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FAMILY LIFE IN THE GILA CENTER

The Japanese family is a patriarchal institution. In modern Japan family unity has been rigidly preserved especially in the rural communities. The ideal Japanese family consists of a father and mother, who, with the various children, form the household unit. As the children grow and marry, the ideal situation is that the eldest son and his wife join the parents in their home, other sons form new homes nearby. There is patrilocal residence so that the daughters, when they marry, go to the town or village of their husbands, or at least live near or with the husband's parents. (Sc. Embree, Suye Mura, Chapter III) The ideal household unit consists of the father and mother, the eldest son and his wife and children, and unmarried children of the older people. The extended family consists of relatives of the father and mother who might be nearby, the relatives of the wives of the sons of the family, and the other married children who do not live in the ancestral home. These in Japan function as cooperative units in all matters pertinent to the welfare of the family.

In America, although the individual families are to be found, the extended family in the true Japanese sense is often lacking. Usually the father came from Japan alone and was joined after a time by the mother who came as a "picture bride" or who had been previously betrothed to the father in Japan. After the father had acquired sufficient money he sent for his bride. They two, with no other relatives in this country, formed the base of the Japanese families in America. In all forms of cooperation which are required by the family in Japan, there was no extended family to offer its aid. Associations were formed in America, such as the kenjinkai, of individuals and families who could cooperate with one another and act as the extended family would under the ideal Japanese situation. The lack of this cooperation, the breaking of family ties in America,

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and the cultural conflicts which have arisen as the result of the contact with American ways are factors which have tended to break down the rigid family system of Japan in the Japanese in America. The patriarchy, however, still continues to exist. The father and the men of his generation, all Issei, are active agents in causing the Nisei children to keep in line. The father demands obedience, a certain amount of conformance with the Japanese customs, and instills in his children a respect for Japanese precepts. This is offset to some extent by the mother, who, realizing that the children must live in the American environment, is instrumental as a passive agent in curbing the stricter demands of the father. (Embree, Kona, p.32)

The attitude of the parents regarding the behavior of their children will depend also on their own degree of acculturation in this country. Those groups which have closely conformed to the Japanese way while in this country, who have kept in close touch with relatives in Japan, and who have emphasized the language, teachings, and religion of Japan to their children, are those whose children conform pretty closely to the Japanese standard. Others have lost contact with the home land and this, too, is reflected in the children by a greater degree of Americanization. In the adherence to the Japanese patterns in families there are all sorts of steps and degrees representing the extent of acculturation, the degree of assimilation of American culture. It appears that in the rural American-Japanese there has been a closer adherence to the ideal Japanese pattern. Because at Gila the population is predominantly rural the general aspect of the community seems to conform more closely with the Japanese way. This is especially true of the Turlock group. A greater degree of urbanization among the Tulare group has presented a seemingly greater degree of adoption of American ways. Generally, at Gila the family situation is as follows:

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Family organization: In observing the organization of the family, it is necessary to return to the question of housing. In the pre-evacuation situation, patrilocal residence had broken down with the result that elder sons infrequently returned home with their brides, even though they usually brought the bride to the town in which they themselves had been born and reared. Hence, even though the family did not live together, the sons and their wives lived near their own parents. There was apparently an attempt to avoid living with the parents themselves, the reason apparently being that there was an attempt to avoid all conflicts which arise out of Issei-Nisei relationships. These conflicts will be touched upon presently. Naturally, in both the assembly centers and in the relocation centers family members banded together. At Gila, with its overcrowded housing conditions it was often necessary to ask that all members of a family live together. There were no arrangements for couples. Thus it often occurred that Issei parents or a single parent had to be taken in with the younger married people. At Gila I mention that the Issei predominated. Numerically, the Nisei are in the majority. The attitudes of the Issei, the conforming to the Japanese way, Issei thought, and Issei ideologies are in the majority. The Nisei, numerically strong, constitute the focal point of the household unit. Thus the average household centers around the married Nisei couple.

The average number in the family at Gila runs between four and five individuals. Certain Nisei couples have separated themselves from their parents and live with other couples in a single apartment. Some very large families as sometimes occur with an Issei couple and a number of teen-age children may take two apartments. The average number of individuals to an apartment runs to about five. Every small apartment must have at least five residents. The few exceptions in both directions make five a fair average number. An average Nisei

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elect to live with either girl's or boy's parents or they may couple may/take a widowed parent in with them. Two Nisei couples, related, as brother and sister with their respective mates, may live with the older people. There may be children of the Nisei couple; these with Issei relatives may constitute the household. Households vary in number and size, of course, but the central point for all household control seems to lie in the married Nisei or in unmarried older Nisei who can act as heads of the family in dealing with the administration.

By way of illustration, a typical barrack may be chosen to give an example of residence at Gila.

| | Apartment A | - | Apartment B | - | Apartment C | - | Apartment D (large) |
|-------|---|---|---|---|--|---|--|
| Issei | Father (head) Mother | | Mother | | Issei couple Husband's brother (unmarried) | | Issei couple Brother Sister of woman |
| Nisei | Son (22) Daughter (20) Son (17) Son (15) | | Son (28) (head) Son's wife Daughter (24) Daughter's husband Son's child (3) | | Nisei couple (unrelated to above) Child (4) Child (2 $\frac{1}{2}$) | | Couple's daughter Her husband Three children (10, 8, 7) |

Combinations like those above occur throughout the camp. To be sure, there are many other household combinations but the above represents a fair average. Frequently, unattached Issei, particularly women, will live with a family. Unattached Issei men are usually assigned to single men's barracks. Headship in the family no longer depends on the application of the Japanese patriarchy. Some conflicts have arisen over the assumption of family headship by younger members. This will be touched upon presently. The crowded housing conditions have made it impossible to preserve the arrangements of the pre-evacuation period. For every family an adjustment to these conditions has

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has been necessary. The sense of confinement, the fact that there is considerable discomfit as the result of the overcrowding, and the fact that varying ideologies are being brought into contact more frequently than formerly have given rise in many cases to conflicts which are instrumental in disrupting family unity.

