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WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY
COMMUNITY ANALYSIS SECTION

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A STUDY OF THE PATTERN OF RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS
OF THE JAPANESE IN HAWAII

In order to verify the pattern of the religious concepts of the alien Japanese, informal discussions were had during the first two weeks of September in 18 groups in different parts of Honolulu. These groups meet regularly under the supervision of the YWCA to do sewing and knitting for the Red Cross, O C D, Day Care Centers and other service agencies. The number of participants in the discussions was 373. The majority of these women are Buddhists while some belong to some popular Shinto sects. Most of these Buddhist women also worship some of the popular Shinto gods for divine assistance when such necessity as sickness or misfortune occurs.

Ordinarily these women would not think of uttering the word "emperor" at home or anywhere, as the use of it was rigidly suppressed by their children as well as by the total circumstance since the war started. To them this term signified evil omen, causing distrust on the part of others regarding the local Japanese residents. Anyone uttering the term "emperor" was regarded as a trouble maker. Therefore any detection by the use of this prohibited term required a skillful technique and the most natural setting in which the participants of the discussion could express their feeling and thinking spontaneously without becoming aware of being detected. Hence, chatty, informal, discussions while knitting and sewing for the Red Cross were chosen as the best method. The writer's continued association with them for the past year and a half reduced their self-consciousness to a minimum, although some of them indicated at the beginning that the questions were queer and untimely.

The first question asked was "Do you worship the Japanese emperor as a god". All the answers were "No, we don't have his pictures now. We burned them all. So we don't have the emperor in our house." The second question was "Did you believe that the emperor was a god and did you worship him." To this question 340 out of 373 or 91.9 percent of the total number stated that the Japanese emperor was not a real god but he was treated as a god because he represented his deceased ancestors' spirits. Their general expression was as follows: "Although we have never seen him,¹ we know that he is a human being just like us. He eats as we do.

1 -- Most of these women have never seen even the palace in Tokyo, while some of them saw it as part of their sight-seeing. "We didn't bow because there was nobody to be seen" was the expression of some of them while "There were policemen around there and we were all made to bow." was the expression by others. Evidently when they visited Japan, they were not interested very much in seeing Tokyo but they went to their villages and provinces to visit their relatives.

He walks on his feet as we do. He has children who are no different from other human children. He becomes sick. He could get injured in accidents. But he cannot save himself or his family from these misfortunes. He has all the physical advantages and disadvantages of the human beings as all of us. When he dies, then he becomes a real god. Then his spirit will be enshrined. His spirit will keep watch over his family and descendants and protect them. We all become gods or Buddhas after our death and then our children worship our spirits as the protectors of their families. Those who are Buddhists become Buddhas and those who are the believers of the different Shinto gods become gods according to their sects."

"Of course, we use the term "ogami" or worship for both worshipping Buddhas or gods and for seeing the emperor. We used the same term when President Roosevelt was here.² But we did not mean that we worshipped him as a god. The President is the highest in this country, so we gave him our highest reverence." "The emperor and the President are the same. The emperor is the boss of Japan and the President is the boss of America. We don't pray to either of them for blessing or salvation or healing. They both have to pray to their gods for these. When they die they become gods." "The gods we worship are entirely different from the emperor. We go to the shrines not just to pay reverence but for supplication."

Many of these women, however, admitted the fact that it was possible for people to be so crazy as to believe even in the head of a dried sardine.³ "So some people must believe that the emperor is a real god and pray to him for cure and safety. Such people might get their desired benefit because of the seriousness of their faith." Then they discussed ^{how} groups of people made pilgrimages to the stones near Wahiawa about two decades ago. They said that some people really got cured.

On the other hand as they expressed, the living head of the family is considered very close to the spirit of the ancestors even among the common people. He is considered akin to the spirits in a special way. He is revered because of this particular role. Other members of the family are subordinate to him. In the same sense the emperor is considered as a god and treated same as his ancestors.

To the traditional minds of these women all the gods were human beings. All the legends and mythical stories in their old country reveal their human qualities, only in a more exaggerated degree. To their traditional pattern of belief, it is quite possible for a god to have a human physical form with its abilities and disabilities. The function of gods is considered in the same way as that of human beings. As the human occupations are divided, there is a division of labor among the gods. A god or goddess may specialize in curing the skin disease; a goddess may specialize in fertility; a god may be a specialist in

2 -- These women had to use the term "ogami" to indicate their desire to see Mrs. Roosevelt while she stayed in Honolulu recently.

