."

--Hal Osborn

"The first observation which I made in regards to Caucasian opinion on the Japanese question was that people were not as a rule logical in their answers to the eight questions. This fact became more apparent as I interviewed more people. For example more than one person would answer question #1--"yes, people of Japanese ancestry should be kept in concentration camps for the duration," and then answer #2--"no, they are not more disloyal than people of German or Italian ancestry," and #8--"Yes, they should have the same rights and privileges as any other citizen." This combination and other such combinations of opinions seem to me to be illogical.

"There were exceptions but people reacted for

the most part quickly and emotionally and generally in a way which showed a lack of previous thought about the problem. Many openly admitted that they had never considered the problem. While most reactions were definitely positive or negative, many people sought to qualify their "yes" or "no" which sometimes changed the meaning of their answer. I noticed this especially on Questions #1, 4, and 5. I would ask, "Should persons of Japanese ancestry be kept in concentration camps for the duration of the war?" and they would answer, "No" but would qualify their answer by adding "Put them out on the farms and make them prove how loyal they are." Or "Why would they live in royal style off the taxes of loyal Americans?" Their answer to the question is "no" which implies a favorable reaction to the Japanese, whereas actually the spirit is negative to Japanese-American welfare.

"In question #5 about the same thing happened. Often people would answer "No" implying social acceptance of the Japanese whereas actually their attitude was to keep the Japanese in a position where they could be watched. In question #4 there was a slight tendency to suggest regulation of Japanese rights to own property in Salt Lake either by way of limiting the kind of property or the amount of property which they could have. Question #6 about hiring Japanese was perhaps the question reacted to most quickly and most negatively even by people whose answers to the other questions were quite liberal.

"Another general tendency which I particularly noticed was toward stereotype answers or comments about the questions. These included such phrases as: "Those Japs are all the same--look what they did at Pearl Harbor." "Once a Jap, always a Jap." "You simply can't trust them." "I don't want anything to do with them." "Ship them back to Japan where they belong." etc...

"Considering the questions as a whole, I feel that they did a pretty good job of determining public opinion. I met many different people representing various classes and occupations. With very few exceptions, people seemed quite willing to express their opinions and discuss the problem, but as a whole they were against

the Japanese. Some were willing to tolerate them because of a belief in a Democratic ideal but in no case did I find a friendly acceptance of them on an equal basis or a sympathetic understanding of their problems."

--Margaret Pitts

"The sentiment of the people interviewed as to their feelings toward the Japanese in the United States and Utah seems to be very harsh. After having the client answer the eight questions asked, this interviewer remained for as long as one hour discussing the feelings of these people toward the Japanese. Although there were a few exceptions, the general opinion was that all Japanese were so constituted and indoctrinated with the ideas of love-of-father-land, ancestor worship, and the like that they would never become an asset to the United States. Therefore, they said, some action such as deportation or segregation of all Japanese should be the next step for the government to take.

"Question #8 caused the most discussion with the people that I interviewed. Their attitude was that if we give a Japanese citizenship papers, they should have all of the privileges there-in contained. However, most objected to the idea of allowing any Japanese to have this honor. Their solution to this problem was deportation.

"Question #6 caused no discussion. I failed to get even one "yes" answer. The answer usually was a definite "I should say not."

--Joe Gabardi

"To students of college age, the interview was taken seriously and their opinions were usually given after thinking the questions over seriously. Their answers were very unprejudiced and seemed quite unconscious of race hatred.

"High school students were rather passive and as a general rule were against the Japanese--without a true and just reason.

"The higher economic levels are far more tolerant, especially those of the middle age brackets and those having higher education.

"Mothers and wives having sons and husbands in the armed forces were very much against the Japanese. People having lived in contact with them (Jap) were also less tolerant.

"The age bracket of 60 and above were generally very rash and tended to be very race conscious. Their opinions were stated emphatically and with much ethnocentrism."

