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T. Sasaki
30 August 46

Report on the Los Angeles
Area for the Denver Conference.
for Period July 28 - August 30.
1946



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Preface.

Approximately a month was spent in the Los Angeles during which time many interviews were conducted. The writer was limited in his field work to only a few localities in the County, but has spoken to a few who reside in the greater Los Angeles County. The following report attempts to give a general picture of the situation as revealed in the interviews, reports of various civic agencies, and WRA the Refu Shimo and in informal conversations and observations on which no field notes were taken. It is by no means a complete report, and apologies are made. The conclusions reached are based on the number of people making similar statements and with the opinion of the writer thrown in.

An intensive study with 10 field workers probably would still not cover every facet of the community of Los Angeles, however, by the time the study is completed in December or January, a more complete and accurate picture will emerge.



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The Present Japanese Communities in Los Angeles

Population & Distribution.

Since the opening of the West Coast in January of 1945, approximately 22,000 have returned to Los Angeles County according to a press release recently by the Committee on Human Relations. This is a conservative number since on March 7, 1946, the estimate was 23,147 according to data compiled from WRA records plus 10% for returnees not registered in the district offices.*

Approximately 15,000 are said to be returned to the City of Los Angeles which is about 8,000 less than the figure set by the 1940 census. The decreased figures however do not detract from the fact that there seem to be more Japanese back in Los Angeles. The Japanese have concentrated heavily in various areas whereas before the war many families were living somewhat apart from the recognized Japanese communities. The data given below show a comparison of the concentrated areas of 1940, as compared to the information available in March of 1946.

<u>City of Los Angeles</u>	<u>1935**</u>	<u>1940</u>	<u>March, 1946</u>
Highland Park			198
S.E. Los Angeles			198
Hollenbeck and Belvedere	2,554		3,400
Hollywood	723		1,725
Midtown	4,370		4,950
Normandie	2,335		2,992
W. Los Angeles & Beverly Hills			<u>1,298</u>
			14,761

These figures have to be interpreted with caution in view of the differences defining the areas. However, on the whole they are to be considered fairly accurate comparisons.

*Welfare Council of Metropolitan L.A. Community Relations Committee, March 7, 1946 Minutes of the meeting. p.5.

**"Mutual Life and Aid Among the Japanese in Southern California" by Miss Fukuoka, 1937. p.4,5.



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Later estimates on the sizes of different Japanese community indicate that there will be heavier concentration in the West Los Angeles ~~district/ the~~ and the Normandie districts. The Director of the West Los Angeles Hostel has estimated that the present population is about 3500.

The tendency of resettlement in Los Angeles County has been towards the city as is indicated by the small number who have returned to areas outside of the city. Approximately 7,000* were said to be in communities outside of the city in March of 1946 whereas before evacuation the number was approximately 13,000.** Over 2,000 were in the five housing installations and 1,472 were living in Hostels. This picture however, has changed somewhat after the closing of the installations but not to any great extent since they are operating under different management.



*Welfare Council Meetin March 7, 1946
** 1940 Census

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Occupation

In contrast to the large numbers of Japanese employed in the Flower Markets, the Retail and Wholesale Fruit Markets, grocery stores before evacuation, it is estimated that 7 out of 10 Japanese are now working as gardeners. It has been difficult for the Japanese to regain their pre-war economic position because of pressures in form of high cost of leases and rentals. Three or four have re-opened "door" in the wholesale markets, a few more have bought retail stores. It can be safely assumed that the approximately 5,000 who were employed in the wholesale and retailing markets*are selling their services as gardeners

Gardening has been first choice in jobs for several reasons. Initial expenses need not be too great if one is to start on his own. A car is mandatory, and ^a/lawnmower~~x~~ is of tremendous aid, however, in some cases equipments owned by the home-owners have been used with success. Contractors have more work than they can handle and consequently hire many helpers at \$1.00 to \$1.25 an hour. Many of the helpers work out of hostels and trailer camps, and since services are performed at the homes of the contractees, no expense is necessary to maintain an office. The earnings are said to be more lucrative in this field than in ^{any}another since a person is able to earn up to \$600.00 a month. However, many of the older and those inexperienced in gardening are using this ^{type of}job to net them quick money in hopes of getting into something better. One issei doctor mentioned that many of the older people are collapsing because during their years in camp they discontinued hard work and their bodies cannot stand strenuous work.

Other fields which have opened up to the niseis are the recording factories. The Columbia, Decca and the Capital factories have many employed all of their shifts. The Moody mattress factories have also employed a



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good number of niseis. Cafeterias employ both niseis and isseis, but at .65¢ an hour with meals. These jobs are considered only as stop-gaps to something better. Everyone one meets are very reluctant in admitting what type of work they are engaged in. They say apologetically that they are working at such and such a place.

Some of the more skilled Niseis have gotten into good jobs^{in firms} such as the Southern California Gas Company, Western Electric, Bullocks, Eastern Columbia, Approved Dental Laboratory, Southern California Edison Company etc. Many more have gotten into the County and Civil Service. However, only a few have been placed in the more lucrative jobs simply because they are not qualified, or do not have the drive to follow through until they get the job.

The women are having an easier time in getting placed. Many niseis, as well as isseis are getting into clothing manufacturing concerns at fairly good pay. \$50.00 a week and up are the figures set as wages. Nisei secretaries are in demand by the City and County agencies. It is felt by many employees that the training the girls received in camps have given them experience in handling and coordinating all office procedures. Their knowledge of the inter-working between the various aspect of the office routine oftentimes make them more valuable than the caucasian girl who has been pigeon-holed into a little nook, with little experience other than in her routine job.

Many of the women, however, have taken jobs as domestics because of the critical housing shortage. Mothers and daughters work in homes and meet with their families once a week. Those who work out of hostels can earn up to \$8.00 a day.



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The fact that the women can earn more than the men has tended to re-orient the family social structure. In many cases the men are at least 10 years older than the women, and it is felt that the average age of the issei is around 60. Therefore, the women go out and work while the men stay home and putter around taking care of the children, the garden, etc. To what extent this trend will increase is a matter of guess, but it will be interesting to watch because most employable males among the isseis can get jobs only as gardeners, or in cafeterias at .65¢ an hour. In both of these jobs they must work hard enough to keep up with the younger men at the expense of tearing down their health.

Wages

Many of the people, especially the issei feel that they ~~are making~~ ^{are making} more money now doing ~~xxxx~~ dishwashing than they could before the war in jobs more to their liking. Business-men are surprised that many isseis have the money to spend. However, in spite of their making more money than they did before the war, their buying power is much less. They do not realize it and think only in terms of the dollar earned, and not what the dollar will buy. One nisei attributed this to the fact that they did not relocate eastward where earnings could be compared to others' earnings. They compare their current wages with those they earned before the war. For instance, a room and board in a boarding house before the war was approximately \$31.00. Now it is \$70.00 a month.



