

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
Department of Sociology

THE ADJUSTMENT OF EVACUEES
IN
SAINT LOUIS

by

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FOREWORD

For the stimulation and opportunity to participate in The University of California Evacuation and Resettlement Study, from which this small segment was formulated, the writer is deeply grateful to Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Mr. Tamotsu Shibutani, Mr. Frank Shotaro Miyamoto, and other members of the staff.

For the many resettlers' confidence in relating their stories and attitudes unreservedly and for the co-operation of agencies and organizations connected with resettlement, too many thanks cannot be expressed.

S.M.

September, 1944

Frontenac
Road

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the spring and summer of 1942, 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry were removed from their places of residence in California and the western half of Washington and Oregon and placed in temporary assembly centers, which were close to their former homes. They were then moved to the ten relocation centers under the supervision of the War Relocation Authority. It has been from these relocation centers, which from the beginning have been intended to provide only basic living until jobs and the absence of hostility could be found in places outside of the military area defined by the Western Defense Command, that more than 26,000 persons have resettled, primarily in urban communities of the Middle-west and the East.

110,000 persons of varying degrees of integration into the larger American society were subjected to a certain set of uniform events and factors which clearly differentiated them from that society after the outbreak of the war. All persons evacuated had some proportion of Japanese ancestry in their background, which was the sole determiner in whether or not persons were to be moved. The procedures and rules and regulations were to be applied to all such persons restricting their behavior in the assembly centers. The elements of crowded living in barrack dwellings and block mess halls,

isolation from the racially heterogeneous society they once knew, and the conscious or unconscious sense of stagnation or retrogression in the relocation centers were common to the entire evacuated population. But of primary interest to the sociologist was the common shattering of the forms of behavior among individuals, groups, classes, communities, and institutions--almost complete dissolution of the various patterns of interpersonal and social behavior that had slowly evolved and had become differentiated from birth among this marginal population. The 436 newcomers of Japanese ancestry in Saint Louis since the war have all experienced these events and situations that of venturing from the superficially absolute security of the relocation centers. The only exceptions were the five or so evacuees who left the military area before the restriction of voluntary movement. However, all have seen the disintegration of their place in society as they knew it before the war.

Ernest W. Burgess in his preface to E. Franklin Frazier's The Negro Family in the United States makes obvious the advantage of such a situation for social science research;

It is in periods when institutions and persons are most subject to the vicissitudes of social change and when disorganization and reorganization are taking place that the dynamic motivations of conduct become clear since they are less complicated by surface and secondary factors. 1

1

Frazier, E. Franklin, The Negro Family in the United States, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939, p. xi.

In the new community, the processes of reorganization of interpersonal and social behavior are apparent. The appearance of such behavior is not meant to imply an exact reconstruction of the types of adjustment that were realized on the west coast. It is the major hypothesis of this study, however, that the ways of adjusting to the radically different environment in resettlement can be traced objectively to similar behavior in adjustment to situations and events (1) before the war, (2) between Pearl Harbor and evacuation, and (3) in the centers.

The methodology of the study will be presented in its development and in the recognition of research problems.

METHODOLOGY

The writer, being of Japanese ancestry and residing on the west coast until evacuation, acknowledges the possibility of unrecognized bias in the collection and analysis of data from persons who were subjected to the same chain of major experiences between the outbreak of the war and resettlement in Saint Louis. However, it has often been an accusation hurled by the evacuated people that no one who has not been an evacuee can understand how he feels or why he acts the way he does. At a meeting of a visiting "leaves" officer from a relocation center with a select group of resettlers in Saint Louis, a college graduate, well-respected for his stability and sane judgment, suddenly spoke out after a long period of discussion, "But you can't understand what

we went through or how we feel now. Only an evacuee can understand what it meant to us."² If that be true, the disadvantage of being one of the group to be studied, may be balanced or perhaps outweighed by the advantages of being able to pass in groups and with individuals and in situations as just a resettler in Saint Louis.

In the summer of 1943, a crude questionnaire type of survey was attempted, which brought more than the usual response to questionnaires, inasmuch as half of the persons who received them cooperated. Though the sample of fifty-one out of an approximate population at that time of from 225 to 250 persons was perhaps accidentally proportionately representative of sex, generation, and occupational distribution, there was no basis for presuming that the attitudes and degree of social participation were even descriptive of the resettled population. Though the questionnaire may have aroused interest and some readiness to cooperate, there is also the possibility that the population was particularly sensitive to any investigative attempts as reminiscent of the emotion-packed experiences of registration and questionnaires in the centers. Any further thought of the use of the questionnaire method was immediately abandoned, because it was obvious that resettlers were too suspicious of even anonymous questionnaires to give answers completely repre-

sentative of their problems and modes of adjustment. This, added to the problem of selective response from any population, eliminated the use of the questionnaire.

It was at this time that the staff of The University of California Evacuation and Resettlement Study became interested in the Saint Louis resettlement situation and asked that intensive case histories of individuals be gathered. An outline for the case studies was provided covering in detail all aspects of the individual's life, arranged into seven major divisions:

- I. Brief History of the Individual.
- II. The Individual on December 1, 1941.
- III. The Individual on December 7, 1941.
- IV. The Individual between the Day of Pearl Harbor and the Day of Evacuation.
- V. The individual in the Assembly Center.
- VI. The Individual in the Relocation Project.
- VII. The Resettled Individual. 3

At a conference of The Evacuation and Resettlement Staff in December, 1943, it was suggested that the same material may be used as the basis of a more narrowly defined study in Saint Louis. It was at this conference, also, that the discussions on the use of long case documents by such sociologists as Dr. W. I. Thomas, Dr. Herbert Blumer, Dr. Dorothy Swaine Thomas, and advanced students in sociology on the staff of the study, impressed the writer of the undefined methodology of the use of the case history.

It was the problem for the individual student to define his use of case materials, no matter what the definition of his thesis was. The primary difficulty in the refinement of the case study method seemed to be the objectification of long documents to make possible comparison among cases in their various aspects and areas of adjustment or in their overall personality adjustment. There seemed to be natural areas in the life history of individuals that would provide a basis for classification; these were suggested implicitly from the case study outline provided by the Evacuation and Resettlement Study:⁴

Areas of Adjustment

Familial	Political
Residential	Associational
Employment-Economic	Recreational
Educational	Religious
Interpersonal	Ambitions-Aspirations
Romantic-Marital	

In a trial division of one case document into these segments for validation by an advanced research class, it was found that overlapping in subject matter abstracted from the case occurred. But inasmuch as the overlapping and repetition would not be uniform in all the cases if the areas were merged, it was decided to sacrifice economy in presentation to consistency of classification.

It was also obvious that there could be a simplifi-

cation of the seven-fold time division suggested by the
⁵larger study. Four periods seemed sufficient for classifying major adjustment periods:

- I. Before the War.
- II. Between Pearl Harbor and Evacuation.
- III. In the Centers.
- IV. In Resettlement.

This seemed to the class not an oversimplification, but an aid in the analysis of the case.

The eleven areas of adjustments were listed down the summary sheet and the four time periods were listed across the page, so that all the areas could be compared in one time period down the page, or one area of adjustment could
⁶be traced across the page in all four time periods.

Areas of Adjustment:	Periods of Adjustment			
	I. Before War	II. Pearl Harbor to Evacuation	III. Centers	IV. Resettlement
Familial.....
Residential.....
Employment-Economic..
Educational.....
Interpersonal.....
Romantic-Marital.....
Political.....
Associational.....
Recreational.....
Religious.....
Ambitions-Aspirations

The long case documents, which are of thirty to fifty pages, were condensed into this form, which could be placed

⁵

See Appendix A.

⁶

See Appendix B.

on four 8½" x 11" sheets. In the class analysis and criticism of the one case that was experimentally condensed before the reduction of the other cases to summary sheets, there appeared to be agreement that the disgrammatic presentation of the areas and periods of adjustment takes the analysis of a long document out of the haze of overall generalizations and facilitates the consideration of the component factors that may contribute to an understanding of the individual's present behavior in adjustment. It also allows for the clear-cut presentation of comparable material from many cases in the different areas or in the time periods. Too, the summary sheet picks out of the long document particularly significant points to clarify the mode of reasoning in the analysis of the case.

It was thought at first that adjustment in any area and period could be viewed in three aspects, they being the Cultural, C, the Absence of Frustration, F, and the Amount of Participation, P. "Cultural" was to indicate the degree of assimilation, acculturation, and Americanization; the "Absence of Frustration" was to consider the amount of discrepancy between what the subject considers ideal and what the subject has actually done--the absence of conflict; and the "Amount of Participation" was to measure the integration into institutions and groups. It was hoped that these three aspects of adjustment could be rated according to a numerical scheme, -2, -1, 0, +1, +2. This phase of the class experi-

ment with the one case, in which the class had both the long document and the summary sheet, proved to be unsuccessful for the following reasons:

1. The inadequacy of data in the period before the war:
 - a. The length of the period--too many variations in adjustment within the period, making possible only an historical summation of adjustment. Less extreme obstacles in the period between Pearl Harbor and Evacuation.
 - b. Insufficiency of recall by the subject.
 - c. Coloration of the past--possibility of bias in reporting early events in the light of subsequent experiences.
 - d. Lack of an objective check, such as actual observation.
2. Too many variations in the definition of the three aspects of adjustment in each of the areas:
 - a. Generalizations impossible when such refinement of definition in rating each area is necessary.
 - b. Trend of adjustments difficult to follow when so many refinements are necessary for precise analysis. (Graphic presentation possible, but rough generalizations appear overly precise.)
3. Lack of a basis of a wide enough range of cases to give proper weight in rating. Limitation not overcome by twenty-five cases, the number to be used in the study.
4. Absence of sufficient orientation in the setting of the cases in each of the periods, particularly periods I and II. More orientation in the fourth period of resettlement through participant observations and statistical analysis.

However, the direction of weight in the rating of each item by the class members was uniform, though there was considerable variation in the weights given.

These considerations seemed to indicate, not so much the shortcomings of the method of analysis, but of the attempt to rate individual adjustment in earlier periods for which there were almost no data other than those reported by the subjects themselves. The limitation could be alleviated to a great degree in the resettlement period, inasmuch as data could be collected and presented as background material for the case analysis. Furthermore, the data gathered in the interview could be subject in many instances to external checking through informal contacts and "hidden" interviews with the subjects; statements and reports of their behavior could be validated by conversation and observation outside of the formal interview situation.

From this experience with the advanced research class it became clear that the case history material delved into the background of the individuals only to determine to what extent their behavior in adjustment was consistent with their earlier adjustment experiences.

A revision of the three aspects of resettlement and the method of rating was made. Since it was thought that in the end, adjustment is either satisfying or not-satisfying to the subject himself, this should be the primary consideration of rating adjustment from the Personal side. This was symbolized by P. From the aspect of ideal Community or Larger-Culture adjustment, the criteria should be the achievement of sharing in the life of the larger community, that is,

the loss of differential attitudes and behavior because of belonging to a minority group. The symbol used was C.

The rating would not be done by a numerical estimate of the amount or quality of the adjustment from the Personal or Community aspects, but by a symbolic presentation of the mode of adjustment. It was thought that a scale could be devised empirically from the case documents and from the participant observations regarding the various types of adjustment to variously defined problems in the eleven areas, Familial, Residential, etc. The scales would measure the degree of deviation from the "ideal" adjustment as respectively defined from the Personal and Community or Larger-Culture aspects.

The following procedure was defined:

1. In each of the "areas" of adjustment, problems would be expressed in the interviews. These would provide data for defining problem situations to which resettlers must adjust.
2. Through the twenty-five cases a fairly good representation of the ways of meeting such problems would be uncovered.
3. The previous experiences of the individual would be studied for clues as to why certain individuals behave in a particular manner, when confronted with defined problems. That is, the problem became: Are there discoverable ways of behaving, consistent with the past history of the individuals? For this the rating device of the analysis sheet would be the primary tool.
4. Participant observations in groups, informal personal contacts, etc., would provide further data for defined problems, variations in adjustment, and the persons who use these ways of adjustment. From this would come the scale for rating the Personal aspect of adjustment.

5. Problems would be further defined and shown statistically by a demographic analysis of the resettled population in Saint Louis.
6. Formal groups attempting to aid resettlement would make more clear the problems and provide criteria for judging the modes of adjustment from the Community or Larger Culture aspect of adjustment.
7. Public opinion organs--the newspapers, the public relations programs of the local War Relocation Authority, the Young Men's and Women's Christian Association, etc.--would be another source of data in judging the deviation from "ideal" Community adjustment.

RESEARCH PROBLEMS

The major problem in carrying out this procedure of study was: What assurance can there be that the subjects of the twenty-four cases are representative in their definition of problems and in their ways of adjusting to them? The mechanical matter of representativeness in sex, age, marital status, and occupational classification could easily be ascertained from the demographic analysis of the entire Saint Louis resettled population.⁷ But the analysis of adjustment required subjective judgment in determining where the twenty-four cases fitted into the range of adjustment behavior expressed by the total population. No absolute claim to representativeness can be made. However, it appears that the extensive participant activities and "hidden" interviews with individuals and groups in various situations provided sufficient material for the belief that the cases typify the variations in adjustment behavior found in the

7

See Appendix C.

resettled population.

There were special interview problems that arose because of the necessity of intimate questioning into matters that were often emotion-packed and extremely confidential because of the war. Only by an absolute assurance of the preservation of anonymity would most of the subjects relate their story and answer questions. It was necessary to recognize their attitude toward the interviewer, inasmuch as some of their answers may have been biased in favor of what they considered would be pleasing to her. Great care was taken, however, to avoid any approval or disapproval of their expressions. Interest and alertness in a visible way, such as facial response to the subject's statements seemed most effective. In cases in which the subjects showed a hesitation in speaking freely, notes were not taken during the interview, but recorded immediately afterward. In all of the cases, no notes were taken during the discussion of intimate personal details and opinions pertaining to the war, in which situations the notes were filled as soon as possible. In some subjects was noted the tendency to say, "I don't know much about it; I'm not interested in it; I don't think about it," when questioned about their political attitudes in the war. There was noted, too, the handicap of never having expressed themselves on some subjects and even the formulation of their opinions as they spoke.

In some cases there lapsed long periods between interviews, which was both an advantage in the opportunity to note changes in attitudes and adjustment and a disadvantage in the disruption of the narrative. Generally, each case required three interviews of an hour and a half each with informal conversation before and after. The external checking of their statements could only be accomplished in a limited number of situations, such as on the campus, at the Christ Church Cathedral Inter-American Night,⁸ occasional parties, on the streetcar, and in their places of residence.

In the direct observation through participation, it seemed necessary to interpret the situation with a view to the possibility of the observer's changing the circumstances. There was a genuine problem in entering the situation as a real part and yet doing nothing to influence the direction of activity or the definition of problems. There was the hazard of selecting situations and types of adjustment for observation because of an unrecognized interest on the part of the observer, which may not have been warranted by the actual situation; too, only the things already defined as important may have been observed, other significant factors having been overlooked.

In the observation and interviewing of leaders and

8

See "Associational Adjustment," Chapter III.

representatives of groups, there was the problem of gathering data from a great number of organizations, each of which have had some relationship with a few resettlers. There was noted also a reluctance to speak negatively of other groups in order to avoid appearing overconfident of their own activities.

The statistical analysis of the population presented merely the mechanical problem of incomplete data available from any one source or all the known sources combined. To complete the data for the individual resettler cards, ⁹ it was necessary for one of the secretaries at the War Relocation Authority office to look into various files and papers to provide the needed information for each. The number, age, sex, marital status, citizenship, occupational classification and mobility and present and former residential distribution were determined in this way.

The problems of analysis have already been discussed in the development of the methodology of the use of case studies.

In the presentation of data, the primary problem has been that of the preservation of the anonymity of the subjects by the elimination of all identifying material, even at the frequent sacrifice of the vividness of the story, which seems to be a major advantage of the case history method.

⁹

See Appendix D.

Basic to the analysis of adjustment in Saint Louis was the interpretation of the characteristics of the entire resettled population, to which the next chapter is devoted.

CHAPTER II

POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS

Comparison with Other Races

In 1940, there were only forty-seven persons of Japanese ancestry in the Saint Louis Metropolitan District;¹ twenty-three of whom were citizens and twenty-four of whom were aliens, including thirty-nine males and eight females. Only five of the forty-seven persons were under the age of twenty-one. The whole "Other Races" population in Saint Louis constituted less than one percent of the total. It is of interest, however, to note that there were 281 persons of Chinese ancestry with whom the incoming resettlers were confused until publicity was given their arrival. Inasmuch as it is exceedingly rare that a person not acquainted with Oriental peoples can discern the difference between a Chinese and a Japanese, the residents in Saint Louis have expressed much curiosity whenever an Oriental appeared.²

It seems quite possible to assume that the Saint Louis population of Japanese ancestry did not increase from forty-seven, except perhaps for a few professional students, until

¹ "Metropolitan District" is not a political unit but rather an area including all the thickly settled territory in and around a city or group of cities. U.S. Dept. of Commerce Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of the Population, Mo.," 16th Census of the United States, Population, 2nd Series, p. 3.

² See Table 1, Appendix E.

the evacuation of the west coast. A handful of students who had voluntarily left the military zones before the restriction of movement were the first resettlers in Saint Louis; they arrived in the summer of 1942. Approximately thirty more students came for the fall semester at Washington University, which was one of the few schools that had no special admission requirements for persons of Japanese ancestry. However, it was not until the opening of the War Relocation Authority Office in Saint Louis in April of 1943 that the working population began to trickle in.

As of June 30, 1944, there were 362 known persons of Japanese ancestry in the Saint Louis Metropolitan District; eighty-seven others resettled in Saint Louis, but had left the city.³ If the 449 had all remained, they would have constituted .0328 percent of the entire population of Saint Louis, but the departures reduced it to .0264 percent. The persons of Chinese and Japanese ancestry combined were .0240 percent of the population in 1940.

The numerical inconsequence of the 362 resettlers in Saint Louis is further illustrated by a glance at Table 1.

³

See Appendix D.

TABLE 1.

RACES OF THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: 1940^a

Saint Louis Metropolitan District	Number	Percent
All classes	1,367,977	100.00%
Native white	1,131,448	82.71
Foreign born white	86,441	6.32
Negro	149,429	10.92
Other races	659	.048

Source: U. S. Dept. Commerce, Bureau of the Census,
"Characteristics of the Population, Missouri,"
16th Census of the United States, Population,
Second Series, p. 170.

^a
See Table 2, Appendix E.

AGE

The abnormality of the age distribution among the population of Japanese ancestry in the clustering around the ages of nineteen and twenty years and fifty-five to fifty-nine years has been accentuated in resettlement. Inasmuch as few Issei have resettled, the concentration of age rests almost entirely on the younger category. It was to be expected, however, that the average age of the resettled population would be slightly more than that of the entire Nesei population. With little family resettlement accomplished, the absence of children was sufficient to increase the average; as did the presence of the few Issei. Diagram 1. shows the distribution by single years for the total and male and female population and their respective modes, medians,

⁴

"Issei" means first generation, the alien immigrant.

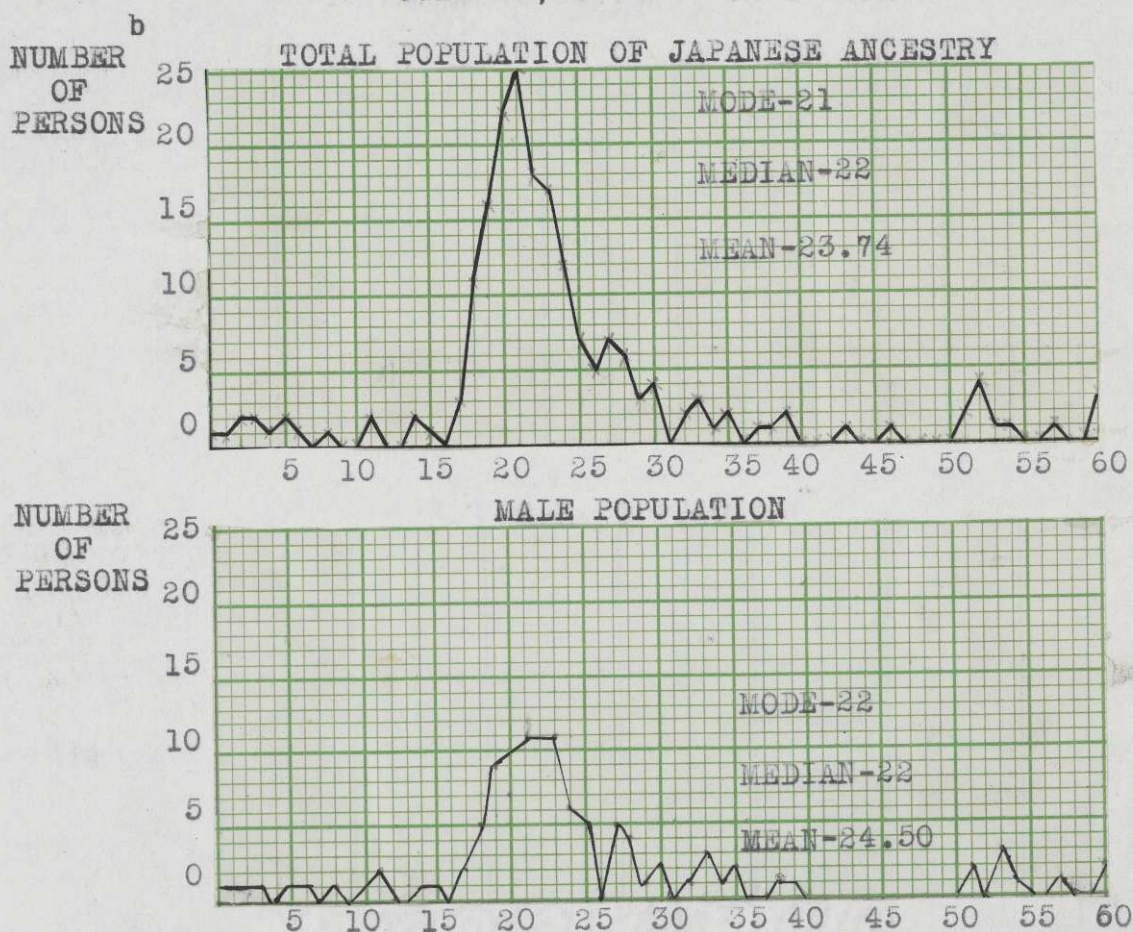
⁵

"Nesei" means second generation, the citizen offspring of the alien immigrant.

and arithmetic means. The average male is a little more than a year older than the average female. The arithmetic mean age of the total population was 23.74 years, while that of the citizens was 21.69 and the aliens, 48.73 years. Of the 198 ages known, sixty-eight or 34.35% were twenty years or less, and 130 or 65.64% were twenty-one years or more.

DIAGRAM 1.

AGE BY SINGLE YEARS OF TOTAL, MALE, AND FEMALE PERSONS
OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT:
JUNE 30, 1944



Source: See Tables 3 and 4, Appendix E.

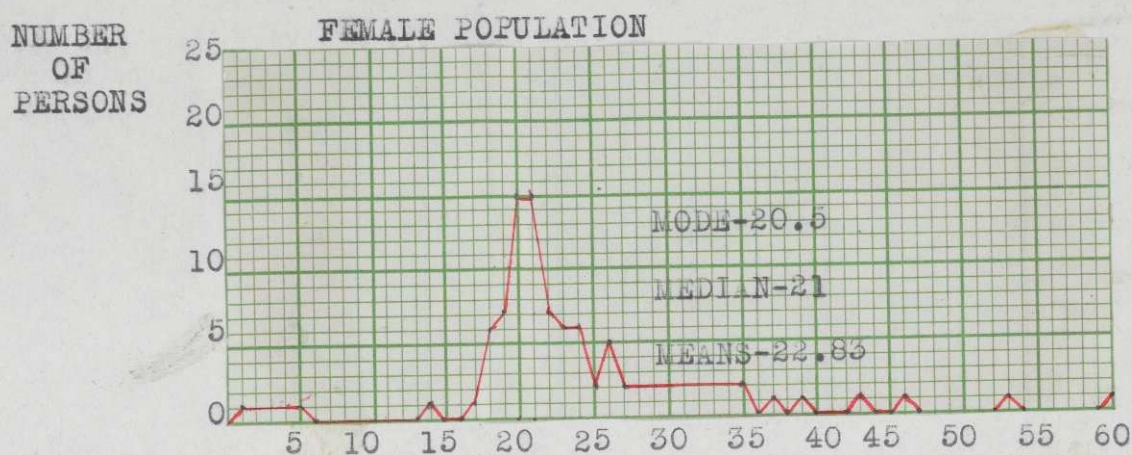
^a

Includes departures.

^b

Based on the 198 persons whose ages were known.

DIAGRAM 1 (Continued)



Marital Status

Diagram 2 presents graphically the age, sex, and marital status of persons of Japanese ancestry. That such a large proportion was found to be unmarried and between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four perhaps accounts for the seeming importance attached to romantic adjustment in resettlement. Of the 400 persons eighteen years and older, whose marital status were known, 292 or 73.0% were single, 103 or 25.8% were married, and 5 or 1.2% were widowed or separated. 159 or 74.3% of the 214 male resettlers over eighteen whose marital status were known, were single. 53 or 24.8% were married, and 2 or .9% were widowed or separated. Among the 186 females over eighteen years whose marital status were known, a slightly larger percentage was married, 50 or 26.9% being reported thus. 133 or 71.5% were single, and 3 or 1.6% were widowed or separated.

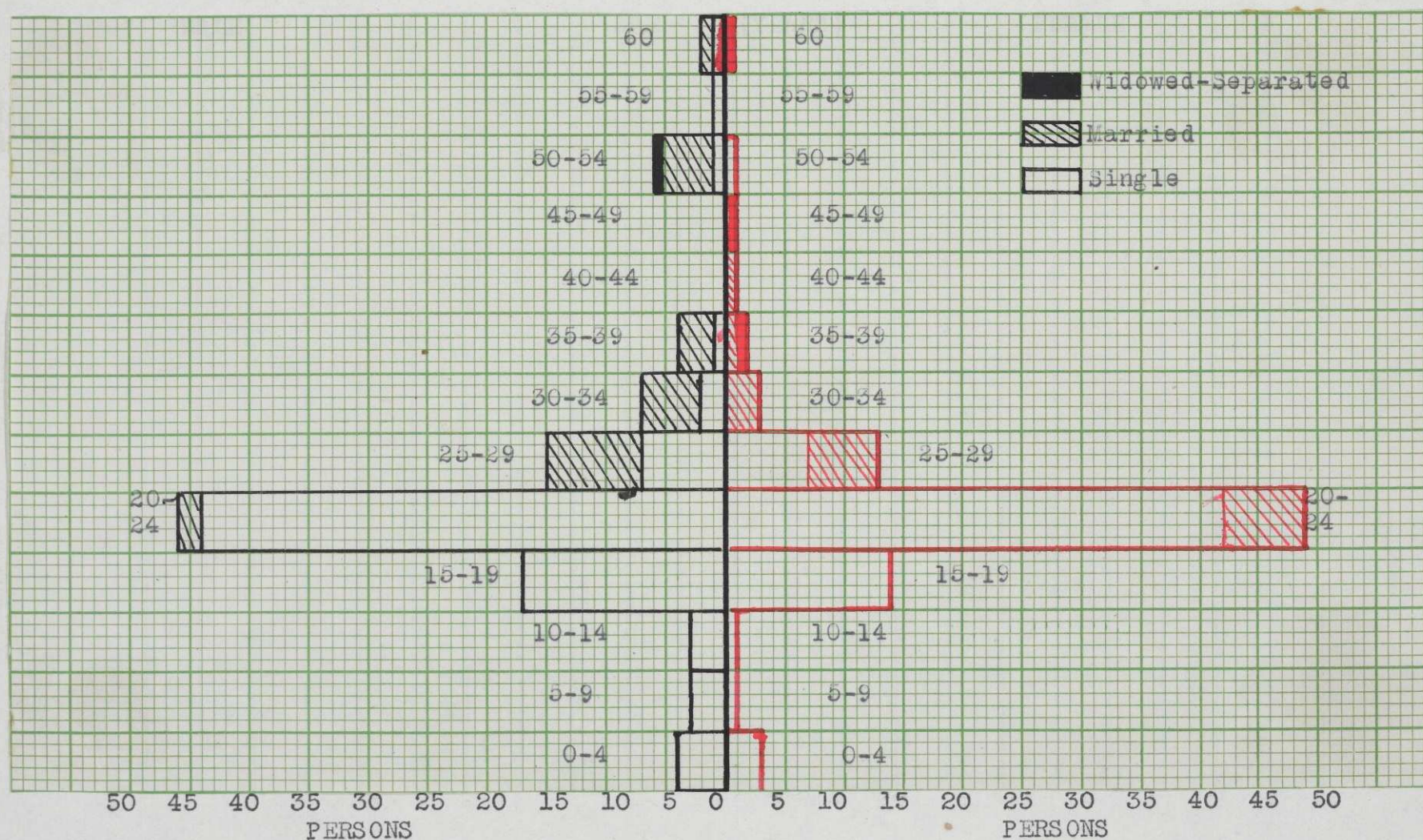
⁶

See the section on Romantic-Marital adjustment in Ch.III.

⁷See Table 6, Appendix E.

DIAGRAM 2
PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, BY AGE, SEX, AND MARITAL STATUS, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS
METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: JUNE 30, 1944

(Based on 198 ages reported)



Source: Tables 3 and 4, Appendix E.

^a Includes departures.

These figures may be indicative of a factor in selective migration out of the relocation centers; it seems clear that the great majority of the resettlers are without direct dependent responsibilities such as spouse and children. Inasmuch as relocation center residents define resettlement as a risk of losing the absolute but superficial security of the centers, it might have been expected that those without such responsibilities would be more numerous in the new community.

Citizenship

As suggested earlier, the number of Issei who have ventured out of the relocation centers for resettlement in new communities has been exceedingly small. Saint Louis' resettled population proved to be no exception in that only 35 or 7.8% were aliens, while 414 or 92.2% were citizens.⁸ Included among the latter was one Issei, who became a citizen by virtue of his service in World War I.

Whether the major causes of their reluctance to resettle be (1) anticipation of difficulty in adjustment because of a different cultural-language background from the majority population, (2) bitterness from the shattering of the fruits of long years of labor on the farm or in small businesses, (3) the attractiveness of certain security and social life of the centers, or (4) the hope of returning to

⁸

See Tables 3 and 4, Appendix E.

their former homes--the fact remains that the majority of the Issei probably will not voluntarily resettle. Those few who have come to Saint Louis have done so for the most part to be with their children who earlier resettled in the city.

Diagram 3 illustrates the age distribution of the Issei and Nisei whose ages were known.

About two-thirds of the Nisei were of voting age, but because of the residence qualifications, few were as yet eligible to participate in elections.

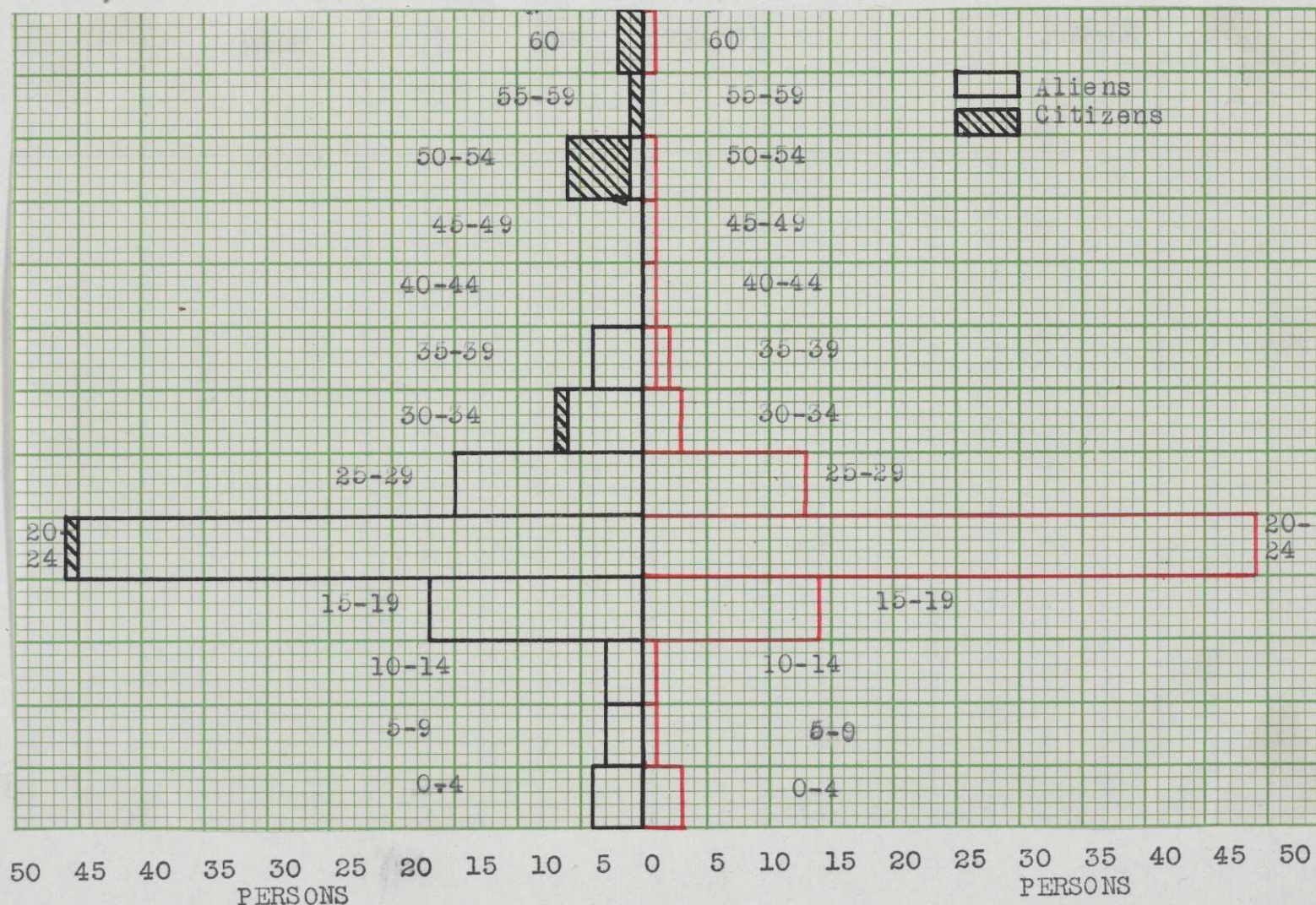
Employment

That less than two-thirds of the entire resettled population is employed full-time and that students are more than one-fourth of the persons of Japanese ancestry gives a significant clue to the characteristics of adjustment in Saint Louis. Diagram 4 gives some striking comparisons between the male and female distribution among the employed and unemployed classifications. About three-fourths of the females are in the full-time labor force, while less three-fifths of the males are so classified. Too, the large percentage of male students, more than one-third of the population, compared to the number of female students perhaps illustrates the greater importance of education for boys as defined by the evacuees.

