

AS THEY AWAIT EVACUATION

The Impact of the War Between America and Japan
on the Values of Different Types of Japanese on the Coast

By
James H. Sakoda

Psychology 145
Dr. Ralph Gundlach
University of California
April 22, 1942

REQUEST

If we are loyal American citizens, we have nothing in our thoughts to hide or to be ashamed of. In the past, however, various pressure groups have twisted information to whip up racial prejudice and to use for their own personal gain. The history of the anti-Japanese agitation on the Coast stands as a testimony to that. The hysteria created against the Japanese also made evacuation a necessity, both to allay the fears of the majority group and also to protect the Japanese themselves. Even yet there is talk of possible deportation if the Japanese prove to be inassimilable.

Because of the delicate nature of the situation at present, it is requested that no part of this account be reprinted, quoted or used without the express permission of the writer.

This is only a preliminary report, and requires further verification. Since it is the result of a sampling of only a small segment of the Japanese population, it cannot be considered representative, without further study. It should be remembered that accounts given here are those of individual types and are not applicable to any large group of people. With these limitations in mind criticisms of this report by readers are very much welcome. The writer can be reached by writing to the International House, Berkeley, California.

T A B L E O F C O N T E N T

Introduction.....	1
Method, Types, Japanese Communities, Cultural Conflict, Social Map, Stratification of Isseis, Stratification of Niseis, Stratification of Americans, Orientation of Types on the social map, Social Distance, Status, Limitation of Frames of Reference, Determinants of Value, Final Remarks.	
Development of the War Situation.....	10
Introduction, Pearl Harbor, Lull, Fireworks, Climax, Aftermath, Evacuation.	
Impact of the War on Conservative Issei.....	13
Description, Impact of the War	
Impact of the War on Maladjusted Kibei.....	19
Background, Impact of the War	
Impact of the War on Elite Socialite.....	22
Description, How American Was He?, Impact of the War.	
Impact of the War on Rowdy.....	31
Description, Impact of the War	
Impact of the War on Progressive.....	32
Description, Impact of the War	
Impact of the War on Radical Liberal.....	40
Nisei Democratic Club of Oakland and the Writers Group, Impact of the War.	
Sources.....	46

INTRODUCTION

Several areas around Los Angeles and in the Bay Area have already been evacuated, while the rest of the Japanese population on the Coast nervously awaits its final orders to move on further inland. Although public interest in the Japanese has died down somewhat since the announcement of their removal from the coastal zone, it is still of interest to ask, "How have these people been affected by the upheaval? While the only thing that seems to matter at present is the winning of the war, there is much value in knowing the attitudes of this minority group. Not only can its adjustment be facilitated, their reactions may be valuable in guiding the future policies concerning these people to avoid mistakes costly to the cause of American Democracy. Also, information of this nature will be valuable in improving the morale of the Japanese in the future. The war has only begun, and a tremendous amount of work must be done to keep improving the morale of this minority group if its members are not to become embittered.

From the standpoint of social psychology the values held by the Japanese on the Coast is of particular interest because of their peculiar position in the present war. The Japanese have been established in the United States for only a little over 40 years and have become only partially assimilated into the American socio-economic system proper. The adjustment of the second generations, also, has not been easy because of the necessity of coping with two conflicting cultures and racial prejudice besides. The impact of the war between ^{two} countries with which Niseis have been identified have resulted in a crystallization of some values formerly held and signs of change in others. The aim of this study is to compare different types of personalities to determine some of the factors at work which caused differences in reactions.

Method

Because of the limited time and facilities on hand, instead of covering the entire Japanese group, seven definite types of Japanese were strictly defined and information sought concerning them. Several of the types were covered through personal observation and conversation and participation in meetings. For the more conservative groups it was necessary to rely on the reports of friends who furnished information with the understanding that no names would be mentioned. One or two persons who fitted the description very closely were selected by these informants as bases for their reports. Other sources such as the newspaper and rumors have not been very helpful.

Attitudes of people are difficult to determine even when no particular effort is made to keep them hidden from outsiders. Where information was not available, as will be indicated, possible reactions were suggested. For these reasons much of the material recorded here will require further verification. The actual observation was limited to the Bay Area, and students on the University of California

campus were contacted most frequently. It should be noted that therefore these reactions will not be applicable to other districts, where reactions may have been of different intensity or, as in regions where Japanese are sparsely settled, they may have been much more optimistic. Also, it is too close to the actual event to determine the trend of attitudes definitely. Moreover, the sampling has been such that these descriptions cannot be applied to a large number of people. However, for the purpose of analyzing the differences between divergent types of personalities and tracing some of the causal factors, the reactions recorded here will be useful.

Types

Since a random sampling of the population and gathering of mass data was not possible, the reactions of ~~eight~~^{seven} different types of Japanese on the Coast were studied. These types were chosen because they were relatively easy to define and identify and they represented divergent personalities. For that reason they are definitely of the extreme sat. Although they are only seven out of an innumerable number of other possible personalities, they are useful because they represent different segments of the Japanese population. This will be made clearer farther on by reference to a social map. The following types were employed:

1. Conservative Issei This is a first-generation immigrant Japanese who has remained within a Japanese community and has not become Americanized. For the most part he has retained Japanese values, and has been extremely conforming.

2. Maladjusted Kibei He has been sent to Japan when young and returned to America in the middle teens. He does not get along with his parents, does not speak much English, has not attended American schools for long, and is employed at menial labor, and does not get along with most other Niseis. His behavior is similar to that of the Rowdy. He smokes, drinks, visits prostitutes, and perhaps gambles.

3. Extreme Conservative This is a Nisei who attempts to conform to Issei ways as much as possible. He speaks Japanese well, takes his Japanese language school studies seriously, studies and works hard, and usually does not spend much time and money in playing, especially with the opposite sex.

4. Rowdy This is a second generation who is an outcast from respectable social groups because of his obnoxious behavior. He is a member of a gang, smokes, drinks, visits prostitutes, crash dances, and perhaps steal.

5. Elite Socialite The interest of this person is mainly dates, dances, sports, movies, and possibly concerts. He is not the intellectual or academic type. Instead of the free and easy way of the high school adolescent, this per-

son is in the late teens or early twenties and attempts to maintain a high level of culture and enjoys formal affairs.

6. Progressive This Nisei identifies himself with Caucasians and prides himself on his Caucasian contacts. Although he may have a few Nisei friends, he is usually on the fringe of Nisei groups.

7. Radical Liberal This person may be either an Issei or a Nisei. He has been generally ostracized by conservative members of the Japanese community for his "radical" ideas. He identifies himself with the American "masses," and is opposed to "vested interests."

Japanese Communities

As with most other immigrant groups, the first-generation Japanese have, for the most part, clustered in certain communities and districts. The vast majority of them eventually settled on the Pacific Coast, usually forming communities of their own with other Japanese neighbors. Attitudes are difficult to change after twenty, and the limited contact with other American residents has helped the first generation Japanese to maintain most of their own culture. The values they have clung to have been, for the most part, those they learned as children in their native land. Since these values were the only ones they could understand, they have attempted to have their children adopt them also. Parents should be honored, one should study and work rather than play, laws should be strictly obeyed. These and other values have been thrust upon Niseis.

Cultural Conflict

At the same time values of the American culture have also been available to the Second Generations. Niseis, then, found themselves within the sphere of two different value systems, one maintained by his family and the Japanese community, and the other by Americans in general. This cultural conflict situation is well-described in another work:

"A part of the Japanese Race 11. First, they belong to the Japanese Race. By birth they have yellowish skin, black hair, brown eyes, usually short stature, and other distinguishable features which give them a decidedly Oriental look. Sometimes they can also be recognized by their ability to speak Japanese or by their attitudes. Most Americans lump them with the first-generation Japanese (Issei), who have no American citizenship and little American culture. Because of racial prejudice, intensified by economic competition, Nisei have been considered a racial outgroup by the American ~~the~~ majority.

"A part of the American cultural system As second generation immigrants Nisei are presumably in the melting-pot process of assimilation into the greater American society. The American cultural system is the second group to which Nisei belong. By birth they have been granted American

citizenship. Through the democratic public school system they have learned American patterns of behaviors, traits, and attitudes. With other American school children they have learned to be individualistic, to enjoy sports, to listen to popular music, to read the funnies, and to cherish democratic ideals. They have shown a willingness to perform their duties to their country, and a desire to identify themselves as Americans.

"Lower barrier Two barriers, however, have worked to prevent Nisei as a whole from being accepted fully by either group. Even in the intimate relationships in the home, which has been the common meeting ground for Issei and Nisei, language, interest, attitude, and age factors have combined to set up a definite gulf between the first and second generations. Whereas the Issei usually knew very little English, the Nisei did not have sufficient speaking ability of Japanese to carry on conversation fluently with his parents. The elders read the Japanese section of the local vernacular paper, which presented the Japanese viewpoint of the Domei News Agency, while the youngsters read the English section only. The Issei could find nothing in common with the Nisei in his interest in comic books, radio programs, and jazz songs. He wanted his sons and daughters to be interested in judo, kendo (Japanese fencing), flower arrangement, Japanese language, and religion, while they preferred to think about sports, dances, dates, clothes, and cars. Most Nisei found themselves too different from Issei to be one of them.

"Upper barrier Outside of the home a more formidable barrier faced the Nisei. By far the greatest was his racial characteristics, because of which he was easily tagged as a member of an outgroup. He found social obstacles in his path to assimilation. Intermarriage and intimate relations with the majority group, such as dancing, was generally forbidden him. Jobs with Caucasian firms, he found, were not available to him on equal terms with dominant group members. He came to learn that Japanese could only live in certain parts of the city with Negroes, Mexicans, and Jews. He heard that certain swimming pools, bowling alleys, night clubs would refuse him service if he tried to get it. He was conscious of the struggle his family put up to raise the relatively low standard of living, but did not realize that it worked to intensify the adverse prejudice the dominant group had for Japanese."¹

Social Map

As another conceptual tool to aid in visualizing the relationship of the various types, a social map shall be introduced. The cultural conflict situation can be represented by two overlapping circles--one representing the Japanese

culture and the other American. Isseis and Americans (besides Niseis) can be considered to occupy both extreme ends, the former at the right, we shall say, and the latter at the left. The overlapping area, representing the cultural conflict arena, is occupied by Niseis.

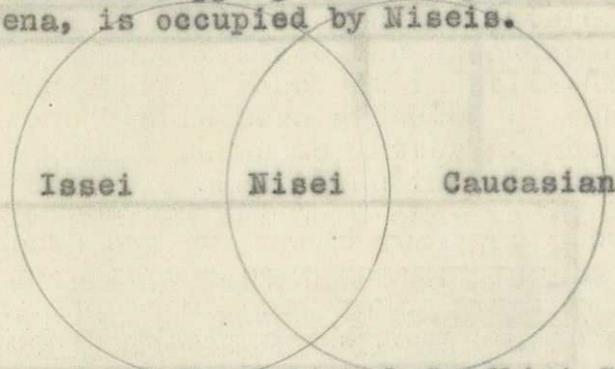


Diagram of the Cultural Conflict Situation

The left side of the area occupied by Niseis on the social map can be considered to represent extreme conformity to Issei ways, which gradually shades into acceptance of American ways of living and thinking, till at the right extreme we find those who are completely American except for their physical features. Most of the Niseis are probably somewhere in between, having differing degrees of the characteristics of both cultures.