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Businesses

Little Tokyo, the center of Japanese business before the war is gradually coming back. With the exception of a few stores owned by the caucasians, all of the shops were being operated by negroes during the war. The first leases were bought at reasonable prices but gradually as the owners sensed the wants of the relocatees, prices were increased. Competition for the better locations was keen and the Japanese themselves permitted increased prices by ~~practicing~~ outbidding other Japanese.

The building owners were glad to have the Japanese back because it meant that the buildings would be kept up better, and consequently property values would go up. The negroes have taken this migration philosophically. It is said that many of them prefer to patronize the Japanese owned restaurants and stores because they get better services and better merchandise for less money. This is not entirely true because it has been mentioned that the OPA and the city law enforcement did not reach this area. No clashes have resulted in the in-migration of the Japanese altho some undercurrent was begun when they first began to move in. As the income of the negroes drop, they will move to other areas of lower economic levels. Many businessmen feel that such is the trend and within the next four or five years, Bronzeville will again be occupied mainly by the Japanese.

Restuarants

Restuarants are by far the greatest in number and the fact that this particular type of business has already passed the saturation point is evidenced by the fact that several have already closed. Business was at its peak in the early days of relocation. People living in hostels and hotels came in to town for their meals. Both Japanese and Chinese foods brought back



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memories of the old Saturday nights in Little Tokyo. When people began working as domestics, the day was switched to Thursday Nights when mothers and daughters held weekly reunions with the families at the Chop Suey houses. San Kwo Lo, center for most parties following weddings, funerals and conventions had to form queues to accomodate its patrons in turns.

But as the number of restuarants increased, and as the people began to settle into their own homes, business decreased. The residue that was left in the hostels were those who had difficulty in feeding their families at the low-cost hostels. The single persons without jobs came each morning to the restuarants for their coffee and hot-cakes, the most inexpensive dish on the menu. The patrons decreased from regular customers from the hostels to the business men and visitors of Bronzeville. This drop in business, together with the high cost of wages has led one business man to estimate that only about two of all of the restuarants are making money.

Food Stores

There are now three large food markets opened, and operated by the Japanese. Four or five of the others are on a smaller scale and owned and operated by the negroes. The three markets specialize in seafoods, meat, and Japanese foods. This type of business is taking over the trade that formerly was held by the restuarants. Japanese foods unobtainable in camps are in demand for home diners. Rice, so emotionally necessary to the Japanese has jumped from the pre-war price of \$5.00 a sack to \$12.00 an up. A month ago it reached \$18.00 a sack. Other foods are equally expensive. But with the restuarants, as the longing for Japanese foods become less intense, more and more will patronize the local markets, or the Grand Central Market where food costs are cheaper.



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One issei businessman has stated that Little Tokyo will dissolve as soon as other areas are set up for business. He bases this on the fact that Little Tokyo is centered in an industrial area. His prediction is that the best future localities are in the Soto and 1st in Boyle Heights, and on 36th and Normandie on the Westside.

Cleaning Shops

To date there are 6 cleaning establishments in Little Tokyo. Everyone of them is doing rushing business. Before the war there was only one, altho the total number ~~was~~ ^{operated} by the Japanese ran into a much larger number. The shops in Tokyo at the present time are being run mainly by the Negroes and Mexicans with only two operated by the Japanese. Along Temple Street from Hill Street to Hoover are located four or five cleaners ~~run~~ ^{operated} by the Japanese, and other sections of town have equally as many. Business from these shops comes mainly from caucasians, Negroes and Mexicans. In the long run, they may be the ones who will prosper.

Hotels

The hotels in Los Angeles are probably the most lucrative businesses. They are located mainly in Little Tokyo and in the rougher section of the city. Leases in the early days of relocation were bought at fair prices, but those who are trying to get established now find that unless they jump at the leases, the tendency is for ~~them~~ ^{the prices} to ~~go~~ ^{go} up about \$1,000 a day. It is commonly known that leases sold to the Japanese are anywhere from \$3,000 on up ~~as compared to the same place which is being sold to~~ ^{higher than prices listed for} other nationalities. Several considerations enter here, as in other businesses. The Caucasians want to keep the Japanese out, and the owners know that the Japanese want to get in. However, the Japanese themselves are partly to blame for this



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condition. Competition between Japanese, one outbidding the other for the leases and rentals causes the owner to give consideration to the highest bidder. One practice has been to get a negro to represent the Japanese for the lease in order to cut down the competition, and also to get it for a lower price.

Hotel owners, however, are not too well respected. Their practices of overcharging, and getting "blood" money from other less fortunate Japanese have lowered the status of the hotel operators. One of the more common practice to get the negroes out, and the Japanese in was to remodel, or repaint the rooms, furnish linens, and then increase the rent. Instead of charging weekly rates, daily rentals payable in advance is demanded. For rooms ^{which were} selling at \$5.00 a week now cost \$1.50 a night. For the hotels who use the hostel system, charge is made for the number of beds in the room. A room costing \$1.00 a night can bring in \$3.00 to \$4.00 a night under the hostel system. This practice ^{of these institutions} has reflected on other non-profit hostels and hostel managers with good intentions are having their names blackened.

In the "Skid Row" section of Los Angeles which center ^{on} ~~between~~ 5th and 6th Street between Main Street and Central Avenue, the Japanese are regaining their former economic position. Before the war it is estimated that 8 out of 10 hotels in this section were being operated by the Japanese. The estimated figure now is that 4 out of 10 are run by the Japanese. In the main the customers are the rough characters, bachelors, who frequent the bars in the "skid-row". All business is on a payable in advance basis and with the housing as critical as it is, there is no trouble in keeping the hotel full.



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General Considerations

The economic picture does not look too bright for the majority of the Japanese. Except in a few isolated instance, the problem of making enough to feed the family, much less saving is uppermost in the minds of the people. Those living in camps such as Winona in Burbank, Cal Sea Food in Lomita, the hostels and hotels, the Trailer Camp in Long Beach cannot find employment in their vicinity. It is imperative that one has a car to reach the places of employment and it is felt by one nisei that those living in these institutions are the most unfortunate ones and cannot afford cars. The 65 cents an hour offered most issei is not enough to take care of family needs. The \$1.00 an hour as gardeners helps, but their physical capacity is such that it is impossible for them to extend themselves.