In Diagram 5, the occupational distribution of the full-time employed population of resettlers is compared with

DIAGRAM 3

PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, BY AGE AND CITIZENSHIP, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS
METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: JUNE 30, 1944
(Based on 198 ages reported)



25

Source: Tables 3 and 4, Appendix E.

^a

Includes departures

that of the entire labor force of the Saint Louis Metropolitan District. The disproportionate numbers in the professional and semi-professional and domestic service categories; and the small numbers in the skilled labor classifications seem to indicate several factors in occupational adjustment. Inasmuch as Saint Louis is a medical center and the shortage of medical personnel is acute, it is not surprising that so many are thus employed. It is quite possible, also, that persons who had professional and semi-professional training on the coast had their first opportunity to engage in the occupation for which they had prepared. Resettlement in Saint Louis has not been in process long enough for persons to have achieved a managerial status. Furthermore, there are few individuals with sufficient capital or interest in business potentialities dealing with the larger population or with the small resettled population to initiate business enterprises.

It is probably particularly true in the clerical classification that Nisei have had opportunity that was lacking in their places of previous residence; for clerical work, many Nisei were well-trained in the public schools or business colleges. In the skilled trades, however, there were few who had had training. With the realization of their limited employment opportunities, rarely did the Nisei go out of the way to learn a trade.

Domestic service requires no previous training or experi-

DIAGRAM 4.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF
EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED PERSONS OF JAPANESE
ANCESTRY FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT:
June 30, 1944^a

CLASS OF EMPLOYED
OR UNEMPLOYED:

TOTAL POPULATION:

Employed full-time.

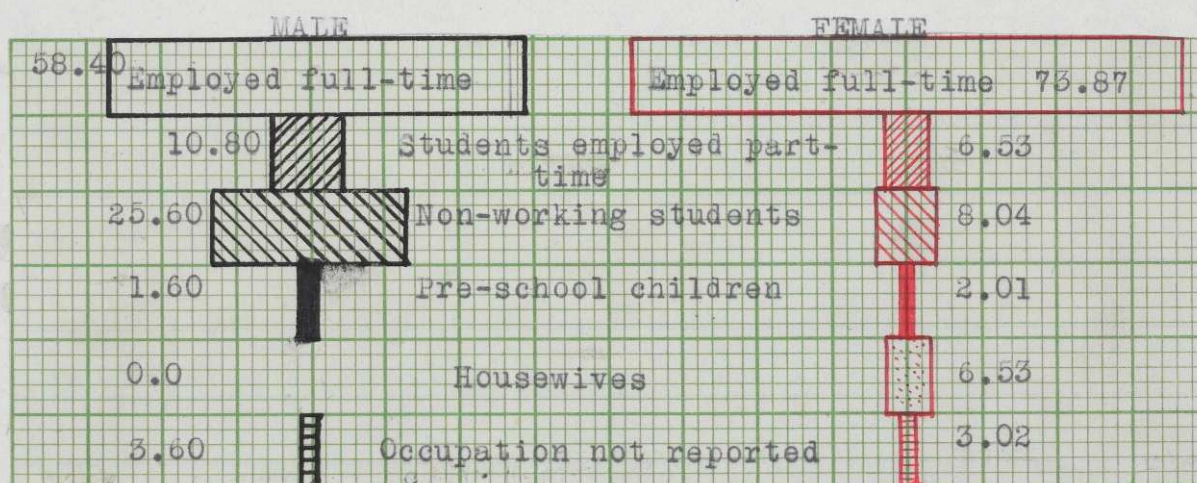
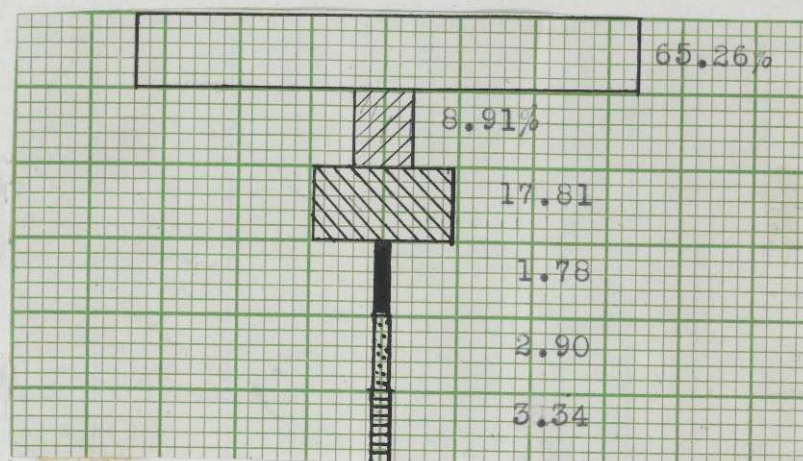
Students employed
part-time.

Non-working
students.

Pre-school
children.

Housewives.

Occupation not
reported.



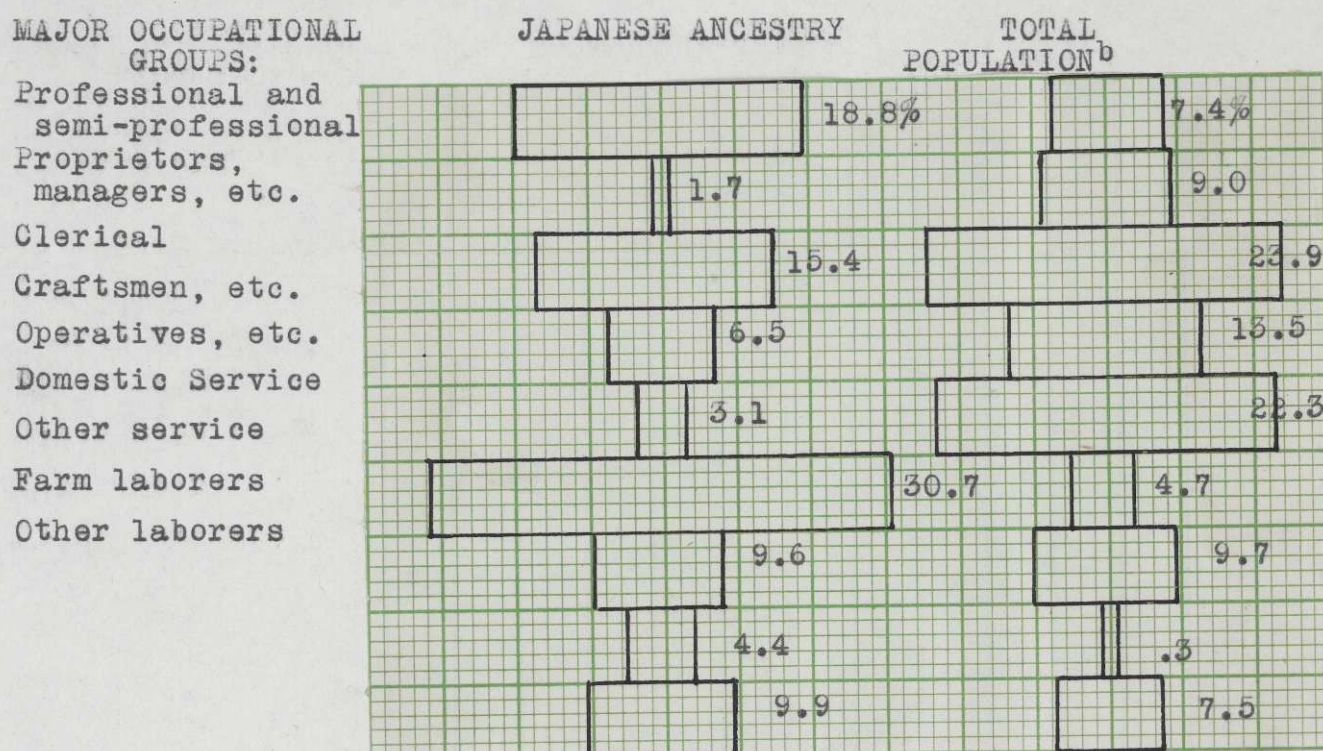
Source: Tables 8 and 9, Appendix E.

^a

Includes departures.

DIAGRAM 5.

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE
ANCESTRY EMPLOYED FULL-TIME: JUNE 30, 1944^a AND
TOTAL EMPLOYED POPULATION FOR THE SAINT LOUIS
METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: 1940.



Source: Tables 8 and 10, Appendix E.

^a

Includes last occupation before departure.

^b

U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census,
"Characteristics of the Population, Mo.," 16th
Census of the United States, Population, second
Series, p. 13. Wash., D.C.: U.S. Printing House, 1940.

^c

Excludes those classifications not applicable to the
population of Japanese ancestry.

ence and provides a salary plus board and room. Some persons report that though they dislike the work, it's the only way they can save money.

From February to December of 1943, a large number were employed as seasonal laborers on a farm in Saint Louis County. Most of those returned to the center, but the ones included in the diagram changed their "seasonal" leave permits to the permanent "indefinite leave" status.

Diagrams 6 and 7 compare the occupational distribution by sex of the resettlers with that of the total Saint Louis population. Again, the large percentage in professional and semi-professional occupations for both male and female and domestic service for female resettlers are conspicuous characteristics of the labor force.

Occupational Mobility

Only the departures from the Saint Louis Metropolitan District have been considered in the determination of mobility in each of the major occupational groups. An analysis of occupational and residential mobility was possible from the data obtained on the Individual Resettler Cards,⁹ but the shortage of time did not permit such refinement.

Of the total population of 449 persons of Japanese ancestry, eighty-seven or 19.38% have left the Saint Louis

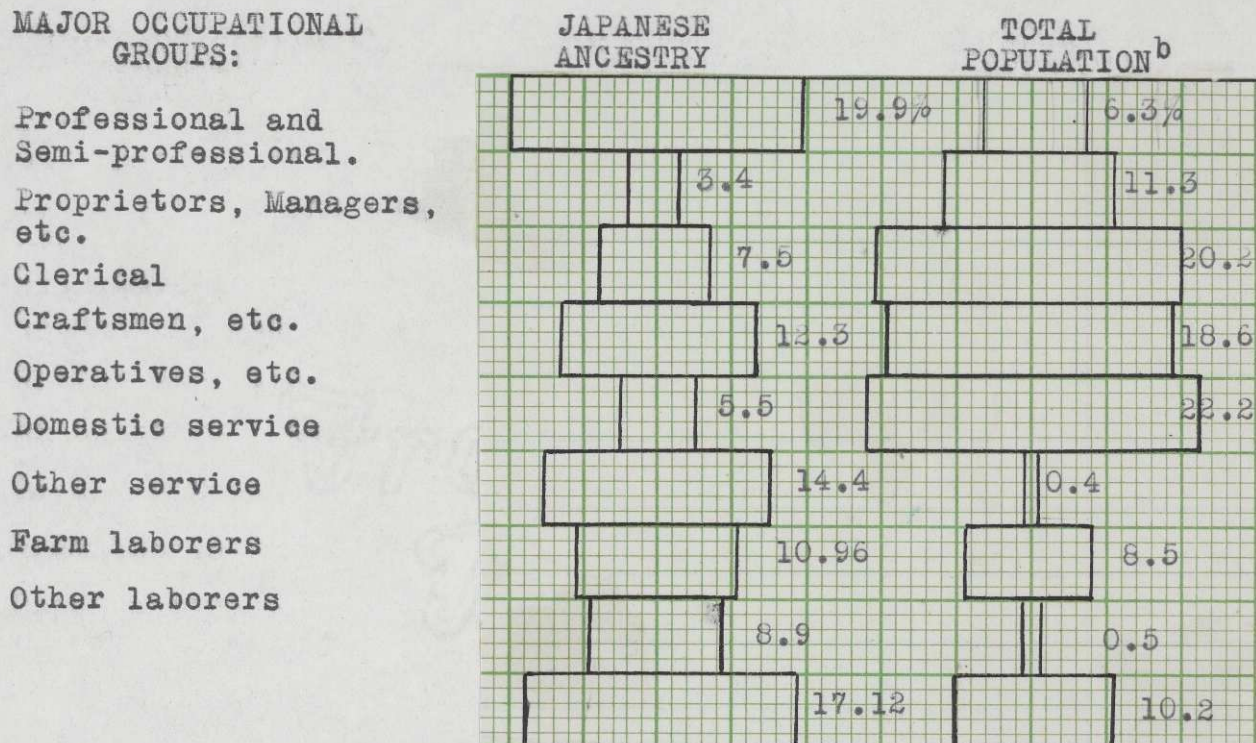
⁹

See Appendix D.

DIAGRAM 6.

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF MALE PERSONS
OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY EMPLOYED FULL-TIME:
JUNE 30, 1944^a, AND TOTAL MALE EMPLOYED
POPULATION FOR SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN
DISTRICT: 1940.

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL
GROUPS:



Source: Tables 8 and 10, Appendix E.

^a

Includes last occupation of those who have left the area.

^b

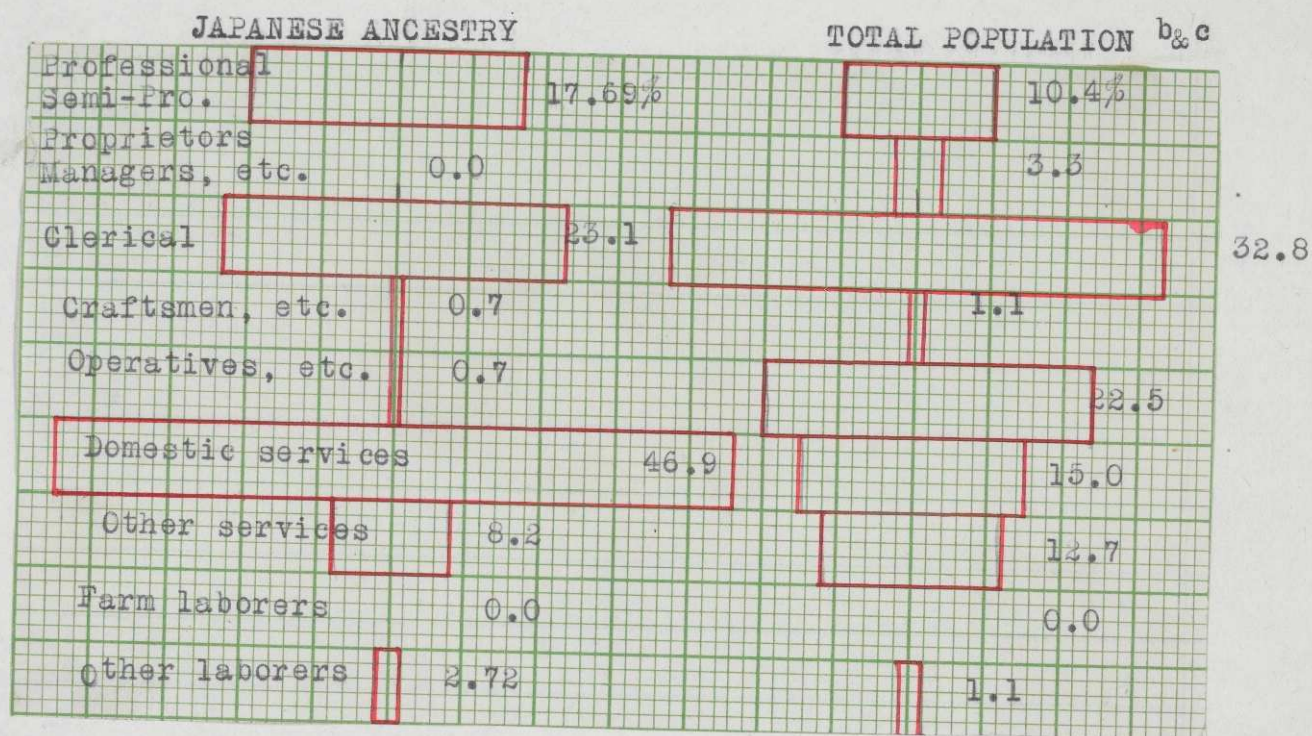
U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census,
"Characteristics of the Population, Mo.," 16th Census
of the United States, Population, Second Series, p. 69.
Wash. D.C.: U.S. Gov't. Printing Office, 1940.

^c

Excludes those classifications not applicable to the
population of Japanese ancestry.

DIAGRAM 7

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF FEMALE PERSONS
OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY EMPLOYED FULL-TIME:
JUNE 30, 1944,^a AND TOTAL FEMALE EMPLOYED
POPULATION FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN
DISTRICT: 1940.



Source: Tables 8 and 10, Appendix E.

^a

Includes last occupation of those who have left the area.

^b

U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of the Population, Mo.," 16th Census of the United States, Population, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Gov't Printing House, 1940, p. 69.

^c

Excludes those classifications not applicable to the population of Japanese ancestry.

Metropolitan District. More than three times the percent of males departed from the city as did females, 39.68% or sixty-three out of the male population of 250 and 12.06% or twenty-four out of the female population of 199 having¹⁰ left the area.

Diagram 8 seems to indicate that those persons in unskilled labor occupational groups move more than do those higher in the professional, semi-professional, and skilled occupational groups. Students seem to be relatively stable, though, of course, persons who have completed their course of study have often left the city.

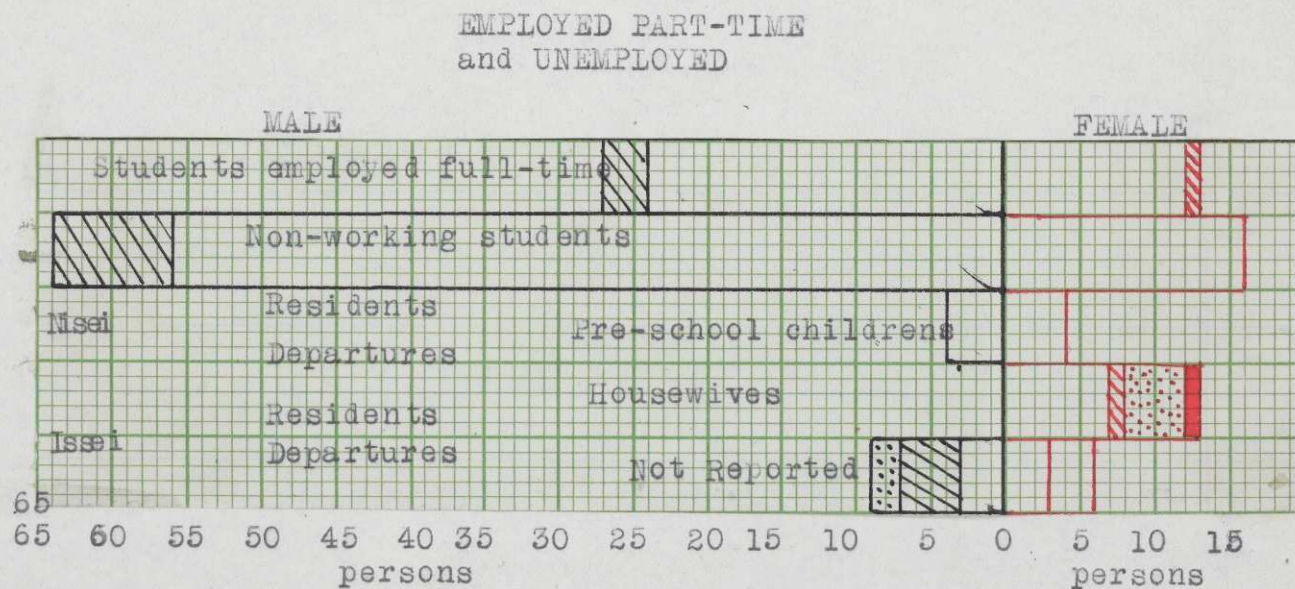
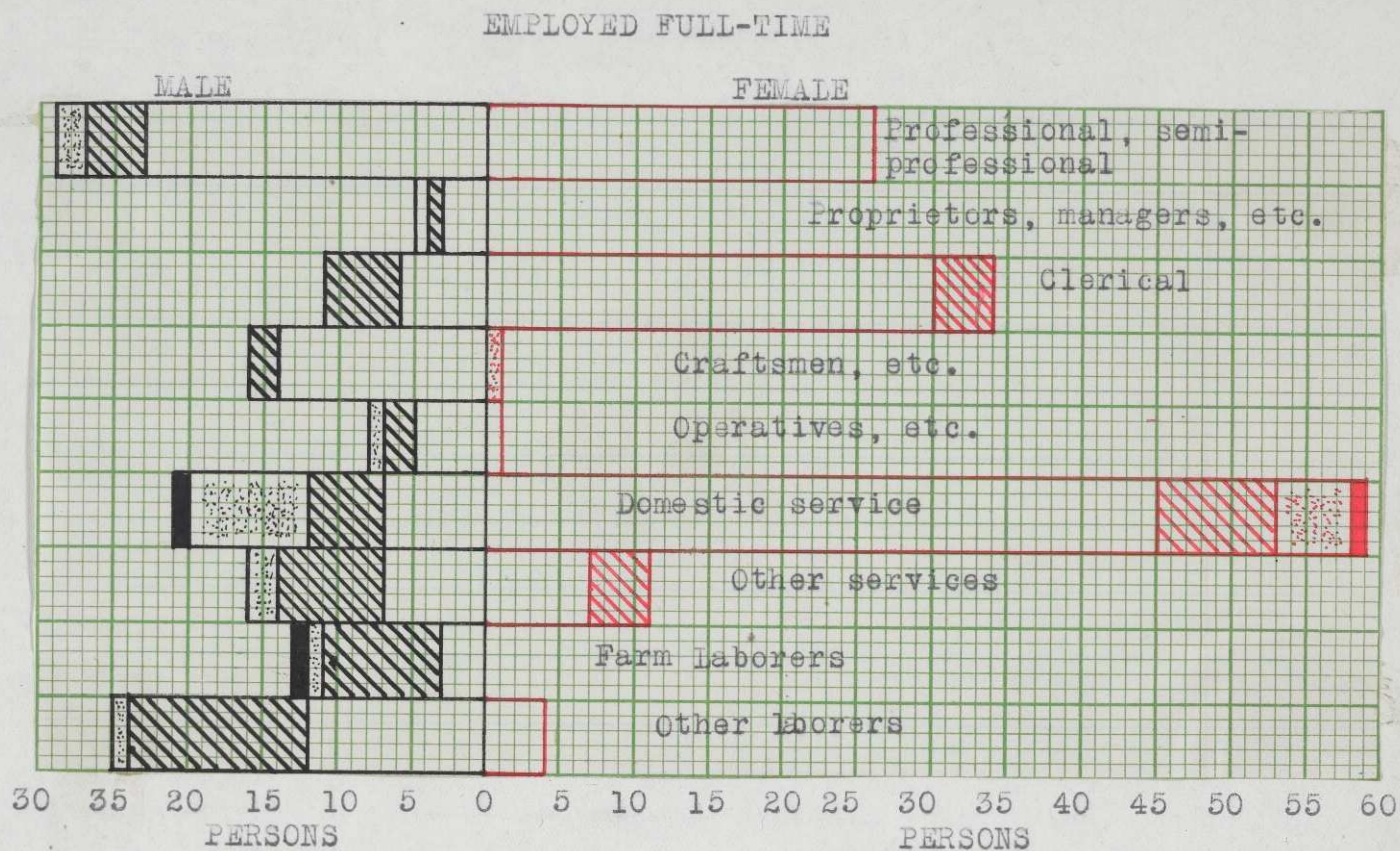
It seems from these data that sex and occupational classification are important factors in mobility. If an analysis according to age and family status had been made, they too may have been found significant, but probably not to the degree of occupational status and sex.

Residential Distribution

Persons of Japanese ancestry in Saint Louis are scattered in all distances from the heart of the city, but with a tendency to cluster around the schools, the hospitals, and the YMCA Hotel. Map 1 seems to indicate that rather clearly, though the dispersal in the county is due to the large proportion of the population employed as domestics, particularly the women.

DIAGRAM 8.

DEPARTURES OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY
FROM THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT,
BY OCCUPATION GROUPS, SEX, and CITIZENSHIP
JUNE 31, 1944.



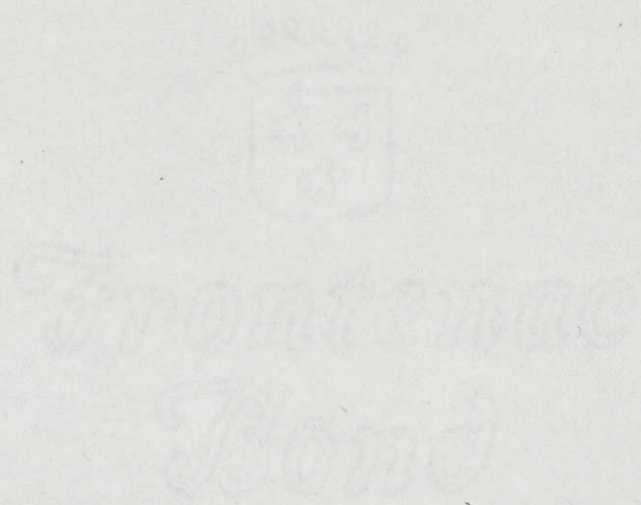
Source: Table 11, Appendix E.

MAP 1.

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY IN THE
SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT, BY SEX: JUNE 30, 1944

Source: Data from the Individual Resettler Cards. See
Appendix D.

MAP 1. Continued



Though most newcomers to the city of a different ethnic-national background from the majority population usually reside close to the heart of the urban community. The pattern of residential distribution of the resettlers markedly deviates from this expected pattern. The large number of students, hospital employees, and domestics, and the family status of the individuals seem to be the major causes of the difference. (Most resettlers are without direct family dependents.)

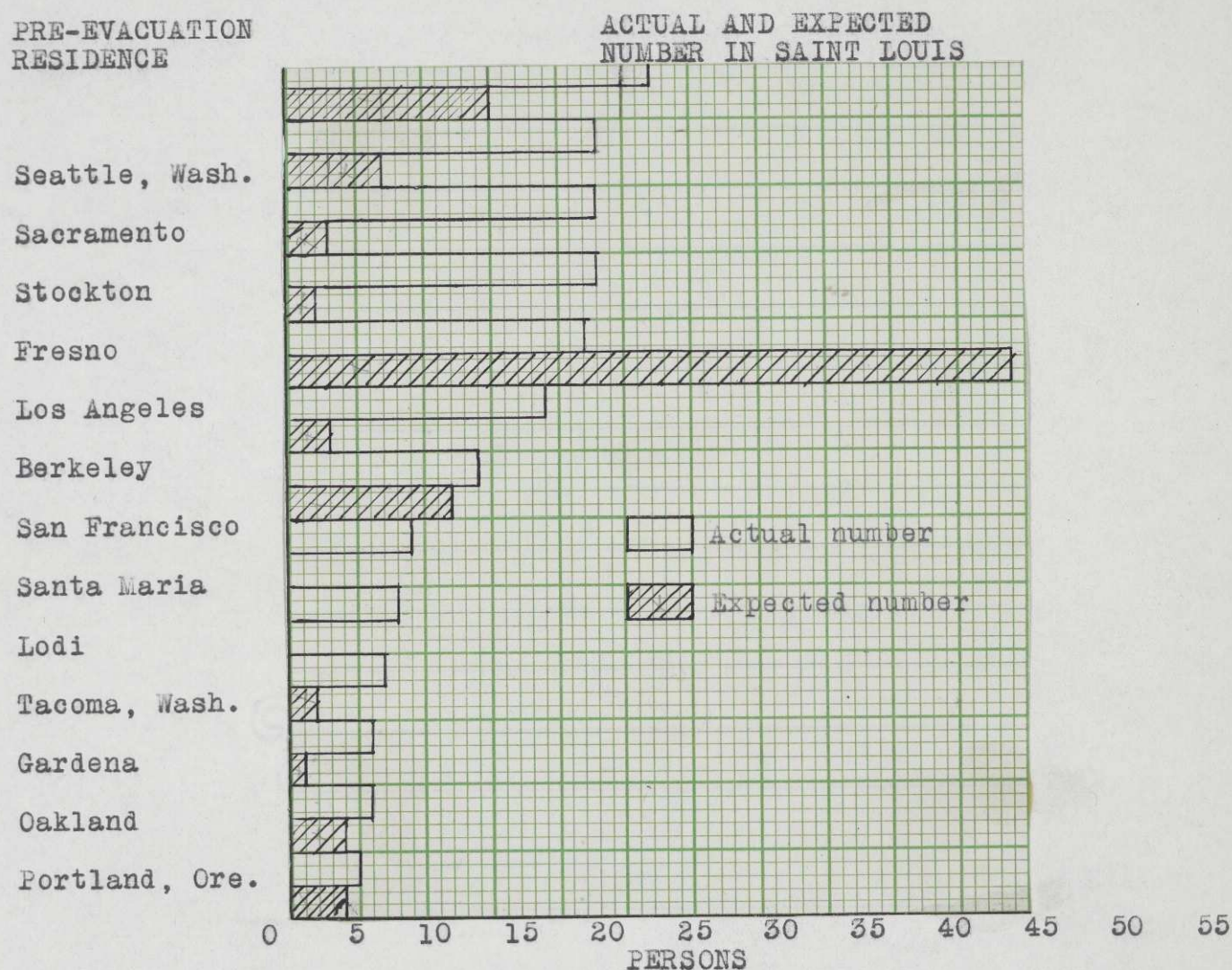
Selective Migration From
Places of Pre-evacuation
Residence to Saint Louis.

The expected number of persons from a particular place of residence before evacuation for the Saint Louis population was calculated by finding the percent of the number evacuated, 110,000, found in each of the cities with more than 500 persons of Japanese ancestry. These percentages were used to figure the expected distribution of the Saint Louis resettled population by pre-evacuation address.
11

Diagram 9 seems to indicate that the size of the population of Japanese ancestry in the west coast cities before the war had little to do with the number from those cities who migrated to Saint Louis. The proximity of centers with

DIAGRAM 9.

ACTUAL AND EXPECTED PRE-EVACUATION
RESIDENCE OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY,
FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT,
JUNE 30, 1940^a



Source: Tables 12 and 13, Appendix E.

^a
Includes departures.

populations from those cities seems to be a more important factor, as will be shown in the following section. That such a proportionately large number have come from Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, and Lodi, appears explainable on that basis. It is, however, more difficult to analyze why such a large proportion has come from Seattle, Berkeley and San Francisco. It may be that the student population was mainly from those cities; the students very often persuaded their friends and relatives to join them in resettlement.

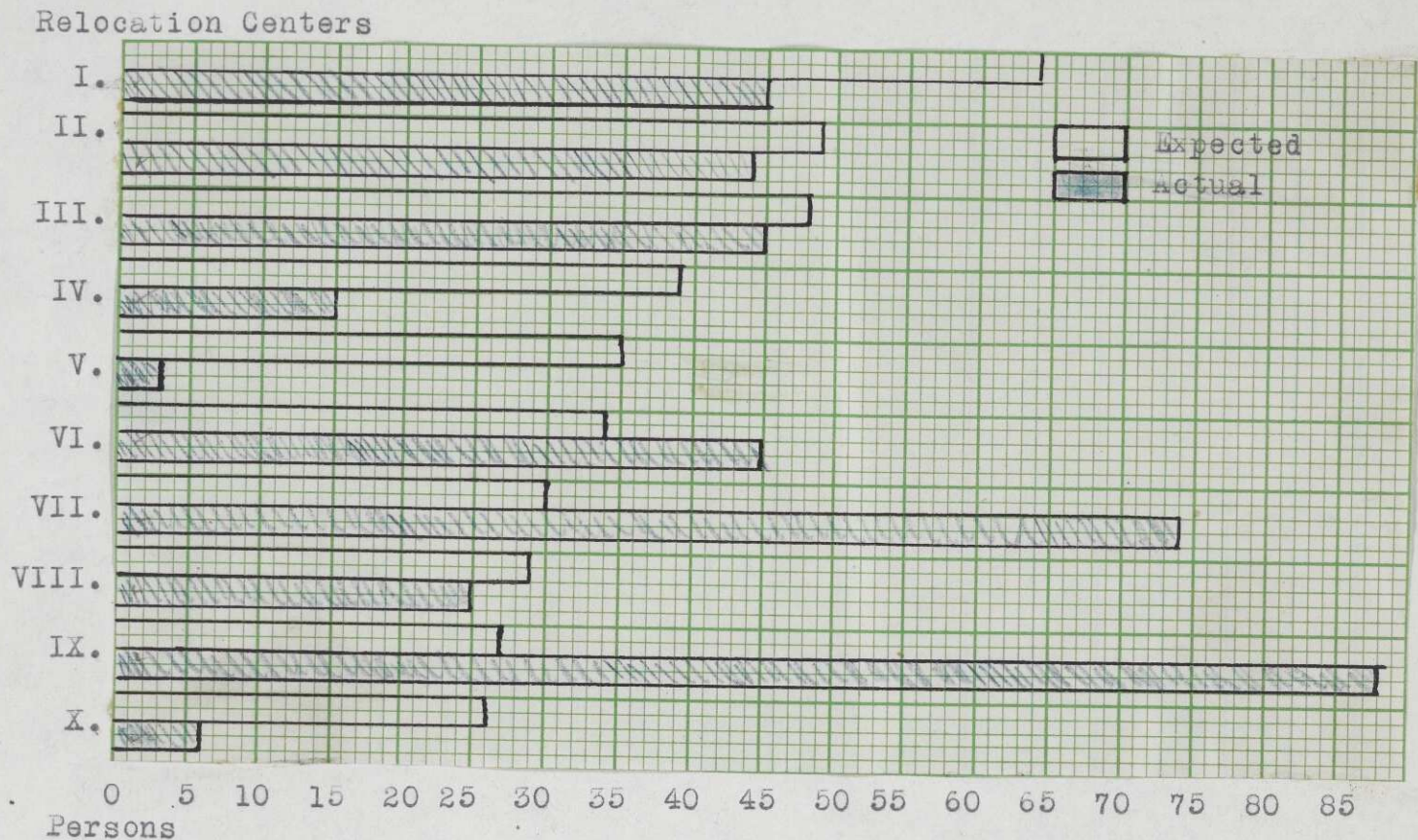
Selective Migration from
the Ten Relocation Centers
to Saint Louis

What were the factors of selective migration from the ten relocation centers to Saint Louis? Inasmuch as offers of employment from any of the War Relocation Authority offices in the cities of resettlement had been distributed to all the centers until a few months before the end of the study and since the railroad fare to the place of resettlement is paid by the government, it was thought that distance from Saint Louis would not be an important selective factor. Perhaps the size of the population in each of the centers would have some bearing on the number who came to Saint Louis.