3 -- Sardine is considered the commonest and the cheapest and therefore the most worthless fish in Japan. There is an old saying "even the head of a dried sardine could perform miracles if one has faith in it."

match-making; another god may be a god of war. There are a god of learning; a god of food or rice; a god of oven or rice pot; gods of material fortune or wealth; a god of trees; a god of wind and so on up to the innumerable number of eight million gods. None of these gods is almighty or omnipresent or all round. Their power is limited as in the case of the human beings. A god can even be a bad god, powerful but specializing in destroying human lives and their happiness. There is a god of death. There is a god of curse. There is a god of fate. Therefore, goodness or righteousness is not necessarily the criterion of the nature of gods. Of course the gods who are beneficent toward the human beings are more popular and liked and worshipped than the gods who possess the contrary nature. Bad gods are worshipped in order that their temper may be pacified so that they would not be too destructive.

With such concept of god, it is very natural for the Japanese to accept any human being who appears to possess or exhibit any of the human abilities beyond the limitation of rank and file human beings. On the other hand the Japanese emperor has never been interpreted to them as displaying any of the qualities of those departmental gods or dieties. He was interpreted as a god because he represents gods who were his ancestors. While the disposition of the Japanese people is to accept it without question, it is hard for them to take him as they would other gods who can help them in their practical problems. Identifying him wholly with his ancestral gods is difficult for these women because he is still alive. He has no specialized function as a god or a diety. He is a god without portfolio.

The conclusion they usually come to is that he is the highest of all the human beings in Japan, so people treat him with the highest reverence. "He is", they say, "just like the President of the United States. Of course the position of the emperor is by heredity and that of the President is by election. Such difference is according to the make-up of the country. One who becomes the head of the country must be pre-ordained to be so in his former life. Therefore he must possess the qualities which are not in us common people. We must treat a person of the highest rank in the country as we would a god. We experience reverential feeling when we come before great men or virtuous saints because they possess the quality of gods in them. In the villages or provinces in Japan those people are called "living gods" or "iki-gami-sama". "All those who have done good deeds for humanity become gods and protect the country. President Roosevelt will certainly become a god because he is doing so much for this country and for the world now. Perhaps we ordinary people may not become gods after death because we are so insignificant in our deeds and rank in this world."

Some of them stated that it was difficult for them to worship the gods when they go to the shrines because they saw nothing but decorations and images and no god to be visible. They said, "It must be just to satisfy our hearts to believe that the gods are there. That's why it is easier for us to worship the sun and the moon." In fact, excepting 16 or 4.7 per cent of these women, they all indicated their practice of daily worship of the sun. According to them the sun protects the whole world. He makes his daily rounds of the world without fail. The sun gives them the light which is essential to their existence. The sun takes care of the crops. They say that the pious men and women worship the sun at the sunrise to ask for his day's blessing and worship him at the sunset to give him thanks for

his day's protection. Some of these women say that they worship the moon, as he is the god of the night. Some of them mentioned that the wide practice of worship of the sun was a carry over from their rural villages where their agriculture was greatly dependent upon him. Some revealed a vague reason for having no shrines for the sun as follows: The sun lives in the sky and moves every day. So there is no point in enshrining him. Besides, the sun is visible to their eyes. But the spirits of the deceased ancestors or gods are not visible so they have to enshrine them. A few women who belonged to Tenrikyo sect¹ stated that they worshipped the sun and the moon which were symbolized in the sacred pictures in the altar. But this is very different from the popular worship of the sun as part of nature worship or an agricultural cult. They revealed very little connection between the sun and the Sun-goddess. As to the ancestorship of Amaterasu, these women seemed to have accepted its being a goddess without question. But when they started discussing it, the paternal side of the genealogy became vague, so they dropped the matter by saying "Oh it's so far back that nobody knows what really took place."

16 women said that they believe in Buddha as a sole source of salvation. So they did not worship other gods including the sun. They revealed that they would not pray to Buddha to cure their illness or save them from misfortune. They say that what they are in this present world were predetermined in their former lives. All these, they consider, are scheduled in Buddha's plan. So all they can do is to accept the fate and make the best of the situation. They stated that in Buddhism, unlike the Shinto sects, emphasis was on future salvation rather than the comfort and happiness of the present life. Some of these women said "We say that we must be good in this world so that we shall have salvation in the blessed abode of Buddha after this world. This must be in order to keep us from becoming bad and mischievous in this world. We don't know what our future life is really like, because no one who has died has ever come back to tell us the truth."

There was a mention of the emperor being the father of Japan and there was a widespread agreement among these women regarding the role of the President being that of the father-in-law. They stated "If the emperor is the father of Japan, the President is the father of America. Then he is father to our children. But to us the first generation the president is the father-in-law because we were adopted into this country." "Just as a bride or an adopted son must cut all his or her connection with his or her parental family, it is our natural duty to consider ourselves solely in connection with America.² Our children don't understand this as they don't live with their in-laws and they don't consider their first duty to be toward their parents-in-law." "As the father-in-law has the sole power over us and as the adopted member of the family must accord absolute obedience and

1 -- Tenrikyo is a Shinto sect, which is very similar to Christian Science in its attitude toward sickness and its faith healing.