The more conservative ones who have with-held opening up businesses now find themselves faced with inflated leases. The farmers are holding out for the same reasons. They also face however, the scarcity of farm tools, and a non-too-cooperative market situation. Many of the braver farmers who went ^{farming in} into the past season have lost all of their money, in spite of the high cost of fruits and vegetables paid by the consumers. They feel that unless the Japanese again take over the market where they can be assured of some return of "dumped" commodities, they cannot take too many losses in succession. The few nurseries that have sprung up are operating at a loss. Rents again are high, and it takes one year at least to grow a cutting to a size that will bring a fair profit. Those in the business are looking forward to that time, while others who want to go into the nursery business are finding themselves without the necessary capital.

In short, as one observer stated, "Unless the Japanese can establish themselves within a year, they will never be able to regain their former position. When employment begins to get scarce, the whites will get first choice."



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The Social Adjustment of the Japanese in Los Angeles.~~The Family.~~

The progress of the Japanese in Los Angeles in getting adjusted socially is perhaps slower than any other community in the country. Over a year and a half has elapsed since the first Japanese^{re-}settled in the Los Angeles ~~area~~ and only recently have any form of organization begun to take form. Clashes within the group, lack of leadership and a flimsy family structure may be the contributing factors. Institutions which formerly led the Japanese in the way of organizations~~asi~~ have either not emerged through lack of leadership, or because of change in policy since the beginning of war. The following sketches are merely designed to suggest factors that may be causes for the retardation.

The Family.

Before the war in Los Angeles County there was a total population of 36,866. Of this number there were 8,068 family head out of which 6,402 were isseis, and 1,666 niseis. Or roughly, there were 6 issei family heads as compared to 1, out of every 7.* In a report from the Statistical Division of WRA for period January 1st to December 31st, 1945, it was estimated that out of the total 23,649 returned to Los Angeles County, 7,302 were citizens, and 6,347 were isseis. (The numbers in 1940 being; Isseis, 13,391 and Niseis, 23,475). The decrease in the number of niseis can be attributed to the fact that many were probably relocated in the east. These were, of course, the more progressive and older niseis. Many of these have returned to head the family and to care for their parents, but it is still safe to assume that the majority are still in the east. This fact leads one to believe that the ones returned to Los Angeles are mainly the old and the very young.



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The family unit finds itself lost with only one or two wage-earners supporting the families in the face of housing shortages and increased cost of living. Everyone is busy making a living. Those in hostels and in camps go out from early in the morning until late at night. The hostels and camps are only places to sleep, most of the eating and playing are done outside of the restricted area. For those whose mothers and daughters are working as domestics, the housing problem is temporarily solved at the expense of unity in the family. They have little time to spend with their own family, much less for organizations that take care of numbers. The families living in their own homes find difficulty in moving about because of the transportation problem and the tiredness that come out of working so hard. In many of the homes I have visited it was not uncommon to find the parents in bed at 8 o'clock. The youngsters go out to play so as not to disturb their parents and because there is nothing organized for them they run helter-skelter with friends. This situation, according to social workers, will lead to delinquency if not checked.

One would think that hostels and trailer camps, which are merely hang-overs from camp-life would develop activities to meet the needs of the groups, but such is not the case. Those who are in the trailer camps are probably the last to relocate, the least aggressive, the most destitute with little or no experience in organization. Therefore each family finds itself more and more tied up in its own problems with help towards the group coming from outside agencies.

Relationship between Civic Agencies and the Japanese.

A number of individuals representing various County and Civic agencies were interested in the readjustment of the Japanese. Committees were formed to look into various situations and as much help as could possibly be given



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was extended towards the more unfortunate people. Except for problems arising out the hostel and ^{trailer}camp conditions, no overt aid was furnished.

Indirectly, in the interest of the larger community decisions were made which did not help the total Japanese. Those who were lost in the city to look out for themselves found themselves not referring to the committees problems ~~thereby~~ of employment, welfare etc that arose. It has finally reached the stage where most of the work is done in hostels and trailer camps where the noticeably greater number of problems arise.

Mr. Scotty Tsuchiya of the JACL was instrumental in calling the attention of various agencies on specific needs of the groups. The Burbank camp especially had come to rely on Mr. Tsuchiya to do the work for them. Little attempt was made on the part of the tenants to pull themselves out of the situations. More recently, The social worker from the International Institute visit regularly to look after them, as do members of the Council Committee on Human Relations. The dependance of this group on the outside agencies seem to be a carry over from camp days when there was such heavy dependance on the policy of the WRA.

The Buddhist Churches

The Buddhist Churches whose membership comprises more than 50% of the Japanese finds itself in a favorable position. Its program has been unhindered by the policy of the Greater Church Boards. They launched into a program of segregated activities which they had before evacuation. The Nishi Hongwanji especially sensing the hunger for Japanese companionship of many of the returnees immediately plunged into an active YBA program. Its membership is now more than 350 ~~with~~ of which more than 200 attend every Sunday service. The niseis have been included in their Board and comprise more than



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half of it. Their program consisting of dances, beach parties, athletics are filling the demands of the younger niseis. Obon festivals, shows, afternoon devotional services and other ceremonies fill the needs of the isseis. The fact that the center of the Buddhist churches is in Little Tokyo also geographically helped them in getting into their program.

Christian Churches.

The Christian churches, on the other hand have only begun to function. Up to a short time ago their program was not well defined with the Greater Board at odds with the Japanese. When the Japanese returned to take over their churches, they found many of them occupied by other groups. The Greater Church Boards had decided on the policy of integration. This immediately met with antagonism from the Japanese who felt that they were entitled to have the buildings and their own program. The inter-racial program did not attract the Japanese and in most cases it may be considered a failure. However, since the policy is set, the Japanese ministers are struggling to get back their congregation. It is the feeling of many of them that a segregated church should be the starting point. A program of education could be installed which later could be applied practically to fit the needs of the community, rather than a racial group. It seems that it is not the policy itself, but the method which is causing irritation among the Japanese.

This action, however, is felt to cause many of the Japanese on the fence religiously to swing on the side of Buddhism. The smaller niseis whose older brothers and sisters are in the east tend to go where their parents tell them, and where they can meet their nisei friends. Those formerly Christians are turning towards Buddhism in disgust because they feel that the caucasians are supposed to be Christians are stabbing them in the back by not living to the pre-war agreement of returning the churches to the Japanese.



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Jacl.

The Jacl during the first hectic months of relocation in Los Angeles was represented by a lone worker. His particular job was to aid in relocating the people and to help solve their problems. He was the clearing house for many of the problems which arose, and referred many cases to the proper agencies. As his work began to become recognized, he was known more as an individual, rather than a representative of the Jacl. The stigma of the pre-war Jacl stuck to the organization's name.