By calculating the percent of the total population in each of the centers and taking that percent of the number in Saint Louis whose relocation centers were known, the expected population from that center was found. Diagram 10 indicates decisively that the size of the center populations has

DIAGRAM 10.

EXPECTED NUMBER OF RESETTLERS IN SAINT LOUIS FROM THE
TEN RELOCATION CENTERS, BASED ON CENTER POPULATIONS,
COMPARED TO THE ACTUAL NUMBER IN SAINT LOUIS FROM THE
THE RELOCATION CENTERS



- I. Poston, Arizona
- II. Tule Lake, California
- III. Gila, Arizona
- IV. Heart Mountain, Wyoming
- V. Manzanar, California
- VI. Minidoka, Idaho
- VII. Rohwer, Arkansas
- VIII. Topaz, Utah
- IX. Jerome, Arkansas
- X. Amache, Colorado

Source: Table 15, Appendix E.

little or nothing to do with the number resettled in Saint Louis. The correlation between the expected number of resettlers from the centers based on the size of the population and the number from the centers resettled in Saint Louis was 3.9.

Distance was found to be an important factor for the two centers in Arkansas, but it seemed of little importance for the eight other centers. It is difficult to explain the small number from Manzanar Relocation Center, but the number from Tule Lake may be partly explained by the large number who resettled rather than going to another relocation center when it became a place for segregants. These data may be found in Table 16, Appendix E.

The centers in Arkansas consist largely of persons from central California, which accounts for the number from those areas.

It may be said then that selective migration from the centers is not based on the size of the center populations or the distance from Saint Louis, except for Rohwer and Jerome relocation centers in Arkansas. Employment opportunities and the presence of friends and relatives are probably the most important selective factors.

The demographic analysis of the population seemed to be of much value in showing the total resettled population's characteristics, which provided the setting for the study of adjustment problems that will be presented in the data

from the cases and participant observations.

In order to preserve the anonymity of the twenty-four cases and to study problems according to some convenient classification, the problems and the variations in behavior have been analyzed in eleven areas of adjustment. The next chapter will be devoted to a consideration of these problems.

CHAPTER III

DEFINED PROBLEMS AND VARIATIONS IN
ADJUSTMENT IN THE ELEVEN AREAS OF ADJUSTMENT

In the area of familial adjustment, most resettlers have the problem of desiring to maintain and show family loyalty and indebtedness to their parents by aiding in their families' resettlement and yet pursuing what is most expedient for their own welfare in resettlement. In addition to a group-defined conscience stimulated by seeing their parents and sisters and brothers in the center environment, many seem to hope to reconstruct family life in resettlement, to have a place to call home, and to prepare for the possibility that the centers will be closed at the end of the war.

There appear to be four major ways in which resettlers have adjusted to this problem: (1) by their families' being resettled in Saint Louis, (2) by their succeeding in helping employable brothers and sisters to come here, (3) by becoming reconciled to the idea that their parents do not want to resettle and will remain in the centers for the duration of the war, and (4) by withdrawing or attempting to escape family responsibility.

In the first kind of adjustment, Nisei¹ have made arrangements for their parents to resettle, in many instances by finding them employment as domestic workers in homes in which the families reside in the servants' quarters,

¹

"Nesei means second generation, American citizens.

or as service workers in institutions. Some older Nisei or younger Issei² heads of families have come alone to work in the city and later have called their families after making certain of being able to get along economically and socially in the new environment. Others are young Nisei couples who have started families after resettlement. These young couples, however, have yet the task of aiding in the resettlement of their parents and in-laws and brothers and sisters.

Richard Hirota (psued.) came to Saint Louis with his wife, who was offered a secretarial job, and later found a job that used his previous training and experience. In six months a baby was born, and they moved to a family flat in a residential section just outside of the city. His mother-in-law is living with them for the summer to avoid the heat in the center.³

The second way of adjustment is that of finding jobs for their brothers and sisters or urging them here to find jobs in Saint Louis. After they arrive they see each other about once a week and go to a show or the opera and have dinner; however, unless they live together, they see less of each other as their interests and friends diverge. One girl whose brother had early obtained permission for her to come and look for a domestic position before indefinite leave from a center without a job was the regular procedure

²

"Issei" means first generation, not American citizens.

³

Case history manuscript numbers have been omitted in order to maintain anonymity.

said:

"Gosh, I used to make it a point to see my brother at least once a week, but now I never see him. Golly, I have a brother and sister here, but you never see them."

Parents seem anxious to have the family members who resettle to be together, as one girl of twenty-seven said,

"My brother was out here. That's the only reason I came here. My folks don't want to go to any other place. If we were parted, they'd worry double."

"My parents wanted me to come to Saint Louis, because my brother was already here, going to school. I guess they just wanted us to be together. He helped me get a job and saw people before I got here."

"I helped my sister to resettle in Saint Louis. She came two months after I did. I went down to the WRA and looked up domestic employment and I went to interview this woman. Then I told her to come. She comes over every other Sunday, when I'm not working, and I take her to shows and the opera and things like that."

The third type of adjustment seems to be the most common among the resettlers. They seem reconciled to the idea that their parents will remain in the centers for the duration of the war, and say that they are happier in the center with their friends. They communicate with their families in English, if their parents can read or have it translated, and in Japanese if the resettler has enough knowledge of language. In many of the places of residence visited, English-Japanese dictionaries were in evidence, which are used to this purpose. Most people interviewed casually and systematically reported that they wrote letters to their families once a week or every two weeks.

Some excerpts from the interviews are as follows:

"My mother wants to be with her children, but dad's been in the hospital since he arrived in the relocation center. He's physically not well since the evacuation and the Arkansas weather has been bad for him. After the war, I wonder. I think they'll just stay in camp--I guess the Issei folk will just stay in camp and be on relief or something."

"It's not practical for me to go to college... My younger sister has the most promise--she's young and has the most promise. She's lost not time in school because of evacuation. I guess I've just resigned myself to helping her."

"I'll have one and one-half months vacation between graduation and the opening of the.....quarter. I'm going to visit camp and see if I can't convince my mother to resettle." After the visit, she said: "Well, I sorta went to the center to persuade my mother to relocate, but she has friends there and things to do, which she wouldn't have outside. I don't blame her, because she knows that my brother and I won't be able to support her while we're in school, which would mean that we'd just be using the money that Dad provided. She says that she'll just wait until after the war, and if things don't work out--well, I don't know."

"They like it better there with their friends. They're not going to relocate--I hope not. You see, Dad was in an accident about ten years ago and broke his hip. He can't do any hard work. I guess he feels that he just has to make the best of everything. There's nothing for him to go back to at home. After the war, if I get a job, I'll ask them to come out to live with me. If I'm drafted, I'll be unable to care for them. There's nothing for them to do if they come. Dad was a fisherman in Japan, but on the Coast he wasn't. Mother could only take a housekeeping job. I guess they'll go to Japan after the war if they can't do anything else."

"I figure I'm going to be in the army pretty soon, and Rohwer's pretty close to Shelby, where I'll probably be. He (speaking of his father) likes the center. You see, he's pretty old, and old men like security. He's 74 years old. He has friends there and food and shelter...I've written to Dad offering him a visit to Saint Louis; I invited him to come here, but he said no."

"I write my family once a week. They seem happy, except the children. My parents said they'd never resettle; they want to go to Japan. You see my sister is not a citizen. But I wouldn't go. I don't worry about my parents. I send them gifts and things!"

In the fourth type of adjustment the resettlers have withdrawn from almost all family communication and show no desire to keep them together. They appear to include persons who were independent and living apart from their families before the war, those who considered themselves "blacksheep" in the family, and those who otherwise were unhappy in their homes.

"I don't worry about my family; I don't have anything to do with them, just so they're well, you know. I don't write to them much. My brother's been on furlough since yesterday from Camp Shelby, and I haven't heard from him yet." It was observed, however, that when his brother did come to Saint Louis, they spent all of their time together.

"Well, I came to see my family in Saint Louis. I have a kid brother out in...(the county), and my sister, and folks. They live out...(far); that's why I don't live out there; it takes an hour each way. I don't see them much. I guess about every other weekend. Sure, I worry about what is going to happen to the family. There are two boys in the family; my kid brother can do a better job. My old lady says, "You're the oldest, and we depend on you." I guess I just wasn't cut out for it. I'll be glad to leave this town. I've been thinking about it since I've been here. I haven't told my old lady yet. (He was going to leave the next day.) She doesn't want me to go. She wants me to settle here, more or less because they're here. I guess she figures that it isn't a family unless they're together."

"I never did get along with my mother. There was a terrible scandal about her and my stepfather at the center. She didn't want me to leave; I guess she was afraid for me. But I didn't want to turn out like her; I wanted to make something out of myself. I just wanted to get out of there and forget

about it. But you can't forget those things very well. I don't talk to many people about my trouble with my family, because some people I told think that I did wrong. But I don't think so." She went to visit her family before they were moved to a farther center.

Though these resettlers seem distant from their families, there appears to be nothing to take the place of intimate, though perhaps unhappy, relationships in the home, especially when young individuals suddenly find themselves alone in the impersonal atmosphere of a large city, working for the first time.

Family members who stay behind in the centers show much concern about their children in the cities:

"My pop didn't care; he said that there was no use staying in camp. He was more or less urging me to resettle. But my mom was kinda worried, and she sorta didn't want me to go alone. You see, this is the first time I've been away from home. Gee, she heard all kinds of rumors about girls going wrong after they got out from camp. Everytime the ladies get together, they talk how the girls are turning out that went out to resettle. She says that every time she hears that she thinks about my brother and me away from home. I keep telling her, 'Don't worry! I'm still a nice girl.' I don't think she worries so much now. You know, when... (the center) was closing a lot of people stopped by Saint Louis on their way down to say goodbye to people. They came to see me and see how I am and how I was getting along. They went to visit my folks and told them how I was. When they actually have someone who has seen me tell them that I am all right, then they don't worry so much. It kinda satisfies them, you know."

"...Sixteen and eighteen-year old girls are out doing housework. In Chicago some of them are living together; the mothers worry about them. In camp, they had the supervision of their parents, but when they go out they don't. Some of them are

prostitutes; I know that on the coast there was some of it. The mothers asked that the most when I visited the center from Chicago--about the young girls and prostitution."

"I had to fight with my parents for about one year about coming out. They hear rumors of girls going wrong. And they say that my sister in the center will be lonely and that I probably can't make a living."

"I guess they all hear about the high cost of living. And the parents are afraid to have their young kids going out loose. So many stories get back to camp."

"I guess my mother was afraid for me."

"She thinks that I'm old enough to take care of myself."

Separated from their families by great distance and poor communication because of language difficulties, resettlers are exposed without a buffer to the demands of urban living. The diagrammatic scheme for presenting the variations in adjustment to the basic problems in each of the eleven areas of adjustment has been adapted from Wickman's Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes.⁴ It was Wickman's belief that all behavior problems could be classified in their deviation from accepted behavior in two directions, "attack" and "withdrawal."⁵ It seemed possible to classify the modes of behavior in adjustment to particular problems in each of the areas of adjustment in a similar scheme of analysis.

⁴

Wickman, E.K., Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes. New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1928, P.139.

⁵

See Appendix F.

The "community or Larger Culture conception of ideal adjustment" corresponds to "accepted behavior" in Wickman's analysis. In general, "Community-defined ideal" is used to mean: sharing in the life of the larger community and the loss of differential attitudes and behavior because of belonging to a minority group. The "community ideal" of adjustment behavior was defined from the expressions of adjustment behavior was defined from the expressions of group leaders and in other individuals active in the program of resettlement; extensive participant observations and informal interviews provided the basis for judging the "ideal."

Deviations from the ideal definition of adjustment were classified into either "withdrawal" or "attack" behavior. "Withdrawal" indicates a tendency to escape the problem or to merely accept it. "Attack" signifies a tendency to face the problem and do something directly to make the situation more consistent with the community-defined ideal.

In the area of familial adjustment, the basic problem is: "How much responsibility do the resettler assume in aiding their families to relocate from the centers?" The community or larger culture conception of the ideal mode of adjustment to this problem is to have their families resettled in Saint Louis. The variations from this ideal are shown in their distance from the center of the page. The range of behavior in adjustment to the problem is shown in the two directions, "withdrawal" and "attack."

DIAGRAM 12
FAMILIAR ADJUSTMENT: How much responsibility do the
resettlers assume in aiding their families to relocate
from the center?

Deviation by
WITHDRAWAL

Community or Larger Culture Conception of Ideal
FAMILY RESETTLED HERE

Deviation by
ATTACK

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>#8 Wife and child here,
Mother-in-law visiting.
#11 Living with two sisters.
#21 Came to join brother,
Parents just arrived.
#23 Husband and child here.
#7 Urged mother to come, but thinks it better in center
#2 Family to remain in center.
#5 Family remain in center.
#3 Visits family in center on vacation.
#9 Family to remain in center.
#10 Invited father to visit St. L.
Father to remain in center.
#13 Family to remain in center.
#14 " " " " "
#15 " " " " "
#19 Discouraged young high school
sister from resettling here.
#18 Desire to go to New York despite 2 family
members here.
#20 Husband in army, interest only in him,
not resettlement of parents' family.
#22 Desire to go to Chicago despite entire
family here and urging of mother to remain.
#16 Escape from family difficulty, though visited them
on vacation.</p> | <p>#24 Brother and father on seasonal
leave expects to help resettle
permanently.
#4 Found job for brother.
#6 Aided brother to re-
settle, but brother has
left town.
#12 Brought sister.
#17 Father came to look for
job upon his invitation,
but returned to the center.
Brother got occupational
training and left for another
city.</p> |
|--|--|

Residential Adjustment

The finding of suitable housing was not as acute a problem as it might have been had not a large proportion of the workers and students lived in quarters provided for them at their places of employment in homes or in hospitals and at the school dormitories. Most of the other men workers lived at the YMCA for some period, although a few have rented housekeeping rooms so that they might do their own cooking and have Japanese food when they wish. Some of the women workers are living in boarding houses, others are sharing kitchen facilities and renting rooms in private dwellings, some have housekeeping rooms, some office workers and many students are working part-time for their board and room.

When the dormitories at Washington University were closed to civilian students, the Campus 'Y' placed the approximately forty students in board and room jobs in homes. The 'Y' maintains a regular housing list for out-of-town students, but it was necessary to make special telephone calls for the persons of Japanese ancestry, explaining their status and presence.

The following remarks are illustrative of house-hunting experiences of those relatively few persons who did not have a place provided for them in connection with their work:

"I only had to look for housing once, when I was working downtown. A Hakujin⁶ friend knew I was looking for an apartment, and she invited me to come live with her while her girls were away." She had met this woman through her brother, a student.

"My housing arrangements are already made when I got here. The secretary at the WRA (a Nisei) had fixed it up so that I'd live with her."

"When we first came, we stayed at the Jefferson (Hotel) the first night. We were lucky and got through our reservations at the Y. I lived at the Y until I got this job at the hospital. A Nisei boy who works there told me that there was an extra room where he lived. I came to talk to the woman, and she accepted me."

This Nisei student stayed at the Kingshighway Hotel the first night, after which he lived at the school dormitory until it was closed. Following that he got a room and board job through the Y on the campus.

"When I came down, school had already started so I had some difficulty finding a place to stay. You see, the University keeps a list of all the approved housing for med students, and the trouble that I had in finding housing wasn't because I was an Oriental, but because most of the rooms were already rented.

The Campus Y helped him get a room and board job in a home after the dormitory was closed. After working for about a year, he obtained a job as a switchboard operator for a hospital, earning his board and room.

Then the dormitory closed, she obtained a board and room job, which she later left in order to live with a Nisei girl in a rooming house, then with a religious worker at a downtown church. When her roommate's family resettled in Saint Louis, she joined their household.

This young couple lived in a hotel for a short while, after which they searched the ads for an apartment. Though the landlady seemed suspicious at first, she later became so friendly that she was taking too much of their time.

A Caucasian boy whom he had met at the dormitory found a room and board apartment and asked him to become his roommate.

He has been living at the Y since his arrival in Saint Louis about a year and a half ago.

The subject worked as a domestic in a home and moved to the YWCA when she left this job. "I saw an ad in the paper and talked to the person who was renting over the telephone. I was honest; I sure was a sucker, but I told them I was a Japanese American. I talked for a long time, explaining what I was after she said that she couldn't rent to me. She said she'd talk to the tenants about it. I called her later, and she said that an army man who lived there would make it difficult for us. I sure got mad! After that I wouldn't tell them what I was; I just let them guess. It eliminates embarrassment." She later found a place through an advertisement, a furnished modern apartment with several bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen, and a dinette; this was subleased to the three sisters and another Nisei girl whom they had met at the YWCA.

While living at the YWCA, the subject met some Nisei girls who were looking for someone to share expenses with them in an apartment.

He found this housekeeping room through a Nisei girl who told him that there was a vacancy at the same place in which she lived.

Though he lived at his family's residence for two days, he moved to the Y because of the distance to work.

"My sister was walking by here in the evening; you know, she works close by. There was a sign up that there was a housekeeping room for rent. We went together to ask to see the room. The woman said that no, there wasn't a room. But my sister is bold, you know. And she said, "You have a sign up that you do have a room." I think she was kind of sorry and stammered and opened the door a little. She asked, "What are you? Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, or what?" We told her that we were Japanese Americans, and that we were born here. She had never seen a Japanese before and was afraid. When we explained more about ourselves, she became more tolerant.

I told her my husband was in the service and that we were American citizens just like anyone else. She rented us the place, and now they like us very much."

There are four families which have bought homes in Saint Louis, either to be used wholly by a large family or to be partially rented out to other persons of Japanese ancestry who desire board and room.

Couples and families usually go to the WRA office for aid in housing, inasmuch as the office occasionally has offers of family employment with housing provided. Changes of address are to be reported to the local office, for which reason the office is able to let others know when a place has been vacated. Clerical workers who are employed close to the WRA office frequently come to use the telephone when looking for housing.

In addition to the fact that a large proportion have their housing facilities provided, the Nisei notify each other of places vacated by persons of Japanese ancestry and thus eliminate most of the possibility of meeting antagonism from the landlord or neighbors. No one has reported difficulty with neighbors. A relatively small number have found it necessary to search aggressively for housing. Those who have, however, have used the newspaper advertisement and in some instance have had to force the issue of rental to persons of Japanese ancestry when excuses for refusal were given.

Though it may be concluded that searching for housing has not been an unpleasant experience for most resettlers, it may not be inferred that their conditions of living are conducive to their sharing in the life of the larger community. Probably typical of the housekeeping rooms that Nisei have rented, is the following descriptions:

Her room is on the third floor with little insulation against heat or cold. There is a stove in a small closet with a few cupboards but without any windows or heat-outlet. A bathroom is shared with three other Nisei girls who live on the same floor in another housekeeping room; the bathroom bowl serves as the kitchen sink since there is no other running water on the floor. A metal bed is in the center of the room, at the head of which she has a rented sewing machine and a table which serves as a bookcase and magazine stand. On the closed sewing machine top is a large photograph of her husband in uniform; on the door of the closet near the window above the couch is a large picture of his company members. On the window sill is a service flag in a stand with the words, "serving in the United States Army," a pottery deer, a wilted plant in a glass, four tomatoes ripening in the sun, and another potted plant that needed water. She had said of it, "You should see my room! It's just like a place in the slums."

A girl who works as a domestic said,

"I don't like this way of living. It's not like a place of your own. You always feel obligated; you can't even make any noise or anything. You don't feel free, even if you're resettled."

One who lives at the YMCA said, "I hate going home every night to a hotel room. It's just not home."

One girl who was contemplating leaving the city to look for a job elsewhere said, though she had two members of her family in Saint Louis, "I'm just in a rut. I'm just not interested in anything. It'd be different if I had a home here. I just have to get out of Saint Louis."

Where one lives also determines whether or not Japanese or Chinese food can be prepared. People who have kitchens of their own or whose employers allow them to use the kitchen facilities when the family is out can prepare their own. When the resettlers get together for dinner where a Nisei does the cooking, Japanese or Chinese food is always served and is expected to be a rare treat. One Nisei girl said,

"I hope you don't mind; we're going to have rice again. But that's what most people who don't do their own cooking miss."

An early arrival to Saint Louis discovered an Issei who had a restaurant and went there frequently, because he "just got so hungry for rice!"

Another said:

"I don't miss Oriental food. I think that most kids do. I like it and all that, but I certainly don't miss it. I like it. We used to have strictly American food three or four nights a week and strictly Japanese food three or four nights. I'd be the first one to complain if we had it more than two or three nights in a row. We used to have real good food." However, he was seen on several occasions at a Chinese restaurant in town.

Newcomers to the city almost invariably choose to have Chinameshi (Chinese food) when dining out and report that it was one of the things they missed the most in the center.

One rarely hears complaints of the physical conditions of their living, for certainly many, particularly the domestic workers, have better living facilities now than in their homes before the war. They are, rather the complaints of loneliness, the idea of being a servant, the

lack of a place in which a person can be completely himself, the thought of their home being rented out in California, the inability to reciprocate home invitations for dinner and visiting, the sense of obligation to a household employer that has been generous and of having no place where he belongs and is expected to remain.

The following diagram appears to be a representative demonstration of the various ways in which resettlers have met the problem of finding housing. The use of no special means of finding housing, such as the Campus Y or complete reliance on Nisei friends, and of gaining the landlord's acceptance has been defined as the community ideal.

In the direction of "Attack" behavior, is found those who have found it necessary to actively search and overcome resistance in housing. In the direction of "Withdrawal" behavior are those who have relied to varying degrees on specially sympathetic organizations and individuals, doing little about the problem themselves.

DIAGRAM 12

RESIDENTIAL ADJUSTMENT
How do the resettlers find housing?

Deviation by WITHDRAWAL	Community defined ideal:	Deviation by ATTACK:
	<u>Use of no special means of finding housing or of getting the landlord's acceptance because of ancestry.</u>	
	#2 Through regular school housing list.	
	#4 Board & room job through employment service after brief stay at dormitory.	
	#5 Nurse's quarters.	
	#6 Provided at place employed.	
	#8 Newspaper ads, no differential treatment.	
	#14, #15. Domestic.	
	#16 Board & room at Hospital.	
	#19 Domestic.	
	#23 Newspaper ads-enlisted aid of real estate agent.	
	#24 Provided at place employed.	
#1 Hotel, Dormitory, room & board through Campus Y.		#7 Board & room through Campus Y, boarding house then lived with resettled family.
#3 Dormitory, room & board through Campus Y, room & board through Nisei friends.		#11 Answered newspaper ads, but aggressive explanation necessary to gain landlord's acceptance.
#9 Dormitory, Caucasian friend invited him to be roommate.		#20 Walked streets looking at rooms, had to overcome landlord's initial refusal by explaining that her husband was in service.
#12 Hotel, Y, room through Nisei friend.		
#17 Long at Y, Nisei friend found housekeeping room.		
#13 Already arranged through WRA.		
#18 Through Caucasian friend.		
#10 Living at Y since arrival.		
#21 Through invitation of Nisei friend at Y.		

Note: The use of the "Y" as permanent living quarters is considered a deviation from ideal adjustment in finding housing, inasmuch as it is an easy avoidance of the task of searching for housing.

Employment-Economic Adjustment

Except for the students who are completely dependent on their parents for financial support, under-age children and housewives, all persons of Japanese ancestry who have resettled in Saint Louis have had the problem of finding a job.

It seems possible to classify variations in adjustment to this problem by major occupational groups, a view which the twenty-four intensive case studies and the casual observations seem to substantiate.

The professional worker is likely to find his job on his own initiative through the limited channels of employment in his field of specialization. Resident physicians and nurses make their own applications directly to institutions, before even choosing their destination. Professionally trained persons find almost no advantage in the recommendations of the War Relocation Authority to the institutions and firms that would hire them, inasmuch as their success in such positions depend on individual ability and record. In some cases, however, the WRA has made the way easier by an advance effort toward public relations with the potential employing institution or individuals. College instructors, artists, dentists, pharmacists, and lawyers have had little or no aid from the WRA. The recommendations of individuals who knew of their qualifications were the primary instruments in finding employment;

these recommendations often came from well-established Saint Louisans.

The following account is perhaps typical of the individual initiative shown by persons seeking professional employment; however, the actual experiences seem unusual.

"I went to the WRA to see if they had some kind of job in my field, but they didn't have anything. They suggested that I go down the telephone book, so I did. I picked some in the north, south, west, and east, and a few Negro drug stores, and I went around interviewing.

I would go in a store and sit at the counter and have a drink or something to eat and look over the place, then I'd ask to see the manager if he wasn't too busy.

When I went to...(a large independent store), I asked to see Mr. Smith (psued.), who was the manager but they said that he was a busy man; then, I asked where his office was, and I went straight there. I told him, 'I'm a competent druggist with a license in California,' and I told him about my years of experience. He asked me if I was Chinese or Japanese. I told him that I was a Japanese American, born and raised here. He said that there wasn't any opening here for a druggist just now, but that I would need a license here. Then I told him that I was a good merchandise man and expert window display man; and I told him that I was confident that I could sell as much as two or three of his clerks. I told him that I wanted it straight; he could speak frankly with me. He said that yes, it was because of my appearance that he couldn't hire me. I thanked him for his time, and I told him that I knew he was a busy man, and I appreciated his being honest and frank with me. When I left, I shook hands with him, and he said that at any time that he could do anything for me, to let him know.

I went to 23 drug stores to look for a job... (The Chain stores) were the ones I went to first; I was timid at first, but after I got turned down a lot, I got bolder. I just went down a list of drug-stores, then to manufacturers, wholesale houses, everywhere; I even went to another city to look for a job.

Well, I went back to the WRA office, and... (the man) said, 'You've been really trying hard; why don't you go out to a show?' When I got back to the Y that night, I found out they were looking for a man to work at...(a hotel). I worked there for eight months before the secretary at the WRA told me of this opening in the hospital.

The semi-professional workers obtained their jobs occasionally through the WRA, but more often through their own contacts with friends connected with laboratories in hospitals, schools, etc.

Those in the managerial group "sold" themselves to the organizations with which they work. Both of these organizations, and there are only two in the managerial classification in Saint Louis, have been active in the program of resettlement.

The WRA was primarily depended upon for clerical jobs, though a very few sought jobs at places where there had been no communication with the office. Craftsmen and operatives relied almost entirely on the WRA or Nisei friends who had previously obtained their jobs through the WRA. Domestics and laborers relief almost without exception on the WRA, or got jobs through friends who had such positions.

The students had the Campus Y and the University Employment Service and professors to aid them in placement.

The more aggressive types of job-hunting are represented by the two following cases:

"I wanted to get a job in millinery work. The WRA had nothing to offer; they just said that no one had tried that line. I went down the streets into the stores. The employers don't discriminate, but that's not the way with the other employees. I went to (one store); they didn't have anything. I went to (another), and the person in charge of millinery hired me, but then the buyer disagreed. Then I went to (an exclusive) millinery shop; the woman wanted me, but when she talked to the girls, she decided not to hire me. I went to the employment service down on Broadway (presumably the United States Employment Service) and they referred me to...(still another place). They were real nice there, but they wanted a woman who could make copies of expensive hats; and I wasn't capable of that. ...(They) referred me to...(another firm). There was no discrimination there, You see, the man is Jewish, and I got along swell with the girls. Gee, it was wonderful there, but I quit. (She had left her job because she was unable to save money.) The only discrimination I've faced since coming here is in looking for employment. They make no discriminatory remarks while I'm there, but when I'm gone! I always called back or they called me after I put in an application where there was an opening. That's when they tell me that they can't use me."

The other case shows less effort on the part of the job-hunter.

"I always wanted to work in a hospital. There was an old phone book at the business college where I was going before I came to Saint Louis. I just listed all the hospitals and picked out eight hospitals that I thought I might like. I wrote letters about my education and training. They taught at school how to write good letters--how to appeal. ...(One of the hospitals) wrote immediately a favorable letter that they wanted to see me for an interview on my way down to...(the center), where I told them I was going to visit. ...(Another hospital's) superintendent said that they were interested in my qualifications, but there were no vacancies.

When I was passing through Saint Louis, I had a few hours between trains, and I went to the WRA, and ...(the secretary) down there persuaded me to go to the hospital that was just interested for an interview, because there was an opening. I was interviewed and got the job, so I didn't even go to the...(other job). ...(The secretary) said that it was a better hospital."

Their relative independence in actually finding jobs is arranged in the Diagram 13. Those who have deviated from the community defined ideal of "Use of no special means of finding jobs, other than the WRA, or of getting the employer's acceptance because of ancestry," have either depended excessively on the WRA, to such an extent as to antagonize the office, or have sought jobs solely through their Nisei friends or those Caucasians who are devoted to special efforts for the resettlers.

Students who lived at the dormitories before their closing relied on the Campus Y as a special avenue of finding board and room jobs; that is, on an organization not ordinarily for job placement. This mode of adjustment was considered a deviation from the ideal in the direction of "Withdrawal."

A more extreme type of "Withdrawal" is that of excessive dependence on the WRA, such as the case of the young girl who said,

"I guess I used to made myself a pest at the WRA, because I wanted to change my job." (This was the second job that was found for; on every day off, she came to the WRA to talk about some problem.)

Another young person has held six jobs in the six months he has been in Saint Louis. He was told by someone in the WRA, "The trouble with you is that you're too lazy." (Source withheld.) He said of the WRA:

"You know what? The WRA here stinks. They do what they're supposed to do, but that's all. They just tell us to look up jobs in the ads in the papers. ... (One of the secretaries) called for us. They ought to contact employers. I think the Japanese are breaking away from the WRA. The main trouble here is that there's no guy (Relocation office) here."

However, one of his friends was indignant about the WRA's attitude toward him. "Imagine telling a kid like that, a nice fellow like that, 'The trouble with you is that you're too lazy!'" (Source withheld).

After his six jobs here, he went to another city and worked for a short time.

His is a more extreme deviation from the ideal of "the loss of differential attitudes and behavior because of belonging to a minority group."

The following Diagram 13 presents a classification of the variations of adjustment to the problem of finding jobs in Saint Louis.

DIAGRAM 13

EMPLOYMENT-ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT:
How do resettlers find jobs?

Deviation by
WITHDRAWAL

Community defined ideal:

Deviation by
ATTACK

Use of no special means of
 finding jobs, other than
 the WRA or of getting the
 employer's acceptance
 because of ancestry.

#8 WRA lead, accepted
 without mention of
 ancestry.

#11 WRA--both jobs.

#14 WRA in center.

#15 WRA in center.

#19 WRA-first one,
 Friend got second.

#21 WRA

#24 WRA in center.

#7 Campus,
 Y & religious
 organization

#6 NYA & University
 department.

#3 Campus Y-
 Nisei friends.

#13 Letters of Applica-
 tion to hospitals-
 list from phone book.

#16 Excessive dependence
 on WRA for change
 from first job.

#18 Walked streets
 and went into
 stores. Discrim.
 experience.

#10 Antagonized WRA by con-
 duct with employers, ex-
 pects WRA to find
 another job.

#12 Interviewed.
 23 managers
 of drugstores.
 Discrim. exper-
 iences.

#22 Disgusted with WRA, but
 knows no other means of
 finding employment.
 Leaving town to look for
 job elsewhere.

#17 Interviewed
 one place
 and demanded
 meeting own
 terms of
 employment.

Another problem that shows variations in economic adjustment is that of the extent of work and self-denial in order to save for the future.

Those persons who are able to save without excessive work or self-denial are those with large incomes and those who have the basic living of housing and food provided plus a salary, in which case almost all of the salary may be saved.

Those who have deviated from the ideal in the direction of "Attack" behavior have done so through such means as (1) working at a less pleasant job for the purpose of saving, (2) by living in poor conditions and working overtime, (3) by holding two jobs simultaneously or working overtime regularly and denying themselves leisure, and (4) by using shrewd business tactics to the point of antagonizing their associates. It seems that the motives for such aggressive deviation have been excessive ambition, a strong desire for future security and a willingness to sacrifice present comfort, the hope of forgetting their present lonely way of living by work, and temporary saving for spending in the immediate future.

Those who deviate by withdrawal from the problem are persons with insufficient income, those who draw on family savings for a portion of their support but who work part-time, those who rely entirely on family savings, and those who spend everything they earn beyond what is necessary for

living. The reasons for their behavior seem to be (1) the lack of a driving goal or ambition or desire for future security in order to increase their present income which is insufficient for savings, (2) the necessity for dependence while going to school, though there seems to be an attempt to make their dependence less, (3) the justification of their complete dependence now as preparation for future work and earning capacity, and (4) the realization of no advantage in saving and the pleasure of spending freely whenever there is money (the pending draft seems to have accentuated this attitude and restlessness).

Typical of domestic employees who have been able to save and persons with ample income are the following:

"I've been working on a budget, and so far, it's worked out. I save \$40.00 a month if I can; I've been doing it now for a couple of months. If it keeps up, it'll be OK. I'd like to go to sewing school and learn dress-designing and dress-making. But I thought I'd better save first.