For the vertical stratification social status has been used. Social status is determined primarily by attitudes of people and may differ for different communities. Some of the factors, other than the degree of Americanization, that influence the status of a person are economic status, place of residence, family lineage, occupation, education, age, delinquent behavior, radicalism, "culture," academic standing, intellectualism, interests, popularity. That none of these in itself is sufficient to differentiate the Japanese in the United States into recognizable classes is understandable when most of the Japanese have had to start "from scratch," live in the same community, face a limited choice of occupation, and for the most part be in the lower economic level. Since stratification in different groups may not be the same, the three groups on our social map will be taken in order.

Issei In the Issei group the vast majority of them are longtime residents, with families, and in a variety of occupations common among Japanese immigrants such as farming and running small businesses. They usually live in the same community and accept each other as neighbors. There are usually no single objection to marriages between the children of this group. These Isseis conscientiously maintain the middle class ways of society, and can be classed as the middle class. Above this middle class we find a select group of managers of large Japanese companies such as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, and the N.Y.K. Line, employees of Japanese banks and Japanese Consulate who form a select group by themselves. This can be considered the upper class or the elite group. They are not permanent residents, usually, and came to the

United States, not as immigrants, but as representatives of offices of their firm in Japan. Their economic status is usually higher than those of the immigrant Japanese, their interests are more intellectual and cultural, and they usually keep themselves aloof from other Japanese.¹ Below the middle class we can put in all of the Isseis whose ways are considered to be unacceptable. In this group we would find migrant workers, unemployed, gamblers, and the like. Bachelors who have no families without good reason would probably be on the borderline. It must be remembered that there are no clear-cut demarcations between these three categories and that they gradually shade into each other.

~~For the second class~~

Nisei For the second-generation group there is no recognizable upper class. Many of the distinctions based on family lineage and class differences as mentioned above, that is maintained by Isseis break down in the second generation circle. Niseis working for foreign trade firms, for instance, are given much poorer treatment than workers who are transferred from Japan, and the possibilities for promotion is small. Niseis tend not to take family lineage very seriously, and are more apt to judge the status of other Niseis on other grounds. While economic status, occupation, education, popularity and other factors tend to differentiate the status of Niseis, the vast majority of them can be put in the middle strata, where the middle class ways are maintained. Toward the top of this strata we find those who maintain a higher status than others through white-collar jobs, profitable businesses, professions, or cultural attainments, while farther below we find the farmers, gardeners, unskilled workers, domestic workers, as well as the carefree ways of the high school adolescents, with interests in sports and jitterbug, and movies. In the lowest categories we can place Niseis who do not conform to the middle class ways and consequently who have been more or less ostracized from the majority of the Nisei groups. This would include the Kibeis who do not get along with Niseis, the Rowdies, the "radicals" with supposedly dangerous ideas, and the like. Typical Niseis with rowdy tendencies would probably fall somewhere near the borderline.

American The American population can be divided into the traditional upper, middle, and lower socio-economic classification. With the upper class Japanese usually have contacts only as domestic employees. In the middle class we have the conservative businessmen and his family, doctors and lawyers, white-collar workers, farther down the more liberal church people and teachers, and artists, writers, farmers. In the lower class we can put the "masses." This includes the skilled workers, the unskilled laborers, the racial minorities, and the more radical groups.

Diagrammatically we can visualize the social map somewhat as follows:

1. See Psychology 145 Workbook, D-55 for a discussion of this group. See Kaibei Nipponjin Shi for reference to it.

<u>Issei</u> (barrier)	<u>Nisei</u> (barrier)	<u>American</u>
Upper Class		Upper Class
Middle Class	Conforming Groups	Middle Class
Lower Class	Non-conforming Groups	Lower Class

Diagram showing a rough social stratification

Orientation of our types on the social map

Employing the two criteria of degree of Americanization and social status, we can now locate our types on the social map.

<u>Issei</u>	<u>Nisei</u>	<u>American</u>
Upper		
Middle	3 5 6	Middle
Lower	2 4 7	Lower

Location of types on the social map

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Conservative Issei | 5. Elite Socialite |
| 2. Maladjusted Kibei | 6. Progressive |
| 3. Extreme Conservative | 7. Radical Liberal |
| 4. Rowdy | |

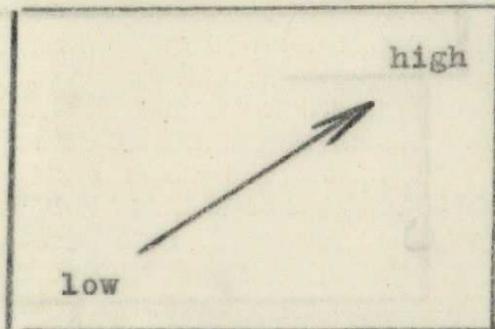
The Elite Socialite has been placed a little higher because they maintain a higher standard than others of their group. The placing of the Elite Socialite and the Rowdy halfway between the two barriers is justified on the ground that they have broken away from Issei control partially, but have not approached Caucasians to any degree, and tend to keep to their own group alone. From this diagram it is evident that different areas of the social map are covered by the seven types of individuals.

Social Distance

Although there are numerous individual exceptions, the distances between these individuals seem to represent approximately the true "social distance" between them. The Maladjusted Kibei is closest to the non-conforming lower class Issei, the Conservative, and the Rowdy. The latter has the most in common with the Maladjusted Kibei and the Elite Socialite. The Radical Liberal has the least relation with the Conservative among Niseis and are close to the Progressive and the American "masses." While the Extreme Conservative holds closely to the ways of the Conservative Issei, the Progressive identifies himself with middle class Caucasians.

Status

It will be noticed that in general status is increased as one progresses from left to right and also from bottom to top. Thus the Maladjusted Kibei finds himself at the bottom of the Nisei social ladder, while the Elite Socialite and Progressive share the upper end.



Determination of Social Status

This relationship is partially substantiated by the fact that the Conservative Issei usually feels uneasy, if not outright inferior, in the presence of a Caucasian of the middle class, an Extreme Conservative generally feels inadequate when confronted with a Socialite. The latter in his turn considers the Progressive slightly ahead of himself, while the latter usually considers himself superior to other Niseis. The Radical Liberal considers himself superior to an Extreme Conservative.

Limitations of Frames of Reference

Both frames of reference of type and a social map are con-

ceptual tools used for convenience. While they are advantageous in simplifying the analysis of data, their limitations should not be forgotten. While the types shall be defined quite fully, it should be remembered that only certain aspects of the personality--such as mode of adjustment, identification, interests--are involved. Also, these frames of reference represent a "pure type," occupying a limited area on the social map, from which there are many deviations. While one type may represent more than one individual, it is not meant to be applied rigidly to a large group. In applying these frames of reference to individuals it should be remembered that different facets of a personality may be of different types. A person may be non-conforming in his play ways and still be progressive in his views. A person can behave like a Socialite when with his friends and still be a Conservative at home. If these limitations are kept in mind, much faulty thinking should be eliminated.

Determinants of Values

As was mentioned before, this study will deal with values, and as determinants of specific values the following four will especially be considered:

1. Institutional ways These will include standard of judgment, attitudes, beliefs, etc, of the group to which an individual belongs. There can be no doubt that the norms of a group, especially the family, has great influence over an individual member.

2. Personality This refers to the pattern of adjustment adopted by the individual. The personality is a developing thing, and it should be considered in explaining an individual's reaction to a new situation.

3. Needs Biologic needs, and other needs peculiar to individuals and groups are potent factors that must be taken into consideration.

4. Situation Different individuals will feel the shock of war in different ways and to different degrees, and this must not be overlooked in attempting to explain causal relationships.

Final Remarks

The first section of this paper will deal mainly with the reaction of the individual to the first phase of the war before actual evacuation from the Coast. More complete analysis will be made later on of the following:

1. Development of the war situation in conjunction with the welfare of the Japanese on the Coast.

2. The background of the individuals up till the outbreak of the war, including a historical picture of the Japanese in the United States and life histories.

3. Comparative analysis of the data for different individuals. Hypotheses and generalizations as to possible causal factors responsible for differences in reaction.

4. Practical suggestions for the improvement of morale and predictions.

Next a short review of the war situation on the Coast will be made. Then each type will be taken in order, with a rough description, background, and then the reaction taken to the war situation in terms of values.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR SITUATION ¹

December 7, 1941, to March 31, 1942

Introduction

In order to understand the reactions taken by Japanese on the Coast it is necessary to know some of the intrusions which caused the crystallization of values and changes in others. Japanese in different situations have felt the shock of war to different degrees and have taken different reactions to some events. On the other hand, the reactions of the Japanese group as a whole has been entirely different from that of most Americans. If the experiences that the Japanese underwent is to be understood, the events following the bombing of Pearl Harbor must be viewed from their standpoint. A general review of events from December 7, 1942, to March 31 will be made, choosing those items that might have had repercussions on the attitudes of Japanese on the Coast.

Pearl Harbor When Pearl Harbor was bombed on December 7, 1941, most Japanese on the Coast probably did not expect it or could hardly believe. On December 8 United States declared war on Japan, and the first-generation Japanese were faced with the fact that they were "enemy aliens," while Niseis had to face the conflict of deciding on which side to stand. Aliens were forbidden to travel and their funds were frozen. For some time, too, their businesses were closed, and even when reopened there was a general fall in the volume of trade. During the first few days of the war hundreds of suspected aliens were being picked up. On December 9 Japanese troops invaded Philippines, and sporadic cases of Filipino attack on Japanese were reported during the following weeks. On December 22 and 23 Wake Island and Hongkong fell. Over the radio the use of "Japs" and "treacherous Japs," especially when Manila, an open city, was bombed, gave signs of the rising resentment of the American public. Thus, at the outset of the war the Japanese on the Coast were faced with the triple threat of economic insecurity, attack by Filipinos and private citizens, and possible internement by the government.

1. From data compiled by T. Shibutani and items from The Japanese American News.

Lull On January 2 Manila fell. Contrabands were ordered turned in by January 5, and on the 6th the Supreme Court ruled that aliens could not sue for the duration. But travel restrictions were eased, no permits being required within 50 miles. Most of the Japanese were able to continue their businesses, and there was a lull in the quaking of the foundation of security of the first-generation Japanese. Niseis, of course, probably did not imagine that anything drastic would happen to them at all.

Fireworks Toward the end of January, however, things began to happen. On the 28th Los Angeles suspended 39 Niseis on its payroll, and the State Personnel Board suspended its eligibility list the next day. On the 30th 27 areas were designated to be evacuated by enemy aliens by February 15, and on February 2nd 500 alien Japanese were removed from Terminal Island by the FBI. On February Biddle announced 15 new areas, including some in the Bay Area, to be evacuated by February 24th. At the end of January the British were driven from Malaya, and the drive against Singapore had begun. Public sentiment against the Japanese became greater and voices urging their removal because they were dangerous became greater and greater. Repeatedly Biddle announced that there would be no mass evacuation of aliens. On February 9 while Dies asked for the removal of all Japanese, Thomas Clark hinted at possible martial law. Meanwhile FBI raided Japanese homes in various parts of the state almost everyday, and the newspapers smeared their front pages with what appeared to be evidence of Japanese fifth-column activity.

Climax On February 15 Singapore fell. With the Tolson Committee hearing opened on the 21st, the Nisei was clearly "on the spot" now. On February 25th Clark was still announcing that there would be no mass evacuation. Then suddenly notices appeared that all Japanese and aliens would be evacuated from the coastal region. After several anxious days the climax was reached when on March 3 DeWitt released a statement to the press making it clear that all Japanese, aliens and citizens, were to evacuate from Zone 1.