With the return of Eiji Tamabe, the Regional Director, a program was launched to re-activate as many Jacles as possible. After a month in Los Angeles, only one so far has been re-activated, and that by a community which is represented in the National Chapter by George Inagaki. Los Angeles has had several poorly attended meetings and a program is just now being outlined.

Whatever the cause for the lack of enthusiasm, the response is not measuring up to expectation. Because Los Angeles is the largest single community ~~xxx~~ of Japanese, the Jacl feels that it should have the strongest organization. Eiji Tamabe is pressing problems of national importance in hopes of getting support. He is attempting to capitalize on the Veterans and has set up the challenge of meeting the November election when Proposition 15, which deals with the Alien Land Act comes up. All of these are designed to arouse the interest of the citizens groups, but with little publicity, and little more than talk, so far, the Jacl is getting a slow start.

It is also felt that now is the most opportune time for the organization of many groups in Los Angeles because of the absence of other strong groups such as the Junior Produce Association, the Flower Market group, the Nihonjinkai etc.



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It is the feeling of the writer that in spite of the pre-war attitude towards the Jap, it will emerge as one of the strongest organizations in Los Angeles. One advantage it has over the Northern California Chapters is that the leadership will be new. The clergy, the veterans, the successful ^{nisei} businessmen are backing it, and an extensive program is planned to make the Los Angeles group respected not only by the Japanese, but by the greater Los Angeles area. Influential business-men, Civic leaders etc are going to be included in the leadership of the organization. A drive to get the niseis to register for the election will be carried on to make known to the politicians that the niseis are a strong voting group.

The Civil Rights Defense Union.

The Civil Rights Defense Union was organized early this year to tackle the problems of the isseis. Primarily it is designed to fight the land escheat cases. The State has set up a budget of \$200,000 to investigate the property holdings of the Japanese and the CRDU has also set up a budget of \$200,000 to fight it. \$100,000 of this amount is to be raised in Southern California.

Here again, Los Angeles falls far behind Northern California where they have already raised more than \$60,000 of the total budget. The president feels that the newspaper is not giving them cooperation. The newspaper feels that they have to watch their step until such a time that the organization is fully accepted in good faith. In Los Angeles no escheat cases have developed in the city whereas it has in San Francisco. The need for organization is not so keenly felt in Los Angeles County as it is where the land is being investigated. Then too is the problem of leadership. The leader of the



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Southern California group is looked upon with suspicion especially in Los Angeles County and it is felt that its success will depend upon the motive of the individual. Another factor which may be important is the fact that many of the issei leaders of Los Angeles have been interned for Nihonjinkai activities, and have only recently been discharged. These leaders according to the President of the organization are itching to get back into harness, but are holding back because of fear of suspicion by the FBI. Whether they will form an opposition group, or cooperate with this group remains to be seen.

The Business-mens Organization.

Several months ago a group of businessmen came together to organize a group to combat unethical leasing practices of other Japanese. It was felt at that time that many of the Japanese were cut-throating each other for the benefit of the landowner. The group is looked upon by the nisei businessmen as part of the old Nihonjinkai which will eventually return to some of its old practices. To meet the needs of the younger businessmen, one individual is willing to sponsor a Luncheon Club. So far, this has not materialized. However, regardless of how a few independant nisei feel about the isseis, most of the capital is still in the hands of the isseis and consequently they will run the show for another ⁵ ~~five~~ or 10 years.

The Japanese Chamber of Commerce.

The Japanese Chamber of Commerce held its first meeting a short time ago and issued a statement favoring the resumption of trade between Japan and the United States. The leader of this group is a former ^{owner of an} Export-Import business house. Here again, comes the suspicion of some niseis on the intention of the organization. It is their feeling that the goal will be



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towards the betterment of Japan, and not United States. Some feel that it is the beginning of National rallies etc.

Nisei Veterans' Association.

This organization started out with the chance of becoming one of the strongest in Little Tokyo. Its program of solving problems of the veterans, as well as the Japanese families, social problems etc has dwindled down to a failure. Of the approximately 3,000 veterans living in Los Angeles and vicinity, only 60 have joined the Association. No concerted drive has been sponsored to gain membership and leadership is wavering between the policy of joining other non-segregated units and a program limited to the Niseis.

It has, however, sponsored dances, shows, bowling etc, besides a place for niseis to hang out in their leisure. The Don and Kay's Malt Shop is the headquarters for the Association and most niseis at one time or another can be found there. The basement which has been remodeled serves as a poker room for the boys.

The needs of the Niseis are realized by the leader, who was formerly attached to the "Y". However, he lacks the training necessary to assume the full responsibility of a community-wide program. Until such a time a capable leader develops, the Nisei Veterans Association will remain as a name with good intention.

The YWCA and the YMCA

Both of these strong pre-war organizations have not been active in pushing a community program. The policy of both the YM and the YW for the past several years has been to promote inter-racial programs, and to discriminate against a segregated program. This has retarded the organizational activities



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immeasurably and is perhaps the greatest reason for the lack of nisei organizations developing in Los Angeles. Before the war the YMCA was the center of the Japanese Athletic Union, the organizer and center of the numerous Y organization, Clearing house for the Nisei Church Conference, the center of the developing of nisei leaders etc. No such a program is in the offing even in the inter-racial program that the YM offers. Their policy is for the niseis to go to the Y, not for the Y to go into meet the needs of the Japanese. No argument will be offered in favor of either side.

The YW has faced a similar problem. A similar policy of non-segregation was set up by the YW, so when they returned to take over the building which was paid for by the Japanese themselves, the Local YW explained to them the policy of non-segregation. The Japanese feel that the YW broke their agreement in not returning the building which the Japanese feel is morally theirs. An Arbitration Board was set up and its decision was in favor of the non-segregation policy. This immediately caused the Japanese to act and to make their own report to the YW Board.

It is felt in many quarters that by the policy of non-segregation set up by the Los Angeles Board, without offering any concrete program, the needs of the community is not being met. Delinquency which is the result of no constructive program is inevitable.

Other Activities.

Very few organizations have developed as results of the indecision of various interested groups. In spite of this, a few informal clubs have been organized. The Goh Club on the 4th floor of the Taul building offers a place for those interested. It is located at the same place it occupied before the war. The Uta Club headed by Mr. Sugino is finding itself more popular



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than before the war. He feels that the leisure time in camps the reason for this.

Of the organized nisei clubs, the following is a partial list. They include the J.U.G. (Just Us Girls), Crusaders which were active before the war; the Maharianas Social Club, the Kniden's, the Reginas, Bears (13-16 age group sponsored by the Baptist Church), the Modernairres, the Manzaknights, and the Wicks, the only inter-racial girl's club/which is sponsored by the All People's Church. A more complete study of the clubs is necessary to get a complete picture.