2 -- Part of the traditional ceremony of adoption or marriage consists of symbolic death, indicating that the person is dead as far as his or her parental family is concerned.

reverence to him we must revere the President with our utmost." "Of course once we are adopted the father-in-law is actually our father. But calling the President father-in-law is very irreverent and disrespectful as it means that we treat him like one of us common people. So we must not mention it."

15 women indicated that the Japanese emperor was comparable to the kings in Europe. 8 old women stated that they had never thought of the emperor either as a god or as father of the country. They said that it was just the accident of birth that he became the emperor and that they could have been born in the same family, should the god of good fortune favored so. But they themselves would not choose such a life as it would be just like being a prisoner. 5 other women stated that the political policy of the time exaggerated the divinity of the emperor and people in Japan believe it blindly.

As indicated at the beginning there were 33 or nearly 8.8 per cent of the total number of these women, who believed in the divinity of the emperor. Of this number 25 stated that he was a "political god" to take care of the country, but he was not a god to be worshipped as a religion, as he could not save them from illness or misfortune nor could he take care of their future life. 4 of these women stated that because the emperor was a god, he was just to be worshipped and served by others and he did not need to know anything. So he could even be an idiot. 8 women stated "The emperor is not a real god but he is a scion of gods. Therefore he must have inherited the nature of gods. He is lower than the real gods but higher than the human beings. In America the President is higher than the rest of the human beings. That is why our children are glad to die for him." 1

It seems to be that the majority of these 373 women know that the emperor is artificially treated as a god because he represents his ancestral gods. To the majority of the alien Japanese in Hawaii the distinction between gods and the human beings of the higher status is very vague. The history and traditions of their old country are based on the vague idea of the mixture of these human-gods. The deeds of gods include all the human behavior plus the miraculous luck. Therefore, if a human being was considered a god, no question arose in the minds of the Japanese. This loose concept of god is due to their polytheistic conception of gods. To the Japanese every object is god or has the essence of god. God includes both good and bad gods. To a very great extent the concept of god in the minds of the Japanese is also influenced by the Buddhistic philosophy of life and the universe. One dominant idea in the minds of the Japanese is the sense of predestination of their fate.²

Contrary to the general assumption, the bulk of the alien Japanese in Hawaii do not have the same mythical concept of the emperor as that advocated by the present military regime in Japan. One reason may be that while there is little

1 -- While their loyalty is for America, the pattern of their reaction and interpretation is in their traditional way.

2 -- This is part of the cause for lack of incentive among the peasant class and their submissiveness to their fate.

distinction between gods and human beings anyway and all the human beings are supposed to become gods or Buddhah after death, the human form of existence being only temporary as interpreted by Buddhism, the concept of the dual quality - god and human- in the person of the emperor is rather a new idea. The intensification of indoctrination of this mythical concept of the emperor being since about twelve years ago, the bulk of the Hawaii-Japanese had already left Japan by that time. They did not go through the period of systematic indoctrination of the past 10 years as school children or even as members of young people's patriotic associations. The fact that the bulk of the alien Japanese in Hawaii did not have much formal education is another explanation for their vagueness of their own ideas of gods and human beings including the emperor. Their schooling is very meager. Not many went to the 6th. grade. Many of them went only as far as the second or third grade. This is true of men too. It must be understood that the majority of the Hawaii-Japanese came from the least favored peasant class in Japan economically and socially. Of course these people were exposed to the propaganda from Japan through the magazines and newspapers from Japan. They could read kana or alphabet which was attached to the Chinese characters. They were also exposed to the visitors from Japan who boasted their "national spirit". But these did not clarify their vagueness about the emperor and gods as the systematic drilling of minds in schools would.

Many of these women visited Japan once since they came to Hawaii. But visiting their relatives did not provide them with much indoctrination. They must have been impressed as onlookers by the seriousness of the people. But the numerous expressions revealed that they seemed to have been more impressed by the scarcity of material comfort and goods such as food, fuel and clothing. It seemed that they had very little concern about the political state of Japan even while visiting there. Their lack of interest regarding the political state of the country is quite understandable when we realize their experience in their past. In their old country, throughout the lives of their forefathers different regimes came and went. To their class the changes in the political world made very little difference. The bulk of the Japanese peasants did not worry about who became their leaders in the government, unless their immediate life was affected by it. Their lot was to obey. It was only in the life time of their parents that the authorities over their lives were transferred from their feudal lords to the emperor. Many of them in their old villages still talked about the events during the reign of their old feudal masters when they left Japan 20 or 30 or 40 years ago. After they came to Hawaii their legal, economic, educational, cultural and social status permitted them to stay out of the inner circle of even psychological participation in the political affairs of the country.

Whether their transfer of their devotion to the President may or may not appear to be merely for self-protection, the fact that they came to rely upon the picture or a symbolic representation of the President for their protection is significant, no matter how crude and naive their attitude is. Their psychological habit plus their traditional role of dependence upon others for protection made it natural and irresistible for them to find a substitute at hand.