Aftermath After that, discriminatory measures seemed to follow one after the other. The State Equalization Board cancelled liquor licenses of Niseis and suspended 20 Nisei employees. Lack of houses for evacuees of the Bay Area was reported on March 3. Many people noted that American-born persons of Japanese lineage were classed before German and Italian aliens. One reader learned through the Question and Answer column that Japanese did not qualify for the exemption of aliens over 70 or with a son in the Army. Assurances were given that fair returns on crops would be given to farmers and that properties would be properly handed. On the 14th the State Senate Committee on Unemployment announced that aid would not be extended to Nisei evacuees, while a headline

in the Japanese American News read: "No Race, Except Japanese, Banned, Says AFL Official." Governors of the Rocky Mountain States began to announce that they did not want to take Japanese. In the Tolson Committee recommendation "the committee drew a distinction between Japanese and German and Italian aliens on the ground that the latter two are 'thoroughly Americanized' and 'as a group are loyal to the American war effort.'"¹ About this time Delegate King of Hawaii denied that there had been any fifth column activity by Japanese residents in Hawaii, and the Chief of Police of Honolulu also denied tales of sabotage. In the Senate hearings on the Stewart Bill begun.

Evacuation From the middle of March planning for evacuation occupied more of the attention of the Japanese. On the 22nd the first group of 100 left Los Angeles for Manzanar. The first evacuation order came out on the 23rd, and 300 Bainbridge Island residents were ordered to leave by the 30th. A wage scale of \$50--\$94 was announced for work with the camps, but this was later changed to a minimum of \$21. Curfew for Niseis, turning in of contrabands, and the "Freezing Order," restricting movement out of Zone 1 followed each other before the month was over. Voluntary evacuation had ended, and those left in Zone 1 awaited forced evacuation.

1. The report itself was very tolerant--T. Shibutani

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON C.I. (CONSERVATIVE ISSEI)

Background

C.I. was born in a poor peasant home in Japan, and came to America around 1900 to make some money. At first he worked on the railroad or in the fields or as a domestic worker. Later he began to farm or to run his own little shop. He lived through the prosperous Twenties and the Depression. During the Manchurian and China Incidents he believed that Japan's cause was essentially right, and tried to explain this to his children.

At present he is around fifty or sixty years old, is married, and has several children.

Uniform ways

C. I. is the owner of a little business, or is a farmer, a white-collar worker, or perhaps a laborer. His income is in the \$1000--\$3000 level. He lives in a Japanese Community on the Coast, where most of his contacts are with other Japanese. The standard of living that he maintains is usually lower than that of a respectable American family, and this is often a sore spot to his children. One reason for his reluctance to build a home was his intention of returning to Japan someday. But he is not so sure about this now because his children are growing up and he knows that they will not enjoy living in his native land.

C.I. has gone to school for about eight years in his native village and has not changed many of the ideas and values he adopted in his youth. He reads only in Japanese and can speak only broken English. He firmly believes, not only that Japanese language should be learned by Japanese if they are to succeed, but also that Japanese ethical codes are superior to the American. With this rigid standard he has shown much concern in the home training of the children to be good members of society. He is more likely to be a Buddhist than a Christian, or he may not take religion seriously at all.

In the matter of courtship and marriage he believes in maintaining the Baishakunin (Go-between) to arrange matters between boys and girls. He still believes that the blood line of any prospective mate should be looked up. His concept of a good mate is a reliable provider (male), or a good helper and mother (female). He has an aversion to kissing and petting, and oftentimes believes that dancing is bad because of the close body contact. His own recreational ways are plain. He may enjoy popular Japanese songs and movies. He reads the vernacular newspaper and perhaps a popular Japanese magazine. He may enjoy fishing, but nothing highly intellectual or cultural. His wife probably belongs to a Japanese mothers' club in the community.

Other Values

C.I. has a reputation for being hardworking, and has

attempted to raise his relatively low standard of living. Formerly he desired to save up enough money to return to Japan, but now he puts more hope in the success of his children, whom he urges to study and work hard. However, he has begun to doubt the value of college education because so many college graduates are failing to land good jobs. He prides himself on being law-abiding, except, perhaps, sometimes in business dealings. His race consciousness is sometimes compensated by identification with the glories of his native land and taking an attitude of race superiority.

Adjustment Pattern

C.I. has withdrawn from the majority white group into his own small circle. Here he is highly conforming to the ways of his group, being very law-abiding and maintaining an almost puritanic standard.

The Situation

When the war struck, we find him in a somewhat embarrassing position of the Germans during the last war. He had been cheering Japan in her fight against China, and suddenly found himself an "enemy alien." He was well along in years and his health not as robust as it used to be. He had his business and his family to worry about.

Identification

Japan C.I.'s identification has always been with his native land and this has not changed since the war. Inwardly he was glad to see his country win victory after victory. This satisfaction was greater because the victories were over Hakujins (whites), whom he felt had been mistreating Japanese for a long time.

At the Immigration Office in San Francisco a Japanese farmer picked up by the FBI told Niseis who came to their relatives: "You should be proud of Japan and hope and fight for a victory. When Japan wins you will be president, you a general, and you a governor!" This is, of course, an extreme case, because C.I. generally believes that a citizen owes loyalty to his country and that personal considerations should not interfere with that loyalty.

When Singapore fell, more than an average supply of sake is said to have been sold. One Issei is said to have carried a jug of sake to his friend's place, but he was prudently sent home. And there is the Issei woman who said, in referring to the curfew and "Freezing Order," "Let's all bear this cheerfully, because it's all for the sake of Japan."

Japanese race I.C.'s identification with his race is strong as ever. He has maintained toward his children that they could not escape being a Japanese--their faces gave them away. When it was learned that Niseis had to evacuate with the Isseis, I.C. could not help wanting to ridicule the possession of American citizenship. His

attitude was, "See, what did I tell you. You're still Japanese." He did not mean to tell his children that they owed any loyalty to Japan, but he stressed the point that they were Japanese.

Japanese community A complaint that has been expressed in governmental quarters is that Japanese do not turn in their own people. C.I. was very unlikely to be a fifth-fifth-columnist because of his habit of conforming strictly to orders from above. He was also too naive to be able to detect subtle propaganda, because he believed that it was the Hakuajins who were falsifying the news, and he could not be expected to discover a fifth-columnist. Where it was a matter of someone in his own group whom he knew to be harmless going around expressing pro-Japanese sentiment rather freely, he would, in all probability, not turn him in. If he had been approached by the Heimushakai (organized as a civilian aid to Japanese soldiers) for contributions before the war, he probably would have considered it natural to help his country by giving a few dollars. After all, the Chinese were doing it, too. In spite of the fact that there were a great deal of bickering for prestige usually going on among the first generation, the community held together quite closely in the past. Since the war, the little barriers, grudges, jealousies and the like have been forgotten, and C.I. has been unwilling to antagonize own group. He has always been conforming. In different communities one or two Isseis have been accused of turning in people just to save their own skins, but undoubtedly they were not well-adjusted in the community to begin with.

America Branded as an "enemy alien," forced to sell his business, and now awaiting an uncertain future in resettlement camps, C.I. has lost all sense of belonging to the American soil. In spite of the part Japanese played in developing agriculture in the West, his feeling of not being wanted has been intensified. "There's no more chance for us in America" is a phrase that is frequently heard, and C.I. generally believes that the Orient is the only place for him now. But he also feels that it may be worse in Japan for him, and hopes that for the sake of his children, too, that Japanese will be to get along in America. He knows that some Americans are sympathetic toward Japanese, but he believes that the vast majority of the American people are against them, and he has renewed his concept of them as being "low-grade" and "savage."

War Aims

C.I.'s hopes generally conflict with the war aims of the United States. For the most part he does not want Japan to lose. Other Isseis, of course, feel that for the sake of the welfare of the second generation that U.S. should not lose. But in C.I.'s mind it is almost unbelievable that Japan can lose. This confidence in Japanese victory has been strengthened by the outcome of the battles so far, and he hopes that the war will be over

soon. Before the war in the Pacific broke out C.I. did what he could to contribute to Japanese victory over the Chinese, but all of that have had to cease. Outwardly they are doing nothing to further Japanese victory. There has been no sabotage reported in Hawaii by the Japanese residents, the records seem just as clear for the Isseis on the Coast. Because of his conforming ways he is probably incapable of anything rash. He also has too much concern for the welfare of his community and his family. He has obeyed orders issued by governmental authorities. He sees to it that his family is in by the eight o'clock curfew, and sends home visitors reluctant to leave.

In the American war effort C.I. participated only to a limited degree. During the first part of the war, bonds were being bought and contributions being made to Red Cross and other defense efforts. Since evacuation was decided upon, however, all of that has ceased. Because of his limited financial condition and the treatment he was receiving as enemy alien, C.I. did not feel it was necessary to go out of his way to help United States win the war. There was an Americanized Issei who insisted on continuing to care for his crops and sending them to the market even though he got very little for them, because he thought he owed a great deal to America. But C.I. is not like him. He feels that he should be self-supporting and expects to work in the camps, but his attitude is a passive one. He might have been more enthusiastic if he had been allowed to continue his business, but as he awaits evacuation he is skeptical of his future participation in the war effort.

Confidence in American Institutions

Democracy What little advantage C.I. saw in the American way of living seems to have been obliterated. Although he had enjoyed its relative freedom, he had always doubted the efficiency of a democratic form of government, and the trend of the war has convinced him of it. Contradictions in evacuation orders, such as the use of cars, or the promise that the short-order evacuation will not be repeated, but which happened in San Francisco, and lack of planning--these things have been noticed by C.I. As for the freedom and equality for which Democracy was supposed to stand, it seemed a farce to him, because Japanese were not getting equal treatment. The prejudice against Japanese and the resulting discrimination have again been driven home to C.I. and he recalls that prejudice against Japanese has always existed. He does not believe that America is making Democracy work. Even a liberal Issei woman, with many Caucasian contacts, who believed in the democratic way until very recently, has lost faith in it because of events of the last few weeks. C.I. hears his Negro neighbors discuss the unjust treatment the colored soldiers are getting, such as not being mentioned in the papers when a Negro troop left for Australia, and he agrees with them that Democracy is not

being practised. He believes that there is more justice, if not equality, in the Japanese form of government, where everything is done for the good of the state and not for individual gain.

Leaders One of the most frequently-used term to describe the Issei recently has been "frightened." In a progressive town, among religious people, in families, from a social case worker, at Santa Anita the reports about C.I. have been one of bewilderment and fear of the future, both for himself and his children. The social case worker was suspected as a FBI spy, wild rumors have gone about concerning the low character of FBI agents, assurances from men in key positions are no longer trusted. There are good grounds for this mistrust. C.I. was assured that evacuation would be decided by military necessity, and later exemptions were announced for German and Italian aliens with sons in the armed forces, but none for Japanese. At first a wage scale of \$50 to \$94 was announced, and a few days later a notice appeared to the effect that the Japanese working on government projects were to be paid a maximum of \$21. The California Personnel Board released all Japanese employed in the State Civil Service, and the governors of most of the western states protested the arrival of evacuees into their states. C.I. has good reasons for not trusting the American leaders.

Other Values

Economic The greater part of C.I.'s waking moments has been devoted to keeping up his standard of living. When evacuation became certain, many businessmen moved out to the Middle West. Part of this can be attributed to the desire to build up a secure economic foundation during the war. Although many Isseis are making a last-minute effort to scrape together as much money as possible to prepare for the uncertain future, C.I. has lost much of his former enthusiasm for work. Some gardeners have been reported to quit their work early and visit with their friends, something they had never done before. One Issei said that he had a scheme all worked out to make a living inside the camps, but he seems to have abandoned it. He says that he'll be satisfied if he can get enough to eat, although he was disappointed when the wage scale was lowered to a \$21 maximum. C.I. is getting on in years now and he has lost much of his trust in the value of money.