The subject of this case is working at a job for which he has much training and has an income sufficient to maintain a family flat with a large yard in a desirable neighborhood. He has sufficient leisure for reading, working in his "victory" garden, playing with his child, and neighboring and visiting. They are able to save a sufficient portion to plan to buy a home in one of the more desirable suburbs of the city.

Expressions of those who deny themselves comfort for future security and for their ambitions are the following:

"Some of my Nisei friends say to me, 'How can you stand to live alone and have no friends here?' Well, my husband volunteered for the army and left me, and I've been ill for a lot of our married life. So we haven't had much of married life. But I'm

happy here, working; working keeps my mind occupied, and I don't have time to worry so much. I've gotten older and wiser and I'm learning to accept things as they happen and try to make the most of it."

"Sometimes I think, and others tell me, too, that I work too hard. They wonder why I think that suffering now is better than later. I don't believe that you can work hard and have a good time at the same time. That's why I didn't go out as much. I denied myself what others had, because I thought that after I finished school I would be repaid. If a person fools around too much, he regrets it later. You can do it while you're young--work hard--and settle down later when you can't... I feel that I'm getting to my goal now. I couldn't afford to take girls out, but I can take it for a year longer. I guess I could get a loan, but that'd cramp my style. I've always been limited financially."

"Two years after the war, I'm going to save up \$15,000. I'm confident I can do it. But I got to make myself so necessary in the job that they can't get along without me. They respect me now for what I can do in business. If I can give my customers a better job, then they'll stick with me. I'm not afraid of work. I'm willing to start from the bottom. You get a satisfaction from that ...Maybe I'm greedy, but I know what I want to do. I buy the best. I spend my money, but in the shop I'm shrewd. Maybe I'm greedy and a hard man."

A student said:

"I don't want to depend on the folks for support any more. When I do my graduate work, I want to do it on my own. I guess I'll need some help, but I want to do most of it myself. It's a terrible feeling to know that your folks don't have any more income, but you have to ask for help. I suppose it's different with some families that are relocated, but even then the income is so small."

Representative of extreme withdrawal from any attempt to save are:

"When I was up at...(another city), I saved a lot of money. I made \$660 in two and a half months. We were supposed to work eight hours, but

I sometimes worked 16-18 hours. I just slept, ate, and worked six days out of the week; and on Sundays I just went to a show and saw a few people. That was day after day. But then I figured, 'What's it going to get me?' I thought that money was now more important than anything else. Everything else was secondary. (Then he came to Saint Louis.) Then I met...(a guy). Then I went in for social life; we went on a splurge. Boy! when I met him, that was my downfall. He used to think that it was his duty to entertain every new gal in town."

"I was working in...(in another city) for six months, and I felt like going East, so I was saving my money. And when I had enough I just went into town and blew it all. I had to go to camp again. You have a way of spending money...(in that town). Boy! Those pinball machines run into money. I used to spend \$15 and \$16 bucks a night on them. Man! do I regret it now; that's about all I make in a week now...You can't have any fun. That's why I'm leaving this town. If I could I know I'd like to have fun; I guess I'd buy a lot of clothes."

The diagram serves as a summary of the variations in adjustment that resettlers in Saint Louis are making to the problem of the extent to which they will work and deny themselves things desired to increase their savings for the future.

DIAGRAM 14

EMPLOYMENT-ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENT:

To what extent do the resettlers work and deny themselves things desired to increase their savings for the future?

Deviation by
WITHDRAWAL:

Community defined ideal:

Deviation by
ATTACK:

Saving without excessive work or self-denial:

- | | | |
|-----------|--|--|
| #8 | Sufficient income for ample saving & comfortable living. | |
| #14 & #15 | Large portion of salary plus monthly bonus amounting to more than salary saved with board & room provided. | |
| #19 | Large portion of salary saved with board & room provided. | |
| #23 | Husband has sufficient income for saving and adequate living. | |
| #24 | Same as #19. | |
| #11 | Little saving & comfortable living. | |
| #13 | " " " " | |
| #21 | " " " " | |
| #16 | Little saving, no self-denial. | |
| #3 | Part time job in order to avoid complete reliance on family saving. | #18 |
| #6 | Same as #3 | Left enjoyable job to work as domestic in order to save to be able to move away. |
| #7 | Same as #3 | |
| #1 | Dependent on parents | #20 |
| #2 | " " " | overtime work, poor living for postwar security. |
| #5 | " " " | |
| #9 | " " " | #4 |
| #10 | Earlier worked overtime, denied self then, but now considers it of no use. | Excessive work with two jobs & school for security in the last years of school. |
| #22 | Spends entire income, even when sufficient, thus being unable to do things actually desired. | #12 |
| | | Almost two-full-time jobs, only 5-6 hrs. sleep to increase security. |
| | | #17 |
| | | Shrewd in business, antagonizes. Spends freely but with plans to expand. |

Educational Adjustment

In the area of educational adjustment it is difficult to define any conception of ideal adjustment from the aspect of the community. The very fact that an individual is a student defines his role and place in the larger society; that, of course, is the basic problem of adjustment in the new community.

There are probably fewer problems of antagonism in the educational situation than in any other. From the beginning there existed a definite positive policy in the major educational institutions in the city that the evacuee students were to receive no differential official treatment. At the school where the greatest number of Nisei enrolled, much leadership was shown in formulating that policy, even to the extent of creating extracurricular social outlets with the obvious motive of integrating the newcomers, though consciously avoiding any all-Nisei group.

Their enrollment in educational institutions could not be construed to jeopardize in any way the larger population's possibility of enrollment, though a resettler's obtaining a job might mean one less job or a little less demand for the Saint Louis' working population. That the students lived for the most part in the dormitories, meant that there was little opportunity for them to be exposed to the city's population.

Inasmuch as most of the early students had money, a

few possessed exceptional ability to have received scholarship aid, and others had extraordinary drive and some means to substitute for ability and money; it may have been expected that these selective factors of the earliest migration were important elements in the adjustments that students made. A more thorough historical investigation would probably substantiate the hypothesis that the presence of students defined a general policy of acceptance by Saint Louisans who were at all aware of their presence. The earliest newspaper publicity about resettlers presented them as students well-accepted by their fellows and participating in the war-effort activities on the campus.

Most students interviewed said that they came to Saint Louis, because the other schools they wanted to attend would not accept them. Their complaints of having lost credit and time, being unable to find the courses they desired, the lack of a collegiate atmosphere, the inadequacy of some of the facilities, and of lower standards were ameliorated by the realization that they were unable to go elsewhere and by the provision of opportunity for much participation in some campus activities. A few quoted complaints will make more vivid these generalizations:

"I should be graduated by now...But here I had to start all over again as a freshman...I've had a whole lot of science, so I'm way ahead on that. It's real easy for me now, but I'm not getting too good grades, in those courses, though. It's because I don't study at all for them. I didn't do so bad though. I don't study at all; I'm not a scholar.

The practical side of it is real easy, because I've had a lot of experience.

I tried to go to two other schools, but I couldn't get in. I thought...(a religious) hospital wouldn't be prejudiced so I decided to come here...But it's not bad. I joined the Nurse's Cadet Corp--it pays for my tuition, \$125 a semester, and books and allowance every month. I'm getting \$20.00 a month now, but...(later) I'm going to get \$55.00."

"School...here is easy; you get one grade higher for the same work...(at my former school); don't you think? If you got a C...(there) it's likely that you'll get a B here...(the school I went to before that) was easy too--like...(this school) in it's rating, I guess. They wouldn't accept a lot of my credits, but I've been given a lot of credits now that they wouldn't before. The registrar arranged it so that I'd graduate a semester earlier than I would have when I first came here. I've got to graduate by hook or crook after being put back so far. (He had been put back two years) I wouldn't have come here if I had known that I would have to start over as a junior; and they wouldn't evaluate my credits until I came here in person, even though I wrote out a detailed description of my courses...I really wanted to go to a big school; I like the name of a big school. You know, it has a collegiate atmosphere--football and dances and things like that. I guess I was a little disgusted that I couldn't get to a big school, but my instructors said that...(this) was a pretty good school, so I didn't care much. It was really a matter of elimination, and--here I am.

I miss the raw-raw spirit of...(my former school) a lot. Here, people don't even get excited about the big game between...(the two rival schools). We used to have a real rowdy time before the game and afterwards--the dances and parties and things. These people here are gentlemen. You know--they wear ties, and nobody "boos," even if they don't play well. They don't attach much importance to sports; I miss the big athletics...like every Saturday we went to the football games. It's part of the Joe College atmosphere...We used to wear real sloppy clothes--real collegiate. The students here as a whole are not rowdy."

"I got my acceptance from...(this university)

(while I was in the assembly center), and I knew that there was at least one place to go to. I sent in my dorm reservation immediately. I thought that this was one place I can back on if I couldn't get in anywhere else."

"...(This school) is all right, but it doesn't have nearly the facilities that we ought to.... (It) doesn't have any endowment; I looked it up, and it doesn't have any. ...(The other school) has millions...I like to feel that the school that I go to will have all the facilities and teachers that are the best. As juniors we ought to be doing more clinical work now, but we don't have the facilities."

It seems that there were discernable self-conscious types among the students, such as the "Play-boys," the "Scholars," the "Grinds," the "Regulars," the "Integrators." The "Play-boy" had no financial worries, could boast about his cameras, his car, his home, wear the best of clothes, and take his friends to the nicest places to gain prestige and social acceptance. Among the earliest students, many seemed to fit into this classification. They seemed to have disdain for those who had the reputation of being "Scholars" and "Grinds," who participated less in the social activities of the campus and spent most of their time in the libraries or working at part-time jobs. The "Scholars" were reputed to be gifted and were more respected than the conscientious students, who were usually the objects of such accusations as being competitive and of being "D.A.R.'S."⁶ The "Scholars" and the "Grinds" made their adjustments in school through sheer scholastic achievement. The "Regulars" may have had

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"D.A.R." stands for "Damned average raisers."

as secure financial backing as the "Play-boys", but did not flaunt their former ease of living, and may have had as fine grades as the "Scholars" and "Grinds" but had other satisfactions visible to the other types. The "Integrators" were the ones who busied themselves with the organization of mixed Nisei and Caucasian activities and spent much time discussing resettlement problems with interested Caucasian individuals and groups; it was a matter of duty to them. A very few among them were considered leaders; the rest were thought to be prestige-seekers.

From this rather crude classification, it may be seen that there were types of students who played definite roles adjustment in the campus situation.

Interpersonal Adjustment

Basic to the problem of the adjustment of resettlers in the larger community is their difference in being Oriental in appearance and of being Japanese in ancestry. No one who has experienced the evacuation and the chain of events that finally brought him to Saint Louis has escaped being made conscious of these two facts. There are various ways in which resettlers acknowledge this self-consciousness and meet this problem in relation to Caucasians. Some believe that it is not the way others behave toward them that causes them to be self-conscious.

"Maybe they did stare at first. We were self-conscious, and maybe that's why we thought that they

were conscious of us. When anybody is new, he's a little self-conscious. Nobody has ever treated me any different than anyone else. (On the train trip) ...I wasn't self-conscious. Nobody said anything to me. Oh, maybe I was a little at first, but I can pass as anything. I can tell them that I'm Hawaiian, and that can be anything. I guess it's the last thing that occurs to people to think that I'm a Jap; you know, they think we look like the crazy cartoons--nobody looks like them, of course, but it's the last thing that they think of, even today."

"On the train with my brother, I had a real inferiority feeling; I felt that everybody was watching us. But I got over that pretty quickly when people started talking to us, and we had a good time."

"I didn't notice any change in the expression of others toward me, but I think there was a change in me--I think I was more sensitive."

All individuals, however, come across situations which make them aware of their difference in appearance, though it is not necessarily a negative or unpleasant experience if persons assume them to be non-Japanese Orientals or understand their status as Americans.

"I haven't experienced any discrimination and haven't even heard anything second-hand. In the first place, people don't know what we are; they think we're Chinese, Siamese--even Portuguese. I've been asked if I were Portuguese more than twice. They don't know, except that we're Oriental."

"For a while I was working right out in front.. and sometimes they would ask, 'What are you, a Jap or a Chink?' The Chinese are our allies, but they're still 'Chinks' to the public. A Chinese fellow was telling me that. It's a good thing for the Nisei that the Chinese are our allies, because it makes it harder for them to come right out and condemn any person by his appearance. And they can't tell the difference. (This place)...caters to a higher type of people, so most of the time it's OK when they're sober but when they get tight they just say, 'You damned Jap!' right out. But I just

ignore it. Some of them are real nice, though. One woman said that she had a kimono and asked if I knew anybody who could fix it. She said that right out loud when there were a lot of people. ... (There; some people aren't afraid about those things."

"I feel it more now, people look at you here; here you're a curiosity. Back home, they knew us; they were used to seeing Nisei."

The practical expression of their self-consciousness comes when they are faced with the situation of having to explain their identity. When one person asked, "What are you?" She replied, "I'm an American." She was aware, however, that it was not the information desired. The curious person then asked, "Well, I mean what's your nationality?" And the insistent Nisei replied, "My nationality is American." "I mean your race..." "Oriental or Mongolian." "What I really want to know is if you're Chinese or Japanese." "I'm an American but my parents are Japanese," was her final reply.

The point of public curiosity upon seeing an Oriental is to wonder whether that person is of Chinese or Japanese ancestry. Children in streetcars are often overheard discussing in not too quiet whispers how one can tell the difference between Chinese and Japanese and speculating as to the nationality background of the Oriental within their sight. "She's Chinese. You can tell because she's not so dark." "You can tell a Jap by their eyes. Her eyes aren't Jap-eyes." "I read somewhere that you can tell a Jap, because the big toe is separated from the rest. But

how can we tell when they have shoes on?"

The mode of answering to the direct questioning of a Caucasian about the resettler's ancestry seems to be a good objective criterion of the amount of fear or insecurity a person of Japanese ancestry feels because of his identity. It appears that there is more of a tendency to hide his identity in situations and groups which are of brief duration and afford sufficient anonymity to avoid any danger of exposure, such as in night clubs, restaurants, trains, crowds, etc. The intensity of the fear of discriminatory treatment or expediency in a situation may define the replies.

In the Saint Louis situation, which the WRA reports is the only major area in which there has been not a single instance of public reaction against resettlement, it is likely that resettlers are less fearful of negative public opinion because of ancestry. There was not one instance of deliberate intent to mislead persons into believing that the resettler was Chinese either reported or observed, though most persons allow others to assume that they are Chinese if they are not directly questioned.

There is much group disapproval of persons who pretend they are Chinese. An older Nisei who is defined as a leader by Caucasian groups working on resettlement said,

"Be proud of being Japanese, because America is the result of many national groups, which have contributed much to the country and America...I'm proud of being a Japanese. Why, just this evening, coming down on the Lindell bus, a woman sitting next to me said, 'I know your people well. I used to trade at

the Sun Yat (pseud.) Grocery Company in Los Angeles.' She said all kinds of thing about the Chinese people and Madame Chiang Kaishek. But before I got off that bus, I said to her, 'I'm sorry to disappoint you but my mother and father came from Japan.' I wouldn't let her have the satisfaction of thinking I was Chinese. She probably couldn't believe that a Japanese could be so American!"

Though most persons would not have gone to the trouble to say that they were not Chinese, it seems that they would have no sense of shame as a result of their Japanese ancestry; it appears to be a matter of practical expediency because of the war.

Perhaps representative of the few instances of extremely aggressive behavior in connection with their identity is the following account:

"I tell them that I'm an American of Japanese ancestry. If they don't like it, they can lump it. I tell them that I was born here, that I'm from...(a west coast city)--born, raised, and educated there. I've only had one unpleasant experience. Last time I went to visit my folks, I was getting ready to retire. I went to the wash-room of the pullman to brush my teeth and things. There were two soldiers who were pretty well soused who were brushing their teeth. One of them said to the other, 'Are there any more of those goddamned Japs in Nyssa, Oregon? I know that there are some in Shoshone.' He was swearing like everything. You see, Nyssa used to be a FAC camp; it's some kind of an agricultural project. The people could go straight from an assembly center to one of those camps if they wanted...I went up to him and said, 'While I'm around you'd better not say those things. Soldier, have you been overseas? Well, then you should talk! There are a lot of soldiers of Japanese ancestry fighting and dying in Italy and the South Pacific.' I ended by saying, 'As far as I'm concerned, you can go to hell!' And I left them. Later, one of the fellows came to my sleeper and said, 'Don't pay any attention to my buddy; his brother was killed at Pearl Harbor. But I understand. One of my best friends in high school was a Japanese. He's in North Africa now.' It was an

unpleasant experience, but it was gratifying to think that this other fellow understood, because he knew someone in high school."

The diagrammatic presentation of adjustment to the problem of explaining their identity, indicated little deviation from the group-defined and community-accepted ideal of acknowledging Japanese ancestry and simply explaining their status as citizens.

DIAGRAM 15

INTERPERSONAL ADJUSTMENT:
How do resettlers explain their identity?

Deviation by

WITHDRAWAL:

Community defined ideal:

Acknowledge Japanese ancestry
and explain status as citizens.

Deviation by

ATTACK:

#3 No attempt to hide ancestry.

#4	"	"	"	"	"
#5	"	"	"	"	"
#6	"	"	"	"	"
#7	"	"	"	"	"
#8	"	"	"	"	"
#9	"	"	"	"	"
#10	"	"	"	"	"
#13	"	"	"	"	"
#14	"	"	"	"	"
#15	"	"	"	"	"
#16	"	"	"	"	"
#18	"	"	"	"	"
#19	"	"	"	"	"
#21	"	"	"	"	"
#23	"	"	"	"	"
#24	"	"	"	"	"

#1 Said he was
 Hawaiian.
 Ignored
 being called
 Jap!

#12 Expects to be
 considered Chinese.
 Ignored being
 called Jap! Does
 not answer when
 asked identity.

#20 Refused to pass
 as Chinese even
 to get a job.

#11 Aggressive ex-
 planation of
 status of J.A.

#17 Aggressive
 attempt to
 gain respect
 as a J.A.

#22 Ready to
 fight those
 who call him
 a Jap!

#2 Aggressive
 protection of J.A.
 status when hearing
 them discussed.

A major problem for any newcomer to the city is that of overcoming the sense of loneliness and impersonality, particularly when there is not an intimate group such as the family whose members can share that feeling with each other in relation to the larger group. This feeling in addition to their sensitivity over being of Japanese ancestry and having been isolated from the majority of the population for perhaps a year increases unless some outlet for making friends is presented. The inability to have a pleasant social life with friends seems to be an important cause for discontent and the desire to return to the center, where friends are plentiful, where there is no self-consciousness because of appearance, and where there are many opportunities for social relationships without fear of rebuff.

In the case of the early students, other Nisei on campus and the Campus "Y" provided opportunities for friendships and mutual social activities, until more intimate associations such as cliques were formed and a wider outlet for making friends was created in the Inter-American Night programs on Saturday night at the Christ Church Cathedral. It was in the dormitory situation, also, that the Nisei met their first Caucasians, some of whom became their intimate friends. When the dormitories were closed in February, 1943, a few Nisei joined Caucasians in renting rooms. Some of their early experiences are illustrative of their consciousness of a common bond and of the efforts that Caucasians made to have

isolated Nisei meet each other.

"I met two boys, who were the only Nisei here. They came dashing down when they heard that two Nisei had come. They told us what to do and what not to do and told us about the dorm activities. I stayed with...(three Nisei boys). We roomed together, but we didn't do too much together. I used to study alone. We used to talk a little. ...(one of the boys) lived up in the tower--he used to come down for bull sessions. Well, we used to talk about where we came from the people we knew and general things. We didn't talk about the evacuation and the Nisei problem--we thought they were past history. We talked more about what we did in camp. We used to gripe about the shortage of girls; there were thirty to forty boys and five girls.

At first there wasn't much to do. We used to go to shows, mostly with Nisei on campus. Then we started going bowling. I got started with the "Y", when I helped out at the "Y" Bazaar two weeks before Christmas of 1942. I used to help them out with stuff at the office. I used to go there to play cards all the time, but I don't go so much any more. I was invited to some homes." (Mostly homes of Ministers who were active in the relocation program.)

"I lived at the...(the dormitory) for one month until school began. For that month I loafed all day--I slept all morning. We played baseball, football, and went to shows. I remember the first weekend that I was here, we had a beer bust; it happened the second weekend too. There were two Nisei who were living there;...then I got to know most of the boys in the dorm. They weren't particularly interested in me, even if I was a Japanese. I didn't have any particular problems, like some of the Nisei have today. I used to tell (one of the Nisei)...about camp, because I used to work for his father, and he wanted to know about his family....(The other boy) was interested too, because he had been in the middlewest...and had never been in a center. The other boys in the dorm used to be there, so they heard too. We used to talk about it sometimes, but there wasn't any particular interest. We used to have bull sessions often.

"I used to see some of the Nisei who were already here once in a while during that month before school began. I met...(a graduated student) who came early in the summer, and I saw some of the boys who were at

dental school early in the year. One of the students was a boy I knew...(back home). I wired him that I was coming, and he met me at the station. I wasn't lonely.

It seems that the people in the middlewest are more friendly than in California, but I think it's because we're new. I think that if we were new in California people would be especially friendly too.

Every Saturday night, practically, I go to Christ Church. I used to go to the dorm dances when we had them; I used to dance with all the girls. At first I was a little uncomfortable, but not very. They didn't care, and I didn't care. I go to the Y office a lot and play bridge mostly. I help around with the art work for the Y publicity staff--I help with posters and programs and folders. It's a lot of fun, and it's a good place to meet people. Early when I was here, I went to see...(the Y secretary); I don't know why I went to see him, but I did...Once my roommate, who's a Nisei, and I put out the candles at an evening vesper service."

"When Alice (psued.) came to the dorm, the hostess brought her up to my room and introduced us. I helped her unpack and introduced her to some of the kids I had become acquainted with at the dorm. She came late. WE've been real good friends ever since. But when... (the other Nisei girl) came, I just couldn't get along with her. You know, she made me cry one time. I was just trying to be hospitable and asked her if I could help her, and she just said, 'No!' She's just different. She seems to want to have nothing to do with us and doesn't like to be reminded in any way that she has anything to do with evacuees."

It was primarily through the Campus "Y" and the dormitories that Nisei students met Caucasians. Some Nisei consciously avoided the "Y" office, because there were always many Nisei there. One boy who had earlier become active in the "Y" and later avoided it said, "The Y office is just a boochie hangout." (Boochie is the slang expression for Nisei when his difference from the

majority group is to be emphasized.) Almost every noon hour and afternoon the Nisei came to the office to play cards and to help occasionally in the activities of the "Y" or to discuss their problems or the problems of resettlement in general with the secretary, who had taken the leadership in resettlement work among Caucasian groups in the city.

Other students spent all of their time studying or working at part-time jobs and made few contacts outside of the classroom.

Many of the early employed persons in Saint Louis were friends or relatives of students who had been here; these newcomers made their friends almost wholly through earlier Nisei resettlers.

"I liked Saint Louis right away, because I met so many Hakujin friends. They were so kind, I wondered how people could be so good. I met them through my brother and his friends that he made at school."

In some cases good friends came out of the centers together and continued in their relationship. Persons from the same home town made a habit of getting together and introducing their respective friends, thus enlarging the friendship group. Those who had resided in the same center discovered mutual friends, and if they did not come from either the same home town or center, they asked about persons whom they knew lived in either of those places.

The starting point of conversation between Nisei when they met was almost invariably, "What center did you come from?" then, "Where did you live before evacuation?" The fact of their common external circumstances since the outbreak of the war was sufficient excuse for friendships among the early resettlers or those who had little opportunity to meet people. As the number of resettlers or those who had little opportunity to meet people. As the number of resettlers increased and general meeting places such as the occasional Fellowship of Reconciliation parties and the Inter-American Night open house every Saturday were provided, the selection of friends according to common interests, prestige, convenience of meeting, or personality became increasingly important.

Those who live at the YMCA, which may be used as a permanent place of residence, have the opportunity to meet Nisei and Caucasian friends through mutual activities or chance meetings. They play pool, swim, go to baseball games, shows, and eat together; but Nisei have never been observed to bring Caucasians to all-Nisei gatherings or groups such as the Inter-American Night, which has the avowed function of integrating all newcomers to the city, but which caters only to the needs of the Nisei. At the YWCA residence, Nisei girls live only until they can find a more permanent place of residence, but lasting friendships among Nisei have been made through chance meetings there. The YWCA provides little contact with

Caucasians except for those few who go the household workers' club, which consists mostly of older, middle-aged Caucasian domestic women, with whom the young Nisei girls find little in common.

"Sure, I've met a few Caucasians, but they're not friends. I'd like to have some, but there 's no way to meet them as friends. If you're going to school, you have a better chance. Domestic work seems like low work, or something, and no one wants to associate with you.

The great bulk of the resettled young people depend almost entirely on a few old friends in the city to introduce them to other Nisei or go to the Christ Church Cathedral Inter-American Night.

"I'm going to Christ Church tomorrow night. I hope I meet some new faces then. I've been twice before. (She had only been here a month.) It's nice when there aren't so many; you get to meet more. I've made some friends through my roommate (Nisei), and there's one Nisei girl who's working where I am...My friends are just some people I knew in the center, and there are some acquaintances here. I meet some Caucasian people at the hospital, but it's just while we're working."

There are a few cases of almost isolated individuals:

"I'm going to a show, I guess. That's what I usually do on my days-off. I go alone, because there's no one else to go with. I go to a show almost every time; I don't know anybody to go visit. The only people I know are the couple... (who work where I do). They were there before I was. I just met a family that I knew..(in the relocation center). I was with them last night. I miss seeing Japanese people and talking in that language. I went down...(to Christ Church) once. It's nice; they sing songs, and play games, and dance. I don't know how to dance, so I felt kinda self-conscious. I've always been to myself. (I

don't mind learning), but I don't know anybody to teach me. I was close to my family and I never did see other people. That's the trouble, I've been to myself always. The other girls have dates and go to parties and things, but I never did those things. I've just been in this part of town. I have nobody to go with. They tell me that if I don't start going out and being with people, I'll go crazy. I'm so morose-- I've always been that way...I didn't like...(my job) at first, because all I saw was old people; then some young kids came...The Japanese couple is real nice to me, but they want to be together. I just used to stay in my room."

It seems, then, that students have probably had the most natural opportunity of making friends, particularly in the dormitory and through campus social affairs. Persons who live at the "Y" residences with other single, independent persons have the next best situation; that would include a large portion of the working men. The young couples with family dwelling units of their own in residential areas have a good situation of give-and-take in neighboring, but the number involved among the resettlers is so small as to make this insignificant. Those who have taken an active part in working with groups attempting integration have made friends with ministers and other active church persons; though the number of these is small, probably the majority of the early resettled students were guests in homes for dinner through the efforts of the campus "Y" and made casual friends in that way.

But social life among resettlers is confined almost exclusively to their own kind except with those Caucasians who are actively interested in resettlement.

Inasmuch as the fear of loneliness is an important

negative force holding the evacuees in the centers, it seems that the consideration of complete dispersion and the assumption that such a policy would force resettlers to rely entirely on already existing community outlets for their social needs have been abandoned by the government agency and religious bodies aiding resettlement.

Again, a diagram is presented to summarize differences in adjustment being made to the problem of finding friends. Very few have not deviated from the ideal of having enough friends to overcome loneliness without almost complete dependence on specially created means or other Nisei.

DIAGRAM 16

INTERPERSONAL ADJUSTMENT
How do resettlers find friends?

Deviation by WITHDRAWAL:	Community-defined Ideal:	Deviation by ATTACK:
	<u>Have enough friends to overcome loneliness with- out almost complete de- pendence on specially created means of Nisei.</u>	
	#1 Nisei & Caucasian: Campus Y & Dorm. Nisei: Inter-Amer.	
	#8 Cauc.: Church, neighbors; Nisei friends.	
	#22 Nisei: old friends & Y residence Caucasian-Y residence.	
	#23 Nisei: select, old friends; Caucasian: husband's employer & church friends.	
	#2 Nisei: Inter-Amer. Clique Cauc.: 1 classmate.	#7 Cauc.: those interested in resettlement.
	#3 Nisei: Inter-Amer. clique Cauc.: Former employer.	Nisei: only roommate.
	#9 Nisei: Y residence; Inter-Amer. Cauc.: Y.	#11 Cauc.: YW houseworkers club. Nisei: only sisters.
	#10 Same as #9.	#6 Nisei: Inter-Amer.. Y residence. De- liberate search.
#13 Nisei: Inter-Amer. Cauc.: Landlady.		Cauc.: Campus, Y.
#14 Nisei: Nisei friends. Cauc.: None.		#17 Nisei: Inter-Amer.; Y residence; Cauc.;
#15 Nisei: Nisei friends. Cauc.: None.		Businessmen at Y residence.
#18 Nisei: Old friends & brothers. Cauc.: Brother's former roommates.		
#19 Nisei: Old friends & Inter-Amer. Cauc.: None.		
#20 Nisei: Old friends-sister's. Cauc.: None.		
#21 Nisei: Inter-Amer. & roommates. Cauc.: Roommate's assoc. at YW household club.		
#24 Nisei: Inter-Amer.; Center, friends; place of employment. Cauc.: None.		
#4 Nisei: Few Inter-Amer. & school. Caucasian: school.		
#12 Nisei: Old Friends. Few. Cauc.: None.		
#16 Nisei: None. Cauc.: None.		
#5 Nisei: none. Cauc.: Classmate.		

Romantic and Marital Adjustment

In view of the age of the resettled population and the small number who are married, the problem of romantic and marital adjustment is of extraordinary importance for the resettlers. There are several factors that aggravate the problem. Inasmuch as there are so few persons of Japanese ancestry scattered in a large city, there is little likelihood that socially compatible people will meet even if all the men were to meet each of the women. In their home communities there was an expected way of establishing dating relationships, such as meeting at joint parties of a boys' club and a girls' club, at church, at school, and through the family. In the centers these were continued, though there was much more association directly as individuals with more opportunity for meeting in the close living situation. The problem in the resettlement situation becomes that of how they will go about setting a new pattern of courtship without the forms which were possible in their home communities and in the centers. In the case of the young boys and girls who were just beginning to take an interest in dating, the absence of their parents and a home means that they have not even a little-understanding parent to turn to. (Most young people reported that their parents were too strict and didn't understand about the American customs of dating.)

Some persons are dating Caucasian girls and boys; almost invariably, these are students. But there seems to

be much reluctance to date outside of the resettled group. Some of their statements indicate a persistence with some modification, of the strong mores against intermarriage expressed in their former communities.

"The Nisei girls don't equal the Caucasian girls. They're just out for fun; they're not always serious like the Nisei girls. But I like my girl friend to be Nihonjin.⁷ I guess it's the Jap in me. I guess I have too much pride. You know the way the Yabos⁸ are. They hate to have their name spoiled; they hate to get talked about. My old lady wouldn't hear of it. Mom thinks that a Yabo when he gets married should be married for good."

"I have no opinion about...(intermarriage). I guess it would give America more solidarity, but that might not be necessary."

"No, I don't think...(it would be detrimental for a Nisei to marry a Caucasian). I wouldn't hold anything against them. I wouldn't be surprised if I married a Caucasian. Of course, it depends upon the person. I don't mean marrying any old white trash. If the person came from a good family, had money, and was from the right side of the tracks, it'd be OK. Things like that are important to a professional man. I don't mean that a man should marry just for money and position; I think that it should be someone to help the man, however...I don't think there'd be any trouble with a Caucasian husband or wife if the people in the immediate environment have been known well. It'd work out well if they were all people I knew. But you can't tell when you go into a group where you're not known."

"Gee, I'd like to marry a Caucasian. It'd be like my best dreams. But it's so far beyond reach. I never dated a Caucasian, and I don't know about marriage; I don't even know the difficulties with a Nihonjin. I just don't think about it."

"I depend pretty much on the first group I met here. (She had met two Caucasians with whom her brother, a student, lived.) I used to go out with Dick and Jose (psued.). I also fooled around with the Chinese boy in the air corp."

⁷Nihonjin means Japanese.

⁸Yabo is a slang expression for Nisei.

"And when we have dancing at our parties we dance with everybody; the Nisei boys dance with the Caucasian girls, and everybody dances with us, and nobody thinks anything about it. At first, the Nisei boys were a little uncomfortable about asking. We never have just Nisei dancing with Nisei and Caucasians with Caucasians--everybody dances with everybody else." (Referring to a group of students who actively participate in the Campus "Y".)

"Some of the boys met some girls through the 'Y'; it's a good place to meet people. I dated some Caucasian girls; at first, I was self-conscious about dating Caucasian girls, but they don't care. It's just that I felt self-conscious. Nobody seemed to say anything or stare or treat us any differently when we went places."

Those who do date Caucasians are the object of envy rather than condemnation, with the absence of the older folks who were the ones who discouraged their young people from even considering it. A Nisei boy, however, is fearful of a negative attitude from the general public when he takes a Caucasian girl to a public place; though he feels quite certain of acceptance in groups where both are known. Nisei have been heard to say, upon seeing a Nisei soldier or well-dressed civilian with a Caucasian girl at a bar or tavern or night club, "Hmmm, not bad! Wonder where he picked her up." They seem fearful of the assumption that being with a Caucasian girl in a public place would imply a "pick-up."

Typical of girls who are disappointed in their lack of dating is perhaps this statement:

"I've been doing no dating since I've been here. That's the saddest part about resettling, after dating so much in the center. I wish there were more of that

here. In the center, there were soldiers galore; we almost got tired of seeing them, but I wish there were some around here. I hear the Christ Church is going to have a picnic: that'll be good--we can meet some people then. I think that's one of the main reasons the young people don't want to come out! In a big city, you don't meet people. The girls are lonely, and they know that if they relocate they're going to be lonely. I'm sad romantically speaking; that's the sad part about coming out to Saint Louis. I had such a grand time in the assembly center; I met a lot of boys outside of the church club. I guess romantically, it's more fun in the centers. My sister writes that it's more fun! She says that the boys are passing their physicals for army induction and going back to the centers to be with their families while waiting for their call. I'd like to be there now....I see some boys at the cafeteria of the place that I work, but you can't very well just say hello out of a blue sky."