YOUNG WOMEN'S
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*File
Religion*

April 10, 1944

Provine

Mr. John H. Provinse, Chief
Community Management Division
War Relocation Authority
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

I am enclosing a copy of the study I made on the religious concepts of the alien Japanese in Hawaii. This was to explain a certain portion of my previous paper. Although it is limited to our local community, it might be taken as representative of the religious attitudes of the Japanese peasants in general. I hope that it will be of some use to you.

Yours sincerely,

Yukiko Kimura
Yukiko Kimura (Miss)



*This will appear in the periodical
Social Process in Hawaii*

Yukiko Kimura
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Honolulu Y.W.C.A.
March 20, 1943

A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SOME EFFECTS OF THE WAR SITUATION
UPON THE ALIEN JAPANESE IN HAWAII

(This article excludes the Christian Japanese. This also excludes the)
(second generation whose experiences and problems require a separate study.)

1. Sense of extreme insecurity

With the outbreak of the war the Japanese people became the most isolated portion of the community psychologically. The situation undermined the whole social stratum. The Japanese who had been in a more secure position economically, socially, and psychologically than the more recent immigrant groups became suddenly the most insecure ethnic group. Their status as a group dropped to the bottom of the social strata with a new and distasteful identification with the enemy country. The atmosphere of desolation was prevalent in their community during the early period of observation. Loss of vitality was felt generally and there was an appearance of cessation of all the functions normal to a society.

An extreme degree of fear was present. Their first reaction to a stranger was fear, fear of being questioned; fear of being suspected; fear of facing the unknown; fear of being accused of being Japanese. "What is going to become of us" seemed to be the question everyone had. There was a fear of punishment because the country with which their legal status and their cultural background were identified had committed the unforgivable crime. Their state of mind was comparable to that of a criminal waiting for a severe punishment for a major offense. There was a projection of exaggerated imagination regarding the punishment. Their typical mechanism of accommodation was a negative retiring one.

"We are afraid. We don't know what to do. Even our own children don't let us go out. If we go out, we would be the focus of hate and revenge. So we stay in the house" was the often expressed feeling. In a sense their retiring attitude was a kind of self-inflicted punishment and at the same time it was to reduce embarrassment.

In connection with the self-inflicted punishment, mental collapse and suicide may be mentioned, because both of these symptoms are prevalent in their old country in the extreme situations, whether it is as a deliberate act of punishing themselves or a device for saving face and reducing embarrassment or a sign of the individual's inability to face the reality. But the report of the Honolulu Police Department shows no significant increase of suicide due to the war situation.¹ Dr. Edwin E. McNeil of the Mental Clinic of the Board of Health also revealed a negligible increase in mental cases among the Japanese during the past year. This is so unlike the Japanese. One explanation of this may be that the Japanese who immigrated to Hawaii had been less concerned about the "face saving" measures in their old country, as they belonged to the class whose fate was in the hands of their feudal lords or upper classes.

2. Role of rumor and superstition

The effectiveness of rumor is apparent when the whole group feels insecure. Rumor is always accompanied by an exaggerated imagination. In this sense rumor is a projection of a collective imagination. Such excited collective feeling produces irrational behavior because it excludes rational thinking on the part of the individuals. When the rumor of mass evacuation of the Japanese to the

1--During the year 1942 there were 15 cases of suicide of which only 2 were due to the war situation.

mainland spread in the community, the Japanese people did not question the authenticity of it. Instead, they rushed to the stores and bought trunks, suitcases and warm clothes to get ready to be evacuated. Only the official guarantee of security brought them to rational thinking. Along with rumor was the effectiveness of superstitions. The wide spread story of an appearance of a half-human animal which was considered as an evil omen made practically every Japanese family eat their rice cooked with red beans as a protective measure to avoid the oncoming peril. In an extreme situation of insecurity the whole community becomes a crowd incapable of rational thinking and action.

3. Effects of the loss of traditional leadership and definitions of situations.

The Japanese people had been confined in their ghetto socially as well as psychologically. Their social behavior had been defined mainly by the authorities and the leadership within the ghetto, such as the priests of the Buddhist and Shinto temples and the language school teachers as well as the more aggressive members of their ghetto who attained the status of leadership. With the war all these leaders were gone. The elimination of the functions of the religious institutions is hard on their morale. It meant that the source of protection and security became suddenly the source of anxiety and danger. Taking away from the Japanese the material conveniences and comforts is less likely to affect their morale. They were used to material destitution in their old country. Even mental domination by others is less likely to cause them anxiety. Rather without a domineering guidance, they feel lost. Freedom and initiative are appreciated only by those who know what they are. These concepts are outside the experiences of the Japanese people. Hence they don't miss them. But the domineering control or guidance is greatly missed by them. The elimination of the functions of the religious

institutions meant, therefore, the loss of official guidance and of the definition of situations of their social life.