Family C.I.'s reliance on his family has been strong in the past, but there ~~are~~ was a tendency to accept the breach between the first and second generations as inevitable. The war, however, has brought the two generations very close together. C.I. now looks to his children more for sympathy and help. The JACL (Japanese American Citizens League), for instance, has taken over most of the community work formerly done by the Japanese Associations. The church organizations, too, have been put in the hands of the younger generation. One of C.I.'s greatest worries

has been mentioned as the future of his children, who have not been exposed to much hardship.

Health Health has never been a major concern of a great number of Isseis, but with impending evacuation, C.I. is giving more and more thought to it. One Issei said that he would be satisfied if he could stay within California, where he knew the weather could not be too bad. Old ladies and old men seem to be afraid that they will have to live in an adverse climatic region. C. I. is also afraid that the food given him will not be palatable. From Manzanar he hears reports that the people get together and talk most often about how wonderful it would be if they could eat a sushi or get a taste of shoyu.

Affection Before the war C.I. tended to put an emphasis on personal achievement and distinction, which created barriers. As a result of the war, however, many of the barriers have broken down. Stern foremen have become friendly with their men, grouchy bachelors have a friendly word for their fellow countrymen. There is a tendency to forget the differences, which were formerly emphasized, and speak of the common interests which bind Isseis together.

Pattern of Adjustment

~~The~~ C.I.'s habit of conformity to institutional ways has been maintained generally. He has shown a willingness to comply with all government regulations. In spite of the numerous possession of contrabands reported in glaring headlines in the papers, practically all of them were probably unintentional.

Future Outlook

For C.I. the outlook is gloomy. He is not young any more and fears the unknown conditions that is ahead of him. His period of activity is about over, and he sees little that he can hope for. The discrimination against Japanese has convinced him that America is no longer the place for him. He talks of going after the war to Java, where he believes he and his children will have more chance, but he is not so sure that America isn't the best place after all. He sees no hope for real economic security, except as partial ward of the Government. The future for his children is just as dark as his own. Japan is winning victories, but he can only rejoice in his heart.

Summary

The greatest effect of the first phase of the Japan-American War can be said to be a sense of insecurity, fear of the future, and lack of a stabilizing goal. His identification with Japan increases the precariousness of his position in the United States. As a solution to his problems he has withdrawn closer into his own group, relying more on mutual affection than he did before. His habit of conformity has not left him, and he can be depended upon to abide by any rule that may be passed by Government authorities.

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON M.K. (MALADJUSTED KIBEI)Background

M.K. was born in America of Japanese immigrant parents. While he was still young he was sent to a relative in Japan because he was either in the way or because his parents thought he should have Japanese education. Anyway, his parents thought that when he had made enough money in a few years they would be able to join him in their native land. His life in Japan was not unhappy, and he was able to finish high school. In the meantime his parents had not fared as well as they had hoped, and seeing that they would not be able to save enough to return to Japan, especially since the depression in the early thirties, they sent for their son.¹ M.K. hesitated about rejoining his parents. But parental love was dear to him, America appealed to him as a wonderful place where life was relatively easy, and there was the army draft coming up. So he decided to return to the land of his birth.

M.K.'s disappointment on seeing America was probably similar to that of his mother's, who had also been enticed here by tales of wealth. In the first place, he did not get along with his family very well. His parents were strange to him, and he did not feel that they were his real father and mother. His home condition, and the general life lead by immigrants were not much better than the life he had lead in Japan. He found himself at a disadvantage because he could not speak English. Although he went to an evening school for awhile, he was soon discouraged. He looked for work, but he learned that he only qualified for menial tasks as a laundry worker, farm laborer, gardner and the like. He was lonesome. But other Niseis would have nothing to do with him.

As a reaction to all of these frustrations M.K. took to aggressive behavior. He boasted of Japan's might to other Niseis and ridiculed America. He looked on them as unmanly, and tried to satisfy his own ego by smoking and drinking and wearing loud clothes. He also talked about visiting prostitutes. Usually, however, he did not take to such delinquent behavior as stealing or roaming the streets in gangs. He looked back to the life he had enjoyed in Japan, and wondered when he would be able to return to it.

Identification

Since M.K.'s educational background is similar to that of the conservative Issei, his reactions to the war have been similar. His identification with Japan is definite. He, too, has felt the satisfaction of seeing Japan win. If M.K. had a dual citizenship, he probably felt that he was a Japanese citizen, rather than an American. Blood and kinship, he says, are strong bonds. He questions why Japanese should be drafted, when they are not treated on equality with the whites. He does not relish the idea of being drafted. Some Kibeis have said that they would not shoot a Japanese soldier even if they were to be killed themselves. Of course, M.K.

1. This account will not apply to girls.

differs from Isseis in having less identification with the Japanese community. He is not subject to the strict control by the Japanese people.

War Aims

M.K.'s reaction to the war has been similar to that of Isseis. He desires Japan to win, and is confident that she will do so. One point on which he may differ from Isseis is how determined he is to help win that objective by actual sabotage. Up till now there does not seem to be any evidence of any fifth-column activity, or rash acts. But he is more "hot-blooded," as one person described him, and gives more indication of future violence than Isseis. As NAY reports from the preliminary report of the Tolan Committee:

"About the Kibei the report mentioned that some kibei were said by witnesses to have been turned against the Japanese government by visits, but the committee heard testimony that among the kibei are the most dangerous elements in the Japanese community."¹

M.K.'s aggressive behavior makes him subject to possible rash actions.

Confidence in American Institutions

This is same as for Conservative Issei--there is no confidence in Democracy or American leaders.

Adjustment Pattern

M.K.'s pattern of aggressive and non-conforming behavior and identification with Japan has continued through the war. Although he usually kept to himself enough to be able to express his sentiments, generally he took the policy of remaining obscure. The prefectural organizations, however, (consisting of people from the same prefecture), the Kibei Council in San Francisco and other Kibei organizations were dissolved because of pro-Japanese activity in the past. The conflict a Kibei with definite pro-Japanese sentiments would have to face in public can be gleaned from the following excerpt from the DOHO:

"As DOHO has repeatedly pointed out, Kibei activities have been exceedingly Japanistic in color. The entire resolution (DOHO, Dec. 26, 1941) absolutely belies its past record and was a deliberate attempt at "white-washing" itself. On Dec. 26th we wrote that the Kibei leaders were still "wibble-wobbling" over the issue of condemning Japanese aggression." (Jan. 23, 1942). ~~In the February 6/6~~

In the February 6, 1942 edition, appeared the following, which tells us the solution of disappearing into obscurity taken by Kibei leaders:

"Ara/tani stated that they disbanded the old Kibei Division

1. Japanese American News, April 15, 1942

and that a new committee will undertake the Americanization of the kibeis...

"The previous Kibeis cabinet 'dissolved' early in January, in an attempt at white-washing its past misleadership. They are responsible for the present confusion and seditious acts by certain kibeis."

M.K., however, being maladjusted in the community, usually did not take part in such organizations.

Other values

M.K.'s aggressive and non-conforming behavior has continued. When the JACL attempted to carry on a Kibeis Survey, they resented it very much, saying that the organization had no business meddling with their affair. In the past much of M.K.'s aggressive behavior was directed against Niseis and the respectable community in general, but there is basis for supposing that this has been partially diverted toward Hakujuins. Part of this might have been absorbed by closer affiliation with other Japanese, but this has not been ascertained.

Future outlook

Practically all of the maladjusted Kibeis saw no hope for himself here in America, and thought of returning to Japan or to other parts of the Orient sometime in the future. His pathway has been temporarily cut off. Although there is a lack of data on this point, he probably fears strict regulations in the camps. Nothing else was learned of his worries. And how bitter is he?...

Variations

It should be remembered that all persons educated in Japan, even from childhood, are not pro-Japan. There are liberal Kibeis who appreciate America and American ways more than most Niseis. Satoko Murakami, who relates her ideas in "I Am Alive" in Common Ground, 1942, is of that type. There are also well-adjusted Kibeis, who are like other Niseis.

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON E.S. (ELITE SOCIALITE)Background

E.S. comes from a middle-class Issei home, and lives in a Japanese community on the Coast, usually in an urban district. He has always been an accepted member in a Nisei group in his community. X

He is anywhere from 18 to 25 years old. He is to be distinguished from the high school adolescent, who is more under the influence of his parents and whose ways are generally of a more carefree sort.

Uniform Ways

Economically E.S. is slightly higher in status than most other Niseis. His choice of vocation is generally Civil Service, white-collar jobs, college student, store clerk, and he dislikes domestic work and farm and other manual labor. Usually he makes only a feeble attempt to get into untried Caucasian fields. Socially he maintains his status through popularity with the opposite sex, formal social functions, forming exclusive clubs, dressing well.

He usually speaks a fair amount of Japanese. At home he is just as likely to speak to his parents in English as he is in Japanese, although his parents usually know only a little English. He was sent to a Japanese school, most likely, but he did not take studies seriously. He did not bury himself in academic or intellectual activities, but enjoyed social activities. He may be a member of either a Buddhist or a Christian church for social purposes, but he usually does not take religion very seriously. He believes in the American social ways, and usually dislikes the ways his parents uphold. However, he usually agrees that it is advantageous to know the Japanese language.

He holds American ideals of courtship and love marriage. Kissing and petting, he may feel is all right, but he is still somewhat afraid of breaking the conventional social code. His main recreations are dates, dancing, bridge, sports and possibly concerts, best-sellers.

Other Values

He feels a need for social prestige through white-collar jobs (or good marriages), cultural attainment, and social functions. His desire for contact with the opposite sex is strong. Usually he wants to avoid being with Isseis or with Caucasians. He wants to satisfy his own pleasures--not to sacrifice them. He dislikes rowdism.

Adjustment Pattern

E.S. can be said to have broken away partially from Issei ways, and prefers to be with his own group of Niseis rather than intermingle with Caucasians. He conforms partially to both systems because he is still forced to conform to some Issei ways, and is not able to adopt all of the American ways, especially in the home. He is conforming, however, to the ways

of his own group. His group tends to be self-centered and emphasize present enjoyment.

The Situation

E.S. identified himself mainly with American ways, although he was rather race conscious. He had not given too much thought to this matter of loyalty because it did not affect him too personally. What he was concerned with was more his immediate interests and also possibilities of a better job. He might have given consideration to the idea of going to Japan, but for the most part he felt that his place was in America.

HOW AMERICAN WAS HE?

As an individual in the middle between the extremes, with the Conservatives on the left and the Progressives on his right, E.S.'s position is not immediately clear. If he is not as American as a Progressive, neither is he as Japanese as a Conservative. Is he only fifty per cent American, or seventy-five? What makes a person an American, anyway? Is it what he thinks, or what he feels, or what he does? These questions must be given consideration before accusing E.S. of being un-American. Also, he is, after all, only a second-generation American, and is only in the process of becoming assimilated. Some evidence will be reviewed to determine just how American E.S. was before the war.

Our description of E.S. fits several groups for which there are socio-psychological analyses.¹ Since the material presented correlate quite well, some data from only one² will be reviewed.

Favorable evidences:

1. 42 Christians against 12 Buddhists, 15 unknown or no religion. (Christians are usually more progressive than Buddhists.)
2. Recreation: typically American
3. Workway ideals: same as other Americans
4. Reproductive way: American ideal of courtship and marriage.
5. Training way: American, except for addition of Japanese language.
6. Prides himself on being progressive.
7. Initiation ceremony fashioned after those of other Caucasian organization.
8. Most do not want to live in Japan.