Domestic workers often find that their distance from town or the hours of work interfere with their dating. Others explain their lack of social life with boys by the mature of their personalities.

"I was close to my family, and I never did see other people. The other girls have dates and go to parties and things, but I never did those things. You see, I'm just 19."

"I guess I'm the kind that boys like to have fun with; that's the way it was at...(home) and in the centers and here, too. I never go out. I went to the Christ Church Cathedral a couple of times. That's where I met this boy, who called me up once but I wasn't here then. He's the only one that's called--and I wasn't available. That's what's nice about knowing boys you can go out on a binge with them. This...boy took me out to eat after the party at the Cathedral. He's real nice; only thing, though, he's...(not Japanese). But there's nothing to do here; I just stay here...and go out with some of my...(girl)friends. I probably won't get married for a long time; am I getting old! Imagine! Twenty-three...I've known many boys, but I've just been a friend; they never think of me any other way."

Others who do not date say that they are too busy or are not interested:

"Since coming to Saint Louis, I've only taken out two girls (He had been here one and one-half years.) I'm just too busy. Sometimes I want to go someplace with a girl, but I don't know many. And when I do know of girls I can take out, I'd just as soon sleep. It's so much easier to go over to a fellow's house and say, "Let's go to a show," and go, than it is to get a date. Sometimes I think I am maladjusted, being unable to see or talk to any girls." (The subject goes to Christ Church Cathedral and goes out with girls and boys in a group afterward.)

"I don't date much; I'd just as soon sleep. Besides there are so few things to do in Saint Louis..." (He regularly dated a Caucasian girl earlier.)

Some persons have shown more aggressive behavior in finding suitable dates:

"Then I went in for social life; we went on a splurge. Boy! (This boy I met)...used to think it was his duty to entertain every new gal in town. We used to go to Clayton on Sunday evening and on Thursday and sit on the corner of Forsythe and Central (a number of domestics work in that area and change to streetcars and buses at that point). We just used to start up a conversation about what camp they were from and where they lived and things like that. Pretty soon, I got such a reputation that the Nisei guys from Fort Leonard Wood used to tell the other guys to just go see... (me), if they wanted a date in Saint Louis."

As the number of Nisei in Saint Louis increases, and communication becomes more effective it may be expected that dating relationships will become less of a problem. The limited dating opportunities in Saint Louis appear to be a major cause of mobility to areas where there are more Nisei and more things to do on dates. This attraction and that of higher wages seem to be the

important forces pulling persons to cities such as Chicago, Cleveland, and New York.

Before the establishment of the Inter-American Night program, the "Campus "Y" served as a social center. Most of the resettlers were students, the majority of whom lived in the dormitories before their closing, or were friends of these students. Now, visiting Nisei in Saint Louis who want to see other persons of Japanese ancestry go to Christ Church on Saturday night, as do persons who merely want to be with Nisei young people, who are as yet the only potential dating companions for most of the resettlers.

This reliance on the Christ Church Cathedral Inter-American Night and friendships and dating relationships established there sets the only discernible pattern of the beginnings of courtship in the Saint Louis area.

The diagram indicates some of the variations in the adjustment of persons in the Romantic and Marital Area of adjustment.

DIAGRAM 17

ROMANTIC MARITAL ADJUSTMENT:
How are normal relationships
between men and women maintained?

Deviation by WITHDRAWAL:	Community defined ideal:	Deviation by ATTACK:
	<u>Date those persons who are</u> <u>personally companionable</u> <u>and whose association will</u> <u>not arouse differential</u> <u>attitudes from the community.</u>	
	#8 Has family here.	
	#9 Dates Nisei girls: knows enough of them.	
	#22 Dates Nisei girls, No difficulty in find- ing date.	
	#23 Has family here.	
		#1 Dated Caucasian girl.
#14 No dating but goes out with Christ Church clique.		#10 Broke up with "steady". Dates many girls now.
#15 Same as #14.		#3 Takes girls out from Christ Church clique.
#24 Goes "steady" meets girls at Christ Church through Nisei friends.		#18 Desires marriage now; going elsewhere, be- cause no desirable ones here.
#2 Dates seldom. Studies.		#17 Dates anyone who will go out with him. Reputation for aggressive sexual behavior.
#19 Occasional dates with Visiting friends.		#6 Ingenious devices for meeting girls.
#20 Dates friend of husband; Husband in army.		
#4 Attends Christ Church; sees boys, but no dating.		
#13 Same.		
#21 Same.		
#7 No dating, studies, does club work.		
#11 No dating; works at home.		
#12 Not with wife; no time for dating.		
#5 No dating. Drinking with other girls.		
#16 No dating. Never sees boys.		

Dear Frank,

Rather than to delay any further, I'm having Helen deliver the thesis copy to you with two residential distribution maps missing ^(pp. 34-35). As soon as I can get someone to do the copying for me in St. Louis, I shall send them on to you or Dr. Thomas, as you prefer.

I have yet to get ~~out of~~ ^{all} the case materials in typed, orderly form — but I hope to have some time this August for that.

Belouche Nishi

~~Belouche~~

Political Adjustment

Resettlers for the most part reacted as the majority population to the outbreak of the war, the shock and the indignation they felt, however, being mingled with the question of how persons of Japanese ancestry in America would be considered. As the reality of differential treatment because of ancestry and not deed in the form of evacuation became a fact in their experience, there developed a generalized bitterness or perhaps disillusionment that was expressed in various ways, depending on the earlier political attitudes of the individual. Except for those whose attitudes coincide with the political liberals in the majority population who are clearly opposed to fascism both as an immediate militant threat and as an insidious weakening of the material of democracy by policies and practices within the nation, it seems that the resettlers have not gone all-out for the war aims of the Allied nations nor all-out against the war aims of Japan. Inasmuch as it seems pathetically true that few in any segment of the population have shown that definition of "fascism" in their thinking and behavior, it might be expected that the evacuated population would also have few who achieved that realization.

It is perhaps because of this general political immaturity that the population subjected to differential treatment for the superficial characteristic of national-

racial descent has been unable to reconcile its evacuation with an whole-hearted agreement with the majority population's attitudes in the war.

This basic cause of difference has been accentuated in varying degrees by the influence of their parents, who have been unable to condemn Japan(though they may be anti-fascistic), for that would have meant psychological isolation from being able to belong to the institution of a nation. Furthermore, the experiences since the outbreak of the war have appeared to many as sufficient evidence of the weakness of the practice of democracy; and the proclamation of America as the "Vanguard of Democracy" seems to them hollowmockery in the light of what they defined as a violation of their constitutional rights as American citizens in the evacuation.

But in conflict with their actual political beliefs is their desire to be accepted by the majority population as "good Americans," which today, particularly because of their ancestry, implies complete rejection of Japan. To face this conflict, most persons who are at all politically conscious, have built up a rationalization (whose bases may or may not be sound), to which they will not give voice unless they are certain they are in a group which will be in agreement with at least the bases of their judgment. It is usually in a situation where a public definition of his attitude is asked, such as in the capacity as a representative speaker at a group gathering, or in

intimate face-to-face groups such as in "bull-sessions" and household groups, that the resettler will even be questioned about his attitudes about the war. Even among the resettlers themselves the political aspects of the war in relation to Japan are consciously avoided except when they are certain that the other person has the same viewpoint.

It seems quite safe to generalize that the mode of overt adjustment to this problem has been that of withdrawal or avoidance, except for those few who have no internal conflict in their definition that being an anti-fascist should mean full-acceptance and agreement with the majority population's attitudes on the war.

The first tendency upon being questioned is to speak of some phase of their reactions to the war that they think are certainly in common with the community-defined attitudes. This is evident throughout the statements.

"I figured that this was your country. And the U.S. is unlike the other countries. It's the only one with masses of different populations. The others are dominated by one nationality. When the war began, I thought that if they can't get together and fight, it was pretty bad. I felt that I was one of them--that was before the evacuation. I don't think it's right for one nationality to tell others what they could do and what they couldn't do. The Germans persecute the Jew. Look at Eisenhauser and LaGuardia in America; it just depends on the people here. But if the people are bunk, that's too bad."

"The radio said that the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. 'Oh, that's not true!' we thought. Then it came out, 'Damn those Japs!' I said. It really came out."

"I told him I'd be proud of a soldier as a husband. I wear my service pin to work, and my customres ask me if my husband is in the service. It makes me feel so proud. It's true. When in Rome do as the Romans do. And you hear a lot of people gripe, but if you don't like the country--go back to where they came from. If I have children, I want them to be good Americans and well-accepted, be acceptable in the community. As long as they're going to live here, I want them to be good Americans. It's not a bad country after all. Not as bad as others. We're fortunate. We gripe about small things, but we're lucky to be living here instead of some other parts of the world."

"My attitude toward Japan was like white people."

"My attitude about the war is not any different from the Hakujin. The only thing is they treat you bad some places. I take it as just personal; that guy just doesn't like me. It's just the looks; it's the same thing wherever you go. They can't tell the difference between the enemy; they're pretty much the low class; pretty dumb."

"We used to have quarrels, with our parents about the war. They thought that we had no chance in America. They said that a lot of boys graduate college but can't get jobs. They said you didn't have to go to Japan--you could go to Manchuria and places like that. But I wouldn't go. I didn't want to. The food is poor, and living conditions are bad. And only the wealthy people have cars, and things like that. I just couldn't stand it there."

"We used to argue with the folks at home sometimes. We'd say that America's going to win and the parents would say sometimes that Japan was going to win. We were young and didn't know anything, but just thought that America was going to win."

The above represents expressions from persons who probably have little conflict when they are faced with the rare situation of having to express themselves on the war. Their political attitudes are either non-existent or poorly defined.

There are many who adjust the conflict by believing

Japan had some justification or was not so completely treacherous in her attack on Pearl Harbor or place the cause of the war as external to Japan's control:

"Right at the outbreak of the war, it made me mad. Why did they start a war? And I cussed up and down. The crazy guys. But after evacuation, I had the feeling that I wasn't being treated very well by some in this country; I sorta felt like a man without a country. Japan had some justification for war, I suppose. Naturally, we know something about Japan, since our mothers and fathers came from there. We hear about it. But personal circumstances come first. It's not the feeling toward race or country; you can't condemn everyone. Just like, condemning America for evacuation, then you have no country. You condemn your mother and and father's country, condemn your citizenship, then you have no country to which you belong.

To me, personal circumstances take precedence. The country which put me in the uncomfortable situation is the one I'm going to condemn--that's only natural. I never condemn the whole nation, either Japan or America. Japan, for starting the war, or America for agitating for evacuation."

"Personally, I want the United States, I mean the Allies, to win. But I'm sure there's going to be another war--over again the same thing. Japan has to have land to support its people, and they can't immigrate elsewhere. If they could, it'd be here, since the land-to-man ratio is so high here. In China and Manchuria, so much is undeveloped; the people are concentrated near the coast, and they need initiative and money to go further in.

But they have to have certain things to live, and if they can't get it through normal ways they'll just take it. It's human to want to live, I guess."

"My first impression about it was, 'Man!' I didn't expect such a thing could happen. Then I became antagonistic toward Japan and the older folks and the Kibei. You remember what Nomura and Kurusu and the Emperor said at the first part of the war. Some say that was all hokey, but I have faith. I

Kibei are persons who were born in America and have had some education in Japan.

believe that the emperor tried to keep peace. I understand that there's a secret document that says that he called a cabinet meeting and told them as far as possible to keep peace. Another thing, why was Konoye quiet?" (Asked whether his attitudes had changed since the outbreak of the war, he replied,)"I've been trying to forget; they haven't been changing. But it's like any other war not so closely connected with us. I'm more concerned about the others. The atrocity stories don't impress me; there's just too much propoganda, I guess. I can't believe even what the American papers say, except personal letters and speeches."

"It was hard to believe. But Japan sent some notice to America. It shouldn't have been a complete surprise to them. Something was going to happen."

"You know, I'm somewhat of a pacifist; I have some pacifistic ideas. My sister is a pacifist--she belongs to the FOR (Fellowship of Reconciliation) and all that stuff. It's easy for a girl to be a pacifist but not a boy. It's the pacifist's idea, though, that if the whole of society refused to shoulder a gun, there'd be no war. In college, I used to think about it, but I haven't since I've ...(come out here). I was talking to...(a Caucasian woman) today; we talked about pacifistic ideas and things, and I've read some too. I just don't believe in shouldering a gun. I'm willing to go into non-combatant work--medical corp is OK; I'd be willing. But I don't know about shouldering a gun; I can't see myself doing it.

In high school, we were bombarded with a terrific amount of anti-war propaganda. We used to write themes in English; study it in history; give speeches about it. Around that time, people's minds are soft, and a lot of it sunk in. I don't know how the fellows who went to school with me can be out there today.

...(The war) has a purpose, but it's not what they say it is. The purpose is to beat down Germany and Japan. I think it's strictly an imperialistic war: Japan and Germany wanted to expand, and when the United States and England win they'll take away what they have. I think this war is an explosion of the sum total of evils--social and economic, like a rash of them. What gets me is how a man can write a book about how to hang Hitler! Don't you think Hitler is the result of a system that came out of Versaille? Not that I'm pro-German or Japanese, but don't you think that the United States would have eventually attacked Japan?

I had a story from a friend of mine... that the reason that there were no airplane carriers or fast cruisers sunk at Pearl Harbor was because they were simultaneously steaming toward Japan to attack on December tenth. But Japan beat them. He wrote this about half or three-fourths of a year ago. He's been hearing all kinds of interesting things, and I guess it could happen. He said not to peddle the story. He says the story's from a fairly reliable source, whatever that is. That there were no airplane carriers and fast cruisers sunk is true. Big battleships and stuff were practically all that were sunk. The story sorta jives in with the facts.

I have no idea how the war will end. It'll probably end in exhaustion on both sides. What happens after that depends on the available leadership at that time. It'll be a long and drawn-out war. Yeah, and many a mother's son would fall. I guess the United States and England will win; I guess it'll be the better of the two.

We'd have a fascistic government (if we lost the war), and the goose of the Negro and the Nisei will be cooked. The best thing to do would be to clear out...(We'd go) where we're wanted. I guess back to Japan. That would be a problem...(if we'll be wanted there), especially with an army record here. I don't know that many think that far, not that I do either."

"I think there is going to be another war. We should try to prevent it, but the average American people aren't made that way. There are too many capitalists who are money-mad. That's the cause of war. We'll always have war as long as those men influence our government.

The only thing to do is to wish that America will win. Most people have their own blood and kin, their own relatives in uniform. I guess it's just a matter of personal interest, just selfish interest. It's different now that there are so many Nisei in the army.

But I hate to see Japan defeated, because some people say that the Nisei will then be on the same status as the Negroes. Mostly Issei say that and some Nisei, too."

The above statements show some constructions in thinking--that is, an attack on the problem in their minds, though among them are also some indications of desiring to avoid facing the issue in their own attitude, such as trying to forget.

There are those who have indicated further deviation from the issue, deflecting their political attitudes into escape situations where they will not have to define them:

"I guess I'm too much of an internationalist. I can't get excited about it either side. I guess I'm neutral. I'm a pacifist, I guess; I used to go to the FOR meetings; I just can't see any good in war. These atrocity stories are true, I suppose; but that's war! It happens on both sides."

"I don't have strong feelings about things. Just sorta drifting."

"I thought it wasn't right that American citizens be evacuated, but they said that if you weren't willing to go and you argued with them, they said that you were disloyal -- so. At first, I thought, if they didn't want me here, I'd go someplace else -- some other country, but not Japan. My brother told me how terrible it was. You know, he went to Japan, because he got bitter because he couldn't get a job here. He went there and got a good aeronautical engineering job, but he used to write that he'd rather be a garbage man here. I don't know what's happened to him now."

"I don't know; I don't know much about it. I really should."

There are, then various mechanisms which resettlers have used to reconcile their difference in political attitudes from the majority population with the desire for acceptance in the resettlement situation.

In this area of adjustment, very few do not deviate

from the actual community definition of ideal attitude, which would be, "Whole-hearted agreement with the war aims of the Allies and condemnation of the war aims of Japan." It is for that reason that the variations of adjustment have been diagrammatically presented after being reoriented to the actual ways of adjusting to the problem, "How do the resettlers define their attitudes toward the war?"

DIAGRAM 18

POLITICAL ADJUSTMENT:
How do resettlers define their
attitude toward the war?

Deviation by
WITHDRAWAL

Community defined ideal:

Deviation by
ATTACK

React in relatively the
same manner as the
majority group:

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| #1 | Desire to contribute to war effort. | |
| #11 | Like white people. | |
| #14 | Argued with parents, for U.S. | |
| #15 | " " " " " | |
| #19 | " " " " " | |
| #18 | Condemned Japan. | |
| #20 | Proud of husband fighting for U.S. Be good American. | |
| #22 | Not any different from <u>hakujin</u> . | |
| | #24 Like American Caucasians. | |
| #4 | Trying to forget. | #2 Thinks a completely imperialistic war. Self-pacifistic. |
| | Doesn't believe atrocity tales. | #8 Doesn't condemn whole nation. |
| | Believes Kurusu sincere. | #9 Japan needs land. |
| #5 | Go to some other country. | #10 Strong attempt to serve-- though bitter because of rejections. |
| #7 | Neutral--Pacifist. | #13 Blames capitalists in United States. |
| #8 | No feeling about it. Drifting. | #23 Believes Japan had some justification. |
| #21 | Says knows little about it. | |

The pending draft of almost all the male resettlers in the Saint Louis area has intensified the feeling of restlessness, and there seems to be much evidence that mobility in both occupation and residence has increased since it became certain that the Nisei were again eligible for the draft after a year's status as 4-C. ("4-C" is the classification ordinarily given to enemy aliens ineligible for the draft, though the Nisei, of course, are not aliens. It was the only existing category from which persons were not drafted for reasons other than disabilities, occupation, or dependents.)

Though there were a few complaints among the early resettlers about their being classified in the enemy alien category, the advantage of being able to go to school or have a permanent job because of draft ineligibility far exceeded the stigma that "4-C" carried. It was not until January 28, 1943, that Nisei could even volunteer for service, so that students, upon being questioned could say, "I'd like to get into the army and serve like anyone else, but here they stick me into 4-C, and I can't even volunteer." It was the type of answer used to overcome the resentment of some persons in the community who saw their own boys being drafted out of school and Nisei students continuing unhampered. There were persons, however, who did volunteer from both the working population and

the students who graduated.

In January, 1944, the regular draft was reinstated for persons of Japanese ancestry, and both students and workers faced the problem that all persons waiting for the draft have undergone. Not knowing how soon they would be called, students wondered whether to enroll for the following semester, workers wondered if they ought to go back to the centers to be with their families, and those who had been planning to start a home or enter a business postponed their undertakings. Some boys who had been saving their money went on trips to other cities to have a good time with their friends. Some of the professional students heard that they were eligible for the Army Specialized Training Program and volunteered so that they might join their classmates now all in uniform, but were later disappointed and greatly worried that they were ineligible and were susceptible to induction into the regular army. Several professional men from Saint Louis volunteered.

Such was the effect of the reopening of the draft on the conspicuous behavior of the resettlers, but the more subtle changes in attitudes were also present. In the early period of resettlement, Nisei soldiers who had long been stationed in Missouri, since they had been drafted or volunteered before March of 1942, were pointed out by the Nisei with some pride as obvious evidence of the Americanism of the resettlers. They enjoyed being

seen in public with Nisei soldiers, since they felt that the uniform explained their status as Americans. One Nisei soldier having dinner at a first class night club said, "Boy! am I glad to be in a uniform in a place like this!" The uniform defined his expectation of acceptance by the majority group. The civilian resettlers were aware of this aid to community adjustment.

With the reopening of volunteering and the consequent publicity campaign, some Nisei said they wanted to volunteer but it was against their principles to volunteer unless there were equality of opportunity to get into the branch of the service they desired. Others were resentful that they were rejected before, that they had been evacuated and confined, and that since their rights had been ignored they had no sense of obligation or desire to serve. And the great majority of the resettlers went back to their study and work with the decision that they would wait.

After January, 1944, resettlers gradually received their "loyalty questionnaires" from their draft boards, and an increasing number received calls to have their pre-induction physical examinations. The attitudes they had expressed at the time when military service was a voluntary matter persisted, so it was a matter of adjusting those ideas with the necessity of service. The only external circumstance that might have changed

their attitude was the tremendous amount of publicity given the 100th Infantry, composed almost entirely of persons of Japanese ancestry, for its service in Italy. Some saw in the 100th Infantry's action a dramatic way to prove to the larger population the error of confusing the Japanese enemy and the residents of Japanese ancestry in America. Others saw in the much-publicized casualty lists of the group the rugged dangers of the infantry, and they wanted more than ever to get into other branches of the service, which were closed to them. Now that they were to be drafted, they were forced to define their attitudes. It is perhaps of some significance that no one in Saint Louis has said he would refuse to serve.

"Here I am a third year professional student; they know that; there's nothing more for me to explain to the board. But what can you do when half of the local board are just grammar school graduates? If there's somebody on the board who has a son in the army in the South Pacific, he'd say, 'My son's in the Army fighting the Japs, and here's a Jap trying to get a deferment!' They say, 'According to the latest directives there are to be no more educational deferments.' They just have a quota to fill. It just wouldn't make sense if they inducted me.

I just won't go. I'll take the risk of arrest. The Selective Service Board is supposed to protect me. The local board doesn't know anything."

This boy was in the Army Cadet Corp until three days before evacuation and was honorably discharged. "If I'm drafted, I'll go. I'm not enthusiastic about it, though. I feel resentful about it; I

don't want to go. There's too much discrimination. When I was in the assembly center, I was really bitter. I felt that when they want me they can come after me. How can they preach what they're fighting for! If I wasn't moved, I'd take it as my duty. But after you're taken out of your home and deprived of the things you worked for, you'd lose your loyalty in your own country. I know that I have to go, and that it's a federal offense to resist. If the Nisei put up any resistance, it would be hard to resettle. That's why I think they shouldn't resist; they should go. If I'm drafted, I'll go; it's not that I want to. I'll go on the condition that I'll get equal opportunity in getting into the things I want to. I wanted to volunteer for the Merchant Marine, the Marines, the Navy Air Corp, the Army Air Corp, and the Tank corps; but all of those won't take me. I know, because I tried. Our destination will be Camp Shelby, then overseas. The Nisei are going to feel that if they put them in the front lines, they'll say that they were put there just for cannon fodder, for easy attack. Then if they put us in the back, they'll say that they won't let us in. The 100th Infantry sure deserves a lot of credit -- a whole lot of credit.

It's sorta like the Negroes in the Army. They say that they were put together to be cannon fodder. They now need them, but when the depression comes they'll have no use for the Negroes."

"I was ready to open another shop...(here) in January, but I got my 1-A in February. That's the thing that's always in the back of my mind."

"Next Tuesday I have to go to Jefferson Barracks for my physical. Golly, I think this next class exam I'm going to have is going to be the last."

"I've been wondering about my Army classification. I'm not on the Dean's list for recommending deferment because we're still classified as 4-C. My draft board still hasn't sent me my loyalty questionnaire. I wish they'd hurry up and classify me. If they do put us in 1-A, we'll be too late to get on the list anyway. I'm getting so I don't care, just so they hurry up. I think they'll decide whether they're going to use us before the end of the semester -- I hope. Then, maybe I'll get a chance. But I don't care; I'll go in

the regular Army. All my friends are in the service somehow....Well, if I don't get called or classified soon, by the end of the semester, I'm going to quit school for awhile and get a job.

You know, what amazes me is the feeling of the Issei about the draft. I think that if a Nisei plans he doesn't want to go in the Army, the only alternative for him is to repatriate. But as far as I'm concerned, I'll go. Maybe it's against Mother and Dad's principles. They say to stay in school as long as I can and get deferments. I'd rather stay in school, I guess -- but some folks want their kids to repatriate if they're called. But I'd rather be on my own. I may not be able to use my college education, but I can dig ditches or something. I don't think they'll (Issei) put up too much of a howl; they'll let me go. They've heard about the casualties in the 100th Infantry, though. I'd like to get in the Navy or Coast Guards. I like the water -- there's nothing like it in the world. Wherever I go in the world, I'm going to be the water -- not like the river, though; it's muddy!

I don't think it'll make much difference about having served, because so many will be returned soldiers. They'll take it for granted that all people under a certain age served."

"The draft is in my mind all the time. I always wanted to be in. Most kids say it's good to be in 4-F or 4-C. I may change my mind later, but I want to join. If I was in camp, I wouldn't want to. I just lived to have fun so far.

We had a chance to volunteer, and I was going to, but I changed my mind, mostly because my mother wanted me to go to college. Come to think of it, I never do what I want.

Most of my friends are in the Army. I'm not satisfied with things now. The Army will help me. It'll give me discipline. I broke away from discipline for quite awhile, since a little before evacuation. That was about the time I started having fun, and I cut out on my own. But a lot of the branches aren't open; that's what gets me. I've talked to a lot of Japanese kids at the "Y". I know for a fact. You can't get into the Air Corp or the Navy. I applied for the Coast Guard

two weeks ago, because I read in a Denver paper that they were accepting Japanese.

You either have to go into the Infantry or the G-2 unit; you know, that's the Camp Savage intelligence bunch. That's a soft life; Minneapolis has a big life, and there are plenty of girls there. The Infantry won't be fun; oh, maybe once in awhile, and you have to work in the desert. But I'd rather be in the Infantry. Maybe I'm prejudiced because my best friend is in Italy; he had a lot of influence on me about it. But I think he's right. It's not the idea of going to the South Pacific and having to fight your same kind, but the Infantry is more physical -- split-second timing. At Savage it's more mental, more book-learning. Maybe that's why. But another friend came from Savage, but I guess the other influenced me more. I never did like school -- just journalism."

The ones most eager for service have already gone with the volunteers unless they have recently come of age. Many of those who have been inducted and placed in the reserves so that a group of Nisei may be called and sent together for training are returning to the centers to visit friends and their families, or are going to larger cities where there are more opportunities for being with old friends and having a last fling.

The diagram indicates the range of adjustment to the problem of the draft.

DIAGRAM 19

POLITICAL ADJUSTMENT:
How do the male resettlers
define their attitudes to-
ward the draft?

Deviation by
 WITHDRAWAL:

Community defined ideal:

Deviation by
 ATTACK:

Be willing to go.

#1 Go when called.

#6 " " "

#8 Over age. No concern.

#9 Go when called.

#12 Overage. No concern.

#17 Go when called.

#24 Be willing to go.

#2 Much activity to get
 deferment. Attempted
 to get into ASTP, but
 cancelled volunteer-
 ing when learned that
 it was closed.

#4 Much activity to get
 deferment. Desired
 ASTP Program.

#10 Once honorably dis-
 charged. Volunteer-
 ed for four branches
 of service, but re-
 jected. Now wait
 until called.

#22 Attempted to get
 into several branches
 of the service.

Most of the resettlers have not yet completed the residence requirement for voting and show little interest in local politics. They seem more aware of politics in California. No one has expressed definite partisan attitudes, having reported voting for the men rather than the party. It appears that there was almost no interest in politics in the family background, unless there were older sisters and brothers. Politics, except where it directly involves the Nisei, is almost never a subject of discussion in an all Nisei group. The remarks below are typical:

"I'm not registered yet, but I'm going to... I lean more to the Democrats but I don't think about it much.

I think that the Nisei are less politically aware or interested than other people. I think they have more on their mind, like their family and things. Caucasian fellows don't have to think about it. Regardless of who's in power, it depends on public opinion as to what happens to us. I don't know what the other Nisei think; ...but they don't mention much about politics in the camp paper...."

"I don't talk about politics much, nor have any opinions. My older sisters vote, but I don't know what. I never did care for politics."

"No, we don't discuss politics. We're under age, so we're not interested."

No Nisei is known to belong to a political organization in Saint Louis.

The seeming political indifference of the resettlers is perhaps understandable when their age and newness to the city are considered, but basically it is probably due

to the absence of political orientation by their parents, inasmuch as it seems that members of the larger population follow the party line of their families.

Associational Adjustment

Resettlers have joined almost no organizations outside of those particularly inviting the participation of the Nisei, such as the Christ Church Cathedral Inter-American Night Open House, the "Y" Cosmopolitan Club, The Campus "Y", and to some extent the YWCA Nipatonkas.

The Inter-American Night Open House is the only organized activity to which all resettlers are invited, inasmuch as the other organizations are for students and the last mentioned is for household workers. The Cosmopolitan Club functions only during the school year and its structure and activities depend entirely upon the leadership. The Campus "Y" at one time was the center of social life for resettled students, but it now has only a few Nisei interested because of specific activities in connection with the "Y", such as putting out the newspaper, planning programs, etc. Only three or four Nisei girls belong to the Nipatonkas, and they are no longer household workers.

Perhaps the lack of organizational attachments is a concrete indication of the instability of the resettled population, which may be due both to their newness in the city and also the sense of impermanence about their

stay in Saint Louis. A glance at the diagram will be sufficient to indicate their reliance on the Christ Church Cathedral Inter-American Night as their only organized social activity.

A few have desired to join fraternities, but have reported difficulties, either in the lack of invitations by the boys or racial restrictions in the constitutions. Those occasional few who have joined clubs or participated much in the activities of organizations besides the groups mentioned are planning to make Saint Louis their home.

ASSOCIATIONAL ADJUSTMENT:
What organizations do
resettlers join?

Deviation by
 WITHDRAWAL:

Community defined ideal: Deviation by
 ATTACK:

Join those groups that
have interest for the re-
settler other than the
presence of other Nisei.

- #1 Campus Y, Cosmopolitan Club.
Inter-American regularly.
- #7 Campus Y, Cosmopolitan Club.
Inter-American rarely.
- #8 Couples Club of church.
- #9 Campus Y, Technical fraternity,
Inter-American regularly.
- #11 Nipatonkas regularly.
Inter-American regularly.
- #19 Nipatonkas occasionally.
Inter-American whenever possible
- #21 Nipatonkas occasionally.
Inter-American regularly.
- #2 Inter-American regularly.
(Would like to join fraternity.)
- #3 Inter-American regularly
- #4 " " when nothing else to do.
- #6 " " regularly.
- #10 " " when nothing else to do.
- #13 " " regularly
- #17 " " when nothing else to do.
- #18 " " occasionally
- #24 " " occasionally
- #14 Inter-American twice, but disliked.
- #15 " " " " "
- #5 " " " " "
- #12 None.
- #16 Inter-American once.
- #20 None.
- #23 Inter-American rarely.

Inasmuch as the Inter-American Night is the only organization through which Nisei in Saint Louis can congregate, the attitudes concerning it typify the arguments for and against integration and segregation expressed by the resettled population. Its original official purpose was to integrate newcomers to the city, and the first steering committee consisted of a consciously mixed racial group of Nisei, refugees, and Negroes; in the constitution all mention of "Nisei", "persons of Japanese ancestry", "evacuees", etc., were avoided. However, it has from the beginning actually been a special social outlet for the resettlers, though there have been a few occasional Austrian refugees, who gradually dwindled away, and a half a dozen or so Negroes who came in couples. Now, the control is in the hands of a Nisei clique who say that they are not interested in taking charge, but do so because no one else will assume responsibility. The facilities for the weekly open house are excellent, inasmuch as the gym with the basket-ball court, swimming pool, roof garden, and dance floor of the Bishop Tuttle Memorial, Christ Church Cathedral, are available. The location is good for those who do not live far out in the county, since many street-car and bus lines converge in that section; it is within walking distance from the YMCA and the YWCA where most newcomers or visitors reside and close to the shopping

and theatre districts.

Despite these advantages, complaints are plentiful: some against the principle of an almost exclusively Nisei function, others against the lack of organized leadership and consequently a program, and still others against the type of people who attend and the cliques. Generally, resettlers say that they are more likely to be bored than to have a good time unless they already know people who are there.

"I told her that I didn't think that she understood the psychology of the Nisei. After all, the purpose of resettlement was to assimilate, or attempt to assimilate, into the larger society; and here we were starting groups again. It was nice to have the place for recreation and all, and have the kids play ping-pong and swim and dance, but that doesn't help assimilation any. There are hardly any people except Nisei who go there. I admire her hard work and good intentions, but I still don't think that she understand the psychology of the Nisei.

After all, the majority of them have only high school education, and they certainly didn't have any success in assimilation back on the coast. They need to have a group tell them or teach them how to get along with other people and make them understand how necessary assimilation is. Maybe we were assimilated; we know how to express ourselves. Some few of us were assimilated, but look at the rest of them.. Well, anyway, I was asked to be on a committee, but I haven't done anything. Even last Saturday, when the committee met and I was there, I didn't go to the Meeting. All the kids came late, about nine or ten straggle in, then straggle out. There's no program at all. A couple of weeks ago, we had a Hallowe'en party, and we had about 100 people and a pretty good proportion of boys and girls. I guess they had a good time."

"Once, I took a friend down to the Christ Church Cathedral because she wanted to know what that group was doing. She remarked that it was an almost exclusively Nisei affair except for the

the man who's the chairman, I think, and few others and three Negro girls. I told her that it wasn't carrying out the purpose of introducing the Nisei to the community. She thought it was alright for the Nisei to have a place to go, but it wasn't carrying out the long range program.

I suggested that she ought to have the people of the church group, the bunch that I spoke to last Sunday, to contact the members of their own churches to invite the girls who are working as domestics, especially, to lunch at their homes -- and then have a party -- but always have an equal number of Nisei and other Caucasians. I told her that the adjustment of the Nisei wasn't going on as it should. They aren't assimilating as they should. At the Christ Church, there are too many Nisei. I think it's the same bunch every time.

My attitude toward evacuees was that we were all on the same boat. I guess people think I'm queer, and I guess I think they're queer -- like at the Christ Church Cathedral, they just look us over and they don't get any more intimate. Last time I went down there, four of us Nisei were at a party of a (settlement house worker), and we went down there later with the Caucasians at the party. They just don't accept us in their circle."