Athletic teams are organized with headquarters at the Don and Key's Walt Shop. Bowling teams also finds its headquarters there. The semi-pro Japanese All-Starts play in the Municipal League with other Caucasian and Mexican teams. But there has to be a coordinating agency to bring the status up to pre-war standards.



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Relation of Other Minority Groups with the Japanese.

The relationship between the Japanese and other minority groups is pretty well limited to the negroes. Not only in Bronzeville do they come into close contact with the negroes, but in the West-side, or the Normandie area. This area before the war had many of the middle-class negroes and relations were good then. The negro patronize the Japanese stores and restaurants, and do the whites who work in the vicinity. However, very few, if any Japanese patronize the negro-owned shops. The possible exception are the bars, of which there are three. Socially, however, there is very little mixing. After a certain hour, the negro bars are filled mostly with negroes. The Nisei Dance on Saturday and Sunday nights are open only to the niseis. The Pool Rooms, of which there are three are divided in their patrons. The one located in the basement of the Taul Building is patronized mostly by the niseis, while the other two are patronized solely by the negroes.

When the Japanese were first returning into Bronzeville, there was an undercurrent fostered by a few of the whites in the community. This was squelched, however at a community meeting where the whites were exposed to the negroes. In the main, the Japanese are welcoming the negro trade, and the negroes are happy about trading with the Japanese because of the higher type of service and merchandise offered. It is felt that the resistance will be almost nil when the last of the negroes have to move out because of the higher standard of economic levels being brought in by the Japanese. How much the fact that it was the southern negroes who came in to Bronzeville is not known, but observers feel that most of them are from the South. This makes

them less aggressive overtly when they are pushed out.



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~~Discriminatory~~

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Discriminatory Practices.

It is felt by many of the Japanese that relationship between the whites and the Japanese has never been better in the history of Los Angeles. They over-look individual cases of discriminations, however in their attempt to boost the Chamber of Commerce. I personally have heard only of a few cases. Only yesterday in my conversation with Mr. Gardner of the Committee on Human Relations it was revealed that the FBI was looking into the case of a large Company's discrimination against the hiring of two Japanese. It is rumored that when the Company heard of the FBI on the case, it reversed its policy and hired the boys. Another case which came up early in the resettlement program was that of a boy entering a shop thru the front door on Broadway for a job, and was asked to leave by the fire escape. A veteran was asked to leave his job as a laborer in one of the Building Contractors firm because of objections arising from other employees. The same veteran sought help from the JUSES in getting a job as a student worker in ~~xxxxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ the Standard Oil Company. He was told that the company had set no policy on hiring of Japanese.

No case has so far been reported about non-admittance of Japanese to eating places, or places of entertainment. In some of the better restaurants niseis and isseis are working as bus-boys and dishwasher, supply room clerks etc. One person reported to me that many Japanese go to the higher class restaurants.



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Current Orientation.

There is a tendency for the Japanese to move back into their pre-war shell geographically. Except for a few who branched out into the larger community, the majority are seeking the company of other Japanese in the concentrated areas. This situation, however, must be evaluated in terms of what has been mentioned before, namely, that the group returning to the West Coast were the most conservative. The only indication of an outward migration into the surrounding areas in Los Angeles County is a hint given by one individual. That when the depression begins to set in, and the Mexican and Filipino farmers begin to face hardship, the Japanese will move to buy them at low prices. The expansion into the better residential areas is seen in the purchases of property extending towards the Adams and further west towards 9th Avenue. The purchasing of property has slowed down, but will probably resume when the prices become a little more deflated.

Their outlook towards America as their home can be seen in the number who applied for their first papers of Declaration of Intent for naturalization. Within two weeks after it was announced in the papers that isseis could file their declarations of intent, over 400 filled in forms at the office of the Civil Rights Defense Union. Many more were turned away because of the limited number of forms. With the constant prodding of the Civil Liberties Union, more isseis and niseis are permitting themselves to be brought to court for test cases. It has been the problem of the CLU to get the permission from the Japanese to bring their names into the public's eye. It is still difficult but the Japanese are getting an education in fighting for their civil liberties from both the CLU and the CRDU.



Draft.

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24.

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The Future of Bronzville.

The future of Bronzville is a matter of debate. Some believe that it will prosper for another five years. Others feel that the boom will be over in the next year or two when most of the negroes move out. There is no doubt the fact that the area will eventually be cleared out to make room for the expanding civic center, but that time may not come for another decade. It is felt that with the above problems facing the Japanese, the areas ~~off~~ cited as possible future Little Tokyos include three other areas in the residential section of Los Angeles. They are West Los Angeles, the Normandie district and Boyle Heights near Soto Street.

The fact that Bronzville is located in the center of an industrial section cannot be overlooked. Few families other than those living in hotels and odd apartments will be left to patronize the stores. The people living in residential areas will look for stores that are more convenient. We shall have to wait for father time to tell us just what does happen in the next few years.



No.

60. "Notes on the Nature and Functions of 'Little Tokyos'," Poston Rept. No. 44. Jan. 1, 1945. 3 pp.
72. "The Japanese from Santa Ana, California," by evacuee research assistant, Poston Rept No. 62. March 21, 1945. 3 pp.
75. "The Japanese from Lancaster, California," by evac research Assistant, Poston Rept. No. 69, Apr 17, 1945, 4 pp.
82. Three items relating to relocation: "Present Status of Evacuee Resettlement in Los Angeles District," compiled by Issei, about May 1, 1945, 3 pp. etc.
82. "Report of a Visitor to the Riverside-San Bernardino Area," May 30, 1945, 2 pp. A Nisei describes the sentiment and conditions in this area.
84. "Report of a Visitor to Imperial Valley," May 31, 1945, 2 pp. An evacuee scout gives information about his home locality.
85. "Report of a visitor to the Vicinity of Riverside," June 2, 1945, 2 pp. Issei's opinion of conditions around Riverside.

Filed under Granada

33. "Chronology of Evacuation." Dec 1, 1943. 2 pp. Tolan Committee Report.
- 991 "Study of Japanese Schools." Nov. 15, 1944.
101. "Report on Evacuee's Thinking Regarding West Coast Racial Groups and their Influence on his Return."

Filed under Manzanar.

78. "The Venice Nisei". Oct 30, 1943.
90. "Nisei Organizations in Southern California." Nov. 17, 1943.
222. "The Flower Growers of San Fernando, Their History, Their evacuation and their Present Position". March 20, 1944.
243. "Mr. O. A Farmer from Venice, California." Aug. 24, 1944. Community Analysis Report #6. Biography of a Nisei Celery Grower from Venice, California. Dec 11, 1944.
247. "The Farmers of the San Fernando Valley; Pre-evacuation & Evacuation Experiences. Oct. 30, 1944. 30 pp.