At the Gila Center, the Japanese pattern is followed to a large extent in that each family or household group has a head, an individual respected by the family who is looked to for guidance. The family head may be the father and usually is. It has been necessary for the administration to deal with the families through children rather than the actual family head because of the language difficulty and the fact that the younger people are able to assimilate an idea and act upon it more quickly than the older. In cases where an Issei head of a family may, in pre-evacuation days, have exercised considerable strict control over the family, one result of evacuation has been that this patriarchal position has been eclipsed by a younger member of the family group. Thus the older and younger head may vie with one another in attempting to maintain control over the family. Considerable attention is paid to the matter of headship in the family. To the evacuees someone must pass on the proposed doings of the group and the respected family head is in this position according to the Japanese pattern. The administration too must have individuals with whom it can deal in the matter of handling family problems. On the administrative list of families the group is listed under the name of the individual who is considered to be the head. This may be the actual family head of the pre-evacuation set-up or it may be an individual selected by the administration to represent the family in question for the reasons outlined above. The latter case may give cause for resentment and conflict on the part of the older members of the family.

In Japan family headship may be resigned after the father passes his 60th

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year. In this case the eldest son becomes responsible for the actions of the family. Something of this situation exists in America as well and is seen occasionally at Gila. Such old people, men and women both, feel themselves relieved of responsibilities at this age and pass these responsibilities on to their children. After 60, the older people are free to resign the headship of the family group. At Gila such older people do not feel obliged to work or to engage in activities which would call for the assumption of some responsibility. They visit with one another, the women gossip and sew, the men talk and play go or cards. The headship of the family is then invested in the eldest son. But it often occurs that the son, being a Nisei, has ideas which conflict with those of his parents. A father who has passed the headship of the family on to his eldest son may discover that this individual does not meet the standards required by an ideal Japanese situation. The son is American in thought, speech, and actions; he does not exhibit the respect for the elders nor does he adhere to the Japanese scheme of politeness and dignity. In such cases the father will emerge from his retirement as family head and between the two a conflict will rise, each believing himself more capable to administer the needs of the family. It is true that such difficulties arose in pre-evacuation times but with greater freedom of motion and with the frequency of separate residence the situation did not have the same import. The crowded housing conditions have given rise to family conflicts which otherwise need not have occurred.

Frequently, in such cases, the mother will emerge in the role of an intermediary between father and son. Her passive position in the household makes it easier for her to understand the difficulties which confront her male relatives. In cases where the father is still a young and vigorous man

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he has usually retained the family headship and the conflicts as mentioned above do not occur.

In many families the father is dead or has been interned and is not with the family. The family headship then devolves upon the younger people, the elder son assuming family control. The mother usually acts as an influence toward maintaining a preservation of the Japanese way. She is quick to advise the head of the family and to express her own wishes on the basis of the cultural pattern to which she is used. An extreme case of conflict was noted in this regard. A boy, 19 years of age, was obliged to live with his mother and younger sisters, the father being interned. The boy felt that it was up to him to act as family head. With the family were two older people, friends of the mother. The boy attempted to have them moved out in order to alleviate the crowded housing conditions facing the family. The mother disapproved strongly, realizing that the family would then be below the housing quota and that some other individuals would then move in with them. The boy felt that he was not being accorded freedom in managing the affairs of the family. There were bitter words between. Finally, the son ordered the mother out of the house, throwing her baggage in the street. mother and son./ The son, resentful and sullen, was called before the welfare councillor. He was made to understand that under the circumstances as they then were, no rearrangements could be made for the family's housing. He requested that he be allowed to live with the single men in the single men's barracks. He was placed there temporarily until some arrangement could be made for the family.

Nisei families have expressed some difficulty in the matter of living harmoniously with in-laws. In such cases the loyalty of the son or daughter is divided between parents and spouse and additional family conflicts arise. Several such cases came to my attention. In one, that of the Y. family, a married Nisei woman had been obliged to live with her husband, his mother and sister in a single apartment. The young woman, being very Americanized in her attitudes

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resented the patronizing attitude of her mother-in-law. The boy was divided in his affections between his mother and his wife and could not seem to make a satisfactory adjustment which would help them to live together amicably. At last, though his wife's insistence, he agreed to move away from his mother and live with some other family with his wife. The mother was extremely resentful and tended to blame the wife for taking her son away from her. Although the families are not now living together, the mother continually reproaches her son for marrying an "undutiful wife." The attitude on the part of some of the Nisei to break away from the Japanese way of life only accentuates such resentments. In the above case the young woman concerned heartily resented her mother-in-law's insistence that she act as a Japanese wife. Technically, the son is head of the family. His headship is curtailed by the fact that the normal Japanese pattern demands respect for the wishes of the parents. He cannot accede to his wife's demands without infringing on his mother's wishes. In order to be a good son in her eyes he must attempt to meet her demands. The wife, resentful of these demands, is often in doubt as to her affection for her husband, accusing him, when he attempts to consider his mother's requests favorably of being a "Jap," a "Yahbo", and a weakling. Such family disorganization, the result of cultural conflict rising out of closer family contact than formerly, is of very frequent occurrence between Issei and Nisei. The Y case of course has been satisfactorily settled. It seems that if more privacy for families were allowed, the greater proportion of these difficulties would not occur. They seem to stem from the fact that families are obliged to live in very close contact, too close, in fact, for their own comfort. Such a factor only accentuates the differences in generations which have arisen.