In such a case, where the usual definition of situations has become entirely useless and there has been no time yet for a new scheme to develop, the natural accommodation is shrinking from action. Even without the war situation, if the usual definition of situation becomes invalid, there is a state of uncertainty, or even breakdown in the personality organization, as in the case of a new arrival in a foreign community before he acquires a new scheme of life fitted to his new environment. But in such a situation the immigrant has a certain mental preparation for change and to that extent there is readiness which reduces the degree of shock of change. Even if the introduction of the new standard is comparatively fast, there is a process gradual enough for one to acquire the new standard. But in the case of the Japanese, because the circumstance permitted their segregation within their ghetto up to the last moment, there was no intermediate process. The process of gradual penetration of the new element was absent. Usually the change in a community starts from the outer side, the force of change gradually penetrating toward the center where the sacred institutions are effective. The breakdown of the old control of the community is through those who have come in contact with the outside world and its new definitions of situations. Instead, the center of the control and the authority which had guaranteed them security suddenly became ineffective. The sources of social sanction and standards of their social behavior within their group became not only invalid but objectionable. They had to acquire overnight the American standard of behavior. They had to act suddenly according to a pattern beyond their usual experiences.

While these alien Japanese expected a change, it was the change in the second and third generation descendants and not in themselves. In fact one of the

main reasons for the retardation of Americanization of the first generation is their traditional habit of realizing their ambitions through their offspring. Therefore, while they invested a great deal of psychological energy as well as monetary resources in their children for achieving their ambitions, they have never thought of Americanization on their own part. They have continued to accept their role as inevitable fate. Therefore there was no mental preparedness for change on their part. Not only the suddenness of change but the war situation which rejects everything Japanese required a total abandonment of their usual mode of behavior and thinking, including their language and clothing. Clothing they did change overnight. But the language takes a longer time to acquire. Other habits are worse off. A gradual process of getting out of their traditional habits of life is a healthy sign of their assimilation into a larger cultural or social pattern. In the absence of such a process, one is apt to try the mechanism known to him in his past experiences even for an adjustment to a new situation. But the practice of their traditional way is objectionable. Therefore, the negative adjustment of "not to act" is the only one which can be applied to one's behavior.

Ordinarily when no help is found in the physical and material circumstances people try to depend on religious and spiritual assistance as the last resort. But as this last resort was felt dangerous and tabu, their mental mechanism of adjustment was a negative one. When anything which they consider sacred and as possessing a supreme power and the source of their existence is labelled as being dangerous, life itself becomes uprooted. Often in an extreme situation of insecurity such as this, where the traditional mode of expression is restrained, there is a possibility of finding an outlet/^{for} such suppressed emotional states in the form of an expressive religious movement. But the prerequisite of such a move-

ment is an excited emotional state of the group. Since any gathering of the aliens was not permitted, they escaped the formation of such emotional gatherings. Moreover, as their traditional religious institutions became the source of danger, there was both conscious and unconscious avoidance of identifying themselves with their religion or religious groups. This fact also contributed toward their shrinking attitude.

4. Desire for change and lag in the psychological mechanism

The fear of being identified with anything Japanese and a strong desire to become like non-Japanese are capable of forcing one to perform an act which he is not accustomed to practice. This is partly for self protection but also for the reason that any normal individual would choose to be identified with something agreeable to others. Such a casual expression as "You are lucky to have been born here, I envy you" in the course of conversations among the Japanese reveals their innermost desire for being identified with America. In such a case self-consciousness is greatly reduced. Moreover, it became easier for them to accept and practice the new way now than before, because no one in the Japanese community would dare to criticize such a change. Everyone must change. They all have to live and act like Americans.

The same social experience, however, does not necessarily produce the same effect in different individuals. The important phase is the reaction pattern to the experience, which reveals their subjective experiences. In the homogeneous group where convention is the controlling factor, the reaction of the individuals is habituated so that everyone in the group responds to the same social stimuli in the same pattern set by the convention. This means that the reaction pattern

depends upon the strength of the convention. On the other hand the relaxation of convention depends upon the extent and nature of contact with the outside world.¹ This means that even the transfer of their old attitude to a positive helpfulness to the larger community occurs in the pattern of their old experiences. Transfer of loyalty or attachment is easier than changing their psychological pattern or mechanism. The new loyalty or attachment is expressed through the traditional channel. In other words it is expressed in the ways one is accustomed to. In this sense, although the shift of loyalty or attachment is a positive and definite sign of the process of assimilation, it is not the final process. When the psychological mechanism and the resultant interpretation become thoroughly in accordance with the patterns practiced by the people in the larger community, assimilation becomes more thorough. Loyalty or attachment is a conscious process while the psychological mechanism is an unconscious operation. Therefore it is quite possible for a foreigner or newly arrived immigrant to be loyal to America without changing his old psychological mechanism. Most of the older Japanese have developed a strong attachment to Hawaii. They will be loyal to America. But their psychological mechanism of response is in their old way. In other words they have transferred their loyalty to the President of the United States from the Japanese Emperor. In their conceptual pattern, however, the President is more like a god than a person. An example of this is revealed in such a statement as one by an elderly woman speaking of her dream of the American soldiers in a battlefield. She said, "Now I know that those honorable soldiers became the gods to protect