Unfavorable evidences:

1. Race-conscious--somewhere along his education E.S. comes to realize that he is not the same as other Americans. (He learns what it means to be a Japanese, and becomes conscious of that fact. By the time he is in college a year, he is conscious of race differences. Usually he feels inferior about it, but sometimes takes a reaction of racial superiority.)
2. Real work way. He is usually forced to work in a Japanese community and often at menial tasks with long hours and low wages.

3. They all agree that their children should be taught to speak Japanese. (They probably realize the social and vocational handicap even in seeking work among Caucasians.)
4. Cliquishness--When they go to see a football game or hear a concert they usually go as a group.
5. A few probably feel that they must return to Japan to find decent jobs.

Evaluation

1. They would probably want to feel as if they were Americans, if they could. But because of prejudice and the attitude of Caucasians toward them, they are made to feel that they are not really Americans.

2. Clearly they want to do the same things that other Americans with a similar level of education do. They succeed in this to a great extent in the field of recreation, but because of racial discrimination they are usually forced to live and work in a Japanese community. Race consciousness also makes them stay in their own group.

3. And what do these people believe? Probably they have not given too much serious thought to the matter. While there are probably those who lean on one side of the other, the minds of a great many may only be in a state of flux. The state of mind of the writer after spending a semester analyzing her own group probably describes such a state well:

"I am in a quandary at the end of this paper for we are Americans, and certainly by the third generation we will be every bit Americans, yet we shall never be--then what are we?"

She projects her mind into the future and says:

"There are many third-generation coming up--and one thing is apparent and that seems to be that they have so little of the characteristics of the earlier generations as far as their attitudes and ways are concerned, and yet they shall always retain the features of an Oriental. What is their future?"

Conclusion It is clear that these socialites are not 100 per cent "white Americans," but that hardly means that they cannot be Americans. Their ideals, for one thing, are American. ~~They~~ If given a decent chance, in all probability they would rapidly infiltrate into the American socio-economic structure proper. They are in a transitional stage, for third generation Japanese are growing up with a minimum of Japanese characteristics. They are American in the sense that Negroes and Jews and Italians and Catholics and Ookies are Americans. If Negroes consider themselves as Americans, there is no reason why Japanese should not consider themselves as Americans. They

-
- L. Psychology Workbooks for 145: 0-142, 0-55, 0-108
 Also see Charles Kikuchi's The Japanese American Youth in S.F.
 2. Psychology Workbook for 145: 0-142

are American, but a minority group which is looked on with prejudice. What sets them apart is their skin color, the behavior of their parents, their cliquishness, their ghetto. In the larger sense of the word they are typically American, for all residents, except the American Indian, were of immigrant stock, but there is a great barrier set up between them and the majority white Americans.

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON E.S.

Identification

America-Japan The partial identification with two different cultures, which characterized E.S. before the war, tended to be crystallized into a more definite pattern. Before the war most of the friends about him gave the impression of being loyal to America. When Pearl Harbor was bombed, however, one or two definitely came out to defend Japan's action as not being treacherous, while a few vociferously condemned Japan's military action. E.S. was not sure what to think, and kept still, as did most of his other friends. It was all very hazy in his mind. He was more concerned with what was going to happen to his own interests to be bothered too much about where he stood. He still held American ideals of living, and was more conscious than ever of the color of his skin. He believed that the American form of government and the ideals of freedom and equality were the ways that he desired, and at the same time wanted to believe his parents that Japan's cause on the Asiatic continent was not wrong. Some of his friends, of course, disagreed with him on some of these points.

From the end of December till the end of January there was a lull in the tension created by the war. E.S. felt that he could go on with his social activities and daily round of living without much change. Of course, his parents might have to be sent to a concentration camp, but after all they were aliens. He was a citizen, and he felt immune from such drastic actions. The series of events that began with the firing of 39 Niseis by the City of Los Angeles and which reached its climax with the announcement of evacuation of all Japanese from the coastal region had a profound effect upon him. Because of his race consciousness he could not help do otherwise than interpret the series of events as a sign of definite racial discrimination. His feeling of kinship with Hakujins was wiped away, and in place he felt that he was not wanted. Of course, he realized that there were some people who were attempting to stem this tide of anti-Japanese feeling, but he could not believe that such a minority would be able to counteract the sentiment of the majority. Some of the remarks heard were:

"Some Caucasians are less American than we are. Why take it out on us."

"Why treat us like aliens. We're worse off than Germans and Italians just because we're yellow."

E.S. had wanted America to win, provided Japanese were treated

on an equal basis as Hakujins. But he began to feel that if he were going to be treated unequally, "Well, why should he fight for America." His greatest concern was for his own welfare, just as the businessman's concern is for profits, and he began to wonder whether he would receive better treatment if Japan won.

"If Japan loses Americans might take us into their arms."

"If she loses, however, we'd have no country to back us up and we might be kicked around worse."

"If Japan wins, she may back us up. But she's playing us for a sucker now and doesn't care how much we suffer."

"If she wins, on the other hand, Americans may take it out on us."

Formerly E.S. had not thought of returning to Japan and only a few of his friends had, but now he began to wonder about that when a great many of them were saying that there would be no chance for Japanese in America after the war due to the resentment aroused. He was confused because still others told him that it was going to be all right after the war, and things would subside to normalcy in due time. He was rather surprised to hear it said from a friend that since it wouldn't matter to Japanese which side won, he'd like to see Japan win. At the same time, it didn't make complete sense to him to hear it said by other friends that since it didn't make any difference to the Nisei's future, America should win. He was confused. He knew definitely that an injustice had been done him which was for the most part unnecessary, and he wondered how he could improve his condition.

When restrictions on Niseis, such as the curfew, went into effect, E.S. was indignant for the most part. But some realized that since they were American citizens and wanted to live in America their best hope was an American victory and to be loyal American citizens.¹

Japanese community E.C. had frictions now and then with his parents in the past and preferred to be with his own group, away from the criticisms of Isseis. Numerous leaders, both Niseis and Caucasians, attempted to encourage E.S. to participate in school activities, but the response in the past was poor. He conformed to the ways of his group quite strictly and did not want to be snubbed by his friends by participating in mixed Caucasian-Japanese groups in the past, and he continued this attitude through the war.

War Aims

Because of lack of information it is difficult to ascertain to what extent E.S. believes in the war aims of the United States. Before the war indications were that practically all of them were willing to support the United States. He might

1. As this section is being rewritten there are reports that after the first flurry of indignation and resentment the reactions have calmed down somewhat.

have volunteered for the draft to show his loyalty, as many of his friends did. He professed his loyalty to the United States flag. However, at that time the country was not at war with Japan. When the war broke out he was still willing to be drafted and to fight for the United States. However, it is safe to say that E.S. is generally apathetic to the war aims. Since he has had little interest in questions of this nature, he probably does not realize the implications of a total war in which the United States have become involved.

What E.S. has termed as "unfair treatment" has tended to make him resentful. His hopes for a good job and a decent marriage have been reduced, and this has resulted in an apathetic attitude. Still he is prepared to do what is required of him by authorities. One fellow said that he would join the Army because \$41 was better than going to the camps, and it was the safest place. Another said that he would fight, but he didn't see how he could do so wholeheartedly. As far as attempting to raise the morale of the group to the cause of Democracy is concerned, for the most part E.S. has taken a policy of keeping the sign of low morale from getting into the attention of the majority group. He feels generally that he is not a part of the war effort.

Confidence in American Institutions

Democracy For E.S. confidence in American Democracy has been pretty well destroyed by the piling up of measures adverse to the welfare of this group. He feels angry about the discrimination in the Army and in evacuating Niseis. It is difficult for him to believe that a person can be sincere that he is for America because he believes in Democracy, as the more progressive groups do. In exasperation he raises his hands and exclaims: "Do you still believe in Democracy?"

Leaders Several of E.S.'s friends believe that people like Dr. Deutch are doing a great deal to help Japanese. His own confidence in American leaders, however, is low. For the most part he hesitates to take his problems up to Caucasians and leaders who might be able to help his group. The fact that he is not able to say some of the things he feels indignant about, probably upsets him. Also, he does not have enough contact with Caucasians who might bolster his morale. Too many statements were made and refuted later and too many cases of discrimination occurred for him to feel grateful for the leadership he is getting.

They're just trying to knock us around. They're trying to take it out on us."

"DeWitt's trying to save his own hide."

"Officials being tolerant? Tolerant of what?"

"That wage they're going to put on record for us--we won't get it."

Other Values

Before the war E.S.'s main interest was to satisfy his desires for popularity and association with the opposite sex,

to hope for a good job and a suitable marriage, to maintain his social status, and find enjoyment in recreation, all usually within his own group. The war has removed the possibility of many of these.

Love and marriage E.S.'s interest (if a girl) in the war seems to be mainly in terms of the repercussion it had on her social life, besides, of course, on the life of her friends and her family. The draft reduced the number of boys in circulation, but the disturbances since the war began made it worse for E.S. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor social gatherings of Niseis were generally thought unwise, especially at night, for fear of seeming frivolous and occurrence of unfortunate incidents. When evacuation became certain, households were too upset for many boys to date out girls. With the establishment of an eight o'clock curfew for Niseis, dates became out of the question. E.S. deplored the fact that she had to stay home night after night and over weekends. E.S. was afraid that she would never get married now.

For college socialites the same trend has occurred. Members of the JWSC held their spring formal initiation dance in an informal style, and for the last time invited boys to a social function of their own. Since then membership has been reduced, people have criticized such affairs, and only discussion meetings have been held. More serious, however, seems to be their marriage situation. The standard of marriage they held as ideal has become untenable. Whereas they generally sought a boy with "promise," they are now faced with the necessity of accepting men with a maximum earning of \$21 (unless it is raised to \$42). The alternative of a "good" job does not seem to most of these girls as hopeful. It is true, of course, that evacuation has made it unnecessary to demand a husband with promise, but they are still faced with the question of whether such a person would want to have a college-educated socialite for a wife.

Education-job Love and marriage have been important values to E.S. (a boy now), but probably not to the extent that they have been for girls. There has been a noticeable amount of "rush" marriages by those who desired to keep together after evacuation, and some of them may be attributed to E.S.'s group. The marriages were facilitated by lack of necessity for formality and expensive weddings. Education and a white-collar job, paying from \$150 to \$200 a month is E.S.'s goal. Both of these hopes have been shattered for the present. E.S. doubts greatly now the value of education in securing him a job. His lower class friends especially have felt that there was no use in continuing to study, and that there was little chance for a decent job now. Some of his friends, however, still see an advantage in continuing their education at other schools. Some of them also have hopes for suitable work in the camps.

Social Position One of the chief motivational forces in E.S.'s life has been the maintenance of social position and

leadership among Niseis. When the war razed to the ground the importance of dates, dances, sports, popularity with the opposite sex, white-collar jobs, and promising marriages, his social position fell. Having been trained to conduct social functions, but with very little idea of what they should do during wartime, he found little that he could do. His group had to stand by while more progressive and liberal elements on the Campus, took the leadership along pro-democratic and intellectual lines.

For socialites who were working there was a necessity, almost of having to maintain the appearance of having a "good" job. This was difficult for many because they only earned on the average \$65 or \$75, and usually not more than \$100. Since the war and preparations for evacuation, many of these Niseis have felt relieved because they have been freed from the necessity of maintaining appearance. Boys who have lost their job and some in school have expressed this opinion. And there is also no need now to spend \$500 to \$1000 just to get married.