The conflicts which I have mentioned above occur with considerable frequency throughout Gila Center. However, it is not to be understood that the

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of Issei-Nisei struggles. On the contrary, it is very likely family has become disorganized as a result/that the attempts on the parts of all members of the family to enforce family solidarity make for the misunderstandings which do take place. Actually, there is a definite sense of family loyalty, each member acting as he thinks best to further the family's advantage. Despite the cultural differences between the two generations, family integrity is well preserved. It is because families feel this sense of loyalty to the individual members that definite attempts to keep the family group in tact are made. There is a conscious effort being made in these early stages of the development of the Gila community to avoid the assumption of new responsibilities on the part of members of the family. This may be one of the factors explaining the fact that so few marriages have taken place in the first three months of the Gila colony.

It is true that a good many marriages took place in the weeks just prior to evacuation. People who had been betrothed were quick to take advantage of the economic stability offered by evacuation. There were on the other hand, many individuals who considered first the position of their respective families and the affect of their proposed marriage on the family group. Some felt that family unity would be seriously disrupted if they were to leave the family group at that time. There are thus many couples who are engaged and who as yet do not feel free to take the step into marriage.

Because of the close adherence to Japanese customs on the part of the Issei and the fact that this group dominates the social scene, most of the families, even the Christian Japanese, insist on the employment of baishakunin in arranging prospective marriages. It has been elsewhere mentioned that the families at Gila come from varying rural areas and that there was not a great deal of association in pre-evacuation days between them. The problems of arranging marriages are made difficult because in many cases the older associations of kenjinkai, of pre-evacuation locality, etc. are now broken up. The very un-

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settled conditions in the camp are against the formation of new ties through marriage. Only two marriages have taken place at Gila so far. These were civil ceremonies lacking the association of Japanese elements which would be necessary in marriages arranged or carried out in the Japanese manner. Thus no religious services have as yet taken place at Gila with regard to marriages.

Naturally, as the camp develops and a social life is able to get under way, associations are being formed by the young people which may in many cases culminate in marriage. The various social activities such as dances, picnics, social get-togethers of all kinds bring together boys and girls who then court, "go steady" and the like. It is true that the majority of the Issei are opposed to "puppy love" associations among the young people. The dances, as an expression for sociability among the young people, were vigorously opposed. Some families claimed that their sons and daughters were not coming directly home after the dances, which end at 11:00 p.m. on Saturdays. After social events many young people go out to the ditch banks, the so-called "Lovers' Lane." Love making of this kind is abhorrent to the majority of Issei who regard "necking" as virtually a cardinal sin. The community council has suggested a curfew of teen age children so as to prevent associations of this kind. Young men and women frequently walk about the camp arm in arm after dark. I have heard this severely criticized by many of the Issei as immoral. Here again a conflict arises. Most of the Nisei want to choose their own mates and carry on their love making in the American way. The bulk of the Issei want the young people to remain at home with the family and, if they marry, to submit to the choice of the family and the arrangements by the baishakunin. Even though a young couple, perhaps contemplating marriage has the full consent of both families concerned, their courtship must have a certain clandestine air about it in order to ward off the gossip which many Issei attach to all associations of this kind.

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It has been mentioned that only two marriages have taken place at Gila, both of which were according to civil ceremony. In both cases the young people did not have marked family associations. In the first marriage, the young man was at Gila alone while the young woman's family had been subjected to a great deal of Americanization. There was thus no opposition on the part of the girl's family to the match. In one barrack an apartment was set aside as a honeymoon cottage and furnished through the efforts of Mrs. E.R. Smith, former councillor of community welfare. The marriage took place there and the first couple to be married were allowed two weeks of privacy before having to join the group with which they had elected to live, in this case, the wife's family. A Caucasian justice of the peace performed the ceremony. The license must be procured at the county seat and brought to the camp for the ceremony.

In the second marriage a degree of secrecy was preserved. The young couple had been living together before evacuation and had passed themselves off as married. In order to avoid the stigma of their position they requested that only Caucasians be present. After the ceremony they stated that they wished to move over to Camp II in order to be away from their friends and relatives. No Japanese attended this wedding. There was no celebration of any kind for it. The first wedding did call for a certain amount of celebration on the part of the friends of the young couple. The honeymoon cottage has given rise to numerous objections on the parts of the people who live near it. The first couple who were married and lived in it had a daily round of parties and much given to entertainment. The neighbors objected on the ground that it was too noisy and the block manager had to close it. Whether any further marriages will be accorded the privacy of a honeymoon cottage is a question as yet unanswered.

The ideal Japanese marriage is, according to one informant, a state of Isome no chigiri, a brother-sister relationship, an ideal of companionship,

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Out of this relationship family life is established. The husband is master of the house, its economic administrator, and the leader of the family. The wife supplements his position as mistress of the household. Such an arrangement allots a division of position to each family member. Under the ideal Japanese system this functions well. In this country, as the result of disorganization, some Japanese marriages have not preserved the peace and calm incumbent on them under the Japanese system. Divorces in this country have been frequent among the Japanese. Following evacuation, such divorces or plans for divorce have increased considerably. There have been five applications for divorce in the center at Gila thus far. As yet nothing can be done by way of instituting the proper legal procedure. Arizona law requires a full year of residence before allowing divorce proceedings to be begun. The case of the Goto family is a good example of disorganization in marriage.