1--For this reason it is natural that the second generation who have wider contacts than their parents have different patterns of reaction.

this country. So, I am sure that America will win. I bow toward the south (indicating the Southern Pacific) every evening and give my prayer for this country." This conception is typically Shintoistic. But her loyalty is for America. Thus the psychological mechanism takes a longer time to change than an attitude, because it requires a natural, unconscious process of interaction with the indigenous people of the land. Sometimes intensive interaction for a short time hastens the process of change in the psychological mechanism, as in the case of a lone foreigner mingling among the native people. Even in such a case there must be a positive attitude or liking on the part of the foreigner, which prompts him to imitate or adopt the native mode of behavior and thinking. If there is a negative attitude on his part, no matter how close his physical distance to the native people is, his reaction is negative; there is no positive interaction, and his psychological mechanism remains unchanged. Therefore loyalty or attachment precedes the change in the more deep-rooted psychological patterns or mechanisms in the individual.

5. Reversal of authority of control at home.

Previous to the war the Japanese parents assumed a domineering role in the family discipline. Most children accepted such parental control as inevitable although unwelcome. As long as the traditional definitions persisted and worked, there was little chance for the second generation to apply the new definitions to their relations to their parents. The war situation reversed these parent-child roles overnight. The traditional definitions became considered contrary to the American ideals and standard of behavior. Their parents, not having acquired the definitions of their adopted country, have no authority to give guidance to their children. They are in the category of the enemy alien, while their children are the citizens. Their second generation sons and daughters were by circumstances

forced to assume authority over the conduct of the first generation members of their families. The parents have to obey their children. They have to depend upon the interpretations of their children, particularly with respect to the regulations concerning the conduct of enemy aliens. This results in a radical disruption of the traditional roles of the members of the family and changes the status between the two generations. For the sake of safety and convenience the alien parents now prefer to transfer their property or business to their citizen children. In many instances their children became the legal heads of their business. Where there were only daughters, the parents were forced to give up their old conception of inferior status of women and let them run their business. Children on the other hand realize their position in the American sense more clearly than before and show their independence overtly. Such disciplinary pressure as "Don't talk in Japanese," "don't use the telephone, because you don't speak English," or "don't wear a kimono," or "don't bow like a Japanese," indicates the reversed roles at home.

In the course of such a shift of authority, as the process was very sudden and the people were unprepared, breakdown in the behavior of the children is inevitable. The children who disliked the Japanese discipline, particularly such a restrictive custom as obedience to the parents, became very articulate in showing disregard for it. Due to the fact that anything Japanese became the focus of hate, they consciously and unconsciously feel the approval and whole-hearted sanction of the larger community concerning their disregard of the former parental discipline. Anything their parents might disapprove may be refuted by "American custom". Radical reduction of parental authority plus the existence of a disproportionately large number of males in the population of the community creates new problems for girls. The increasing trend of juvenile delinquency among the Japanese boys in

comparison to the general decreasing trend is also an indication of the reduction of the parental authority.² To many young people the status of being the children of enemy aliens causes frustration, particularly when they have to face denial of employment or other rightful privileges. Their rebellious attitude toward the parental discipline is often their unconscious act of blaming their parents for such handicaps.

Another factor which reduces the parental authority is the English language. The Japanese language spoken among the Japanese is now extremely discouraged, publicly and privately. Therefore the parents have to learn English. Having to learn the language of their children from the most elementary stage is an humiliating experience, particularly when their inadequate expressions have to be corrected by their children. On the other hand approval or disapproval of the children bears a great deal of weight. Such expressions as, "My daughter encourages me to come to work for the Red Cross," or "My children feel that I am doing well in English" show a great degree of appreciation and a new valuation by the first generation of the moral support of their children.

6. Changing attitude in the first generation.

Along with the reversal of authority between the generations, the changing attitude in the first generation must be mentioned. Previously direct participation of the Japanese women in the larger community was almost nil. Even when the organization was strictly of women, such as the dressmakers association, the major-

2--Captain Ray Madison of Crime Prevention Division of Honolulu Police Department revealed over one and half times more cases of juvenile delinquency among the Japanese in 1942 than those in 1941. Gambling is more than three times the number in 1941. Part of this increase seems to be due to the free hours after school, which the children used to spend at the language schools previously. Some positive program by the group work agencies will certainly reduce this problem to a great extent.

rity of the officers were their husbands. While the women did the work, men administered the business. Men preferred to keep their wives in the inferior role. Americanization which meant equality of men and women was particularly rejected by the alien males. They urged their women to keep the womanly quality of Japan and restricted them to staying at home. Women themselves were also conservative about Americanization, knowing nothing about the status of American women in their own experiences. But now with the forces of rejecting anything which has a mark of Japan and urging Americanization, men cannot exercise the same authority over their wives as formerly. Even the most selfish husband is forced to conform to the sentiment and the practice of the wider community and encourage the women to participate in community service. This means that, while the status of women in their homes and in the Japanese community has not changed, there is apparent freedom for them. In many instances their husbands become very interested in what they are doing and give positive assistance to their volunteer work.