Los Angeles
18 December 1946
T. Sasaki

Background

The story of the City Limits of Los Angeles extending miles and miles into nowhere is a legend well known to everyone. This exaggeration is not without basis, however, since the city map does reveal the incongruities of its boundaries. Perhaps the most interesting things about it are the 176 mile finger called the "Shoe-string Strip" which extends into San Pedro and Wilmington; and the 5 Civil Divisions (Santa Monica City, San Fernando City and townships of Beverly Hills, Venice and Inglewood) all surrounded by the city of Los Angeles. These Civil Divisions have held out against being incorporated into the City.

Population

For a period of 40 years, ending with the evacuation, three-fourths of the Japanese population of the county lived in the City of Los Angeles. Most of the remaining two-fifths lived immediately to the south and east of the city. Further dominance of the city in its concentration of Japanese can be seen in that there were only four other minor civil divisions in the county that had more than 1,000 persons of Japanese ancestry. Inglewood with 3,881, Compton with 1,441, Downey with 1,158, and Pasadena with 1,030 are listed as such as compared with 23,321 for Los Angeles.

When the county population for 1940 is compared with the rest of the United States, 29% of all Japanese living in the United States, and 39% of all Japanese living in California resided in the Los Angeles County.

The population increase in Los Angeles between 1930 and 1940 was 1,476 in spite of the population of California declining by 4,000. It was one of the six counties which gained more than 100 persons of Japanese descent during this decade.

Table 1.

Los Angeles County Japanese Population
and Population Increase by Decade.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Amt. Increase over Previous Decade</u>
1890	36	168
1900	204	8,257
1910	8,461	11,450
1920	19,911	15,479
1930	35,390	1,476
1940	36,866	

Factors influencing population growth are three; immigration, in-migration, and natural birth-rate.

Between 1900 and 1908, after which the Gentlemen's Agreement went into effect, was the period of greatest immigration from Japan directly, or indirectly by way of Hawaii. Because of the Agreement whereby Japan agreed to limit the immigration of laborers and United States agreed to treat the Japanese in the United States better, immigration ceased to be a significant factor in population growth. And by 1920 when Japan stopped the departure of "picture brides" to this country, immigration had slowed down further.

Natural increase became a significant factor only in the 1920's when women immigrants began to arrive in any number. It did not remain an important factor for long, however, as figures for California as a whole reveal that in each decade since 1920 the birth rate has been about half of what it was in the preceding decade. The birth rate of the Japanese in America has declined to the extent that those who die or emigrate are not being replaced.

In-migration of any significance to Los Angeles County and southern California in general started about 1900 when both the fishing and citrus industries were just beginning. In addition, there were construction jobs opening up, as, for example, on the L. A. electric railway system. In-migration was further stimulated by the passage of the first Alien Land Law in 1913. The diminished hopes of owning land led many farmers to go to Southern California where good returns were expected from intensive cultivation of small acreage of rented land.

The pattern was away from the other sections of California to Los Angeles County and from the County into the City. The table below illustrates the growth of the City as compared to the county:

<u>Region</u>	<u>1910</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1940</u>
L. A. City	4,238-50%	11,618-58%	21,081-60%	23,321-63%
Rest of County	4,223-50%	8,293-42%	14,309-40%	13,545-37%
Total for County	8,461	19,911	35,390	36,866

It was felt by some of the present local residents that the climatic factor was highly important in the Japanese migration to Southern California and Los Angeles. During the depression years, they felt, as did members of other races, that if one had to survive through a depression without adequate shelter, food and clothing, it would probably be much easier where the weather was balmy. In contrast to other groups, however, the Japanese did not ask public assistance although they may have been eligible for it under the local residential status. Individual families from the inter-mountain regions felt more disposed to receive aid from their Kenjinkai groups, or from friends.

Economic Picture

Almost 30% of all Japanese farms in California were in Los Angeles County. Ninety percent of the farmers in Los Angeles County were tenant farmers.²

<u>Farm Operators</u> ³	<u>Full Owners</u>	<u>Part Owners</u>	<u>Managers</u>	<u>All Tenants</u>
1,523	73	40	46	1,364

The county agricultural commissioner for Los Angeles reported that the farmers in Los Angeles County produced about 64% of truck crops for processing

15280
 1523
 3
 4569

and 87% of the fresh vegetable for marketing.¹ In the wholesale produce market, of the 167 fruit and vegetable merchants in the 3 Los Angeles Markets as of December 6, 1941, 29 were Japanese owned. Of the 232 permanent stall operators in the open market yards, 134 were Japanese owned. The Japanese produce houses in Los Angeles together with those in the yards did approximately \$26,000,000 worth of business in 1941. They handled an estimated 75% of the green vegetables, but only 37% of the staple fruits and vegetables consumed in the Los Angeles metropolitan area.² It was further estimated that there were 1,000 fruit and vegetable stores in Los Angeles County employing 5,000 persons and did \$25,000,000 worth of business annually. Three quarters of all such stores in that area were said to be Japanese operated.³ The Southern California Flower Market, covering one block on Wall Street, between 7th and 8th Streets in Los Angeles, was the biggest of its kind in California. At the time of evacuation there were 159 members and being a cooperative organization, only members were permitted to sell in the Association owned building. The total sales of the Flower Market amounted to between \$2,000,000 and \$2,500,000 a year. The growers with 5 to 10 acres sold \$5,000 worth of flowers a year; those with 15 to 20 acres sold \$10,000 to \$20,000 a year, while big growers grossed \$50,000 a year. About one third of the cut flowers were sold locally while the rest were shipped to southern, eastern, and mid-western cities. Shipping flowers to other cities proved to be more profitable because they were ordered beforehand and the growers knew that their flowers would be sold. Of the seven Shipping concerns, two were run by Japanese.⁵

1. Nat'l Defense Migration. H.Res 113. May 1942. House Rep. 2124. p. 120

2. " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "

3. Nineteen suburbs in "Search of a City" (Los Angeles Reports.)

4. " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "

5. " " " " " " " " " " " " " " " "

The fishing industry in Terminal Island investment was heavy in fishing equipment. There was an estimation of approximately \$250,000 worth of boats besides thousands of dollars worth of nets, corks, weights, buoys, etc. This brought in an income for the men as well as providing work for hundreds of women in the canneries. The work was seasonal but they were able to earn fair salaries for the period they worked.

Besides these industries, the following types of small shops were in existence; it further illustrates the economic development of the Japanese in Los Angeles.