---Dora Nate

A word or two of caution needs to be interjected at this point relative to the general meanings of questions in any public opinion survey, especially as it has to deal with the present study. Because the questions used in the Salt Lake Caucasian-Japanese opinion survey were made up without a complete standardization process having been completed, it seems highly possible that the following difficulties may have been encountered in the interviewing:

1. Some of the questions may have been too vague to permit precise answers.
2. Some of the questions were getting at some stereotype or overtone implicit in the questions rather than at the meanings intended.
3. Some of the questions were asked whose implications are not seen.
4. Questions were getting only surface rationalizations.
5. Questions were getting only stereotyped answers.

It is suggested, in the light of these difficulties, that some of the simple percentage answers to the questions in the survey do not mean at all what they would appear to mean without further probing. Extreme rationalizations may have been present in some instances. This means that an unusually high social value is placed on a given answer because such an answer is the "socially accepted answer." In this type of answer, we have the indivi-

duals following an accepted stereotype knowing full well that he does not wholly believe it, or the individual may feel that he is answering honestly but may contradict himself when brought down to earth by a more specific test of the stereotype or value in question. This type of situation seems to exist in the present study especially where the negative answers are concerned. The conversations and discussions held with some of the persons interviewed after the questions were answered, would seem to indicate that in many instances the negative answer needed to be modified to suit particular situations and individuals. In other words, many of the persons are not as negative as some of the answers would upon first glance seem to indicate. On the other hand, most of the positive answers were not considered to be in need of discussion or modification by the persons interviewed.

The tentative conclusions that might be drawn from the opinion survey of Caucasians in Salt Lake City concerning persons of Japanese ancestry, with the above "restrictions" and difficulties kept firmly in mind, are:

1. A definite occupation bias exists against persons of Japanese ancestry. The closer a specific group comes into competition with persons of Japanese ancestry the greater the negative attitude.
2. The young people are on the whole more willing to apply the principles of American democracy to persons of Japanese ancestry than are the older persons. In this instance, we have the fact born out that has been discovered time and time again, that prejudices and hatreds are acquired things and are dependent upon the cultural environment of peoples.
3. Any constructive program for the speeding up of the integration of persons of Japanese ancestry into the society of Salt Lake City, will have to begin by enlisting the aid of students, professionals, and managers. Gradually farmers may be appealed to for assistance.
4. The groups whose avowed purpose is to suppress Japanese-American activities in the community will be made up of old people, laborers, craftsmen, operatives, service, and clerical groups, with a fair amount of support coming from housewives.

5. The best approach for a constructive program of integration into the community of persons of Japanese ancestry seems to rest upon the constitutional rights of American citizens. It is significant that in this respect over 50 percent of the persons interviewed held that Japanese-Americans should have the same rights as other citizens.

VI.

BY WAY OF SUMMARY

The facts in the total study of the relocation of persons of Japanese ancestry in Utah are admittedly not all collected and analysized. This being the case, the present preliminary report cannot present a conclusive summary. The following discussion will primarily discuss some of the problems to be studied in the future, with some suggestions for research technique. The suggestions and problems for future research should be considered by the research worker more as hypotheses worthy of trial in a research program than as hard and fast rules to be accepted as fundamental to any future program.

Any research program in the future planned to continue this preliminary approach, should first of all review or re-survey the fields covered in this report for the specific purposes of bringing the present statistics more up to date and to check on the possible changes that have taken place over nearly a year's time. The ten (10) questions listed on pages 2 and 3 of this report should be used as a guide for the collection of various pertinent types of information.

The various sources found by the writer to furnish sources of information relative to general problem of Japanese relocation in Utah are listed as follows:

(1) Various local newspapers.
(2) Various War Relocation Reports.
(3) Various meetings of specific groups (American Federation of Labor, Salt Lake Civic and Beautification League, Ministerial Associations, Salt Lake City Youth Council, Citizens Committee for Constitutional Rights of Salt Lake, Real Estate Boards, C.I.O., City Commissioners,

and Veteran's Organizations).
(4) Publications of various local groups (A.F.L., C.I.O., Catholic Church).
(5) Law enforcement records.
(6) School records.
(7) State Postwar Planning Board studies and recommendations.
(8) Employment records of the United States Employment Service, private and public industries.
(9) Radio commentators and newscasts.
(10) Public meetings and forums of various types.
(11) Questionnaires, verbatium records, and surveys conducted by the research staff of this study.