Mrs. Goto is 36. Her husband is a man of 41 by whom she had two sons, aged 14 and 16. Just prior to evacuation she had formed an association with a younger man, aged 29. She and her lover had registered as a family unit, Mrs. Goto having left her husband and children. At Turlock they had attempted to live together but gossip in that community^{had} prevented them from living together. She accordingly went to live with a cousin while at Turlock. Upon evacuation to Gila she went to the community welfare counsellor and requested a divorce on the ground that her husband had been a drunkard. Reports on the case from the W.C.C.A. welfare files showed that the husband had not been alcoholic. Mr. Goto and his two sons had lived in the singlemen's dormitory at Turlock and continued with this arrangement at Gila. Mrs. Goto continued to live with her relatives at Gila also. In the meantime she had been continually seeing her lover. When told by the welfare councillor that it would be impossible for her to obtain a divorce until she had satisfied the year's residence requirement, she asked that she and her lover be allowed to live as a family

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unit. This was denied inasmuch as the lover was also living as a single man in a dormitory and the status proposed could have no legal sanction. An attempt was made by Mrs. Smith to alleviate some of the difficulties for the two boys whom Mrs. Goto had completely abandoned. Attempts were made to reconcile Mr. and Mrs. Goto. Reconciliation could not be effected however. Mrs. Goto requested that she and her paramour be transferred to Manzanar. She had relatives there, but her lover did not. Hence both could not be transferred. She became very angry and blamed her husband for her situation. She again insisted on being given a divorce. Although an appeal was made to her on the ground that reconciliation with her husband would be best for her children, she would not give up her lover. Go-betweens were employed to help effect a reconciliation and to rid the woman of her delusions with regard to her lover, who now, tiring of her, and fearing the gossip which had spread throughout the camp, had abandoned her. She would not listen to go-betweens, the same baishakunin who had arranged the marriage and were responsible for its success. At last, finding that she no longer could count on the attentions of her younger lover, she consented to taking her sons and husband back. The husband agreed. When she heard of his agreement however, she backed down and refused to live with him. The boys have been taken together with their father to a household away from the somewhat demoralizing atmosphere of the single mens' barracks. Mrs. Goto has been moved over to the other camp, away from her family and away from any such attentions as her lover might now care to give her. The lover is a police warden and was told by Mr. Fredericks that if he persisted in stirring up gossip about Mrs. Goto and himself, he could not keep his position. He continues to live away from Mrs. Goto in Camp I. Whether the couple will be allowed their divorce after the allotted year is a question.

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It is interesting that the baishakunin are responsible for marriages arranged by them. They are careful to make every effort to preserve their own integrity as matchmakers and it is up to them to mediate in cases of disagreement.

Every Japanese family is anxious to have sons. Among Christian families the need for sons is not so great because it is not any longer necessary to have sons who might carry on the family name and do honor to the ancestral tablets. Yet Christians desire male children as much as do any other of the Japanese groups. Eighteen births have occurred at Gila up until October 1. Naturally, confinement takes place in the hospital and attention is given by the Japanese doctors. One of the nurses told me that a woman was consoled by relatives because she had given birth to a daughter. "She will pave the way for the male children to come," they said. I have observed that this statement is usually made when a daughter is born. Embree mentions it as being made also in Kumamoto. One man whose wife had given birth to her first son had a party for his friends, placing a paper carp flag above his door. The man told me that he wanted to serve beer or sake but that he had to be content with the soft drinks from the canteen. After a birth, the hospital halls are crowded with relatives and friends who come to see the baby whether boy or girl. Children are generally liked and sought after.

Some of the conflicts which have arisen between parent and child have already been mentioned, especially those which occur between older parents and grown children. The younger children run about and play and are subject to the rules laid down by their parents. The children are amiable and in the main well behaved. Some concern has been expressed by parents who do not like to see the children idle. Now that the school system has begun to function there

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is little doubt that all of the younger children will be occupied for most of the day. Even those below school age are sent to nursery school. Among the children I have noticed that sometimes in dealing with the parents a temper tantrum will be thrown. This will occur frequently in the store when a child desires some object. In such cases the parent disregards the child, making little or no attempt to placate it. If the child continues to cry, the parent may very often accede to its request and obtain for it the desired article.

I have not seen children punished for exhibitions of temper. The more Americanized Nisei may slap or spank their children. This, I noticed, occurs very infrequently. The Japanese custom of _____ (?), placing a cone of incense on the child's bare back or buttocks and lighting it, making the child remain in the proper position until it burns down, occurs sometimes at Gila in cases where children have been especially bad. The Americanized Nisei say that this is barbarous but some Issei still do it. In the matter of punishment the Japanese pattern comes out very clearly. The children are threatened with ridicule, a very effective means of keeping them in line.

Except for the one case of a man giving a party in honor of his first son, I have not noticed that there are any demonstrations at birth. The family and friends merely come in to inspect the baby and to extend their good wishes to the mother. The Buddhist priest, I was told, did come in to bless the new baby in several cases. I did not see a priest in the hospital at any time so was unable to observe the ceremonial pattern followed.

In accordance with the Japanese concept of marriage, that of a brother-sister relationship, there are few outward demonstrations of affection between husband and wife. Among the Issei, in fact, there are no such demonstrations. It is only on rare occasions that a man is seen with his wife in public. In going to the mess hall, for example, it is noted that the Issei men precede their

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wives and children and walk ahead with members of their own male social group. The wives band together and walk behind. Once in the mess hall, however, the family may sit together, the husband next to his wife or facing her. Some of the Nisei who have been reared in environments conducive to the maintenance of the Old World ways also behave in this manner toward their wives. Such men simply announce to their wives their wishes and they are generally obeyed. I have visited numerous houses where the husband, perhaps on leaving to go somewhere with me, will simply announce to his wife; "I'm going out." This is apparently accepted as part of the husband's prerogative. There are the Americanized Nisei who do admit outward demonstrations of affection. A young married or engaged couple will be seen together often walking hand in hand. Most Issei believe this a shameful demonstration and sometimes make pointed remarks in the presence of such a couple. It is held that an individual simply does not act in this way toward his wife.

It is interesting to note how this attitude of disapproval of demonstrations of affection is carried out. Many Issei men have been separated from their families and been interned in the various internment camps through the Department of Justice. Some of them are being paroled and allowed to join their families in the relocation centers. Many of these parolees have been in the internment camps since February or March and are only now allowed to see their families. As they come in they are usually greeted by their wives. The only salutation permitted however, is a deep bow or a hand clasp. All the members of the family line up, the paroled man bows first to his wife, then to the other relatives who happen to be present and lastly to his children. I noticed one case of a man whose wife had given birth to a baby during the man's absence.