"We never go down there. It's the same group that plays bridge every Saturday together; just the group that know each other. They ought to change so that they can meet more people. Roku (pseud.) says that it's because there are cliques of students, but I don't know. They need a chairman. They ought to get up a committee and get ideas and suggestions and find out the interests of the majority. Maybe it's mostly that people are so restrained. Here I am criticising. I guess I ought to go down and do something, even if I get criticised for doing it. But I'm so tired, I want to stay home. They need a leader -- they have to get better acquainted.

The Christ Church Inter-American Night is weak. The purpose, as I gather, is to bring about better understanding among races by social contact. But they don't have a good showing of Caucasians and Negroes. It just looks like a Nisei meeting. We need more cooperation. It's decidedly cliquish down there. People who know

people before just get together and have little to do with new found friends."

"Saturday nights I sometimes go to the Christ Church. I think they should have more Caucasians; they ought to send out invitations to boys and girls' clubs. There are not enough Caucasians and the group is dominated by students. They bunch up too much, like the Washington U. kids stand around together, and the Washington U. Med students, and the Saint Louis U. kids. Then there's Lillian Date's (pseud.) bunch. I guess it's just because they know each other. Everybody complains how rotten it is down there. But I just go out of habit. There's no place else to go, except to a show. I just go there to meet people.

"I go about once every three Saturdays. You see, gee, they usually have dinners here on Saturday nights, and I can't get off. I like it down there pretty nice. One thing, you get to meet people there. You at least see people; especially if you're doing domestic work, you don't meet people at all. Though, you know, the people don't seem to mix; a lot of people find it pretty dull. But one thing, you meet people."

"Nobody likes us down there; we don't like them. They're a bunch of squares, not regular. Take Roku (pseud.) and those guys; I give him credit for taking over, but -- they're just squares. They just sit around and talk nice all the time. A square is a guy who sticks too much to rules. We walk around 'pachook'. That's why we don't get along."

"We went down there twice, but we don't like it. There are too many rowdies, wolfish boys. They sure have no manners."

"The first time, we kinda had fun. It seems like a cheap place, though. Girls dress up just to pick up dates."

"I go down there and start my own fun. I get somebody to play badminton with me. The other girls I live with don't go, so I go alone. But my brother takes me home. It gets started too late."

"It's too much the same thing. Unless the group were changing all the time, it'd die down. It's OK to go down there when you have nothing else to do. That's what I do on Saturday nights."

"I went down there once. It's nice. They sing songs and play games and dance. I don't know how to dance so I felt self-conscious. I've always been to myself."

"Every Saturday night, practically, I go to Christ Church. I don't think there should be anything against congregating, because we're all Americans, and we should be allowed to choose whom to associate with -- it shouldn't matter if we happen to be of the same background."

"I would like to go, but I get off work too late."

Though the complaints seem numerous, no one suggests that the Inter-American Night Open House be discontinued; it at least seems to mean a place where resettlers can surely meet other Nisei on Saturday night if they have nothing else to do and are lonely for company. Even those who say that it is not accomplishing anything attend quite regularly and seem to enjoy themselves.

Caucasian organizations working on resettlement feel that the Inter-American Night serves the purpose of providing a meeting place for Nisei so that the initial loneliness in resettlement will not force them into further isolation. Most persons working on resettlement, however, believe that it should only be a stepping stone to better integration into the larger community and not the beginning of solidarity among people on the sole basis of racial-national descent. A few extremists among the Nisei have said that if no such outlet were provided, the resettlers would be forced to rely on existing organizations, and though the initial adjust-

ment would be more difficult it would serve the long range objective of assimilation more effectively.

The persons who advocate such, however, are themselves well adjusted. They seem to have gradually abandoned their view with the increasing numbers in Saint Louis.

It seems that most persons among both Caucasian and Nisei are in agreement that the ideal situation would be a more heterogeneous racial group enjoying the same facilities, which would allow for associations of Nisei with Nisei as well as with persons of other backgrounds. On the few occasions when enterprising Nisei who belong to church and similar groups have brought them to Inter-American Night in sufficient numbers, the cliques and the waiting-for-somebody-to-begin-something have disappeared. The objection, however, seems to be that these groups are not interested in Inter-American Night for its own sake; it is, rather, a group excursion of their own already existing organization. The identification with either group is maintained throughout the relationship.

The person in Saint Louis who has been most respected for his judgments concerning evacuee adjustment by both Nisei and Caucasians interested in resettlement has suggested that Nisei must surely meet Caucasians in their work situation who would welcome such facilities, and they should be the ones to make the group more heterogeneous. However, those Nisei who do have Caucasian friends say that they do not invite them to Christ Church's

Inter-American Night and come alone, because they are fearful that their guests would be outsiders coming to observe a Nisei activity. Those Nisei who know Caucasians seem to feel that such an experience would accentuate the feeling of difference that their Caucasian friends have in their conception of the Nisei. It may jeopardize their friends' conception of their own similarity to the majority population.

In the associational area of adjustment, the re-settlers have relied almost entirely upon the Christ Church Cathedral Inter-American Night, though there is no sense of loyalty or responsibility to give stability to the program or its membership. It appears that Inter-American Night is less of an organization than an activity.

See the diagram on page 117.

Recreational Area of Adjustment

Inasmuch as the resettlers in Saint Louis are without their homes and organized groups, they have been forced to rely almost entirely on either commercial entertainment, such as movies, and occasionally the symphony, the amusement park, and a few dancing places, or on specially created outlets such as the Inter-American Night and to some extent the Campus "Y". Whereas on the west coast, they spent their leisure in their homes or with a Japanese American church club, Japanese American athletic league, in neighborhood groups, in professional Nisei cliques, and school activities, these major outlets for recreation other than individually sought commercial entertainment are non-existent for the Nisei in Saint Louis. Though some friendship cliques among the resettlers have developed, with which those who belong regularly get together for recreation in a group, there are as yet few who spend their leisure with Caucasians other than those interested and active in the resettlement program.

It appears that the students who are not extremely pressed by financial or scholastic difficulties have made the most natural type of adjustment in recreational activities. The term "natural" is used here to contrast the artificially created recreational means and interest provided by individuals and organizations active in resettlement. Students living in the dormitories could

share in the common activities of those organizations, and the Campus "Y" has not been conspicuously a special outlet. It was an already existing organization to provide extra-curricular activities for all students.

Those Nisei living at the YMCA residence have had a similar opportunity for meeting people and participating in common recreational activities at the "Y". The fact that the Caucasians and Nisei who reside there are for the most part young, single individuals suggests that it is likely that there would be mutual congeniality than in the total heterogeneous population.

There are a few Nisei whom the organizations working on resettlement point out with pride as having made ideal adjustments. They appear to be members of families or young couples planning to make Saint Louis their home. It might be expected that their places of residence and occupation would be more stable and thereby provide more continued relationships with Caucasians in those situations. They are also likely to join a church and spend some of their leisure in organized and informal activities with the members.

Most of the Nisei, however, rely almost entirely on the Inter-American Night program or other Nisei for their recreation. As indicated in the diagram, it seems that a number have almost no recreation, either because of a busy schedule of work or school or seeming withdrawal from people. Others take the initiative in creating re-

DIAGRAM 21

RECREATIONAL ADJUSTMENT:
In what way and with whom
do the resettlers spend
their leisure?

Deviation by WITHDRAWAL:	Community defined ideal:	Deviation by ATTACK: VAL
	<u>Participate in those activities</u> <u>which are personally desired</u> <u>without almost complete depend-</u> <u>ence on specially created means</u> <u>or exclusively with other Nisei.</u>	
	#1 Satisfying recreation with both Nisei & Cauc. students. Dependent upon Inter-Amer. for Sat. nights.	
	#8 Satisfying recreation with both Nisei & Cauc. church members, neighbors. No specially-created means.	
	#9 Satisfying recreation with Nisei & few Cauc. students. Less dependent on Inter-American Night.	
	#22 Recreation with Nisei-few Cauc. through YMCA residence. No specially created means.	
	#2 Some leadership participation in Inter-Amer. Other recreation only with Nisei. *	#3 Leadership participation in I.A. Other recreation almost all Nisei.
	#10 Dependent on I.A. Re-creation with Nisei & few Cauc. thru YMCA residence.	#6 Same, but with few students on campus.
	#18 Recreation with Nisei-few Cauc. students.	#7 Same; also Campus Y club, few Nisei and Cauc. inter- ested in resettlement.
	#23 Recreation with only Nisei but for friends of husband's employer	#11 Leadership participation in YWCA club. Recreation with few Nisei intimates & Cauc. thru YWCA club.
#4 Little recreation. De- pendent on I.A. Few Cauc. students.	#17 Organizes parties for Nisei. Recreation with Nisei & few Cauc. thru YMCA resi- dence and business.	
#15-#14 Completely dependent on Nisei roommate & samll Nisei clique.		
#24 Recreationall Nisei.		
#5 Little recreation-almost entirely with few Cauc. students.		
#12 Little recreation. Old Nisei-no Cauc. friends.		
#13 Little recreation. Depends on Nisei roommate.		
#10 Little recreation. Dependence on sister's Nisei friends.		
#16 Almost no recreation. Alone.		

*Inter-American

creational outlets for themselves by taking active part in organizations and cliques; these have been classified in the diagrammatic presentation of variations in adjustment in recreation.

Some of their statements seem representative of the ways in which Nisei in Saint Louis spend their time away from work.

"I come in once a week on my day off, and I stay all day. I have to leave about ten-thirty. I do some shopping; people aske me to get things here and there for them. I go to a show almost every time; I don't know anybody to go visit. The only people I know are the couple at...(the place where I work). They were there before I was. I just met a family that I knew at ... (the center). I was with them last night. We had China-Meshi (Chinese food). I miss seeing Japanese people and talking in that language.

The Japanese couple is real nice to me, but they want to be together. I just used to stay in my room."

"Now, I never work more than 48 hrs. so I have Sat. evening and Sundays always. I take girls out Saturday nights, I sometimes go to the CC. Sunday afternoon I sometimes go bowling. I go to see Esther (his girl friend - pseud.) quite a lot, sometimes every night of the week.

I guess the popular places for the Nisei in Saint Louis are the Esquire Bowling alley and shows. I once went to the Chase Club, but I didn't feel I belonged in that crowd. I was on edge all evening."

"I have too much leisure time. I like to be doing something all the time. That's the trouble. I used to go the show every other night, now I go hardly at all. That's something I don't go for any more. I'm planning an outing for a gang now."

"I write to quite a few people. I write regularly to five people at home, that is about twice a month. I write, also, to my cousins -- one's in ... (one relocation center), and the other's in ... (another). They don't answer soon enough. I write to several girls, like the one in camp, and they ask how the life is out here; they keep asking about it. Some of the girls I knew are out here now. Yes, the girls out here aren't so bad, some of them."

"I've been twice to the show. Last night I went with the Schmidt (pseud.) family (with whom I live) and the people next door and my roommate to the opera. That's about all I've done in the month that I've been here."

"I have Thursdays and Sundays off. (She goes downtown to shop and goes to the WRA office where her former roommate is employed.)

I read anything I can get my hands on, like American and things like that. Whatever they have around the house. I've been doing some reading in English literature. I used to be crazy about things like that at home."

"We did everything the first two weeks. We went to shows, the opera, and ate at all kinds of places. We were going to go on the boat, but he didn't want to. He (his companion) thought that the ketos¹⁰ might throw him in the river.

I don't have much time for recreation, but I do get some in. I visit friends I knew in the center and at home."

"You can't do much in this town. I play pool a lot at the YMCA, mostly with hakujin men. I hang around the pool hall and meet people. It's a high class pool hall, not a hangout. Business men go there to use the gym and things. You know -- soldiers, sailors, even a cop.

I don't meet many hakujin kids, but the ones I do are through the Y. We can't do much here. No money. On \$25 a week, you can't have fun. That's why I'm leaving town. If I could, I know I'd like to have fun, but I don't. I'd buy a lot of clothes."

¹⁰ketos is a derogatory expression referring to Caucasians.

Religious Area of Adjustment

This area of living is not defined as a problem of adjustment by the resettlers in Saint Louis. If they wish to attend church and participate in any of the religious activities, they are eagerly welcomed by the congregation. Since the churches in the city have expressed an active interest in the resettlement program through the activities of the Metropolitan Church Federation, the Congregational Church's Citizens' Committee on Resettlement, and individual religious leader -- there are no oppositional conflicts in church attendance and participation.

However, few Nisei attend church, except for those families and individuals in whom church leaders are especially interested. Almost all individuals, however, report that they attend church less in the resettlement situation than they did before the war, if they had any previous church connection. This seems understandable, inasmuch as most Nisei will admit that the churches at home and in the centers were merely an extension of their social life in the more narrow sense. In the resettlement situation, the church is not a place where they can meet their friends, a social gathering place. Attendance must be either motivated by a purely religious incentive or a conscious desire to participate more fully in the life

of the larger community.

When the resettlers do attend church it is because some close friend or person intimately connected with the resettlement program specially invites their attendance. The great majority, however, spend their Sunday mornings either working in households or sleeping late or just taking-it-easy at their place of residence.

Ambitions - Aspirations Area of Adjustment

We come now to the explicit statements of optimism or pessimism, hopes and expectations, from which we judge the morale of the resettlers. There are assembled under this head those expressions which seem to be representative of the kind or degree of adjustment, unadjustment or maladjustment experienced by the resettlers to the crises of evacuation, relocation and resettlement. A later chapter will provide evidence that their present mode of personality adjustment is consistent with their earlier patterns.

It appears that those who are earning material security and those gaining security in the way of tools for earning a living and being acceptable in society are the ones whose general outlook on their future seems most optimistic. Some are aggressively seeking these through extreme devotion to study or work or shrewd business methods.

Others have vague ideas of what they should like

to do, and consequently are not frustrated in their lack of compensation or preparation. A few are well-satisfied with their present jobs and hope to keep them. Some young girls working in homes have undefined hopes of meeting someone to marry or of going to school after saving some money.

Some have more completely withdrawn from considering their future and say that they don't care, because they are living from day to day.

Some of the boys waiting for induction are merely passing the time, making no plans for the future, because they say that they don't even know if they'll be back.

The diagrammatic presentation of differences in adjustment seems to show a representative range of expressed attitudes. Their actual statements, however, will indicate the reality of these variations.

"I doubt if the Nisei will stay after the war, if they're like me. I'll pull out. Those with good jobs may stay just to not risk losing a good job and being able to get another as good. I don't see why people would stay here. I know that the first chance that we have, we're going back to ...(the west coast). Some people will stay in Chicago. I'm prejudiced I guess. There's something about this town that's dull and dry. You go downtown and there's not much there. You go someplace else and there's not much there. Compared to Chicago, it's a country town. But it's mostly the climate. I guess if you hit this town straight from a relocation center and stay here it's OK; maybe they'll stay.

I think that after the war the Nisei's position is going to be the same or better than before the

war. A lot of the people are going to try to rectify all the things that happened to the Japanese, especially the people on the coast, because they knew us. I think it's going to be especially true with the number of Nisei in the Army. With the Nisei's educational qualifications, I think they can get any kind of a job -- if they're qualified. Their position is going to be better because people will recognize that they have sacrificed and participated in this war. I don't think that the anti-Japanese feeling is as much as they say -- even on the coast. I think it's just a few rabble-rousers and pressure groups making a lot of noise. They're working on the hillbillies -- the Oakies who've come to work in defense. It's only there on the coast -- nowhere else."

"After I graduate, I'm going to look for a job in mechanical engineering, in engine-machine design. That's what I'd like to get into. I'd like to work back home the best. I'd have the most pull there, and we have friends back there. I think I'd have more success there. (What would you consider success?) I'd like to make enough for a comfortable living and put some money away for future use. I guess I'd like to get married and settled down if I could be sure of those things.

I guess I could go into research, but I don't like a life that's tied down so. I'd like to make enough to travel around. I keep thinking of what to do. You know, a round of leisure is OK, but too much ease gets boring; there's nothing to do. If you're working, part of the day is laid out for you. It's not so boring. I'm a pretty easy going person, like my father, I guess.

I don't care where (I get a job), just wherever I can find a job. I don't particularly care about going back home. I'd like to visit there and stay, maybe, after the things settled down.

Sometimes I think I'd like to be home, but I remember that things have changed a lot, and I don't care to go back. And my folks haven't anything to go back to.

I'd like to earn enough money to live comfortably. That's as far as I can think now. Then I'll

settle down and get married. I don't have any high ambitions. I know what my abilities are. If I pushed myself and delved into it, I guess I could get places, but I don't care that much. I don't expect much out of life. Mother and Dad didn't. They had to sacrifice and save. Dad was always easy-going.

I'd like to get a mechanical engineer's job if I can. If not, I'll be a draftsman. If I can save enough, I'll go down to South America and look into something new. I don't think I'll ever do it, though. I'll probably end up in a hole some place, hardly making enough to live on."

"You don't have to worry about getting a job now, but in the depression it's going to be hard. That's what worries me. There'll probably be a depression just when I finish; that'll be just about my time.

I want to get into foreign trade or economic geography. I'll get my MA. I'd eventually do research, get a job in a Pacific Institute, or something."

"I'd like to continue in this present job. I wanted to own my business; I guess produce is what I know. But I'll continue to work for someone because it's difficult to start. I'd like to have a home in Saint Louis in a nice district like Kirkwood, Webster Groves, etc. I'd like about \$4000 to \$5000 a year for income."

"I wish I knew. I do think about it, but I think with this evacuation, Nisei will be better off than before -- at the rate they're going now. Most of us wouldn't be this far -- even after the war. Lot of Nisei got into the professional field that couldn't get in before on the coast. Now a lot of them are hired into professional positions. People know what they can do now; they didn't know the Nisei before. The business firms are finding out what they can do; they're opening up. It'll be much better, just so they don't put them out after the war, replace them with Caucasians.

I guess I'd like to have a home because I have no ambition. I still don't know what I want to do. I always wanted to be of some use to the public -- what do you call it? -- the people. But I haven't so far. I never tried to do anything; I want to do

so may things, but I think I'll never do it.

"I'm pretty optimistic about the Nisei in general after this war. I think they're going to be pretty well scattered, and few are going to return to California. As to my personal postwar plans, I hope to be holding this job, and I guess I will. I think hospital jobs have more permanency than others. Hospitals must go on, and records must be kept."

"I hope to go to school; gee, before my brains get no good. I'd like to go to sewing school and learn dress-designing and dress-making. But I thought I'd better save first. Another thing that sorta holds me back is the agreement that I'll stay here as long as I can.

You know, I think it's good experience. Every girl should work in a home for a while. You sure learn a lot.

My father always had a hope of going back, but now there's nothing. It's so disappointing.

I want to save and go to school. I don't have any particular plans. One thing, I really want to go into designing. One thing I like.

One thing holding me back is this promise that I'll be here (at this job) as long as I possibly can. I said I'd stay at least a year. I can't turn them down now. Besides, I like the place and the people. If I do leave, I'll have to have a real good reason. For the time being, I'm going to stay a year. I don't like the idea of leaving right away. You know, it's hard when the people are nice to you. You don't want to hurt their feelings."

"I don't know how many are going to stay in Saint Louis. Only those people who are sure of not being shoved out at the end of the war will probably stay. But with a bunch of unattached women, you never know what's going to happen."

"I'm now just living from day to day. I feel no animosity, or anything. I'm just happy I'm living. I'm just thanking someone above me for my mere

existence. I can eat, sleep, and work; and I have a good job. I'm living more comfortably now than ever in my life. I'm more free and relaxed. I don't feel out of place in Saint Louis as I did in California. I can feel at ease in any restaurant or place of entertainment. When I first came, I was tense, but now I'm relaxed. I have no concrete plans for the future; I have a shallow idea, but I don't want to own a store. Like after the last war, there's going to be a depression. Competition is too keen with the chain stores. The small fry have no chance, unless you go to a small town where there's no competition. I'm not all keyed up or ambitious about it. Maybe it's due to my age, experience, or bitterness or what have you. But I'm not whipped.

Now, I'm thinking of settling here. I have no idea of what chances I have of keeping this job after the war. I wouldn't be too depressed if I lose my job. I wouldn't let it get me down or cry about it. I always figure there's something better in the future, something to look forward to. If I have too many calamities, maybe I'll crack. I'm drifting in a way. Some say, 'You're just like a jellyfish. If the weather's good, you go this way; if it's bad, you go that way.'

I haven't thought much about it. Maybe because of getting older, or philosophy, but I live from day to day. Maybe I'll go back to California. But it's just a sentimental longing."

"I'm going to apply for the Nurse's Cadet Corp. I didn't know what I wanted to do. I just wanted to get along. I just finished school last year. I was so bitter about everything. I may be strange and a funny kind of person, but sometimes I think I hate everything, but I force myself to get over that feeling or I'll just be no good. I was bitter about the evacuation and everything.

I don't know (about the future). That's why I'm out now. I figure I'd better get started now."

"What I want is a steady job, with fair wages, and a family. I don't want to be the head of a firm or anything. I haven't thought much about after the war. I'll do most of my thinking then.

If I volunteered when I should have, last year,

we'd be fighting now. Now I'll probably be in Europe in a year with the Army of Occupation because by that time they will have reached the capacity of men they need. We'll just be the clean up crew. I don't care. I'll be back alive. I don't think about it until I come to it. All I think about is what's coming up. If I fight now, I wouldn't give it a second thought."

"It's tough enough if you're hakujin! If a guy's ability is as good as mine, they'll say, 'Why use a Jap when I can use a Caucasian,' unless they think a heck of a lot of you or you're a whole lot better. I'm going into the Army, in the combat unit. I don't give a darn about what's going to happen to the Nisei after the war."

In the diagram, the central problem in the area of adjustment of ambitions and aspirations has been defined: "What do the resettlers plan or hope for the future?" Their deviations from the community-defined ideal that "their present activities be directly contributing to the fulfillment of their desire to become a part of the larger community without an excessive competitive consciousness because of ancestry," are shown again in the two directions, "withdrawal" and "attack".

DIAGRAM 22

AMBITIONS-ASPIRATIONS:
What do the resettlers
plan or hope for the
future?

Deviation by WITHDRAWAL:	Community defined ideal:	Deviation by ATTACK:
	<u>Their present activities be</u> <u>directly contributing to the</u> <u>fulfillment of their desire</u> <u>to become a part of the larger</u> <u>community without an excessive</u> <u>competitive consciousness be-</u> <u>cause of ancestry.</u>	
#1	Preparation in school for profession.	
#5	" " " " "	
#6	" " " " "	
#7	" " " " "	
#8	Establishing home and security.	
#9	Same as #1.	
#20	Establishing financial security, home.	
#23	Husband buying home; secure job now and for after war.	
#24	Saving for farm-expecting induction.	
#11	No defined amb. aspiration.	#2 Preparation for pro- fession. Difficulty in finding placement for continuation. Studies excessively.
#13	Desire for assimilation.	
#13	Has job desired. No further ambition or aspiration.	
#14	Saving for school.	
#15	" " "	
#19	" " "	
#21	No defined ambition or aspiration.	#4 Preparation for pro- fession. Studies & works excessively.
#12	Has job in profession. Says live from day to day.	#18 No defined ambition- aspiration. Desires marriage. Change of res residence to provide more opportunity.
#16	Vague desire to go to school Live from day to day.	
#10	Going into army. Doesn't care.	#17 Saving money for future. Shrewd business practices and desire to do better job than Caucasian to succeed.
#22	Withdrew from opportunity to pursue education. Merely waiting for army. Think of future when he comes to it.	

CHAPTER IV

VARIATIONS IN PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

The final criteria of adjustment from the point of view of the individual is whether or not his activities are satisfying or not satisfying to himself. If they are not satisfying to him, what are the ways in which he adjusts to the dissatisfaction.

It is believed to be possible to classify all types of behavior into either withdrawal or attack behavior. "Withdrawal" indicates a tendency to escape the problem or to merely accept it. "Attack" signifies a tendency to face the problem and to do something directly to make the situation more satisfying to himself.

In the diagrammatic presentation of the variations in adjustment that are shown by the twenty-four cases studied intensively, the direction of adjustment is the direction of the points from the central lines in each of the periods: I. Before the war, II. Between Pearl Harbor and evacuation, III. In the centers, and IV. In resettlement. The points to the left indicate "withdrawal" behavior in that particular area of adjustment, and the points to the right designate "attack" behavior. (See Methodology in Chapter I.) The existence of a point indicates dissatisfaction, and the larger the point, the greater the intensity of the withdrawal or attack mode of adjustment.

DIAGRAM 23

PERSONAL ADJUSTMENTS AS SHOWN BY THE TWENTY-FOUR CASE STUDIES

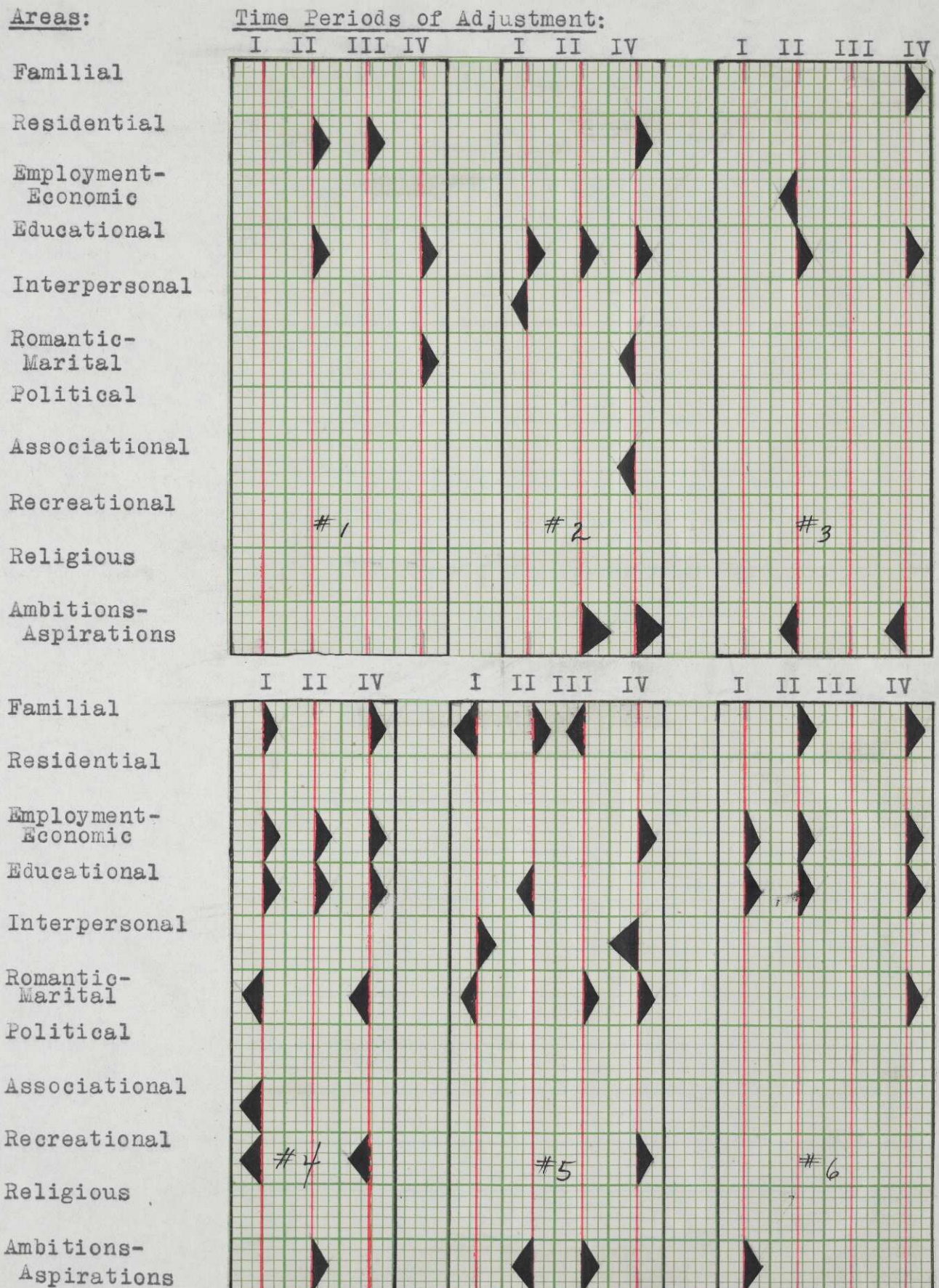


DIAGRAM 23 Continued

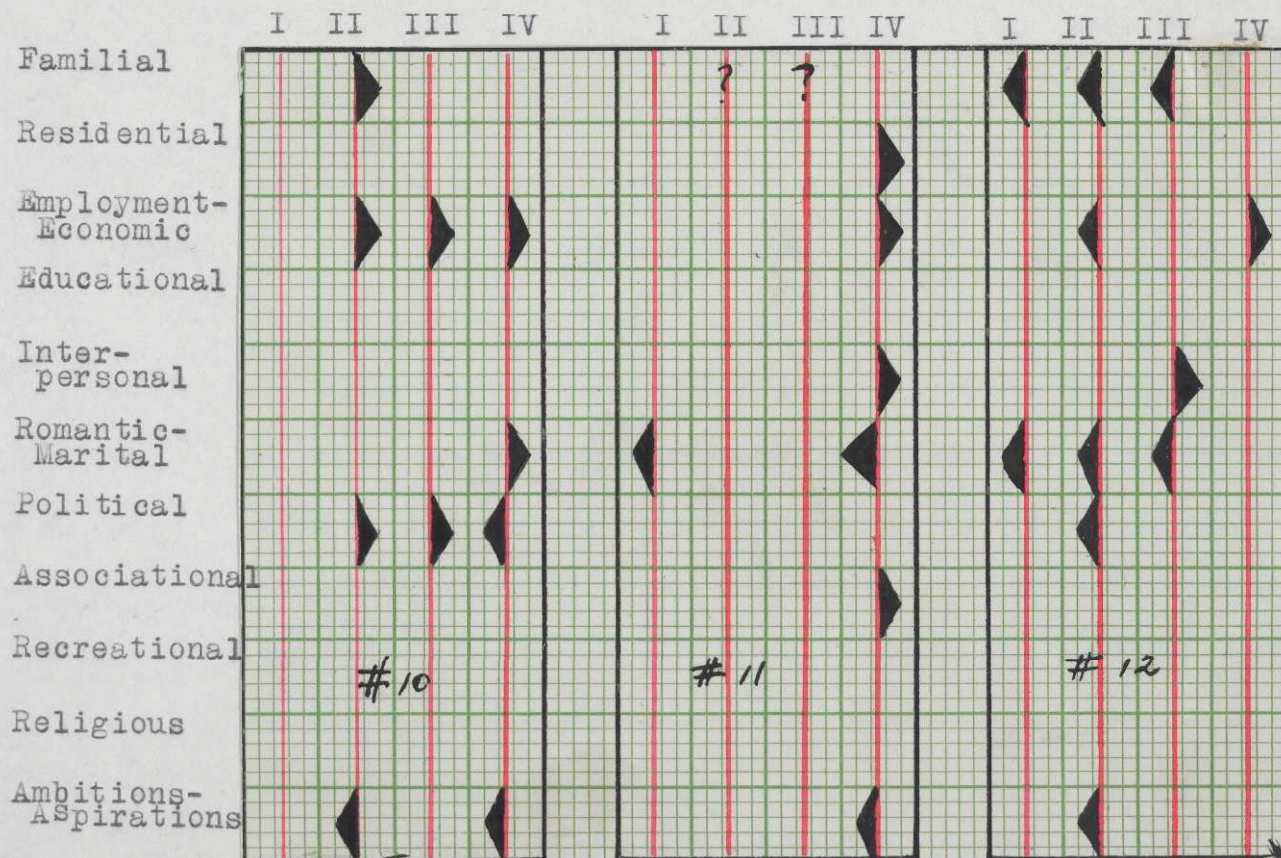
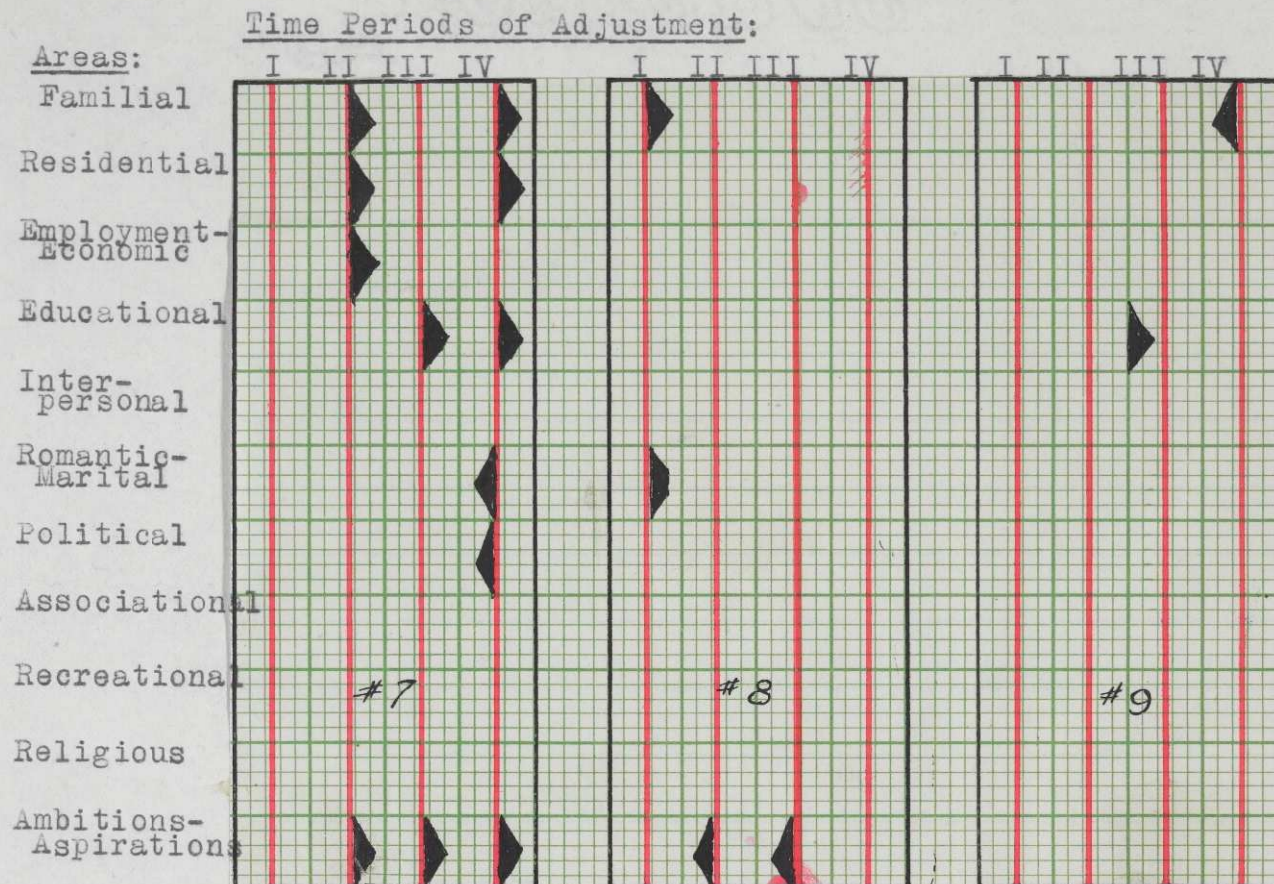