Standard of judgment Several people have stated that E.S.'s motive has been purely self-centered. On the whole he has been indifferent to the war until he was directly affected. He seemed to have been lulled into complacency by the trend of affairs in January and early February, and did very little to safeguard the position of the Japanese as a whole. He continued to go on with his usual program of social functions, until he was concerned directly. E.S. has not been heard to say that he'll be loyal because he is an American citizen or because it is his duty, as Isseis might have said. Whether he wants America or Japan to win is usually based on selfish motives. He'll want America to win if Niseis will get equal treatment. He may not want Japan to win because he does not want to live there, knowing the poor economic condition.

"Americans may take it out on us if Japan wins."

"If this keeps up, I'm going back to Japan."

"We can't live in Japan. Conditions there are bad. I intend to stay in America."

"We might as well go to South America after the war."

At the present moment, however, some of E.S.'s friends believe that there is no future hope for them here in America. Also, there are those who have decided that a Japanese victory cannot make their condition worse. (Too many events have happened in rapid succession to allow E.S. to figure things out rationally. Future hopes and prospects will probably decide how he will change his attitude.)

Future Outlook

E.S.'s outlook has never been entirely optimistic. The vocational and marriage situation was a problem to him even before the war. Now that outlook has been made gloomier by the repercussions of the war. But he has always had the sympathy of his friends among whom he was relatively secure and happy. If the future was not too rosy, he was nevertheless able to

enjoy dates and parties and movies and bowling. In spite of moments of pessimism, he can still enjoy himself somewhat. If the recent weenie-bake at Codornices, in which E.S. participated, is any indication, he can still be cheerful and enjoy himself quite readily.

Some have believed that their place is in America, and that it will all work out somehow. Others, however, believe that there is no hope in America for them and that they must go elsewhere to seek their fortunes. Some express hope of a suitable job in the camps, while others look upon it as a novel experience. There are indications, however, that for E.S. there are alternating moments of optimism and pessimism. He would ~~not~~ like to stay and live in this country if he can live decently, although he does wonder now whether Japan would be better for him.

Of the longtime trend, however, he is not too concerned. He wants to see ahead only a few years at most, and usually much less. What effect his present attitude will have in the future, the chances for deportation,--these things do not worry him. They are contented with their immediate comforts.

Adjustment Pattern

The adjustment pattern of ~~a~~ Socialites can be looked upon as a creation of a friendly world of their own and conformity to both American and Japanese cultures to suit their own needs. As a result of the war most of their needs have become difficult to satisfy, ~~the~~ but the pattern of dual conformity and mutual companionship is still evident. It seems that they have attempted to bolster their lost prestige and hurt racial pride by swinging away from pro-democratic sentiments to some degree. But they have not been able to do this without a sense of guilt and recognition of retreat. They recognize probably that as citizens they owe their loyalty to America, and they believe yet that the culture of the dominant group is superior to that of the Isseis. With renewal of contact with the opposite sex inside of the camps and reorganization of social functions, Socialites should be able to regain some of the confidence they have recently lost. But as for their changing their mode of adjustment, it will probably not be easy. Their sense of insecurity, partial conformity to two standards, and striving for social position will hinder the acceptance of changes which would upset their position.

Summary

The impact of the war on E.S. has ~~been~~ detrimental to his morale. His present enjoyment and future hopes have generally been snatched away. His racial pride has been hurt, and he has tended to lose confidence in American Democracy and American leaders. As a result, he has swung away from pro-democratic ideas somewhat. Although there are moments of optimism, his morale is generally low.

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON R. (ROWDY)

Background

From time to time R. has come to the notice of other Japanese through items in the newspaper about gang fights on the streets, protests by society editors about their "hoodlum" activities and crashing of dances, and short stories about their crime activities indulged in by his group. R.'s background is difficult to determine. He seems to be a product of large cities, although his counterpart is probably found in rural districts also. The socio-economic status of his family seems to be varied, since he comes from the highest to the lowest level of social status homes. Some are Hawaiian-born, but, of course, not all. Some are those whose parents are engaged in non-acceptable occupations--e.g. gamblers, pool-hall operators, etc. Other groups form around athletic teams, transfer company workers, high school gangs that didn't persist, fruit produce market worker, Nisei fishermen. In the country there are the migrant workers whose behavior is typically non-conforming. (Many of this group are maladjusted Kibeis.) "Rowdy girls" are those not so conservative and act like average Caucasian girls. They may smoke, pet, stay out late, be a good sport, etc. The cases of lax morals are generally few, although they are beginning to develop in large cities. For instance, Japanese "B"girls have been seen in drinking establishments.

Uniform Ways

R's activities cannot be stereotyped except to say that they have been frowned upon by more respectable and conservative members of society. Sometimes it has only been a matter of excess of dancing, or "running around," playing pinball machines, having all night card sessions, at other times it was drinking and smoking, or hanging around pool halls, or frequenting beer-joints or cafes, or gambling or visiting prostitutes. In extreme cases he has committed petty thievery, stolen automobiles, taken part in street-fights with other gangs. For one or more of these reasons he has been generally ostracized by more "respectable" people. They have not been elected into offices of community organizations, and have been refused membership in social clubs. Many girls have ignored people branded as Rowdies. His group is probably predominantly composed of boys, ranging from high school adolescents to those above 25. In general R. has not been able to get good jobs, and has had to do unskilled work, and although many have done white-collar work, it has generally been for long hours and long wages. Many of them eventually settle down, and become respectable members of the community. One is now a deacon of a Xion Church, another a garage manager, and still another in Civil Service.

Adjustment Pattern

R. seems to be characterized by aggressive behavior, non-

conforming activities, and staying in gangs. Oftentime he picks a quarrel with a stranger for very little good reason. If there is a girl he likes and she prefers someone else, he sometimes warns the fellow to "lay off the girl or else." He has been known to beat up a fellow at a dance (with the aid of his friends) because he paid too much attention to his girl. Many of R.'s behavior are non-conforming. He races down the street with his friends on his car and urges some stranger to race with them. Then they stop the car, get, and beat the poor fellow up. For those on the borderline, sometimes it is only a matter of taking up smoking or visiting prostitutes. R. usually moves about with his "gang," and for the most part has them along when he indulges in aggressive and non-conforming activities. Although he is non-conforming, he is very conforming to the ways of his own group. All of these point to a personality maladjustment, although constitutional makeup and the slum environment should not be overlooked.

Identification

R. identification with his race and with American culture probably was not very different in degree with that of the Socialite. His attachment, however, has been generally with Americans of a lower social status, and with fashionable society people who "go in for slumming." Gambling, hanging around poolhalls, making the rounds of Negro clubs, having drinking parties, riding on "hopped-up" cars, wearing flashy clothes like Negroes, or copying their mannerisms and dancing, wearing Filipino haircuts--these things indicate their identification. Some of the older group have attempted to maintain their status by going to nightclubs. Shanghai Club in San Francisco is a special hangout for these "Chinatown Japs," as some prefer to call them. Some Nisei "barflies" pick up white girls who specialize in the Oriental trade. R.'s racial consciousness, for the most part, was probably as great as that of the Socialite. His identification with the Japanese community proper, however, is not great. He probably does not get along with his parents very well, nor does he usually attend Japanese school.

An interesting sidelight is thrown upon this group by Charles Kikuchi, who wrote The Japanese American Youth in S.F. "Approached from another angle, it may be possible that the "rowdy" element are in an envious position in the community among the more "conservative" group. To illustrate: Many are afraid to break loose at home, so they do many of the same things on the Q.T. However, when they go to the country, they really "cut loose" and there is no difference, except perhaps that they don't go as far as the so-called rowdy. But they do get a reputation as being "fast" among the country group. Therefore there is an inconsistency: They are "fast" while in the country, and conservative at home. To me, it appears that they are reacting as Americanized "Andy Hardy's". It is a stage and only those that fail to achieve an economic root in the community continue those actions as a manifestation of their maladjustment. This is where the great danger lies; not in personal

fault, but economic insecurity. There is a danger that along with the rest of the country, these Nisei will rebel further against the standard measures of social conformity, but not to the degree that the Negroes or Mexicans have gone, since community control has not entirely been swept away by the impact of the war..."

Impact of the War

Since R. was not a bit interested matters of social significance, he was apathetic toward the war. When the various restrictive measures were enacted, he was generally resentful. He had the attitude of "Hell, those damn Haku-jins." There are indications that many pointed fingers of scorn at "Japs" and identified themselves more with "rough" Americans. They sneered at timid Japs that obeyed curfew and wouldn't fight for their rights. With the piling up of measures which they felt to be discriminatory, they were beginning to voice their protest more vociferously. Many of them lost their jobs and hung around poolhalls, played cards, and gambled. There has been reports of some Japanese getting together and stabbing one or two lone Filipinos in retaliation for what they did or because of "girl trouble." But as they await evacuation, bitter feeling seems to have quieted down somewhat.

R's desire for sexual gratification is generally not too well disciplined. Toward girls his attitude has usually been that of having fun with them, taking them out, dancing, necking.... The attitude of some Rowdies has been: "What the hell do I care. I'm going to camp and rape all the girls." The girls sex morals are better than those of boys. Kibek girls are said to have a less strict attitude toward sex and many of them are quite promiscuous, but they are the maladjusted ones. Cases of pregnancy usually is hushed up within the community. A year or so ago a Japanese doctor was sent to San Quentin for performing abortions....

How these people will adapt themselves in the camps where the economic status of all Niseis will be about the same, but where they will be cramped up in a small space with many conservative Isseis and Niseis, will be interesting to observe. A report has already trickled out of Manzanar that Rowdies are getting out of hand.

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON P. (PROGRESSIVE)

DESCRIPTION

Background

P. comes from a middle class home, but the position of his home is usually is not in the midst of a large number of other Japanese families. The chances are that he was brought up in a community where there were very few Japanese families. The chances are that he was brought up in a community where there were very few Japanese, or that his parents were rather Americanized and had Caucasian contacts.

P.'s age is anywhere from 15 to 25.

Uniform Ways

P.'s economic status may be high or low, but it is more likely to slightly lower than that of the Elite Socialite, unless he finds a good job. P.'s vocational choice is in the white-collar field, usually, but he prefers work outside of the Japanese community, in such fields as Civil Service and social welfare. He does not mind going into fields where there are no Japanese established. He definitely does not want to take such jobs as domestic work, or menial labor. He is usually not particular as the Elite Socialite of the way in which he dresses or the way he looks. His social status is maintained generally through taking part in activities with his Caucasian friends, such as school activities, and not by keeping to a Japanese group.

Usually P. speaks little or no Japanese at all. At home he speaks English to his parents, and naturally tends to avoid situations where he has to speak in Japanese. He probably was not sent to a Japanese school for very long. His desire for higher education and his faith in its usefulness is greater probably than that of any other group, although this does not hold where the identification is with a little-educated American group.

P.'s concept of how to do things are similar or identical to those of the Caucasian friends with whom he associates. To him the self-effacing and apologetic manners of more conservative Japanese are often strange and irritating. His interests tend to be less concentrated on dates and dances, and spread out more into other fields such as intellectual discussions, music, reading, sports, and others.

Other Values

Race consciousness is usually not as strong in P. as it is in other Niseis. He has less fear about being with Caucasians than other Niseis because he has been among them. He does, however, often dread going into a group of Japanese if he does not know them. Often he feels different from them, and usually considers himself superior to them. His desire for contact with the opposite sex and desire for leadership often draws him away from his Caucasian friends

and into a group of Niseis. He, however, usually has to make the initial move in that direction.