This type of trend illustrates the fact that the alien Japanese have a strong desire to be trusted and included as useful and contributing elements to the common cause, in addition to their desire to be identified with America. The experiences in the neighborhood service clubs of the Y.W.C.A. reveal their psychological development through their direct participation in the community service. Not only is there this psychological reaction, but by thus working as a part of the larger community they have now a chance of associating with non-Japanese people. Formerly their contact with non-Japanese persons, particularly the haole people or so-called Americans, was superficial and secondary in nature as in the relationships of customer-trader or employer-employee or mere strangers on the streets. But now they meet many haoles as friends who are interested in them as persons.

In this sense such experiences as being invited to the homes of the haole members of the Y.W.C.A. is very helpful. Had there been such opportunities for these women at the beginning when they came to Hawaii as the picture brides 25, 30, or 40 years ago, there would have been less of a problem of assimilation. While there has been a great deal of effort for Americanization of the second generation, both the Japanese and the larger community ignored the importance of Americanization of the first generation. So, they remained psychologically outside the fence of the American community. Now the whole community as well as the Japanese themselves want to Americanize the Japanese.

Another experience through the Y.W.C.A. neighborhood service clubs is the transfer of their old dependence upon their traditional institutions to non-Japanese organizations.³ Along with the transfer of their dependence, there is a process of development of the sense of being at ease with the non-Japanese institutions. Thus the very fact that the Japanese community became a leaderless group is helpful for their wider contact, because their dependence is now upon the leadership of the wider community including its agencies and the governmental authorities.

7. Dissolution of cliques and factions.

In this connection the dissolution of the cliques and factions within the Japanese community may be mentioned. The war situation affected everybody equally. Belonging to a "better" clique does not guarantee their security or prestige any more. Evidently everyone in the same neighborhood goes to the same

3--Such matters as contributions toward all outside organizations, family and personal problems and even problems concerning the ashes and the graves of the deceased members of their families are brought to the Y.W.C.A. for consultation. Other social work agencies also revealed increased spontaneous cooperation of the Japanese clients.

group to work for Red Cross, etc. Their getting together in this way has a purpose far beyond the small competition of their cliques. Their chief concern has become the greater goal of meeting the needs of national emergency and serving their country. In this sense the participation in the larger community is a wholesome unifying factor for the Japanese.

8. Sharing memories and tradition of the country as a helpful device for in-group experiences.

All these indicate that the creation of in-group feeling contributes to a great extent toward the process of assimilation. In other words feeling of being accepted in the fraternity creates in the individuals relaxation of formality and increased desire for further contribution toward the common good of the fraternity. On the other hand, the exclusion and the individuals' subjective reactions to it not only hinder their desire for participation but also encourage them to segregate themselves from the larger community and thereby force them to form a separate in-group with an intense defensive psychological set-up.

If assimilation means the process by which an individual or a group is incorporated into the common cultural life by acquiring the memories, sentiments and attitude of the group by sharing the tradition and history,⁴ the Japanese people should have a chance of sharing the memories and history of America. Perhaps this helps the Japanese to appreciate America more than any other experiences. Appreciation of the past is more in accordance with the psychological habit of the Japanese. The Japanese people particularly value their historical heroes. To

4--Park and Burges, Introduction to the Science of Sociology, p 735

transfer this appreciation, the stories of the lives of the great men of America must be introduced to them. Such introduction will help them to realize that America too has heroes who made their country of today possible and that they are benefited by the fruits of their services. The idea of freedom or equality is foreign to the past experiences of the Japanese and therefore difficult to understand. But the sacrifices and services of the historical heroes help them to appreciate America. Any value is appreciated only within the framework of one's own experiences. There was no concept of freedom in the American sense in the Japanese cultural values. Freedom to most Japanese means freedom from moral restraint. Therefore it is identified with degeneration. Through the concept of freedom or equality, therefore, America cannot be understood by the Japanese. There has been no process for them to acquire this new concept and make it intelligible. But through the stories of the great men and women of the past including the founders of the country, American ideals can be instilled into the minds of the alien Japanese very successfully and they will be appreciated. The concept of hero is within their mental experiences. By way of what they are accustomed to, the new concept will be introduced easily and naturally. Appreciation of new values must be introduced through the old psychological mechanism in order to make it intelligible and effective.