Attorneys	6-5	Clothing and tailors	16-3
Notaries	13	Japanese provisions	43-9
Steamship agencies	5	Fish & meat markets	15
Real estate agencies	12-20	Japanese foodstuff manufac.	20-3
Dentists	26-14	Restaurants	150-7
Helath Institutes	19	Bars	14
Beauty shops	15-7	Confectionaries	13-2
Dressmakers	29	Nursuries and seeds	120-13
Signs and designs	9	Florists	75-5
Carpenters and painters	15	Fruit & Vegetable stores	400
Hardware & electrical supplies	10-5	Laundries, cleaners & dyeworks	130-21
Trade associations	35	Baths	9
Newspaper correspondents		Employment agencies	10-2
Banks		Garages & service stations	34-15
Instructors of Japanese art and culture	57-4	Undertakers	1-1
Law offices	14	Stocks & securities	4
Insurance agencies	50	Oriental goods store	17
Custom brokers	7	General supply store	9
Physicians and hospitals	35-21	Optometrists	4-4
Chiropractors	6-4	Photographers	13-3
Midwives	7-1	Stationaries & book stores	9-4
Sewing schools	12-2	Shoe stores & repair shops	14-5
Printers	6-3	Groceries and markets	250-26
Architects	3	Liquor and soda companies	
Plumbers	4	Japanese restaurants	56-9
Radio & musical instruments	8	Chop suey establishments	120-3
Furniture & home appliances	-1	Soda fountains	20-6
Importers and exporters	15	Fertilizers and farm imple.	20-6
Manufacturers		Produce merchants & brokers	48
✓ Drug Stores	15-6	Hotels and apartments	350-80
Jewelers and watchmakers	13-10	Barbers	60-68 shops
Typewriters	4	Billiard parlors	14-2
Counselors & interpreters	-6	Auto and bycycle shops	11
(Rafu Shimpō Yearbook, 1939)		Theaters & Brdcasting Assn.	-2
		Ice Company	1

350

1980

350

2330

In 1944, the following types of businesses were still listed as being owned by the Japanese:

<u>Type</u>	<u>Number</u>
Amusement and club houses	6
Apartments, duplexes, flats and hotels	88
Buildings and offices	29
Churches	12
Dormitories and rooming houses	18
Factories	7
Florists	4
Garages	10
Markets	4
Miscellaneous	14
Nurseries	22
Poultry business	3
Restaurants	4
Schools	17
Service stations	4
Sheds	6
Shops	3
Stands	3
Stores	182
Unknown	11
	<u>447</u>

Source not stated, but in file. As of March 6, 1944-property listed under Japanese

By 1941 it was beginning to be a known fact that "Little Tokyo" was well on its way out. This was apparent when the percentage of Issei to Nisei for the year 1930 is compared to 1940. In 1930, according to the U. S. Census Bureau, 50.4% of 138,824 Japanese in the United States were foreign born. In 1940, only 37.7% were foreign born of the total of 126,947.⁴ Not only had the population of the Issei diminished, but the age level of the Nisei increased wherein their taste in buying, entertainment, etc., were becoming fast Americanized. Carey McWilliams points out that "they (Nisei) showed little interest in becoming nurserymen, hotelkeepers and gardeners....since they (Nisei) spoke English, were well-educated, and had many

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1. Carey McWilliams, Prejudice. pg. 83
 2. " " " " 89
 3. Census
 4. Carey McWilliam, Prejudice. pg. 88

friends in the Caucasian world, they were gradually displacing the Issei in all positions that involved direct dealings with the public. They had also begun to take over many Japanese operated businesses. "It is further pointed out that.... "as the Nisei reached maturity, there was a significant trend away from Little Tokyo. In 1928 one observer reported that, in Los Angeles, there were 203 Japanese operated fruit stands, 292 grocery stores, 74 florist shops, 69 nurseries, 108 restaurants, and 68 dry cleaning establishments which had most of their dealings with the non-Japanese customers.¹ This trend away from Little Tokyo accelerated, when in 1941, it was estimated that three-fourths of all fruit stands in Los Angeles were Japanese operated.

It is felt by one respondent of Tule Lake (Locality Study 15, Los Angeles) that the Nisei were gradually becoming assimilated into the American industrial and business picture. Nisei found jobs as typists, stenographers, clerks and salesmen, in the aircraft industries as engineers and mechanics and in the motion picture industries in technical capacities..... "Others who were specially talented in some particular line solicited and received the accounts of well-established Caucasian firms." Some of the Nisei were looking eastward in their employment opportunities. The advent of chic-sexing as a trade found many of them seeking contracts in the midwestern states. During the season they would ply their trade, and then during the slack season would return to Los Angeles to either loaf or to work in the fruit stands. Schools were established to teach them the trade and to get contracts for them. Eventually, no doubt, more Nisei in other fields would have taken the challenge and would have migrated eastward.

1. Carey McWilliams, pg 80

Social Organization

The family system which the Issei brought over from Japan was slowly disintegrating even before evacuation. The difference in age between the Issei and Nisei widened this gap. The Nisei were constantly irritated by what their parents did, or said, which not only turned the Nisei against the Issei, but against things Japanese in general. As far back as 1936 Niisato in this book "Nisei Tragedy" pointed out that "there is little harmony in many families because of the gap between the two generations. There is no understanding, no sympathy, each of them walking his own way." The mixture of Japanese and American customs in the homes were gradually being displaced by purely American customs in Nisei headed homes. Although chopsticks were being used as well as knives and forks, "Nihonshoka" as well as "Yoshoku" were being eaten, customs such as the Doll festivals, Boys Day, Girls Day, etc., were being mainly celebrated in rural homes.

The Issei, however, were able to bring considerable influence on the Nisei because they held the purse-strings. The age level of the average Issei was close to 60 while the age level of the Nisei was in the neighborhood of 17. The

1942 copy of the report of the Western Defense Command show the following figures:

	Alien	Citizen	Heads of Family	
			Alien	Citizen
L.A. County	13,391	23,475	6,402	1,666
36,866				
City	8,726	14,595	4,154	1,108
23,321				

By the figures noted above, it is evident that the power lay in the hands of the Issei. Whereas the proportion between Issei and Nisei for the county was one to two, the heads of the family were in proportion of 61 to 1. Not only was the age factor important in this, but the fact that the Nisei were still unable to earn enough money to support both their own families and their parents. The difference^s noted between the city, and for the county as a whole, can probably be explained by the fact that the rural areas surrounding the city were in the main farms on which the whole family worked. In the city there was very little opportunity for the sons working in family stores, etc. because they were not large enough, and then, too, the city

Nisei were more reluctant in following the same type of work that their parents had begun. Immediately they were able to earn money, they found jobs outside of their family in fruit stands, wholesale markets, fishing boats, etc., which indicates that the city Nisei had developed a greater sense of freedom and independence. *The Nisei on a whole tended to neglect their parents. Hardship on the sons, inability to get married because of working for their own families, resulted in many an unhappy Nisei.