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The man followed the pattern of bows to his relatives and then was shown the baby. It would have been bad taste for him to make any to-do over it. It was a girl child. He looked at it momentarily smiled at it, and went about the task of unpacking his luggage from the car that had brought him. Quite different is the demonstration by the more Americanized Japanese. They are for the most part not adverse to kissing as a form of greeting. This happens only infrequently however. Issei disapproval of such "immorality" is too strong. The more progressive Nisei, however, are not adverse to embracing at a reunion in spite of the neighbors' disapproval.

As formalized as the pattern at reunion is, however, it is quite different at parting. Students travelling on military permits to eastern schools, older men leaving for employment outside in non-restricted areas and some others call for large crowds to give the proper send-off. The members of the traveller's family weep loudly, wringing their hands and contorting their faces in agonies of despair. The one departing also is very quick with his tears. Even in such cases, however, there is rarely a departure from the accepted pattern of demonstration of affection. A son on parting may bow and shake hands with his parents even though both son and parents are weeping loudly. Great concern is shown over separation or departure.

In accordance with this pattern a great deal of concern in cases of death is manifested. All immediate members of the family are expected to weep bitterly to show their grief. Undoubtedly, most of such grief is genuine. I did see a case where a brother of Issei parents had died in a sanitarium in California. The nieces, girls of about 15, upon hearing the news with the parents burst into tears. The nieces of the deceased, however, in their curiosity about the death of an uncle whom, as I later discovered, they had hardly known, would

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forget periodically to cry and look curiously at me, the bearer of the news. I think that this demonstrates fairly well the fact that such exhibitions of ^{grief} grief are a part of a cultural complex. There is no doubt that such/is in most cases quite genuine but the cultural pattern calls for outward manifestations of woe at death and at parting.

Some attention has been paid to the matter of outward demonstrations ^{or} of affection/grief. The point is important, I think, because this pattern of expression is one which persists to a greater degree than many others. Even among the most Americanized families these expressions are retained. Some of the more progressive Nisei are breaking away from this pattern and are following to a greater extent western expressions of affection and grief. These individuals are, however, in the minority.

On the whole it seems that the Japanese family even in America is an exceedingly well-knit unit, for the most part keeping intact family loyalties and integrity. Evacuation and the deplorable housing conditions at Gila have been instrumental to a great extent in keeping the unity of families intact or even accentuating it. In spite of conflicts resulting from the applications of different cultural systems, the Gila families present on the whole an undivided front. The few cases mentioned above of family disunity have been noised about the camp as shocking, unseemly ways of behavior. Public opinion does much to keep the individuals in the family in line and to effect the preservation of family unity.

Comments by

Mr. Hikida read my manuscript on family organization. He had the following emendation to offer: The Kenjin-Kai was a factor in bringing people together in the latter stages of settlement along the Pacific Coast. Originally, in the first stages of immigration, a closer tie was felt by people of the same 'mura'. It was this mura relationship which substituted for the extended families. Individuals from the same town or village banded together and the obligations placed on the extended families in Japan were born by this group, thus in ~~family~~ funerals, in cases of economic necessity, house building in rural areas, these people of the same mura acted together cooperatively, giving time and money interchangeably for group cooperation. Later as the need for such cooperation became less pronounced, individuals having expressed themselves in different ways and in different professions, the Kenjin-Kai grew up having more of the functions of a social club than of the cooperative organization. Mura relationships were retained by those who had adopted a common profession such as farming, but this died out after the first few years' settlement. It rather happened that the Kenjin-Kai replaced the mura group and with the occurrence the cooperative purpose of the mura group broke down. Kenjin-kai associations existed rather as social clubs, ^{whose} ~~being~~ cooperative intent was only secondary to the preservation of the sentimental values of such an association. In the early 1920's the Kenjin-Kai was far more active than now. With the formation of the Japanese Association to whom anyone could go for welfare aid, function of the Kenjin-Kai became less pronounced. With the new generation, Kenjin-Kai associations have fallen by the board.

MARRIAGE.

In arranging marriages today, the locality or the prefectural association membership is not considered so markedly as in former times.

Such considerations were strong until 1920 or 1925, but there has been a gradual break-down since that time because the Nisei, having been brought in contact with Anglo-American patterns, have taken to choosing their own mates with^{out} the investigation on the part of bishaku-nin. Before the formation of social clubs for the Nisei, and before the new generation was sufficiently strong numerically to express itself socially, people from the same ~~Kenjin-kai~~^{ken} association were usually obliged by their parents to stay within the Kenjin-kai group in choosing a mate. The position of the Kenjin-kai at this time was that of a number of small restrictive groups in which endogamy was the accepted rule. Such marriages as took place before 1925, were usually arranged by bishaku-nin. In 1925, the first beginnings of Nisei social groups, in the organization which preceded the formation of the JACL, made for greater social contact among the Nisei and increased the desire on the parts of Nisei to choose their own mates. In such cases, bishaku-nin may be retained but their function is purely vestigial. The older people today retain the Japanese idea of patrilocal residence, at least for the eldest son. A good son is expected to bring his bride home to his parents' house. Many young couples, prior to evacuation, attempted to break away from this regimen. Younger sons are free, according to the Japanese pattern, to live away from the family, but are expected to take up residence near it. In many cases in the pre-evacuation days, especially among rural people, this custom was retained and it often happened that an older couple would have two or three sets of married children living with them. The younger people have always consciously or unconsciously attempted to break away from such parental domination. More progressive groups of Nisei did succeed in breaking away from the parents and maintain separate residence. The desire for