The mention of questionnaires brings the point of discussion to a very controversial issue involved in a study of this type. The present study has used two forms of questionnaires in gaining information. The long questionnaire was used in the beginning and a short, specific set of questions memorized by the interviewer was used later, and for the most part in the greater part of the study. The long questionnaire, consisting of tight and a fairly compact check-list, required a mechanical series of answers to questions. This type of questionnaire did not work successfully with the persons of Japanese ancestry contacted. The answers to these questions took on the characteristic of being statements arbitarily given, and there was no way of knowing what the statements signified in terms of the total person or the total situation. The statements when re-checked often showed that the persons giving the statements were interested in giving the investigator what he thought the investigator wanted, or the person being questioned answered in terms of what he believed would be to his advantage.

The shorter questionnaire, which could be memorized by the interviewer, was established and used to avoid stilted and arbitrary answers. The questions were used most of the time merely for the guidance of free and friendly discussions. The interviewer after such a "session" would fill out the interview schedule and add all pertinent remarks to be used in compiling the work sheets. This type of approach was found to yield more personal items than would come out in the longer form of questionnaire interview.

The questionnaire sent to the various industrial groups in Salt Lake and Ogden were of the compact check-list type. This form was used because we were primarily interested in a statistical analysis of persons of Japanese ancestry employed in relation to non-Japanese.

Another source of interesting (qualitative) as well as pertinent information was found in written statements made by persons of Japanese ancestry living in the Salt Lake area. In such records, one is able to find a source of information picturing the individual's attitudes toward what he believes other persons think of him and what he thinks of himself and his position (status-role) in the society as a whole. It is, however, not intended by the above remark to suggest that such sources of information "stand alone", but rather that other sources of information more quantitative should be obtained to enhance the dependability and utility of the personally written document. Oversimplification in discussing "autobiographical" material exists and careful quantitative checks need to be made of implied qualitative statements.

In final conclusion to this preliminary report, it may be tentatively said that:

(1) Persons of Japanese ancestry are not being used in terms of employment to the best of their abilities and training.
(2) Some forms of discrimination and prejudice exists in Utah against persons of Japanese ancestry, and this prejudice is being fed by various types of rumor and propaganda from the Pacific Coast area.
(3) The majority of Caucasians in Salt Lake City are prejudiced against "Japanese", but in varying degrees. More than 50 percent of the Caucasians believe that American citizens of Japanese ancestry should be guaranteed the constitutional rights of all American citizens.
(4) The persons of Japanese ancestry are not overrunning nor controlling jobs in Utah.
(5) The great majority of industries employing persons of Japanese ancestry find them efficient, cooperative, and trustworthy. The majority of Caucasians working with "Japanese" in various industries

do not have a high degree of negativism or belligerency toward them.

(6) The living accommodations for persons of Japanese ancestry in Salt Lake City are not of as high a standard as required, but a serious attempt is made upon their part to keep their living quarters clean and "homey".

(7) Large numbers of persons of Japanese ancestry recognize their peculiar position in American society in this time of crisis, and they are honestly attempting to make the necessary adjustments demanded of them. (The proof for this statements - personal records possessed by the writer).

(8) The majority of "relocated Japanese" now in Utah are planning to leave the state at the end of the war--if not before.

(9) The large majority (77%) of the persons of Japanese ancestry in Utah are young persons, born in the United States and thus American citizens. About 75 percent are males and 25 percent females, but the number of females are increasing while that of the males are on the decrease due to selective service and eastward migration.

(10) The vast majority of Japanese-Americans in Utah are well educated, about 40 percent having graduated from college or university or are now attending such an institution.

(11) The crime rate (per ratio) is very low--the lowest of any one specific group in Utah. (For information check statistics in law enforcement records.)