9. Knowledge of custom encourages participation.

The common language is the only means of direct communication. It makes the in-group experience more positive. English of the average alien Japanese is still in the stage of symbolic sounds. The combination of certain different sounds are considered expressing certain different meanings. But a language develops

associated attitudes and mode of expression peculiar to the culture. If the language is still in the symbolic stage, there is no accompaniment of these factors. Therefore, while learning to speak English helps to bring the aliens into the same sphere of experience as others, until there develops within them the same mode of expression and attitudes as those of the rest of the population, their communication still lacks in the real process of interaction and remains within the realm of formality. Therefore English teaching must include the teaching of American customs and ways of thinking and feeling. While the language itself may not be perfect, a knowledge of the standards of behavior reduces their self-consciousness. This in turn encourages their mingling with others and their more positive participation in the larger community.

10. Increased in-group experiences through the natural and personal contacts.

Their experiences with the American community is increasingly widened by more personal and informal and natural contacts. Often through their children who are studying on the mainland but more often by mere chance, many of the Japanese families came to know American boys who are in the armed forces as family friends. These boys do not treat them as social inferiors and they behave not very differently from their own sons. The discovery that these haole boys came from varied economic and social backgrounds, and that not all of them speak King's English, reduces the so-called "inferiority complex" of the Japanese and makes them feel comfortable in mixing with them. Such an expression as, "I talk pigeon but they understand me and they don't mind it. They come to our house often and have meals with us," or "Yes, I let them come in and help themselves to the kitchen and ice box", or "When he comes, he mows the grass in our yard and minds my baby while I cook", indicates the natural nature of their contacts. Casual conversations also reveal the development of friendship with the families which enter-

tained their sons at Camp McCoy. Evidently letters and parcels are frequently exchanged. Although the letters have to be written by their daughters or younger sons, the fact that such friendship has been exchanged between the families, not as Japanese but as the parents of the boys, is most favorable. Such experience is extremely helpful toward their positive identification with America. In fact for the first time the whole Japanese community became keenly mainland-conscious because of the news of the experiences of the boys at Camp McCoy. They greatly appreciate the treatment their sons are receiving. They vicariously live through the kindness shown to their sons, nephews, etc.

Incidentally, the proudest families in the Japanese community are those which have sons in the U.S. armed forces. Their relatives and friends share the pride of those families. Such informal remarks as, "Mr. S has two sons in the Army and his three other sons have volunteered," or "Mrs. A's son-in-law has been promoted to the rank of sergeant", or "My son has three stripes now", or "In our neighborhood eight boys have volunteered", indicate their general feeling of pride. On the other hand the families which have only daughters are extremely apologetic. This whole experience is not totally new to the alien Japanese. In fact this experience fits exactly in the traditional pattern of their appreciation. Therefore, in a sense they are experiencing a real satisfaction. In their old country all the boys are to be dedicated to the cause of the country. They don't belong to the parents in the last analysis. Therefore, parents are well prepared. Such a casual statement as, "I gave my sons to this country. I am very satisfied and proud", or "Of course, once he is in the army he must not think of coming back in safety. I won't have him return as a coward", or "I am prepared to nurse my son if he comes back crippled. That is the small part I can share with him in his service to his country", reveals their attitudes.

The foregoing analysis means that physical security does not guarantee their sense of security. The real sense of security is felt when they feel that they are trusted and allowed to take part in the common cause of the larger in-group, even if it means risking their lives. Mastery of the English language and acquisition of new habits by the alien Japanese may lag behind their spirit and desire. But their in-group participation has replaced their feeling of fear of the early period by a strong confidence in the leadership and administration of the United States government. In this sense the whole process of their experiences has helped to solve a greater part of the so-called Japanese problem in Hawaii, which the last three quarter or half century could not solve, because the positive identification with America is the primary factor in the process toward assimilation.

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C.
Y.W.C.A.
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Hawaii

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Since the war broke out all the social work agencies became many times busier than before. The work of the Y.W.C.A. is no exception. Particularly the department called International Institute to which I belong has been very busy assisting the aliens, families to be evacuated, individuals to be repatriated, etc. This department also started neighborhood service clubs in 19 different areas in Honolulu to help the alien Japanese women to participate in community service such as sewing and knitting for Red Cross, O.C.D., day care centers (for children for working mothers) other civilian hospitals, etc. They have made over 700 quilts for the evacuation centers under O.C.D; they also made several thousand slippers for navy and army hospitals; operating gowns, hospital gowns, curtains, bed spreads, hundreds of knitted articles are among those they made. But aside from the material help they contribute, the formation of these service clubs helped them psychologically. Being included as part of the participating portion of the community and being considered useful were very helpful to their morale. When they feel that they are being useful and being trusted their willingness becomes more positive. This helps their sense of security too. After all they are the parents of the American citizens and therefore they are closer to America in blood than to Japan. Since September I am officially permitted to discontinue my study for the duration. So I am working full time and kept quite busy.

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Yuki Kimura