Diagram 23 Continued

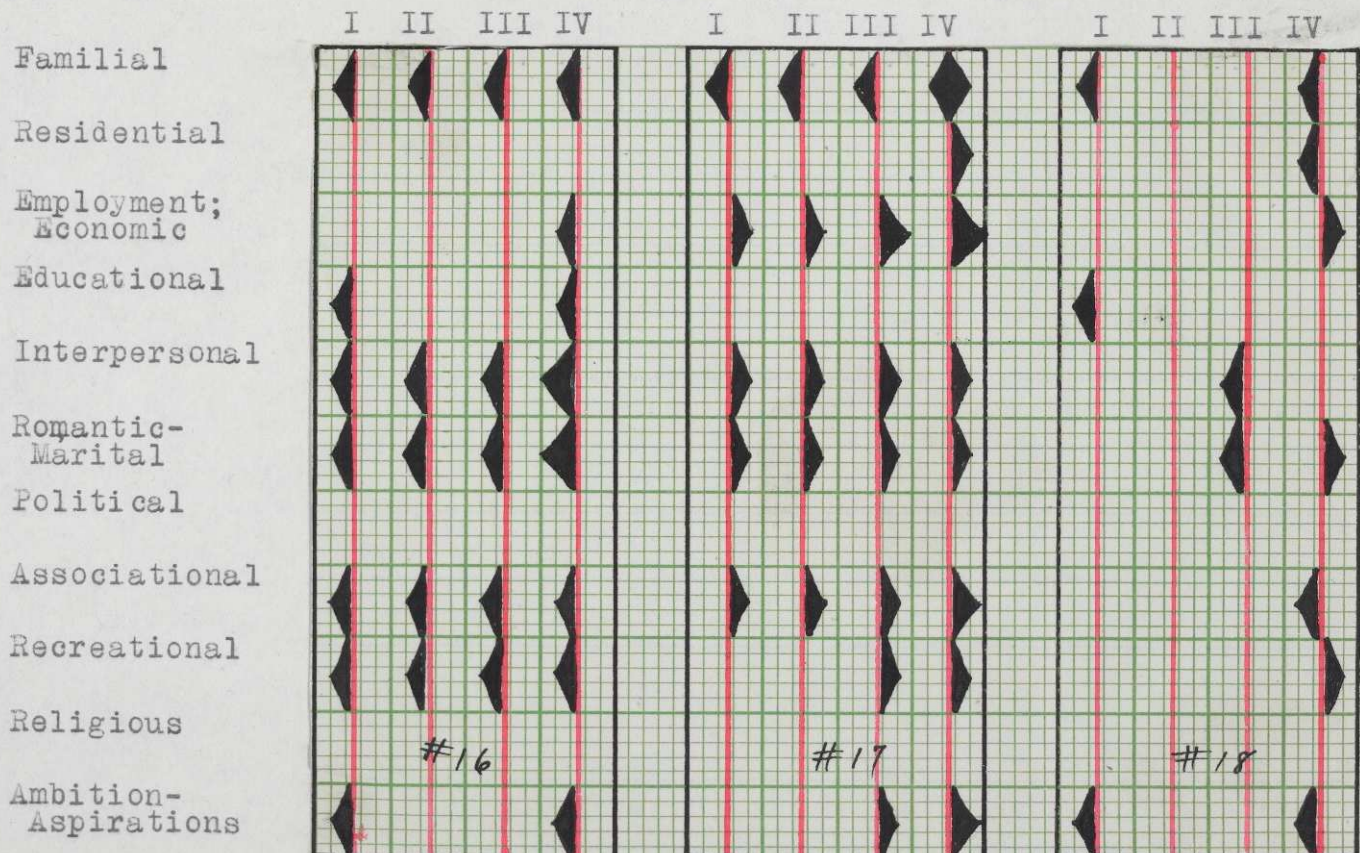
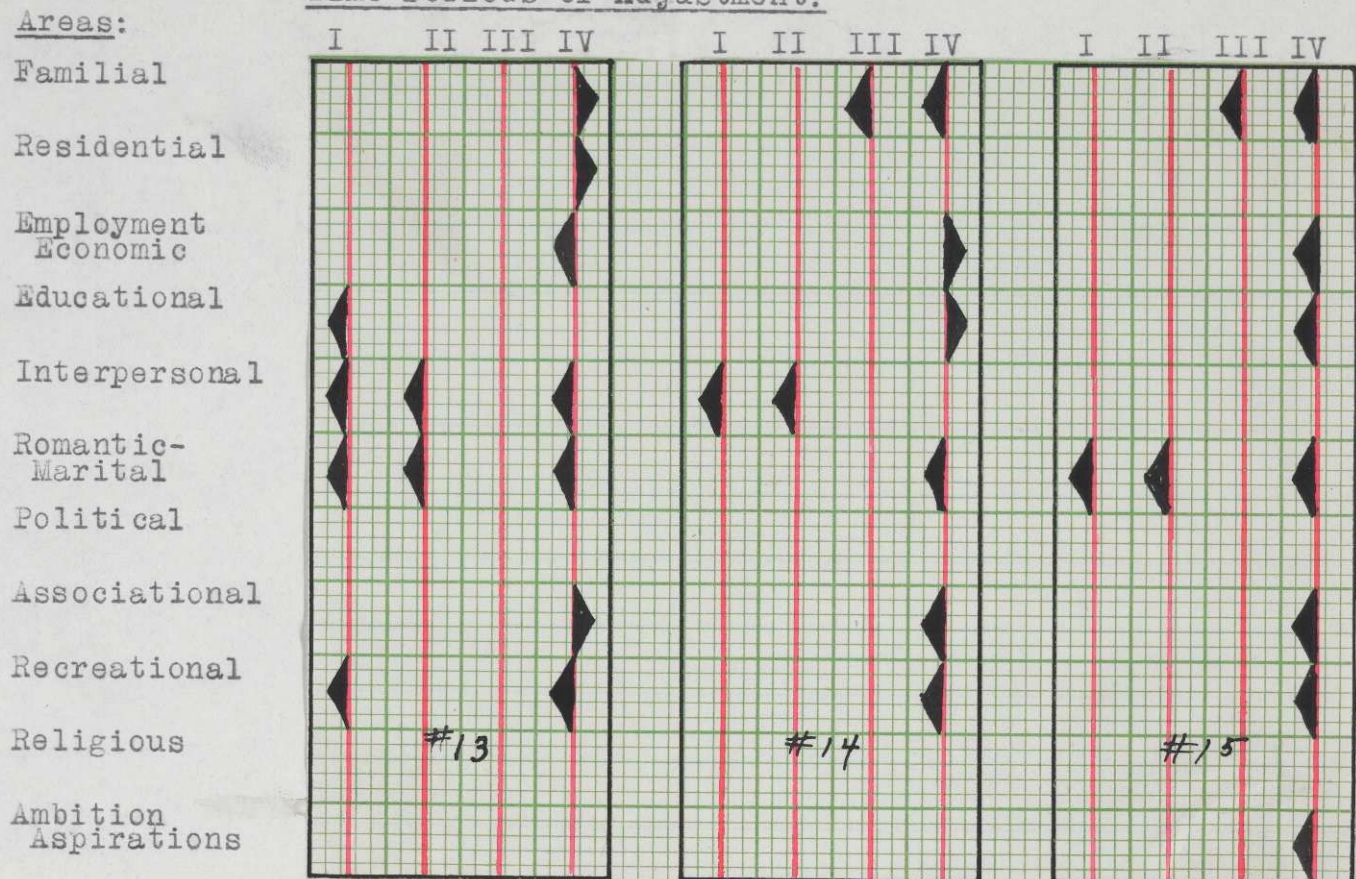
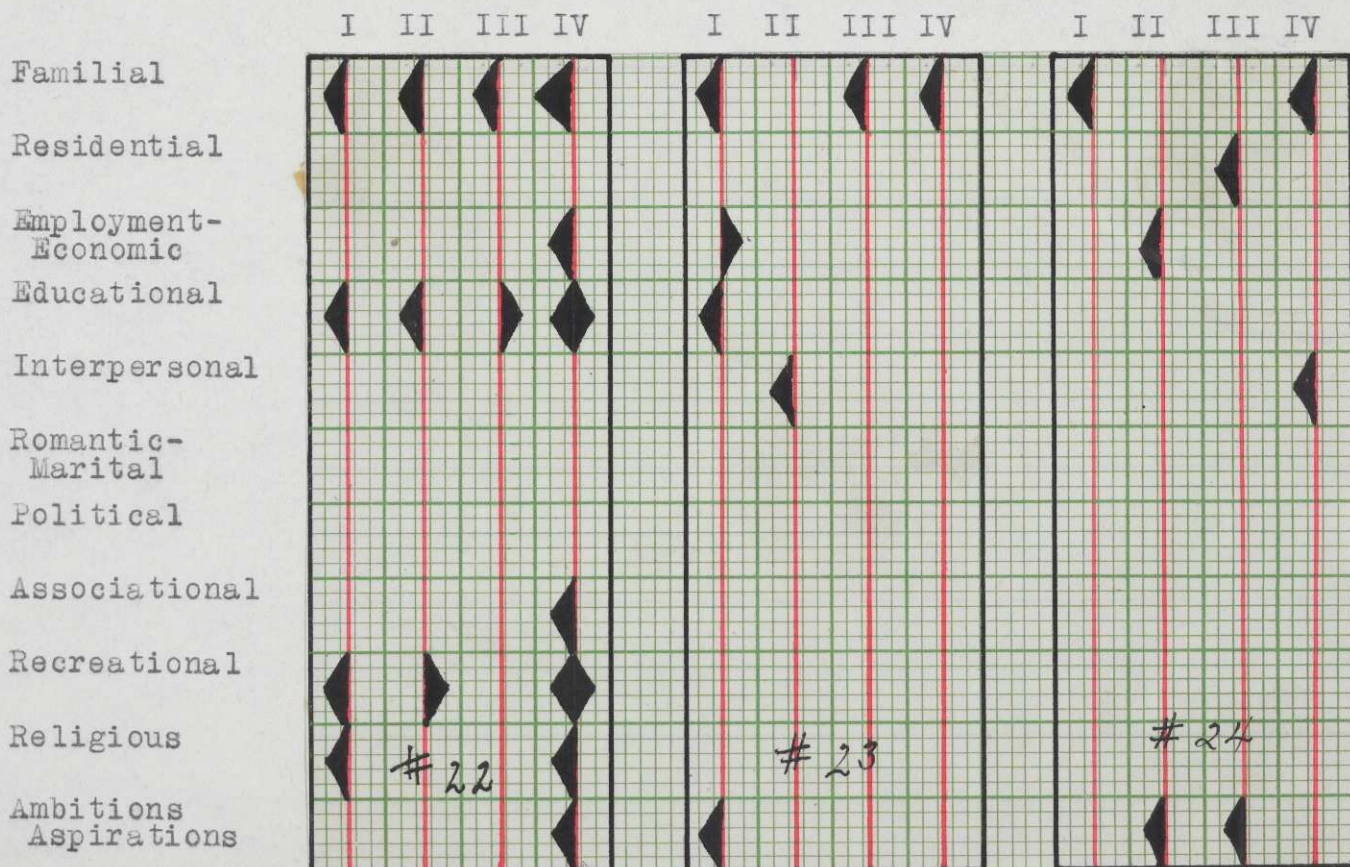
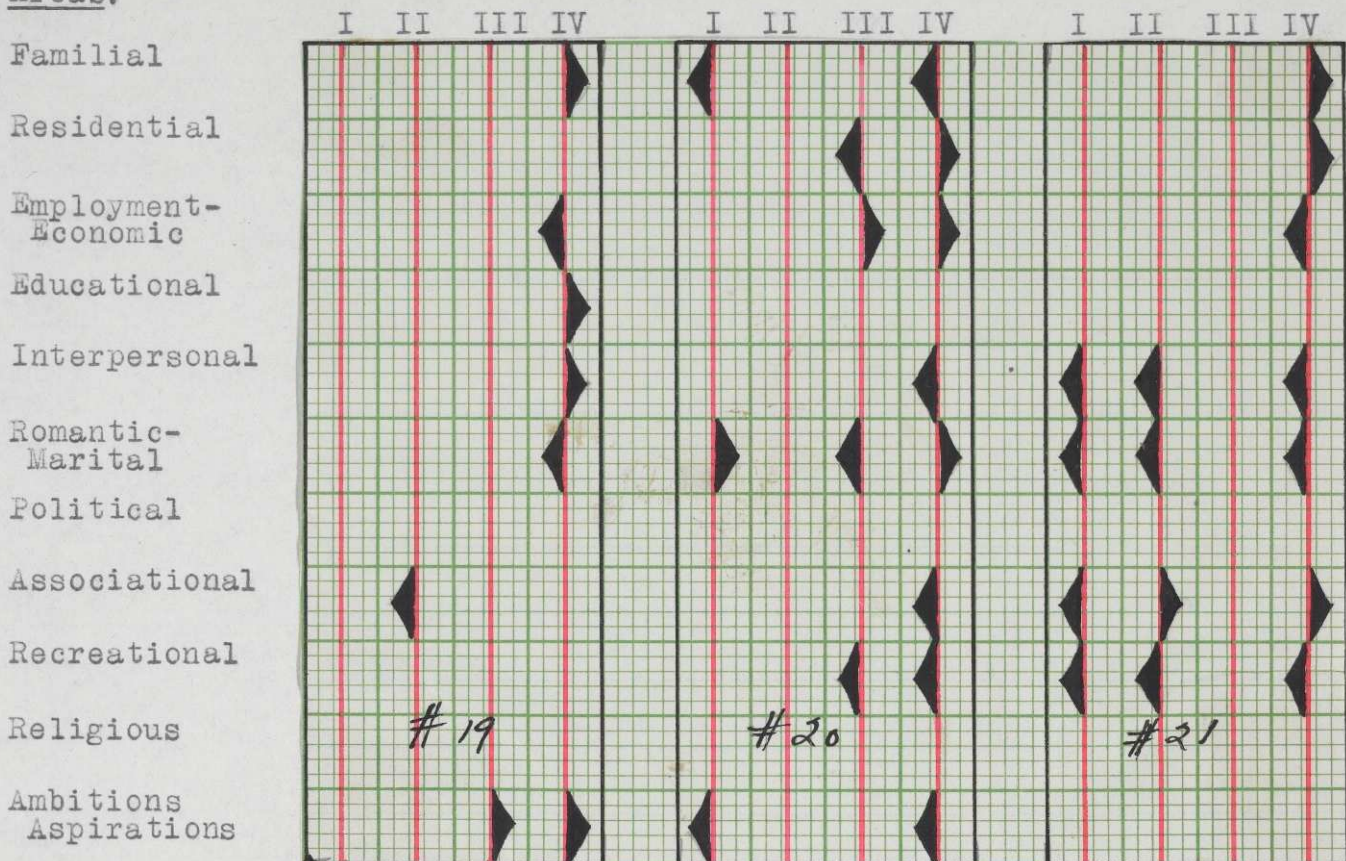
Time Periods of Adjustment:Areas:

DIAGRAM 23 Continued

Time Periods of Adjustment:Areas:

These diagrams indicate for each case the general direction of adjustment behavior and the particular areas of adjustment that call forth attack or withdrawal behavior. Cases No. 16 and No. 17 are the two most conspicuous examples of consistency in meeting problematic situations by the two modes of behavior. A glance at the direction of the points of other cases indicates a tendency to be consistent, particularly in each of the areas through the time periods.

Inasmuch as the existence of a point indicates dissatisfaction, the diagrams designate which areas of adjustment are defined as problematic by the resettlers. Differences in the nature of problems among the cases may thus be noted. Furthermore, it is possible to summarize from the cases which areas are of little importance in their personal adjustment. For instance, the absence of points in the political area of adjustment in most cases indicates that in general the resettlers' political attitudes concern them little in their personal satisfaction or dissatisfaction in adjustment. In the case of the students, the importance of education is well indicated; see Cases No. 1, No. 2, No. 3, and No. 4. They represent, also, the general attack behavior of adjustment in education; it is an area in which resettlers can aggressively face their problems, inasmuch as there are accepted, defined, direct ways of attacking such problems as choosing a school, getting

scholarship aid, improving grades, etc. It seems that of the cases studied, personal adjustment in their relationship with their families is of great importance; every person expressed anxiety concerning the welfare of his family. The employment economic area of adjustment presents personally dissatisfying situations to which almost all the resettlers must adjust. Because of the age and marital status¹ of the population, it might have been expected that the romantic and marital area would be important in the resettlers' personal adjustments. These illustrations from the diagrams will suffice to show the use of this device in judging the relative importance of the areas of adjustment in resettlement.

However, this type of summarized presentation is perhaps most useful as a quick presentation of the consistency of the general mode of adjusting to situations in resettlement with that of earlier adjustments. For each case, also the diagram indicates the situations that are defined as problematic in each of the periods; it facilitates the analysis of what situations have appeared or disappeared as problems in resettlement as compared to the earlier periods. For instance, in Cases No. 2 and No. 4, adjustment in education has been made personally more satisfying direct activity, while the romantic-marital and associational areas, which are defined as problems, are adjusted to by withdrawal or escape in devotion to study and in pursuing ambitions. Case No. 2 believes that education and fulfilling defined ambitions are of such importance that he is will to withdraw from attempting to make his life more satisfying

in the romantic and association areas. Case No. 4 illustrates a similar situation in that the education and economic areas of adjustment are of such greater value to him that he withdraws from doing anything to be happier in his romantic and recreational adjustments. The appearance of problem areas of adjustment that did not exist in the periods before resettlement can also be illustrated from these two cases.

Comparisons among the cases as to the number of recognize problem situations that call forth some kind of adjustment are made possible by this diagrammatic device. Cases No. 8 and No. 9 are conspicuously lacking in what they consider problems in resettlement, whereas Case No. 16 and No. 17 are faced with many situations to which they must adjust themselves. The latter two cases best illustrate the consistency of withdrawal and attack behavior in their total life patterns. Though the others are less extreme in the direction of adjustment behavior and the existence of problems, it seems clear that resettlers are generally consistent in their adjustment behavior throughout the four time periods. It seems safe to say, also, that there certain areas of adjustment that are almost uniformly defined as problematic by the resettlers.

Perhaps the most important generalization from this study, however, is that the mode of adjustment in each of the periods is generally consistent. Furthermore, it may not be too presumptuous to postulate that it is possible to demonstrate and to compare the existence of patterns of behavior in the total life organization of individuals.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It would be far beyond the data presented to assume that the resettlement situation in Saint Louis is representative of resettlement in other cities, but it does seem possible that the general nature of adjustment problems are comparable because the evacuated and resettled population have had common major experiences since the outbreak of the war. The more than 400 who have resettled in the Saint Louis Metropolitan District have shown great variations in their ways of adjusting to problems. The twenty-four cases studied intensively were chosen because of their seeming representativeness of the range of variations exhibited.

Perhaps the usual criticisms of the use of long case histories to generalize about a population or a phenomenon have been partially overcome by the use of objectifying tools for analysis such as: (1) the Summary Analysis Sheet's classification of all the case data in time periods and areas of adjustment, (2) the diagrammatic presentation of deviations from the community-defined conception of ideal adjustment in each of the eleven areas, and (3) the diagrammatic presentation of the deviations from the personally-defined conception of ideal adjustment in these areas. It seems that the cases have been rendered comparable with each other for analysis by these devices. Furthermore, it appears that the presentation of data

under the general scheme of deviation from a defined ideal mode of adjustment by attack or withdrawal made these cases comparable to the total population of Japanese ancestry in the Saint Louis Metropolitan District. Extensive participant observations not only provided external data to check the statements given in the case interviews, but also strengthened the basis for the judgment that the twenty-four cases are representative of the resettled population's problems and variations in adjustments. It is hoped that persons studying resettlement in other cities will check the validity of this generalization by reading the case material of individuals and groups studied, the field notes from participant observations, and the statistical data of the total resettled population.

The statistical analysis of the population of Japanese ancestry in Saint Louis disclosed certain characteristics that suggested problems in adjustment. That the population clusters conspicuously around twenty-one years with few above or below hints of problems such as the absence of family resettlement, the lack of occupational experience, and none or little experience as independently responsible individuals. The marital status of the population plus the age characteristics makes the romantic and marital area of adjustment of great importance. The citizenship distribution indicates that resettlement has appealed to few Issei, who still wielded most of the economic and social power among persons of Japanese ancestry on the coast before the war. That such a small number are non-citizens suggests that most resettlers were born and educated in the United States and therefore do not have language difficulties in adjustment,

nor are they unacquainted with the culture of the majority population in Saint Louis.

The distribution of the resettled population by major occupational groups as compared to that of the total Saint Louis population makes clear some striking factors in adjustment which are probably peculiar to this city. That there are so many students, who were the vanguard of the resettlers, provides an important factor in the analysis of adjustment of the later arrivals; the evidence that many students are employed part-time also is an important consideration in the kind of adjustments that the student population has made. The disproportionately large number who are employed in the professional and semiprofessional group is indicative of unusual opportunities in Saint Louis for that type of employment. Inasmuch as social status is usually high for persons in that classification, the fact assumes much importance in the study of adjustment--of sharing in the life of the larger community or making a problematic situation more satisfying to oneself. The large percent employed in unskilled occupations forecasts a large probable displacement when the demand for labor becomes less.

That the mobility of resettlers has been higher among men than among women, higher among unskilled workers than jobs requiring special skills, and higher among Nisei than Issei suggests various factors in the evaluation of stability in resettlement in Saint Louis. The ease of finding another job in other cities at a more desirable wage is probably the most significant demonstrable factor, though the possibility for more social life in a city where there are more persons of

Japanese ancestry seems a strong force pulling away the Saint Louis population of resettlers.

Residential distribution indicates little concentration except at the YMCA residence and near the professional schools and hospitals. That so many are employed in homes scatters the population far into the suburbs and into other residential areas where they would not otherwise make their place of residence. The "Y" residences play a definite role in adjustment for the Nisei. Many young men who would have no other means of meeting Caucasians can do so at the YMCA. Inasmuch as individuals and groups connected with "Y" organizations are actively interested in the resettlement program, a period of residence at the YMCA or YWCA often means the opportunity to be integrated into an organization of the larger community, even if it be a mere matter of residence and/or also some participation in the recreational associational activities.

The data on place of residence before evacuation indicates that the size of the population of Japanese ancestry in the cities on the coast has little or nothing to do with the number of persons from those cities that came to Saint Louis. Though in the case of the relocation centers in Arkansas, proximity played an important part in the resettlers' coming to Saint Louis, for the other centers, distance seems to be an insignificant factor. (The railroad fare to the resettlement destination is provided by the government.) It seems, then, that other things such as the presence and recommendations of friends and relatives and job opportunities were the selective factors in migration to Saint Louis.

Relocation officers in both the centers and in the areas of resettlement report that resistance to resettlement is not due to a shortage of employment opportunities, but rather to their fear of insecurity in making an happy adjustment in the new community and their reluctance to leave the superficially absolute security of the center. Inasmuch as the government's current policy indicates no intention to maintain relocation centers after the war, and since only a small minority will have anything to return to in their places of residence and business before the war, it seems of major practical importance to have a positive program to facilitate adjustment and integration in the community of resettlement. It seems that the greatest force pulling people out of the centers is the presence of persons of Japanese ancestry in the city; the drawing force of a number of resettled persons increase in greater proportion than the actual number. If it is true that personal recommendations of those already in the city and the size of the resettled population are the most important factors and that there are more offers of employment than can be filled from the centers, it seems unfortunate that the War Relocation Authority office in Saint Louis functions almost solely as a special employment office and official clearing house for records of persons of Japanese ancestry and does little or nothing to tap already existing community resources to facilitate adjustment or to

acquaint resettlers with these resources. Furthermore, with the presence of so many young people without the buffer and guidance of the family, older friends, and associational contacts, the resettlers may find a personally interested counselor of great value to them.

In the consideration of the variations in adjustments presented in the eleven areas, excerpts from the case documents made more vivid the range of attitudes and behavior among the resettled population. Perhaps characteristics of most resettlers is restlessness about their stay in Saint Louis. Without a family in the city, a place which they can call their home, a job that offers assurance of postwar continuation, a school that they think best fulfills their needs, a large enough resettled population to find friends with common interests or opportunities to make friends among Caucasians with such interest, a wider range of eligible possible mates and occasions to meet them, and political, associational, and religious ties in the larger community -- it should not be surprising that some resettlers in Saint Louis are slow in becoming a stable and integral part of the city's population. It seems, however, that most persons have found ways of adjusting to the new environment and have satisfaction in some areas of adjustment that compensate for others which they may believe to be of lesser importance. It is the process of reorganization that has been described.

It is the major hypothesis of this study that behavior

in adjustment in the resettlement situation is consistent with their way of meeting problems in the past. In other words, there are discoverable in the life history of individuals typical ways of behaving in problematic situations. This has been demonstrated in the diagrammatic presentation of adjustment from the personally satisfying or not-satisfying aspect. If persons have been in the habit of adjusting to the problems by attacking them directly, it is likely that in those particular areas of adjustment they will continue to use that mode of meeting problems. The same may be said of those who habitually withdrew from facing the problem directly, directing their conflicts into other channels of activity or merely accepting the situations. Unless some dramatic or striking change in the personal responsibility of the individuals occurred that was outside of their control, it seems safe to say that their behavior would be found to be consistent.

The use of the diagrams was an experimental attempt to show the possibility of demonstrating and comparing the existence of behavioral patterns in the total life organization of personalities.

Perhaps it may be judged that the study succeeded only in presenting a systematic description of the evacuees' adjustment in Saint Louis and weak in its lack of a theoretic frame of reference that might have given greater unity to the project. However, if the ultimate goal of all science

is control, and if this descriptive material (and it may not even be considered systematic) gives the reader an understanding into the kinds of situations that a group of evacuated minority people define as problems and how they go about adjusting to those problems, the study may be a small contribution to the building of the bases of control.

Though the number involved in the evacuation, relocation, and resettlement is insignificant, the principle of differential treatment based solely on ethnic-national descent and not on personal worth is inconsistent with the defined basic principles of democracy. Whether the violations be against Negroes, persons of Mexican descent, American Indians, Hindus, Italians and their children, or persons of Japanese descent, their accumulation without an attempt for control may have disastrous consequences on the possible effectiveness of a nation that could rightfully take pride in her practice of democracy.

APPENDIXES



Frontenac
Board

APPENDIX A

EXCERPTS FROM THE OUTLINE PROVIDED
BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
EVACUATION AND RESETTLEMENT STUDY

Evacuation and Resettlement Study

May-June 1943

Resettlement Phase

- I. Brief History of the Individual
 - A. Parental background.... Supplement with individual's account of childhood training, and his own story of relations with parents and siblings.
 - B. His demographic history: birth date, birthplace, successive places of residence.
 - C. His educational history: chronological account of schooling received, including schools attended (place and dates), major interest and activities; how long did he attend Japanese language school.
 - D. His employment and economic history: chronological account of jobs held (type of job, type of industry, rate of pay). Account for all periods of unemployment. Note whether employers and fellow workers were Japanese or Caucasian. What jobs has he tried to get and failed? Circumstances surrounding these failures?

Has the income received from his jobs been sufficient to maintain a reasonable standard of living? Has he been able to save? When and how much? What sources were drawn on in periods of unemployment?
 - E. His interpersonal relations outside the family (excluding the romantic). Who were his intimate friends at various times? Not particularly whether they were Caucasian, Nisei, Issei, or Kibei. What instances of prejudice or discrimination were met in interracial friendships?
 - F. His romantic marital history: What were his boy-girl relationships? Were these contacts confined to Nisei and Kibei, or did they extend to other racial groups, particularly Caucasian? Whom did he marry? Was the marriage Japanese or American type?
 - G. His political activities and shifting interests: voting, party membership, running for office. To what political organizations has he belonged? How have his affiliations changed?
 - H. His associational history (other than political): What clubs, organizations and groups has the individual joined? What offices has he held?

APPENDIX A Continued

- I. His recreational history: What have been his dominant leisure activities (sports, reading, hobby hobbies, etc)? How have these changed? To what extent have these been Japanese or American?
- J. His religious history: Church membership; attendance at Sunday School. Under what circumstances did the individual join church? Has his religious affiliation been the same as that of his parents?

Note: This outline has purposely been limited to the factual, "behavioristic" aspects of the individual's history. It is intended to develop common background factors by which the individual can be "placed." It represents the minimum that must be obtained for all resettlers in the sample. It omits the many important socio-psychological factors which would lead to a greater understanding of the individual. These factors cannot be investigated in all cases, but will be covered in selected cases.

II. The Individual on December 1, 1941 (approximately),
i.e. just before the outbreak of War.

- A. His demographic characteristics: Age and marital status, household, place of residence.
- B. His physical characteristics (size, "looks," disabilities).
- C. His educational status (amount of education completed in Japan and in America; his use of the Japanese and English languages.)
- D. His occupational status (job actually held at that time) pay received for the past month; his "usual occupation," by census definition; for whom he worked: Japanese or Caucasian employer; nature of industry and job; his fellow-workers.
- E. His religious connection (Christian, Buddhist, none).
- F. His political connections (Japanese Association, JACL, YD, etc.).
- G. His recreational interests (his voluntary associations and cliques; his hobbies; how he spent his leisure time generally; his friendship groups).
- H. His plans for the future (occupational, marital, educational, desired place of residence, desired associations).

III. The Individual on December 7, 1941

What was the immediate impact of the Pearl Harbor disaster? The individual should be asked to reconstruct the day, indicating his activities; the contacts he made; the fears he experiences; the rumors he heard; the tentative reorganization of his plans for the future, regarding marriage, education, residence, job, etc.

APPENDIX A Continued

IV. The Individual between the day of Pearl Harbor and the day of evacuation, with particular reference to the following time-identified events:

- Period of early restrictions on enemy aliens.
- Period of FBI roundups.
- Period of Filipino incidents.
- Period of evacuation of enemy aliens from restricted areas.
- Announcement of evacuation of American citizens of Japanese ancestry.
- Where relevant, freezing of the Free zone.

- A. Effect upon the individual in his relations with his family: Did he attempt to rejoin other family members, assume added responsibility for relatives, break from family?
- B. Effect upon his schooling and education: Did he stop school, lose interest in studies (did his grade average decline?); what were his relations with teachers and fellow students?
- C. Effect upon his personal and marital plans: Did he become engaged or break off an engagement? Did he hurry up a contemplated marriage? Did he separate from his wife? etc.
- D. Effect upon his residential status and plans: Did he move? Was the move forced?
- E. Effect upon occupational status and plans: Did he lose or give up his job, or change jobs? What were his relations with his employer, with his fellow workers or with his clientele?
- F. Effect upon his property interests: Did he sell out his holdings and his personal property, let his insurance lapse? To whom did he sell, and by what mechanism was the sale accomplished (government agencies, friends, relatives, personal initiative)? What losses, if any, were incurred? What measures were taken to safeguard property interests, savings and insurance?
- G. Effect upon voluntary associations and friendships: What changes occurred in his relations with his neighbors, with the Japanese community, with Caucasians?
- H. Effect upon his identification with America or Japan (i.e. upon his "patriotism" or his feeling of belonging to or being loyal to the interests of Japan or of America), and upon his identification with a minority group in America (i.e. upon his feelings of sympathy, community of interests, or repugnance towards others of Japanese ancestry); upon his political interests and activities.
- I. Effect upon his "conduct" (drinking, gambling, personal disorganization).
- J. Effect in general upon his "morale": Hopes or fears for the future.

APPENDIX A Continued

Having reconstructed the pattern of behavior and attitudes during the crisis periods, a reconstruction of the major experiences and attitudes during the Assembly Center and the Relocation Project period (i.e., periods of involuntary concentration) should be attempted.

V. The Individual in the Assembly Center

- A. Preparations for entering center (selection of things to take with him; anticipations of life in the center; official directives (from WCCA, etc.); rumors).
- B. Activities in center:
 - 1. Making a home in barracks
 - 2. Job activities
 - 3. Education
 - 4. Recreation
 - 5. Religious activities
 - 6. Political activities
 - 7. Making friends; romantic-sexual activities
- C. Attitudes
 - 1. Towards administration
 - 2. Towards other evacuees
 - 3. Towards visitors and other Caucasians
 - 4. Towards American and Japan
 - 5. Towards outside world in general
- D. Changes in plans for future while in center (See listings under II and III).

(Note: a modification of the above outline should be used for those who evacuated to the Free Zone instead of to an Assembly Center, emphasizing particularly the economic aspect; getting a home, setting up business or getting a job, and the social aspect, i.e., relations with other Japanese in the Zone, relations with Caucasians.)

VI. The Individual in the Relocation Project

- A. Preparations for entering the project (were efforts made to go to a particular project, and why; rumors about the project to which Assembly Center population was to be sent; fears regarding conditions in the project; attitude towards WRA versus WCCA prior to entering project.)
- B. Activities (as in V)
- C. Attitudes (as in V)
- D. Inception and development of plans for resettlement.