Adjustment Pattern

P.'s adjustment pattern is essentially that of the "marginal personality."¹ In a great many cases he begins his life outside of the Japanese community entirely, except for his parents and his skin color. In grammar school he finds that he gets along with American children of other races of both sexes, and even has "crushes" on some of them. When he changes school, however, a racial cleavage is likely to spring up between him and his friends. In high school, for instance, his Caucasian friends begin to blossom out and take interest in the opposite sex. In this he is usually not able to take part because of the color line. If it does not happen in high school, then it is almost sure to occur in college. He is more likely to become conscious of his race because of the racial barriers set up by various school organizations and fraternities and sororities. If he can keep aloof from the Japanese group at college and can get a job among Caucasians, then he may not have to change his mode of adjustment for some time.

Usually, however, where there are a great number of Japanese around, at some point he reverts back to a group that possesses the same skin color as himself. Sometimes he is able to make a small collection of friends like himself. At other times he is able to adjust himself to an established and more conservative Nisei group, depending on the nature of the group and his adaptability. If his needs are not completely satisfied by remaining in the group, he may again seek Caucasian friendship.

The process, of course, can begin in a different way. P. may be an established member in a Nisei group, but gradually drift away from it either through circumstances, such as changing school, or working in a home, or because his needs are not being satisfied in the group. Perhaps, he is not popular with the opposite sex, or he feels that his leadership qualities are not being recognized. He may then associate more and more with Caucasians.

In the process of wavering between the two groups P. will probably find that he has friends in both groups and that he is partially adapted to both, but wholly to neither. Also, for different phases of his life he can have wholly Caucasian contact for the one and Nisei friends for the other. There can be a group solution where a number of Niseis like P. make the Caucasian association together. This seems to occur sometimes in churches and "Y" groups. This, however, is not always satisfactory because the larger number of the minority race tends to set up a racial barrier.

1. See Stonequist's Marginal Man for a full discussion of this concept.

Because of the conflicting situation P. may have a problem of personality maladjustment on his hands. This is especially true when his abilities and achievements do not measure up to his level of aspiration. He may feel superior because of his likeness to Caucasians, and be disturbed because he is not accepted by Caucasians on an equal level and other Niseis do not concede him his superiority.

The Situation

With the outbreak of the war identification with America became a desirable thing, and the situation advantageous to P.

IMPACT OF THE WAR

Identification

America P.'s identification is definitely with the country of his birth. He may not have seen Japan at all, and will say that he cannot love a country that he does not know. When Pearl Harbor was bombed, he felt as other Americans that it was treacherous. He believes that his future is in America only, and pins his hope on American victory. He takes great pride in his American citizenship, and probably appreciates it more than the average American. To him good war news consist in Allied victories. He dislikes the Japanese militarists who are running Japan just as any American would. A triumph by the Axis powers is a dreadful thought to him. As one person commented:

"He has never felt other than that America was his own country. His love, trust and cherishing of America is deep and sincere."

Americans P. holds his contact with Caucasians especially dear. Since the war he has continued to cling to his Caucasian friends for reassurances that he is American, and will be accepted as an American. The sympathy his Caucasian friends have shown him, has reaffirmed his faith in them when he began to doubt the fairness of some of the treatment Niseis were being accorded. The work of Christian organizations to help the Japanese evacuees was especially comforting.

Japanese race and community P. identifies himself with Japanese in general as little as possible. He finds it relatively easy to associate with Christians, because they generally have progressive ideals. In intellectual and liberal groups he finds the atmosphere congenial enough. But he often finds it difficult to break into cliquish social groups. As for the more conservative Niseis and Isseis, he feels he has very little in common with them. With the approach of evacuation he deplored the necessity of having to live at close quarters with a great number of Japanese.

War Aims

P. believes that this war is a war to save American Demo-

cracy, and is wholeheartedly in support of it. He wants to do all he can--he wants to feel that he is a part of it.

He is distressed with the apathy of many Niseis. He may not go to the extreme of turning in a Japanese, unless, perhaps, he was sure that he was dangerous. He has participated in group activities such as making plans for resettlement, sending letters of protest against undemocratic practices, and has carried on his private campaign for Democracy. Boys were anxious to join the Armed Forces to show their loyalty, while girls planned for Civilian Defense and Red Cross activities. But evidences of discrimination in the Army and the honorable discharge of some Niseis have dampened the spirit of the boys,¹ while discrimination against Japanese in the American Red Cross has prevented girls from active participation in some places. Many wanted to work with Caucasian rather than join an exclusively Japanese group. Al- he might have felt that it was unjust, P. sincerely wanted to cooperate.

Confidence in American Institutions

Democracy During the first few months of the war, P. had full confidence in America. He felt that evacuation was necessary for military reasons, or for the protection of the Japanese themselves, or because of the hysteria whipped up against the Japanese. He knows that American Democracy is not perfect, and says that it is a process, the perfection of which people must strive for. Most of these people still retain full confidence in the American way and the American people. But there has been signs of doubt arising in their minds. The discrimination against citizens of Japanese ancestry in the evacuation has irritated many of the Progressives, as well as many Caucasians. Here are some of the remarks made:

"My attitudes toward America are quite uncharged. Of course, I do feel she is going too far when she tries to discriminate between enemy aliens and between various citizens of enemy alien descent, and when she tries to turn this war into a race war."

"Today the Army announced its evacuation orders. All California is included in the military zone. Of all people who will eventually be asked to leave, the only group of American citizens who must leave are those of Japanese descent. Why don't Americans of German or Italian descent have to move? It seems like outright racial discrimination. Hell!..."

"I am in complete accord with Miss Kyogoku² as regards this evacuation order: "The government may take away as many

1. As this is being revised, there has been reports that no more Japanese are being taken for the draft.

2. Daily Californian, March 31, 1942

rights as it wishes in an all-out effort for total war; it may put as many restrictions on us as it likes; it may send us wherever it deems best; but may we have all this on the basis of equality for all enemy aliens and alien descended citizens and not on the basis of race."

Some Progressives thought that Miss Kyogoku's assertion was unwise because it seemed as though she was putting the interest of the Nisei above those of the country. They continue to remain hopeful of their future fate in a Democracy. Their sympathetic Caucasian friends have helped them to retain that confidence. (But how will it be when they lose that support in the resettlement camps and conditions of the Japanese become any worse?)

Leadership Faith in American leadership has been maintained to the same degree that faith in Democracy has been. P. recognizes that there are pressure groups at work influencing men in key positions. He sees the difference between tolerant and fair-minded leaders and narrow-minded politicians and business men. He feels that men in key positions are doing all they can for the Japanese. Much of this reassurance he gets from his contacts with Caucasians. As one person puts it:

"The Caucasians that I have known are all fully sincere in their attempts to aid us to the fullest extent and so I have an attitude of complete trust in most of them. Of course, I realize that I am acquainted with a very small minority of them, but I feel that many have come to the full realization of the injustice of it all and don't believe every rumor they hear. I don't think we can condemn them all for the actions of a part of them. The latter may be a majority, but I believe an ambitious minority can counteract their efforts to a great extent."

Adjustment Pattern

So far it seems that their adjustment pattern of conformity to American ways and ideals and maintaining contact with Caucasians has remained intact. They have attempted so far to view everything in a manner favorable to Democracy, even ignoring many of the irritations which has upset the more race conscious Niseis. "There's no sense in magnifying racial discrimination. Actually it's very slight." is the sort of remark made by the. The comment made to this is revealing:

"Is it slight? They recognize that it isn't, but forces of real democracy is in existence, and although they are held back now due to public opinion, they feel that they will win out. This reassures them and makes them think that discrimination should not be resented deeply, though fought against."

P. has remained on the fringe of Nisei groups. Feeling superior to other Niseis, he has usually demanded a role of

leadership in their groups whenever he joined them. Since the war, on the campus leadership among the Japanese students has fallen into the hands of Progressive-Liberal students. Actually the gulf between the Progressives and other Niseis seems to be widening, since many Nisei have swung away from faith in American Democracy, and our would-be leaders are faced with the problem of being leaders without a following.

Other Values

Jobs among Caucasians The chances for jobs among Caucasians have been reduced to a great extent. P. would rather accept a job in the Caucasian community rather than be with Japanese in the resettlement camps. (This seems to be based on the fact that jobs among Caucasians are better-paying and have more prestige value. Also, their whole adjustment pattern has been persistently in that direction). For those contemplating going into a camp this avenue is closed, and they hope that they may be able to return to it after the war.

Leadership among Niseis Progressives who intend to be evacuated with the rest of the general Japanese population are thinking of such jobs as teachers, social worker, and managers in the resettlement camps.

Education Progressives who have not finished their schooling are planning to finish it. They still have faith in the value of education.

Future Outlook

The prospect for a job in the Caucasian community and continued contact with Caucasians in the resettlement camps is poor. "He dreads the possibility of getting into a 'rut' in camp while alienated from American society." But Progressives still retain their faith in Democracy and are free from resentment. He feels that other Niseis should be won over to his point of view. He faces the future with confidence, some even looking forward to the tasks that need to be tackled within the new communities.

Summary

The values maintained by P. have become most acceptable publicly as a result of the war. He has been able to voice his opinion sincerely and act without any need to cover up his real thoughts, as the more conservative groups have had to do. He has two fears which may upset his present confidence. One is the loss of Caucasian contact and the other is ~~the~~ disillusionment in the American way. Will the loss of the former result in the latter? This we have yet to see.

IMPACT OF THE WAR ON RADICAL LIBERALS

Introduction

For this account observations will be made largely from activities of two active groups, the Nisei Democratic Club of Oakland and the Writers Group and people affiliated with them. Because of lack of material the background history of these groups will be omitted. Of these two the Writers Group generally contains older members with varied backgrounds--American born and educated, Japan born, Japan educated. The ND is composed of Niseis from about 20 to 30.

Identification

American "masses" The identification of R.L.'s has generally been with the great number of people who align themselves with workers, artists, writers, and others, who consider themselves the "people." This is in contradistinction with "capitalists," "vested interests," "conservatives," "fascists," whom they believe work only for their selfish interest and not for good of the people. In the past, they have definitely aligned themselves with the American labor union movement and have attempted to improve the position of the Niseis by that means. They have supported minority groups, which more conservative groups have not done. The ND, for instance, supported the Filipino Naturalization Bill.¹ Since the war they have been strengthened in their conviction that their stand for minority groups and against "vested interests" is the right one for Niseis to take. They relate that the Associated Farmers had promised to help the JACL in case of labor trouble, but they had turned against the Japanese when it came to evacuation. They point out that the CIO is about the only powerful group that is willing to help them. At the Tolson Committee hearing in San Francisco on February 23 the CIO representative made a strong plea for fair treatment of the Japanese, which JACL leaders commended.² The Civil Liberties Union has been willing to help Niseis retain their civil liberties by contesting cases of discrimination in Civil Service, but they have been unable to find a suitable case. Liberals point out that it is the "fascistic" elements composed of business men, veterans organization, politicians, newspapers that have attempted and succeeded in effecting the evacuation of all Japanese, both aliens and citizens.

Japanese community Because of their stand these liberals have been dubbed as "radicals" and "reds" by the reactionary Japanese and have generally been socially ostracized from the Japanese community. Of the artists and writers one writer relates:³

-
1. Japanese American News, February 24, 1942
 2. DOHO, February 27, 1942
 3. Japanese American News, Nisei Views, February 24, 1942

"In the matter of earning a living, they have refused positions offered by Japanese firms where they would have to sacrifice their anti-fascist beliefs. They have been blacklisted by the Japanese consulates and the Japanese Chambers of Commerce and the Japanese associations; and this blacklisting has made it impossible for them to secure such work as may ordinarily have been open to them. They have been ostracized socially and consistently made to "pay" in every way for their stand against Japanese fascism."