privacy in married life is marked among many Nisei, especially those who have been privileged to obtain an American education. Thus in moving from the home to the Assembly Center, and from the Assembly Center to the Relocation Center, many young people thought this an excellent opportunity to break away from the family. In most cases, especially on going to the Relocation Center, they were not successful in doing this because the families were obliged to live together because of the crowded housing conditions. Several cases have come to my and Mr. Hikida's attention which show that ^{conscious} ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ effort has been made to break away from in-laws, or even from the parents. Issei public opinion is generally against such individuals who are conceived to be flaunting their parents, and openly disobeying the older people and acting out of accord with the established order. The desire on the part of the families to keep the young people together is strong. The Issei generally feel hurt and disappointed when some of the young people choose to live by themselves. The problem of "shūto" (in-laws), is recognized as a difficult problem even in Japan, and has been carried over to an accentuated degree in this country. Many stories and anecdotes are current about the difficulty of getting along with one's in-laws. Japanese mythology is full of tales of this kind, thus family troubles often arise as the result of in-law interference. Such family troubles are usually ascribed by the community to the in-laws, but the bride comes in for her share of the blame. It is said that a good and dutiful wife will go more than half way to meet the demands of her in-laws. In-law pressure on the new bride is recognized by the community, but she too is considered to blame in case of marital difficulties. Oddly enough, the bridegroom is never held blameworthy in cases of domestic strife. Many families, both in Japan and in America, in marrying off their daughter considered

the number of in-laws in the bridegroom's family. This is particularly true of the Relocation Centers where ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ marriage it is usually necessary for the bride to take up residence with the bridegroom's family to accommodate the unsettled housing conditions. Even though partitions have been erected so that individuals may have at least a modicum of privacy, nevertheless, the families are so close together that the in-law problem again becomes more acute than in the pre-evacuation period. In urban Japan today, a young married couple goes to live separately, although they generally choose a house near the groom's parents, thus, the pattern of patrilocal residence is still retained in modern Japan in somewhat modified form. Patrilocal residence which had broken down among the Nisei in the pre-evacuation period, is now, as the result of evacuation, come into force again. Issei pressures~~/~~are somewhat responsible for these changed conditions. But even in America, where some Nisei managed to live away from their parents after marriage, a passive bride would take into consideration the lack of relatives in her prospective husband's family. Mr. Hikida's ~~XXXXXX~~ wife says of him that she is very happy to be married to a man with no relatives in this country. Mr. Hikida has a brother in the United States, but this man was living in another city. Because Mrs. Hikida has only one sister, also married to a gentlemen in another city, the Hikida's have managed to be independant of any ties of blood, and have managed their own lives and solved their own domestic problems. Respect must be paid to in-laws, but young people are always glad when they are able to avoid the obligations imposed upon them as the result of their marriages. Another consideration in marrying people who do not have many relatives is the fact that a man with relatives is conceived to be poor, since he generally must offer some support to them. Older in-laws must always be appeased. They must be placated with gifts of money. Such appeasement, Mr.

Hikida says, is often pitiful. ^Even though a man may be well off, he is always obliged to look after his own relatives and those of his wife who may not enjoy the same privileges. ^{The} * divorce rate, both in this country and in Japan, is comparatively high. Mr. Hikida blames the in-law problem for this situation. In the Relocation Centers now, marriages are generally entered into on the basis of pre-evacuation associations, thus young people who were engaged prior to evacuation have, in many cases, elected to wait until settlement in the Center before taking the step into married life. Only a few exceptions of this have come to my attention. Recently, a young man whom I know quite well, Masato Inouye, married a girl whom he had met in the Assembly Center of Tulare. The marriage in this case was a Christian one and was performed in the Christian church by a Japanese minister. This marriage had come about as a result of courtship both here, and in Tulare, and the choice of the two individuals was approved by the respective families. In this case, however, the Japanese pattern of bishaku-nin was still followed and go-betweens were selected by each family to represent the principals concerned. The go-betweens arranged the use of the church, the enlisting of the services of the clergyman, and the handling of money pertinent to the ceremony, and the post-wedding celebration. Full dress suits were hired by the groom and groom's men for the occasion. Following the simple Christian ceremony which was conducted in English, a large group of invited friends of both families, including myself and Charlie Kikuchi, attended the reception banquet. Japanese dishes were served at the banquet; in addition to pickles and olives, there were various kinds of o-sushi, pickled daikon, otsukemono, and soda pop. The peculiar dietary mixture of east and west is shown in the presence of sandwiches, soda pop, apples and oranges, served with the Japanese delicacies served above. The Japanese wedding pattern was followed pretty closely in the speeches

which were given before the company was allowed to eat, toasts were drunk with soda pop, and many Issei complained about the lack of "sake". The speeches lasted for about an hour or more, and as nearly as I could judge, all of the friends of the ^{newly} ~~newly~~ married couple, Issei and Nisei alike, praised them and their families and wound up all saying very much the same thing. The company was not permitted to eat until the speeches were at an end. After the ceremony, the newly married couple were permitted the use of the Honeymoon Cottage in the other camp for one week. At the banquet, a master of ceremonies was appointed, ^{but} ~~by~~ the bishaku-nin figured prominently in introducing the speakers, and in leading toasts and the like. The ~~x~~ bride and bridegroom were given a place at the head of the table and were flanked on each side by their respective bishaku-nin. The whole wedding pattern chose the curious admixture of eastern and western elements which characterizes so many Nisei marriages. The wedding in this case, was conducted in a lavish scale. All the arrangements in the hiring of clothing for the groom and his men, the purchase of the ring, the food, gifts and the like, was handled by administrative officials on the outside. The Inouye's are rather well to do and were able to afford a rather lavish wedding. Apparently, the agreement was made between the bride and bridegroom's families for joint payment for the ceremony and the celebration banquet. As nearly as can be judged, the following expenses were entailed:

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| 1. | Engagement and wedding ring..... | \$275.00 |
| 2. | Hiring of wedding clothes for 5 groom's men and groom..... | \$ 30.00 |
| 3. | Silks and veils, corsages for the bride and bridesmaids..... | \$ 65.00 |
| 4. | Payment of mess help..... | \$ 30.00 |
| 5. | Payment of special cook for the making of o-sushi, otsukemono, and sandwiches.... | \$ 15.00 |
| 6. | Soda Pop (1,000 @ .05)..... | \$ 50.00 |
| 7. | Payment for decorations of church and of mess hall..... | \$ 10.00 |
| 8. | Payment of officiating minister..... | \$ 25.00 |
| 9. | Cost of engraved invitation cards..... | \$ 22.50 |
| | Total..... | \$522.50 |

There must have been other incidental expenses not mentioned here. This, however, is the general pattern. This is approximately what was spent at the wedding. The information comes from one of the bishaku-nin Mr. Oishi. This is a good example of one of the higher class Christian marriages in the Center. There were about 250 guests present at the wedding. The closer relatives gave gifts of money to the bishaku-nin to help the families defray the costs of the wedding. Everyone invited gave a wedding gift. The traditional Japanese custom also practiced in this country, of the young couples inviting their intimate friends from their own social circle which usually takes place some days after the marriage, was not observed in this case because of the unsettled plans of the young couple with regard to outside employment. In some cases, however, young people's parties have taken place after a formal marriage celebration to which both Issei and Nisei were invited. Returning to Mr. Hikida's discussion, he is correct in stating that most marriages here are the result of pre-evacuation betrothal. Many Issei have tended to discourage their children from forming lasting associations within the Center. The reason for this is, I think, economic. Marriages are discouraged and courtship leading to marriage likewise, because of the unsettled future which the young people will have to face. Many Issei prefer that their children be sure of the plans for the future, and the economic stability offered by resettlement before becoming encumbered with family responsibilities. The normal pattern of behavior in Japan forbids the mixing of the sexes even in social groups before marriage. Socials, dances, and the like, are gaining a slow foothold in modern Japan ^{but} ~~by~~ the general attitude in rural Japan is that young people of opposite sex should not be seen together either in groups or individually. The fact of living in this country has lent some approval to the mixing in of groups of mixed sexes. Christian socials

were a factor which encouraged this, while the Buddhists, in order to retain their hold on the young people, had to emulate the Christians in sponsoring socials. In the same way, the Buddhists, in pre-evacuation times, had to sponsor church services which conformed with the Christian patterns. This is why the Buddhist church services in America differ so markedly from the normal order of services practiced in Japan. The Young Men's and Young Women's Buddhist Associations were founded in emulation of the YMCA and YWCA, and have a strong Nisei membership not only in the Centers, but also such strength existed in the pre-evacuation days. Church socials, young people's associations, JACL activities, school groups, and other clubs have made ~~xxxx~~ for group mixing and for a social intercourse which, under the sanction of religion or education, met with the approval of the Issei, even though such a pattern was contrary to the Japanese way of doing things with which the Issei were familiar. The first generation has raised no objections to social gatherings of this kind, provided the group is properly chaperoned, but individual associations have, both here and in the pre-evacuation days, called for the strong disapproval from the first generation. Any young woman who associates in public with a young man is regarded by many Issei as immoral. Of course, it is not to be said that this opinion is common to all Issei, or that all Nisei form courtship associations of this kind. Many Issei have broken away from parental domination and are free to carry on such affairs as they choose without parental consent, thus, in the pre-evacuation days, there were many people among the Nisei who "went steady" and who had dates with full parental approval. It is not so much the parents who object to associations of this kind, but rather the Issei, who are not immediately concerned. Individual associations are always ~~x~~ regarded by the gossip group of Issei as "love affairs".

Most Issei do not recognize platonic friendships, thus in courtship, any association of friendship or intimacy is regarded as a love affair. A Nisei girl who has several boy friends is said to be immoral. The Issei who criticizes her say of her that she is "otemba", a loose woman. When you refer to young girls as otemba, it is implied that they are too vivacious and too socially inclined. Individual courtships which take place in the Center are discouraged even by parents who approve, for fear of gossip. Necking is considered abhorred. Parents want young people at home, and it is the usual desire of the Issei to keep children with them. Even when the younger people are married, the first generation prefers to have children at home, either living with them, or if they do not live with them, to visit with them frequently. This is the direct carrying over of an attitude found in Japan. In order to keep control of the children, the parents like to have marriages arranged in the traditional Japanese manner. In many cases, rural people have been able to retain this pattern of selecting a mate for each child. In the marriage described above, we have seen that even though the young people made their own choice, bishakunin were still employed who had a function in the ceremony. Today, there are two kinds of bishaku-nin. There are: one, those who really arrange the marriage by finding a bride or a groom for a young person, and who are enlisted by that person's family to find the prospective mate and to arrange the marriage with the parents of that individual. They then discharge the functions of taking care of ceremony, banquets, the guests and the like. In this country, Hikida states that such type is very rare. Such bishaku-nin are usually employed by the parents of a girl who is either abnormal, or too old. If a girl wants to get married, and is beyond marriagable age, her parents may employ go-betweens to effect a marriage for her. Similarly, the parents of an abnormal or backward boy may find a wife for him