VII. The Resettled Individual

- A. Reasons for choosing particular destinations.
- B. Mechanism by which resettlement was accomplished

APPENDIX A Continued

1. How was the decision to resettle reached; effect of letters, personal contacts and reports, newspaper accounts, rumors of economic success of others, desire for adventure or to see the world, fear of family being caught "on the reservation" for the duration unless resettlement was started; fear of being branded an "internee"; dissatisfaction with physical and social conditions of camp; conflicts or fear of consequences if remaining in camp ("inu" situation, beatings, etc.); opportunity to break away from minority group; opportunity to break away from family.

The factors listed above (and others) may be thought of as positive influences "pulling" the individual to his destination, and as negative influences "pushing" him away from the relocation project. Parental or group pressures against resettling and how they were overcome, should be noted.

2. Sponsorship (individual initiative) religious or welfare group--hostels, etc.--WRA; friend on outside; family on outside; associational contact on outside.
3. Extent to which plans that were broken or goals that were temporarily abandoned were resumed; extent to which new goals were established.

C. History of Resettling in Chicago (or elsewhere)

1. Initial adjustment to life in Chicago; reconstruction of activities, attitudes, fears, in first week. Whom did the individual seek out? Who helped him? What were his relations with and attitudes toward Caucasians? Did first impressions fulfill or fall short of anticipations, and in what respects?
2. Finding a job and making a living: What sort of job was first obtained? By what means was it obtained? Was it obtained before or after arriving at destination? Description of job, wages, hours, employer, fellow-workers, work conditions, organization of workers. Relations with employers and fellow-workers (particularly interracial contacts). Satisfactions or dissatisfactions in connection with work.

Note: If several jobs are held successively, detailed record of each to be obtained. Why were jobs given up? Account for all periods of unemployment. Who helped out during periods of unemployment?

APPENDIX A Continued

Patterns and level of consumption in relation to income received. Extent of saving for the future (including negative saving, or falling into debt).

3. Getting or completing an education (including night school, vocational school, extension, correspondence school in addition to the regular media of formal education).
 Finding a school
 Getting credit for past work
 Problems in regard to residence qualifications
 Relations with teachers, advisors, school-mates
 Contacts with Student Relocation Committee, with social agencies, with schools, teachers, etc., in communities of previous residence.

4. Participating in religious activities
 Attendance at Japanese church or neighborhood church
 Why was a particular church selected (e.g., was there any previous connection with minister?).
 What, specifically, do resettled Buddhists do in connection with their religion?

5. Spending leisure time:
 How much leisure does the individual have, and what does he do with it:
 Reading (what sort)
 Visiting (Caucasians or Japanese?) Previous or new contact?
 Writing letters (to whom?)
 Radio
 Movies or theatre
 Gambling or games
 Sports
 Boy-girl relationships or sexual activities (including prostitutes and other extra-marital relations)
 Etc., Etc.

The important thing in regard to the use of leisure time is to discover not only what the resettler does, but with whom he does it, with special reference to interracial contacts or limitation to interracial contacts.

6. Finding a mate, establishing a family or continuing family relationships (See later section for analysis of the family).
7. Participating in political activities.

APPENDIX A Continued

8. Participating in other voluntary associations (See later memorandum on group analysis).
9. Changing attitudes towards the war, democracy, American citizenship, Japan, Japanese communities in America, Caucasians (persistence or change of "keto" concept), relief or government subsidization (wards of the government), informers ("inu" concept), education, the family, etc.
10. Establishing status or attaining prestige: What are the resettler's ambitions or aspirations? Does present status satisfy these ambitions? What is the mechanism by which attempts are made to achieve desired status? What, specifically, does the resettler plan to do after the war, e.g., return to the West Coast or establish himself here? What are his plans for family, education, occupation?

APPENDIX B

OUTLINE OF THE SUMMARY SHEET FOR THE
ANALYSIS OF ADJUSTMENT

Periods of Adjustment	I. Before the war	II. From Pearl Harbor to Evacuation	III. In the Centers	IV. In Resettlement
Areas of Adjustment				
Familial				
Residential				
Employment-Economic				
Educational				
Interpersonal				
Romantic-Marital				
Political				
Associational				
Recreational				
Religious				
Ambitions-Aspirations				

Into the above skeleton, which was placed on four sheets of 8½ x 11 inches pasted together, case documents of thirty to fifty pages were condensed. In this way, it was possible to have laid out comparable material for the analysis of a single case or comparison with other cases whose data were classified in the same way.

APPENDIX C

REPRESENTATIVENESS BY AGE, SEX, MARITAL STATUS,
CITIZENSHIP, AND OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION OF
THE TWENTY-FOUR CASES STUDIED INTENSIVELY

Criteria of Representativeness	Characteristics	Total Resettled Population		Twenty-four cases
Average age	Both sexes	24		24
	Male	25		25
	Female	23		23
Sex distribution	Male	52%	12 ^b	12
	Female	48	12	12
Marital status of persons 16 yrs. of age & older	Single	73%	18	20
	Married	26	6	3
	Widowed or separated	1	0	1
Citizenship	Citizens	92%	22	24
	Aliens	8	2	0
Occupational classification	Professional and semi-professional	13% ^c	3	2
	Proprietors and managers	1	0	1
	Clerical	10	3	3
	Craftsmen	4	1	1
	Operatives	2	1	0
	Domestic service workers	21	5	4
	Other service workers	6	1	2
	Farm laborers	3	1	0
	Other laborers	7	2	3

Source: Chapter 11, "Characteristics of the Population."

^aExcludes departures from Saint Louis.

^bNumber expected out of twenty-four cases according to the actual percentage distribution in the total population.

^cPercentage based on total resettled population in Saint Louis.

APPENDIX C. Continued

Criteria of Representativeness	Characteristics	Total Resettled Population		Twenty-four cases
Occupational classification (Cont.)	Students	27%	6	7
	Pre-school children	2	0	0
	Housewives	4	1	1

APPENDIX E.
Individual resettler card used for
the demographic analysis of the
resettled population.

Individual resettler--Chicago					
Name	last	first	middle	Date	
Addresses since relocating Telephone				Entered	Left
				Date & Source	
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
Sex: Male: Fem: Age: _____ Issei _____ Nisei _____ Kibei _____ Marital Status _____ Address prior to evacuation _____ Relocation Project _____ Date leaving relocation project _____					

APPENDIX E. (continued)

BACK OF INDIVIDUAL RESETTLER CARD

(Provided by the University of California
Evacuation & Resettlement Study.)

EMPLOYMENT SINCE RELOCATION				
Job	Firm or Employer	Entered	Left	Date of Record
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.	T			
10.				
Job on Dec. 1, 1941 T				
Record known to: WRA _____ Friend _____ Bretherens _____ Other _____ (Specify)				

APPENDIX E. Supplementary Tables

Table 1.

PERSONS OF CHINESE AND JAPANESE ANCESTRY, BY CITIZENSHIP,
SEX, AND AGE, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: 1940

	Total population (all ages)				Population 21 years and over			
	Total Number	Percent	Male	Female	Total Number	Percent	Male	Female
Citizens								
Chinese	166	..	94	72	56	..	44	12
Japanese	23	..	19	4	18	..	16	2
Aliens								
Chinese	115	0.5% ^a	94	21	109	0.5%	89	20
Japanese	24	0.1%	20	4	24	0.1%	20	24

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of the Population, Missouri," 16th Census of the United States, Population, Second Series, Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942, p. 147.

^a Percentage based on total number of aliens in the entire Saint Louis population.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 2.

MALE AND FEMALE POPULATION BY RACES, FOR
THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: 1940

St. L. Metro. District	All classes	White		Negro	Other Races
		Native	Foreign Born		
Total	1,367,977	1,131,448	86,441	149,429	659
Male	663,681	545,920	45,940	71,369	452
Female	704,296	585,528	40,501	78,060	207

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of the Population, Missouri," 16th Census of the United States, Population, Second Series, Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942. p. 170

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE MALE AND FEMALE POPULATION
BY RACES, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: 1940

St. L. Metro. District	All Classes	White		Negro	Other races
		Native	Foreign Born		
Total	100%	82.71%	6.32%	10.92%	.048%
Male	100%	.26	6.92	10.75	.068
Female	100%	83.14	5.72	11.08	.029

Source: Same as Table 2.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 3. Continued

Age	Saint Louis Metropolitan District								
	Both Sexes			Male			Female		
	Tot.	Single	Marr.	Tot.	Single	Marr.	Tot.	Single	Marr.
30 yrs.	4	..	4	2	..	2	2	..	2
31 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
32 yrs.	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	1
33 yrs.	3	1	2	3	1	2	..	..	..
34 yrs.	1	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
35 yrs.	2	1	1	2	1	1	..	..	..
36 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
37 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
38 yrs.	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..
39 yrs.	2	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	lw
53 yrs.	1	..	lw	1	..	lw	..	..	..
Age n.r. ^d	203	160	43	109 ^v	89	20	94	71	23
Marr. Stat. N.R.	28	1..	..	21	..	..	7	..	..

Source: Data from Individual Resettler cards. See Appendix D.

^a
Includes departures.

^b
Includes age and marital status not reported.

^c
"w" indicates widowed

^d
"n.r." indicates not reported.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 4.

AGE BY SINGLE YEARS OF ALIENS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, BY SEX
AND MARITAL STATUS, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT:
JUNE 30, 1944^a

Age	Saint Louis Metropolitan District								
	Both Sexes			Male			Female		
	Tot.	Single	Marr.	Tot.	Single	Marr.	Tot.	Single	Marr.
All ages	35b	3	27 ^{2s} 1w	22	3	16 ^{1s}	13	..	11 ^{1s} 1w
21 yrs.	1	1	..	1	1	..	11	..	..
32 yrs.	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..
37 yrs.	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
40 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
41 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
42 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
43 yrs.	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
44 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
45 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
46 yrs.	1	..	1s	..	..	..	1	..	1s
47 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
48 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
49 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
50 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
51 yrs.	2	1	1	2	11	1	..	..	..
52 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
53 yrs.	3	..	3	2	..	2	1	..	1
54 yrs.	1	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..
55 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
56 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
57 yrs.	1	..	1s	1	..	1s	..	..	..
58 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
59 yrs.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 yrs.	3	1	1 1w	2	1	1	1	..	1w
Age n.r. ^d	18	..	18	10	..	10	8	..	8
Marr. Stat. n.r.	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	..

Source: Date from Individual Resettler cards. See Appendix D.

^aIncludes departures.

^bIncludes age and marital status not reported.

^c"w" indicates widowed. "s" indicates separated.

^d"n.r." indicates not reported.

APPENDIX E. (Continued)

TABLE 5

AGE OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: JUNE 30, 1944^a

Age	Both Sexes		Male		Female		Male				Female			
							Single		Married		Single		Married	
Ages Reported	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%	NO.	%
Reported	198	100%	108	54.5%	90	45.2%	83	42.0%	23 ^W S	11.6%	68	34.3%	19 ^W S	9.6%
0-4 yrs.	7	3.5	4	2.0	3	1.5	4	2.0	2	..	3	1.5	..	..
5-9	4	2.0	3	1.5	1	0.5	3	1.5	..	..	1	0.5	..	..
10-14	4	2.0	3	1.5	1	0.5	3	1.5	..	..	1	0.5	..	..
15-19	31	15.7	17	8.6	14	7.1	17	8.6	..	..	14	7.1	..	..
20-24	95	48.0	46	23.2	49	24.8	44	22.2	2	1.0	42	2.2	7	3.5
25-29	28	14.1	15	7.6	13	6.6	7	3.5	8	4.0	7	3.5	6	3.0
30-34	10	5.1	7	3.5	3	1.5	2	1.0	5	2.5	..	..	3	1.5
35-39	6	3.0	4	2.0	2	1.0	1	0.5	3	1.5	..	..	1	1.0
40-44	1	0.5	..	..	1	0.5	..	..	..^b	..	..	..	1	0.5
45-49	1	0.5	..	..	1	0.5	..	..	..	0.5	..	..	1 ^S	0.5
50-54	7	3.5	6	3.0	1	0.5	1	0.5	4	2.0	..	..	1	0.5
55-59	1	0.5	1	0.5	..	..	..	..	1 ^S	0.5	..	..	..	..
60	3	1.6	2	1.0	1	0.5	1	0.5	1	0.5	..	..	1 ^W	0.5

Source: Table 3 and 4, Appendix E.

^a

Includes departures

^b

"W" means widowed and "S" means separated.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 6

AGE BY SINGLE YEARS OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY BY
MARITAL STATUS, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT:
JUNE 30, 1944^a

Age	Persons of Japanese Ancestry			Age	Persons of Japanese ancestry		
	Tot.	Single	Marr.		Tot.	Single	Marr.
All ages	449	311	103	30 yrs.	4	..	4
			3w	31 yrs.	..	..	..
			ls	32 yrs.	2	..	2
Under 1	1	1	..	33 yrs.	3	1	.2
1 yr.	1	1	..	34 yrs.	1	1	..
2 yrs.	2	2	..	35 yrs.	2	1	1
3 yrs.	2	2	..	36 yrs.	..	..	..
4 yrs.	1	1	..	37 yrs.	1	..	1
5 yrs.	2	2	..	38 yrs.	1	..	1
6 yrs.	1	1	..	39 yrs.	2	..	1
7 yrs.	..	..	..	40 yrs.	..	..	lw ^b
8 yrs.	11	1	..	41 yrs.	..	..	..
9 yrs.	11	..	..	42 yrs.	..	..	..
10 yrs.	..	..	..	43 yrs.	1	..	1
11 yrs.	2	2	..	44 yrs.	..	..	..
12 yrs.	..	..	..	45 yrs.	..	..	..
13 yrs.	..	..	..	46 yrs.	1	..	1s
14 yrs.	2	2	..	47 yrs.	..	..	..
15 yrs.	1	1	..	48 yrs.	..	..	..
16 yrs.	..	..	..	49 yrs.	..	..	..
17 yrs.	3	3	..	50 yrs.	..	..	..
18 yrs.	11	11	..	51 yrs.	2	1	1
19 yrs.	16	16	..	52 yrs.	..	..	..
20 yrs.	22	22	..	53 yrs.	4	..	3lw
21 yrs.	26	25	1	54 yrs.	1	..	1
22 yrs.	18	15	3	55 yrs.	..	..	..
23 yrs.	17	16	1	56 yrs.	..	..	..
24 yrs.	12	8	4	57 yrs.	1	..	1s
25 yrs.	7	5	2	58 yrs.	..	..	..
26 yrs.	5	4	1	59 yrs.	..	..	..
27 yrs.	7	2	5	60 yrs.	3	1	1
28 yrs.	6	1	5				lw
29 yrs.	3	2	1				
				Age	221	160	61
				Marr. n.r.	(30)		
				Stat. n.r.			

Source: From Individual Resettler cards. See Appendix D.

^aIncludes departures. ^b"w" means widowed. "s" means separated.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 7.

CITIZENSHIP OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, BY AGE AND SEX, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: JUNE 30, 1944^a
(Based on 198 ages known.)

Age	Male				Female			
	Citizens		Aliens		Citizens		Aliens	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	98	49.0%	10	5.0%	85	42.9%	5	2.5%
0-4 yrs.	4	2.0	..	..	3	1.5	..	..
5-9 "	3	1.5	..	..	1	0.5	..	..
10-14 "	3	1.5	..	..	1	0.5	..	..
15-19 "	17	8.6	..	..	14	7.1	..	..
20-24 "	45	22.7	1	0.5	49	24.8	..	..
25-29 "	15	7.6	..	..	13	6.6	..	..
30-34 "	6	3.0	1	0.5	3	6.6	..	..
35-39 "	4	2.0	..	..	1	0.5	1	0.5
40-44 "	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.5
45-49 "	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	0.5
50-54 "	1	0.5	5	2.5	..	..	1	0.5
55-59 "	1	0.5	1	0.5	11	..	..	..
60 "	..	..	2	1.0	..	..	1	0.5

Source: Tables 3 and 4, Appendix E.

^a

Includes departures.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 8.

OCCUPATION OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, BY SEX AND GENERATION,
FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: JUNE 30, 1944, OR
LAST OCCUPATION BEFORE DEPARTURE

	Total	Male		Female	
		Nisei	Issei	Nisei	Issei
All occupations	448(87)	228(61)	22	186(22)	13(2)
Professional and semi-professional workers	55(5)	27(4)	2	26(1)	..
Artists	3	1	1	1	..
College instructors	1	1	..	..	..
Dentists	1	..	1	..	..
Electrical engineers	1	1	..	..	..
Lawyers	1	..	..	1	..
Pharmacists	7	6	..	1	..
Physicians & surgeons	12(2)	12(2)	..	..	..
Trained nurses & student nurses	16(1)	..	..	16(1)	..
Sports instructors	1	1	..	..	..
Technicians & assistants, laboratory	10(2)	4(2)	..	6	..
Semiprofessional workers (n.e.c.) ^b	2	1	..	1	..
Proprietors and managers, except farm	5(1)	4(1)	1	..	..
Purchasing agents & buyers (n.e.c.)	1	1	..	..	..
Food stores	1(1)	1(1)	..	..	..
Drug stores	1	1	..	..	..
Laundering, cleaning & dyeing service	1	1	..	..	..
Miscellaneous amusement & recreation	1	..	1	..	..
Clerical, sales, & kindred workers	45(9)	11(5)	..	34(4)	..
Bookkeepers, accountants & cashiers	4(2)	2(1)	..	2(1)	..
Shipping & receiving clerks	3(1)	3(1)	..	..	..
Stenographers, typists, and secretaries	25(3)	..	..	25(3)	..
Clerical & kindred workers (n.e.c.)	10(1)	3(1)	..	7	..
Salesmen & saleswomen	3(2)	3(2)	..	..	..

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 8, Cont'd.

	Total	Male		Female	
		Nisei	Issei	Nisei	Issei
Craftsmen, foremen, & kindred workers	19(2)	16(2)	2	..	1
Compositors & typeset- ters	1	1	..	..	..
Mechanics & repairmen: Automobile	12(2)	10(2)	2	..	..
Other craftsmen & kindred workmen	1	..	..	..	1
Operatives & kindred workers	9(2)	7(2)	1	1	..
Laundry	1	..	1	..	..
Welders	2	2	..	..	..
Operative & kindred workers by industry (n.e.c.)					
Grain-mill products	1(1)	1(1)	..	..	..
Apparel & accessories	2	1	..	1	..
Cement, concrete, gypsum, and plaster products	2	2	..	..	..
Miscellaneous machinery	1(1)	1(1)	..	..	..
Domestic service workers	90(15)	12(5)	9(1)	63(8)	6(1)
Housekeepers, private family	1	..	..	1	1
Servants, private family	89(15)	12(5)	9(1)	62(8)	5(1)
Protective service workers	1(1)	1(1)	..	..	..
Guards, watchman & doorkeepers	1(1)	1(1)	..	..	..
Service workers, exc. domestic & protective	27(100)	13(6)	2	11(4)	1
Barbers & beauticians, etc.	1	..	..	1	..
Janitors & sextons	2	..	2	..	..
Cooks, Exc. Private Fam.	2(1)	1	..	1(1)	..
Waiters & waitresses	8(4)	7(4)	..	1	..
Attendants, hospitals, etc.	12(4)	3(1)	..	8(3)	..
Attendants, recreation & amusement	2(1)	2(1)	..	..	..

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 8. Continued

66					
	Total	Male		Female	
		Nisei	Issei	Nisei	Issei
Farm laborers(wage wkrs)	13(9)	11(8)	2(1)	..	..
Laborers, exc. farm & mine	29(11)	24(11)	1	4	..
Laborers by industry					
Manufacturing					
Grainmill Products	6(4)	6(4)	..	..	..
Apparel and accessories	4	..	..	4	..
Furniture, Etc.	2	2	..	..	..
Paper & pulp products	4(3)	4(3)	..	..	..
No manufacturing industries					
Nursery	13(4)	12(4)	1	..	..
Students employed part time	40(5)	27(4)	..	13(1)	..
College instructors	3(1)	3(1)	..	..	..
Pharmacists	1	1	..	..	..
Technicians and assistants	2	2	..	..	..
Clerical	1	1	..	..	..
Laundering, cleaning, etc. operatives	2(1)	2(1)	..	..	..
Attendants, hospitals, etc.	2	2	..	..	..
Domestic service workers	29(3)	16(2)	..	13(1)	..
Students (n.e.c.)	80(8)	64(8)	..	16	..
Above High school	71(8)	57(8)	..	14	..
High School or below	9	7	..	2	..
Preschool children	8	4	..	4	..
Housewives	13(2)	..	..	8(1)	5(1)
Occupation not reported	15(7)	7(4)	2	6(3)	..

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 8. Continued

Source: Data from the Individual Resettler Cards. See Appendix D.

^a

The numbers in parentheses designate departures from Saint Louis.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 9.

DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, BY SEX, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT:
JUNE 30, 1944^a

Employment Status	Total		Male		Female	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	449	100%	250	100%	199	100%
Employed	333	76.2	173	69.2	160	80.4
Full time	293	65.3	146	58.4	147	73.9
Part time(stud)	40	8.9	27	10.8	13	6.5
Not employed	101	22.5	68	27.2	33	16.6
Students(N.E.C.) ^b	80	17.8	64	25.6	16	8.0
Pre-school children	8	1.8	4	1.6	4	2.0
Housewives	13	2.9	..	..	13	6.5
Not reported	15	3.3	9	3.6	6	3.0

Source: Table 8, Appendix E.

^a Includes departures.

^b "n.e.c." means not elsewhere classified.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 10.

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS OF PERSONS
OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY EMPLOYED FULL TIME: JUNE 30, 1944^a, AND
TOTAL EMPLOYED POPULATION FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN
DISTRICT: 1940^b

Occupational Group	Japanese Ancestry			Total St. L. Popu.		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Professional & semi-professional	18.8	19.9	17.7	7.4	6.3	10.4
Farmers & farm managers	..	..	..	0.8	1.1	0.1
Proprietors, managers, & officials	1.7	3.4	..	9.0	11.3	3.3
Clerical, sales, etc.	15.4	7.5	23.1	23.9	20.2	32.8
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	6.5	12.3	0.7	13.5	18.6	1.1
Operatives, etc.	3.1	5.5	0.7	22.3	22.2	22.5
Domestic service workers	30.7	14.4	46.9	4.7	0.4	15.0
Services workers, exc. dom.	9.6	10.7	8.2	9.7	8.5	12.7
Farm laborers (wage workers)	4.4	8.9	..	0.3	0.3	0.3
Farm laborers (Unpd. family workers)	..	..	..	0.3	0.3	0.2
Laborers, exc. farm	9.9	17.1	2.7	7.5	10.2	1.1
Occupation not reported	.. ^c	..	..	0.6	0.5	0.8

Source: Table 8, Appendix E. See Footnote b.

^aIncludes last occupation of those who have left area.

^bU. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of the Population, Missouri," 16th Census of the U.S., Population, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Gov't. Printing Office, 1942. p. 169

^cOnly those persons of Japanese ancestry whose occupations were known are included.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 11.

MOBILITY OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY FROM THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS: JUNE 30, 1944^a

Occupational Group	Total	Male 63:250 ^b		Female 24:199	
		Nisei	Issei	Nisei	Issei
All occupations	87:449	61:228	2:22	22:186	2:13
Professional & semi-professional workers	5:55	4:27	0:2	1:26	..
Proprietors & managers, except farm	1:5	1:4	0:1	..	..
Clerical, sales, etc.	9:45	5:11	..	4:34	..
Craftsmen, foremen, etc.	2:19	2:16	..	..	0:1
Operatives, etc.	2:9	2:7	0:1	0:1	..
Domestic service workers	15:90	5:12	1:9	8:63	1:6
Protective service "	1:1	1:1	..	..	..
Service workers, exc. domestic & protective	10:27	6:13	0:2	4:11	..
Farm laborers & farmers	9:13	8:11	1:2	..	..
Laborers, exc. farm & mine	11:29	11:24	0:1	0:4	..
Students employed part time	5:40	4:27	..	1:13	..
Students not elsewhere classified	8:80	8:64	..	0:16	..
Pre-school children	0:8	0:4	..	0:4	..
Housewives	2:13	..	..	1:8	1:5
Occupation not reported	7:15	4:7	0:2	3:6	..

Source: Data from Individual Resettler cards, Appendix D.

^a

According to the last reported occupation of departures.

^b

The number before the colon is the number of departures from Saint Louis whose last occupation in Saint Louis was in that classification. The number after the colon is the total number of persons in that classification, including the departures.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 12.

PRE-EVACUATION RESIDENCE OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY, BY
SEX, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: June 30, 1944^a

Pre-evacuation Residence	Total	Male	Female	Pre-evacuation Residence	Total	Male	Female
All places	449	250	199	Delano	1	1	..
Seattle, Wash.	28	13	15	Everett, Wash.	1	1	..
Sacramento	25	11	14	Florin	1	1	..
Stockton	24	12	12	Guadalupe	1	1	..
Fresno	23	13	10	Hood River, Ore.	1	1	..
Los Angeles	22	15	7	Kerman	1	1	..
Berkeley	19	12	7	Los Gatos	1	..	1
San Francisco	14	6	8	Metaline Falls,	1	..	1
Santa Maria	9	5	4	Wash.			
Lodi	8	7	1	Milpittas	1	..	1
Tacoma, Wash.	7	1	6	Palo Alto	1	1	..
Gardena	6	4	2	Pismo Beach	1	..	1
Oakland	6	3	3	Salinas	1	1	..
Portland, Ore.	5	2	3	San Jose	1	..	1
Fowler	4	3	1	Sanger	1	1	..
Lompoc	3	2	1	Selma	1	1	..
Ventura	3	2	1	Sierra Madre	1	1	..
Del Rey	2	1	1	South Pasadena	1	1	..
Hanford	2	2	..	Terminal Is.	1	1	..
Long Beach	2	1	1	Torrance	1	1	..
Modesto	2	1	1	Turlock	1	1	..
Monterey	2	1	1	Visalia	1	..	1
Orange Grove	2	1	1	Walnut Grove	1	..	1
Oxnard	2	..	2				
Reedley	2	1	1	Born in a	1	1	..
Renton, Wash.	2	..	2	reloc. center			
Saratoga	2	..	2	Born in St.L.	1	1	..
Watsonville	2	1	1				
Alameda	1	1	..	Old residence 15 ^b 13 ^c		12	1
Campbell	1	..	1	in St. L. before			
Canoga Park	1	1	..	the war			
Centerville	1	..	1				
				Residence not	180	99	81
				reported			

Source: Data from Individual Resettler Cards. See Appendix D.

^aIncludes departures from Saint Louis.

^bUnless otherwise designated, the former places of residence are in California

^cKnow to the War Relocation Authority.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 13.

PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY IN SELECTED CITIES^a ON THE WEST COAST: 1940^b AND EXPECTED NUMBER OF PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY ON SAINT LOUIS FROM THESE CITIES COMPARED TO THE ACTUAL NUMBER: JUNE 30, 1944.^c

City	Population in 1940	% of Total No. Evacuated	No. expected in St. L. ^d	Actual No. in St. L.
TOTAL	51,499	46.8%	119	178
Los Angeles	23,321	21.20	53.8	22
Seattle, Wash.	6,975	6.34	16.10	28
San Francisco	5,280	4.80	12.19	14
Sacramento	2,879	2.62	6.65	25
Oakland	1,790	1.63	4.14	6
Portland, Ore.	1,680	1.53	3.89	5
Berkeley	1,319	1.20	3.05	19
Stockton	1,259	1.14	2.90	24
Torrance	1,189	1.08	2.74	1
Tacoma, Wash.	877	0.80	2.03	7
San Diego	828	0.75	1.90	0
Fresno	797	0.72	1.83	23
Pasadena	795	0.72	1.83	1
Alameda	700	0.44	1.63	1
Long Beach	696	0.63	1.60	2
Belvedere Township (Los Angeles, Co.)	605	0.55	1.40	0
Gardena	509	0.46	1.17	0

Source: See Footnote b and Table 12, Appendix E.

^aAll cities which had 500 or more persons of Japanese ancestry in 1940, except New York.

^b"Fourth Interim Report of the Select Committee Investigating National Defense Migration," House of Representatives, 77th Congress, National Defense Migration House Report No. 2124, p. 100, May, 1942. U. S. Gov't Printing Office. From the Bureau of the Census.

^cIncludes departures from Saint Louis.

^dThe number expected from these cities was calculated by the taking the percent of the 110,000 wgi were evacuated who resided in these cities and using those percentages of the number in Saint Louis whose pre-evacuation residence were known. The percent figure shown in the second column multiplied by 254, the number whose former addresses were known, gave the expected number in Saint Louis.

^eUnless otherwise indicated, the cities are in California.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 14.

CENTERS FROM WHICH PERSONS OF JAPANESE ANCESTRY RESETTLED,
BY SEX, FOR THE SAINT LOUIS METROPOLITAN DISTRICT: JUNE 30, 1944^a

Centers	Total	Male	Female
All places	449	250	199
All relocation centers	383	209	179
Jerome Relocation Center	88	44	44
Rohwer " "	74	55	19
Gila " "	44	28	16
Poston " "	44	23	21
Minidoka " "	44	19	25
Tule Lake ^b " "	42	18	24
Topaz " "	23	11	12
Heart Mountain Relocation Center	15	1	14
Amache Relocation Center	6	4	2
Manzanar " "	3	2	1
All assembly centers	5	4	1
Santa Anita Assembly Center	2	1	1
Tanforan " "	2	2	..
Stockton " "	1	1	..
Non-evacuees	24	21	3
Voluntary resettlers ^c	10	8	2
Old residents	13 ^d	12	1
Born in Saint Louis	1	1	..
Places not reported	37	20	17

Source: Data from Individual Resettler Cards. See Appendix D.

^aIncludes departures from Saint Louis.

^bTule Lake has been made a "Segregation center" and is no longer in the same category as the "Relocation centers."

^c"Voluntary" resettlers left the evacuated zones voluntarily before the prohibition of movement.

^dKnown to the War Relocation Authority in Saint Louis.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 15.

EXPECTED NUMBER OF RESETTLERS IN SAINT LOUIS FROM THE TEN RELOCATION CENTERS, BASED ON CENTER POPULATIONS, COMPARED TO THE ACTUAL NUMBER IN SAINT LOUIS FROM THE TEN CENTERS.

Relocation Centers ^a	Population		Population in St. L.		Correlation
	Number ^a	Percent	Expected ^b	Actual	
Total	109,366	100.0%	383	383	3.9+
Poston	17,988	16.4	63	44	69.8+
Tule Lake	15,318	14.0	53	42	79.2+
Gila	13,377	12.2	47	44	93.6+
Heart Mountain	11,009	10.1	39	15	39.0+
Manzanar	10,114	9.2	35	3	8.6+
Minidoka	9,612	8.8	34	44	77.3—
Rohwer	8,451	7.8	30	74	40.5—
Topaz	8,327	7.6	29	23	79.3—
Jerome	7,815	7.2	27	88	30.7—
Amache	7,355	6.7	26	6	23.1—

Source: Table 14, Appendix E.
 War Relocation Authority, "Third Quarterly Report,"
 September to December, 1942, "Washington, D. C.,
 U. S. Government Printing Office, 1943.

^a Populations in centers as of December 31, 1942, including those out on "seasonal leave".

^b Percent of 383, the number in Saint Louis whose relocation centers were reported.

APPENDIX E. Continued

Table 16.

DISTANCE OF THE TEN RELOCATION CENTERS FROM SAINT LOUIS
AND THE ACTUAL NUMBER FROM THE CENTERS RESETTLED IN THE
CITY.

RELOCATION CENTER	Distance	Number in St. Louis
Rohwer, Arkansas	450 ^a	74 ^b
Jerome, Arkansas	475	88
Amache, Colorado	750	6
Heart Mountain, Wyoming	1425	15
Minidoka, Idaho	1525	44
Topaz, Utah	1575	23
Gila, Arizona	1600	44
Poston, Arizona	1850	44
Manzanar, Califor- nia	2125	3
Tule Lake, Calif- ornia ^c	2300	42

Source: Table 14, Appendix E.
Railroad distances from the information service
of the Saint Louis Union Stations.

^a
Approximate number of miles by railroad.

^b
Number of persons in Saint Louis whose relocation
centers were known.

^c
Tule Lake has been made a segregation center since
the end of 1943.

APPENDIX F.

E.K. WICKMAN'S "DIAGRAM OF BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS
CONCEIVED AS EVASIONS OF SOCIAL REQUIREMENTS"

EVASIONS Of Requirements by WITHDRAWAL		REQUIREMENTS Imposed by Social forces on Individual Behavior	66 EVASIONS Of Requirements by ATTACK
Fearfulness			Temper Tantrums
Sulkiness			Disobedience
Dreaminess		<u>Requirements for</u>	Agressiveness
Shyness		<u>Child Behavior</u>	Defiance to Authority
Dependency on Adults		<u>Imposed by</u>	Fighting
Cowardliness		<u>Family, Neighborhood</u>	Delinquency
Unsocialness		<u>Companions, School</u>	Rejection of Routine
Dependency			Pursuing Own
on Routine			Methods of work
Pedantry			Wanting to Direct
Solitariness		<u>Requirements for</u>	Breaking Conventions
Fear of Criticism		<u>Adult Behavior</u>	Breaking Antagonistic
Suspiciousness		<u>Established by</u>	Attitudes
Inability to Carry		<u>Social Institutions,</u>	Exploitation of
Responsibility		<u>Traditions, Customs</u>	Own Authority
Inefficiency		<u>the Law</u>	Contentiousness
Social Inadequacy			Egocentricity
REGRESSIVE ESCAPES	RETREATS INTO PRODUCTIVE ACTIVITY		CONSTRUCTIVE ATTACKS
Neurotic	Invention		Competitive sports
complaints	Research		Exploration
Economic	Science		Industrial exploits
dependency	Literature		Social and
Alcoholism	Art		Political reforms
Drug addiction			
Functional in-			
sanity			
Suicide			

Source: E.K. Wickman, Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes.
New York: The Commonwealth Fund, 1928, p. 139