Rather than find work within the Japanese community, they have generally gone on into the Caucasian field or have found jobs through trade unions. The ND has tried to cooperate with Japanese groups such as the JACL in the past without much response.

The feelings of an extremist in this respect can be glimpsed from the following:

"I'm not sorry to see Little Tokyo go, because it has always been (very subjectively speaking) an uncomfortable place for rebels like myself, G., C., S., etc. We always had more or less (maybe I'm imagining thing--to carry a chip on our shoulders. We dislike Little Tokyo because it was so damned conservative...Because Little Tokyo looked to Japan instead of Washington, D.C. We were afraid of Little Tokyo because we had to make our living there. We were always glad to climb the walls of Li'l Tokyo and get into a less confining ghetto, Jewish town. We liked the Jews because they were more compatible, because we understood them, and they understood us..."

When the war broke out, these liberal groups came out with a strong pro-democratic stand in behalf of the Niseis. Both groups held discussions and formulated plans to help the whole Japanese community. Government officials were contacted and letters written which have been helpful to the Japanese group. At the Tolson Committee hearing in San Francisco, representatives of the ND thought they had testified in a manner that counteracted much of the poor showing made by the JACL people. Since the war they have approached the JACL in a very cooperative spirit for the sake of unity of the Japanese, and this has been acknowledged by Mike Masaoka, executive-secretary of the JACL. This cooperative gesture, however, has not been reciprocated by the conservative elements in the Japanese community, and Carl Yoneda in his column in the DOHO for February 2, 1942, complains that in spite of need for unity such organizations as the JACL and Christian groups have taken a policy of letting "radicals" alone. However, most of these liberals intend to work with the Japanese who are evacuating, rather than attempt to escape into the Caucasian group.

War Aims

Even from before the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the thoughts of the liberals have been anti-fascist. They had protested

the invasion of Manchuria and China by Japan. They contributed to China and Spain relief funds.¹ When Pearl Harbor was bombed, DOHO, "for Equality, Peace and Progress," came out immediately with the headline:²

"DEFEAT MILITARIST JAPAN!"

The Nisei Writers and Artists Mobilization for Democracy (NWAMD) was organized in San Francisco in February under the leadership of Isamu Noguchi to defeat Fascism. In its statement of policy it said:

"Therefore, now that our country and all the democratic nations of the world are menaced by the encircling tentacles of fascism, we stand ready to offer our individual and collective talents for the service of the land of our birth."

The ND also went on record immediately promising an all-out support of the democratic cause and denouncing Japan's bombing of Pearl Harbor.

One thing that distinguishes these liberals from other groups is their activeness. While others have hesitated to take any radical action, many of these people have declared, for instance, that they would turn in any Japanese if they thought he was dangerous. The editor of the DOHO is supposed to have turned in the names of people he knew to be dangerous. The NWAMD has been conducting a column in the Japanese American News, "Nisei in Democracy," to influence the thought of Niseis to conform to the war aims of the United States. Among other activities the ND planned a speakers bureau to present democratic ideas to groups of young Niseis, but the curfew prevented them from carrying out their plan.

These liberals are generally well-informed on political, economic, and social matters, and realize the implications of the war now being fought. They recognize on the whole not only the democratic form of government at stake, but the very existence of the nation. They have agreed that there can be no "sitting on a fence," and they have indicated their choice.

Confidence in American Institutions

Democracy The confidence of these liberals in the democratic form of government has been definitely shown. Since they have identified themselves with the "underprivileged" groups and were familiar with the problems of Labor, Negroes, and other minority groups, they recognize Democracy as a process.

"Democracy is a process for which we have to fight. If Niseis don't contribute anything to it, they certainly can't

1. Japanese American News, February 24, 1942, "Nisei Views"
2. DOHO, December 7, 1942

complain of the treatment they are getting."

"The price of freedom is eternal vigilance--that's certainly is true."

"If we lose our civil liberties now, it means that other minority groups are going to be next..."

These remarks show the degree of understanding of Democracy as a fight for equality and freedom which is yet to be wholly attained. Their confidence in American Democracy is undoubtedly reinforced by their realization that there are a great many other people in the United States are with them in this struggle for the ideals of the United States.

Leaders An understanding of politics gives these liberals a means of judging the worth of a leader to them. They know the necessity of writing letters, putting on pressure, pulling strings in getting desired action from many governmental officials. They have kept in direct contact with men in key positions dealing with Japanese, and they have recognized the trustworthiness of such persons as Mr. Neudstadt and Mr. Eisenhower. Their faith is not blind, but one based on critical evaluation.

Other Values

Democratic ideals Most of these liberals have great respect for the ideals of the democratic way, and the meetings of the ND, for instance, is carried out in strict parliamentary procedure. They are more likely to respect the opinion of members than in other Nisei organizations.

Some of the suggestions offered to the JACL on March 5, 1942, gives an indication of the values maintained by the ND:

"Complete isolation in the camps is dangerous. There should be some contact with Caucasians."

"Should carry on an educational program for Democracy."

"Discriminatory evacuation is desirable."

"Use of Japanese as scab labor must be avoided."

"The right of Niseis to vote must be maintained."

Political power The ND was organized as a political organization, but the NWAMD has stressed that it is a non-partisan body. Both groups, however, have constantly tried to influence the leadership of the JACL, which they felt to be at fault in many respects. The organization of councils consisting of Nisei organizations outside of the JACL, such as the East Bay Coordinating Council, S.F. Coordinating Council, and the Bay District Council for Coordination (Sounding Board) was in partial protest to JACL leadership. The San Francisco Coordinating Council consisted mostly of Christian groups, but in the other two the liberal groups played a major role. Through the Bay District Council for Coordination they were able to get three votes in the JACL Bay District Coordinating Council. Leaders in both organizations have contacted officials and have attempted to

secure leadership in the planning of the resettlement camps, and at present have hopes of putting political power within the resettlement camps into more liberal hands than those of the conservative JACL leaders. They have alternately asked for appointment of Caucasian officials and self-government by the Japanese themselves in resettlement camps, always fearing that the reactionary elements in the Japanese community will again gain control. This desire for leadership of the Japanese group by liberals cannot be denied.

Change and action One of the fundamental desires of the liberals is for change in the status quo. They feel that justice is not being carried out by the group in power, and they believe in action--sometimes political, sometimes educational--in remedying the situation. When the war broke out, the inability of the conservative Japanese to express their pro-Japanese feelings, and lack of training to cope with a situation that required social vision, gave the liberals an advantage which they did not enjoy before. Before their "radical" suggestions were ignored and they were ostracized from the community, but they now came forward with valuable plans and suggestions that could not be completely ignored. Anyway, they took many of these directly up to government officials, who were receptive to suggestions and pro-democratic attitude. Many of the liberals have looked forward to the evacuation of the Japanese as an opportunity for social change. The NWAMD, especially, has been enthusiastic in this direction. It advocated voluntary evacuation, and drew up a plan for a cooperative society, with as much emphasis as possible on industrialization, since other plans seemed to suggest mostly agriculture (e.g. Farm Cooperative Plan).

Intellectualism Discussions of social problems have been the chief interest of the liberals, and they have felt superior to other Niseis because of it. The numerous problems created by the war, however, have prevented idle talk. They have been preoccupied more in carrying out what they have discussed in the past, and in making plans for the future. They tend to look with scorn on the academic intellectual with his theories and facts and figures, but little action.

Non-conformity The protest of liberals have not been directed alone at the economic control maintained by conservative elements. They have also felt a need to escape from the narrowly conforming ways of the Japanese community. They probably found this satisfaction in the more liberal ways of the American masses with whom they identified themselves. Even before the war, the ND realized its inability to influence Japanese as long as it was tagged as being "radical," and had been making efforts to throw off that stigma. With the outbreak of the war they have cooperated fully with the JACL, even going to the extent of offering to dissolve their organization if they could get representation in the JACL. It has been careful to avoid any action

that would brand them as "reds."

Class Consciousness These groups, probably of all the Nisei groups, feel the least race conscious. In general they neither consider the whites superior or the Japanese inferior or despise Negroes or Jews or other racial minorities. They are, however, "class conscious" and identify themselves with the workers.

Pattern of Adjustment

The pattern of adjustment of liberals has been non-conformity to the ways of the conservative Japanese. They now seem to be compromising part of this in order to achieve leadership over the majority of Niseis. They can be valuable to the Japanese community because of their liberal views, which are adaptable to change. Will they be accepted by the others? Will such a compromise be possible? These questions will have to be answered in the future.

Summary

As a result of the war, the position of the Radical Liberals has become very favorable. They have been put into a position where they can express themselves freely, and where their tendency toward action and change, coupled with social vision, make them of great possible value to the Japanese community, if there are to be progressive changes. They have been cooperative and have served so far the welfare of the Japanese as a whole. More than any other group, these Liberals have identified themselves with the war efforts of the United States, and feel that they are a part of it.

CONCLUSION

This concludes the section on the impact of the war on different types of personalities. A more detailed analysis of the background of these types and a comparative study of the reactions recorded here must be undertaken at a later date.

SOURCESInterpretation

- G.W. Allport and H.A. Murray, Worksheets on Morale,
Harvard University, 1942
- Britt, Social Psychology and Modern Life, Farrar and
Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1941
- Cantril, Psychology of Social Movement, John Wiley and
Sons, Inc., 1941, New York
- Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb, Experimental Social Psychology
Harper and Brothers, 1937, New York
- Stonequist, Marginal Man
- E.C. Tolman, Course in Psychology of Motivation, 1941
University of California

Historical Material

- Adamic, Louis From Many Lands, The Young American with an
American Face. A good example of a marginal personality.
- Compositions of Gakuen students. Good on attitude of
extremely conservative Niseis toward war and Japan.
They can also be found in back copies of vernacular papers.
- Life histories: The history of the writer's family and
those of other families have given valuable insight into
~~the~~ the problem discussed. Life sketches of half a
dozen progressives were obtained.
- Nisei Attitude Survey, May, 1940, Pasadena Junior College
- Kikuchi, Charles, The Japanese American Youth in S.F., 1941
- Tryon, R.C. Social Psychology (145) Workbooks, University
of California
- 0-108 A Young Business Girl's Club at the Japanese
YWCA, S.F.
- 0-1 A Christian Japanese (Issei) Farmer Subgroup in a
Japanese Community near Stockton.
- 1s-25 Japanese colony of Bisbee
- 1-5 A Rural Japanese Community. Predominantly Christian
and relatively progressive.
- 0-142 Japanese Women's Students Club of the University
of California
- 1-33 A Japanese Immigrant Family in Berkeley.
- 0-55 Second Generation Japanese of S.F.
- 1-70 Second Generation Buddhist Organization of Berkeley
- Zaibei Nipponjin Shi (History of the Japanese in America)
Zaibei Nipponjin Kai, S.F., December, 1940

Impact of the WarDoho

- Japanese-American News, S.F.
- Oakland Tribune
- Daily Californian, University of California
- Informants, for Conservative, Socialite, Rowdy, and Issei,
and Kibei.
- Participant Observer, for Liberal, Progressive, and also
to a lesser extent Conservative, and Issei, Socialite.
- Rumors, They were not systematic enough to be very useful.
- Criticism of first draft by various Japanese students on
the University of California campus.