in this way. Older men widowers who wish to remarry usually employ bishaku-nin to find them another wife. The second type of bishaku-nin ~~is~~ is the purely formalized one who functions as agents for the marriage after the choice of the young people have been made, and the betrothal announced. The latter type is most common among the Nisei. When a marriage has been transacted, both kinds of bishaku-nin are responsible for its permanence, and are looked to to settle any disputes which arises as a result of the marriage. In case of divorce, or proposed divorce, the couple involved usually presents the matter to the bishaku-nin for settlement. The sponsor of a marriage remains the sponsor throughout the rest of his life. Nisei generally have their bishaku-nin chosen by their parents. In most Nisei marriages, go-betweens are members of the first generation. I have talked with several Issei friends of mine who have acted as bishaku-nin in various marriages. Mr. Miura has been chosen as bishaku-nin by, he says, 30 families. Recently, a young woman, a waitress in the personnel mess hall went to Mr. Miura saying that she was 26 years old, and that she wanted to get married. She asked Mr. Miura to find her a husband. Mr. Miura kept the matter in mind, and looked about for a husband for her. A Kibei boy came to his attention, who was too shy to have anything to do with girls, expressed the desire to Mr. Miura of wanting a wife. Mr. Miura said that he would introduce him to the girl mentioned above. The boy was so shy, however, that he did not want to meet the girl until he had seen her. Mr. Miura therefore took him one day up to the windows of the Caucasian mess hall. The boy peered in while Mr. Miura went in to talk to the girl. The boy saw the girl and expressed his willingness to meet her. ^{Accordingly,} ~~When~~ Mr. Miura introduced them, and they started going around together in the presence of Mr. Miura who would call them over to his house in the evenings to tea.

At length the boy got up nerve enough to ask the girl to go to a Buddhist social with him. She went with him, and gradually they became more intimate, going around together to various social functions, and being seen walking together in the cool of the evening. Mr. Miura acted as bishaku-nin in this case without having contacted the parents of either party. It so happens that the Kibei's parents are in Japan, and the girl is an orphan. They, therefore, had direct recourse as individuals to the bishaku-nin. The girl, however, was a Christian, the boy a Buddhist. She attempted to take him around to Christian young people's socials, but he did not wish to go. She, accordingly, went to several socials alone. He followed her and watched her through the windows. He saw that she laughed and talked with other boys, and he decided that she was too much of an otemba for him. He therefore, gave up seeing her and is still looking for another and more suitable wife. The girl also has not found another boy to replace him and still wishes to get married.

There has been a change in the accepted marriageable age from Japan to this country. In rural and urban Japan, both, a boy is regarded of marriageable age between 20 and 25. It is thought that a girl should get married between 17 and 20. The marriageable age bracket have been somewhat raised in this country and it is thought that a boy should marry between 25 and 30, a girl between 20 and 24. In the more backward parts of rural Japan, marriage is usually younger. Some girls being married at 15 and some boys being married before conscription at the age of 20.

FORMALITIES:

Mr. Hikida had some statements to make regarding my description of attitudes at parting, leaving the house temporarily, politeness of usage and the like. I mention in my manuscript that a man on leaving the house will announce to his wife simply "I am going out". This is

a mere formality similar somewhat to our English statement of "I'll be back shortly". On returning, the person is expected to say "I have returned". Children, on leaving the house, follow ~~the~~ this pattern also of saying, "I'm going out", usually, however, a child will state where he is going and for what purpose. He is expected to do this and trained to do this from infancy. It is regarded as the height of impoliteness to leave a house without first making such a statement to every elder member of the family. A child, on going to school in the morning, pays respect to both father and mother, and states that he is going to school. On returning, he is expected to come directly home, announcing that school is over, after which time he is permitted to go about and play or do whatever is expected of him. Such, however, is followed very closely in the Centers, especially since some concern is expressed by parents over the way children spend their leisure time, how they go to school, and the like. Formalized weepings at parting is common. Japanese mythology has much to do with the fact that parting is cause for great unhappiness. The instances mentioned in the Tales of the Genji, on the Prince's weeping when he departs for his native village, is a good example of this practice shown to be formalized as early as the 10th Century. Japanese philosophers explained such action by saying that Japan is an island, and that the people live close together, any parting, therefore, is cause for insecurity. Not only does it imply crossing water, that is, leaving Japan, but it implies that as the result of this person's going there will be a definite gap in the family group. Communal cooperation supplies a function for every member of a given group. When a member departs, there is a definite gap in the scheme of life. Thus, parting is to be avoided. This parting takes on a sentimental character too. In Japan, Mr. Hikida mentioned, that as a boy at school, the whole class would weep at the end of the semester before going on to a new teacher. When a teacher was transferred to

another school, as sometimes happens, the whole class would weep loudly for most of the last day/ in which the teacher was there. In this country, there was a break-up in the Stockton Assembly Center. When the group was thus broken up, those who were leaving for Turlock stood aside and all of the Issei present wept vociferously. Mr. Hikida says that in such cases, there is much sadness, not only is the sadness formalized and its expression necessary, but the sentimental feeling of parting is so engineered that it is difficult to refrain from weeping. In the internment camp at Missoula, Montana where Mr. Hikida was interned, a group was sent to an Oklahoma Internment Camp. The entire Japanese population of the camp turned out to see them go. There was vociferous weeping on the part of the grown men who left, and on the part of the men who remained. It was said that they were leaving a gap that could not be filled. Mr. Hikida was mayor of the Missoula Internment Camp. When he left after his parole, he was glad to return, to see his family, but he wept on leaving the people with whom he had worked with for four months. This, he says, is a genuine expression of feeling directly from the heart. Japan today is thus bound by ties of proximity and the sentimental fervor which one individual can work up for his group, and for his home land is extremely strong, strong enough to call forth feelings of patriotic loyalty. This loyalty is not directed to the imperial or to the country at large, but is a sincere expression of feeling on the part of the individual for his own group and for the people with whom he has lived. This, he says, is the basis of what has been called the Japanese patriotic fanaticism. In spite of the troubles in this community, the Issei at least, are bound by the same ~~type~~ ties of proximity and the feeling for national consanguinity. It is the decline of this feeling in the second generation which makes so many Issei ~~heartily~~ heartily resentful of them and causes the disruptions and

conflict in the community which took place recently as in the Tada case. Individual Nisei are incapable of this feeling of solidarity and propinquity. When this feeling is broken down, says Mr. Hikida, group solidarity breaks down as well.