The relationships between the Issei and the Nisei were such that there was very little understanding between them. Perhaps one of the biggest factors in this relationship was the language barrier. The Issei were not well versed in the English language, and the Nisei were equally illiterate in Japanese. Problems ordinarily discussed between parents and children was not the usual practice. Counselling was almost nil and in most cases, the Nisei followed the pattern that they felt they should follow. According to McWilliams (p. 105) they were conducting "endless surveys to discover what was the source of their trouble. Their self-criticism ranged over a wide field; they were lacking in assurance; they were too clamish; they were defeated; they were consumed with a sense of futility...Without quite realizing why, the Nisei were seeking a larger world; they were suffocating in Little Tokyo."

Identification with the Japanese culture was inhibited by the Nisei and every means was taken to break away from the Japanese cultural pattern. Many became discouraged in their attempts to learn the Japanese language and quit school as soon as they were able to convince their parents that other duties took up much of their time. They would attend ceremonial practices to avoid "being talked about." The Nisei was growing up in a world of duality. On New Years Eve they would celebrate at a dance, night club, or home parties and end it with singing Auld Lang Syne. Then on New Years Day they would eat "OZONI" and other Japanese delicacies and make the rounds of homes to feast and exchange greetings, "Omedeto."

*This for the city.

Social Relationships

They would have American dishes and say "Itadaki-masu".

As the children grew older, they found more and more frustrations in the outside world. During their school years they were as much integrated as one could expect any racial group to be. They participated in school athletics, many became student body leaders, entered into the forensic and debating field, etc. As they entered college they would eliminate the social aspects of their integrated program and their only contacts with the Caucasian groups were in the classrooms, or in their trading with the merchants. Little did the Nisei realize that this was the most important time to create Caucasian friends and become further integrated. The result was that when the Nisei was graduated from college they lacked friends outside of their own little circle. In schools located near a Japanese community their social activities would be a part of the wider Japanese community.

The Issei, on their part, sought out limited relationships with the wider community in forms of American-Japanese relationship. They entered floats in parades, gave testimonials to various city officials every now and then, and generally curried favor.

Social Organization

As for the community itself, there was a well rounded program of social organization. These too were split between Issei organizations and Nisei sponsored ones. Only in the case of the J.A.C.L. was there any form of direct intercourse between the Issei-Nisei groups. The kenjinkais, of course, in the form of Junio Kenjinkai groups, the Young Men's Association were jointly sponsored affairs. In these cases of joint sponsorship, the tendency was towards Japanese cultural interests rather than American.

Over 350 Organizations were actively functioning. The 1939 Rafu Shimpō Yearbook lists the following for Southern California:

Schools	High School Japanese Clubs	25	
	Alumni Associations	11	
	University College Groups	11	
	Junior College Clubs	4	
	Nihongo Gakuen Clubs	7	58

(Japanese School)

Religious Organizations

Christian Clubs	94	
Buddhist Clubs	82	
Shinto Young People	1	
Tenrikyo	1	178

Junior Kenjin Societies	14	
Independent Sports Social	36	
J.A.C.L.	12	
Semi-business & Prof.	8	
Scout troops		
Boys scouts 23		
Girls scouts 9	32	
Miscellaneous	10	112

Refer to Mutual Aid Societies-Fukuoka

In church activities there were pretty much segregated programs for both the Buddhist and Christian Churches. Annual Conferences in Los Angeles for the Christian brought 500 or more Nisei from all over Southern California. For the Buddhists, Y.M.W.B.A. conferences brought an equally large number of Nisei together. The only item which was Caucasian were the language spoken, and perhaps Caucasian speakers.

The Japanese Athletic Union composed of hundreds of Athletic Organizations, played in an All Japanese League. Occasionally, games were played with the Caucasian or Chinese teams. The Program was self-sufficient and played in high school and city gymnasiums and athletic fields.

Part II
Population

Resettlement Picture

When the WRA centers closed by January 1946 , all 120,313 persons ever under the custody of the WRA were accounted for and only four had left the centers without authorization. Of the total of 120,313, the statistical Division of the WRA January 31, 1946 found that 54,127 Japanese had returned to the west coast. It is significant that in spite of the planned program of dispersion throughout the country of the Relocation Division of the WRA that the number quoted had gone back to their old home state. The emotional ties connected with the west coast were too strong for many who relocated east and many of them had returned or contemplated returning. Therefore, since January 1946, there is good reason to believe that ^{with many} ~~many~~ more than 54,127 had returned to the west coast.

It must be borne in mind that those who left the centers to go directly to the west coast were mainly those in the older age brackets and the younger high school and below groups. On the charts prepared by the Statistics Division (p. 92-93) a trend of relocation is noticeable in the mature age groups between 20-24 and 40-45 with a more distinct tendency of the Nisei over the Issei relocating. It is the residue which returned to the west coast directly from the centers. In many cases the Nisei relocated eastward, but the Issei family members remained in camps until they closed so that they could return to their own homes. Besides emotional ties, the lack of knowledge of other sections, and stories of discrimination hampered many in their movement until there was the forced closing of camps because of the termination of the WRA.

The first few months of 1946 was also the period for movement from eastern cities to the west coast. It was during this period that the WRA allowed travel tickets to evacuees. Many Japanese took advantage of this and those whose ties were not deeply rooted in the resettled communities took advantage of the offer to see for themselves what opportunities awaited them on the west coast. Many Nisei took the offer and went back for vacations. Others moved their belongings and themselves to settle permanently.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

The population trend before evacuation for the Los Angeles area was increasing
In reply, please refer to:

The relocation program after the opening of the West Coast found the return to the coast in somewhat the same pattern. Many who had lived elsewhere now found that Los Angeles was the place to go to. In March 1946, the Los Angeles WRA records point out that 13,666.8 people were back in the city while some 4,615.8 were back outside of the city limits. A 10% increase is given for unknown address (2,181), and a total of 1446 in hostels brought the population total for the county to 23,737.86. Since the estimate was given in March of 1946, it is estimated that the population had increased some 2,000 bringing the total up to 25,000 or more.

In spite of the general housing shortage in the city the Japanese streamed in. Settling into the surrounding areas outside of the city limits was limited because of the limited number of farms owned by Japanese and because of the inability of many to lease land that furnished housing. The farmers were unable to raise the capital necessary to begin operation since much of their stored implements were stolen. The growing city clamored for housing and of necessity and for business reasons the areas formerly farmed by the Japanese were now being subdivided. In the city where approximately 1500 parcels of property were in the hands of the Japanese the course open to them was naturally to these places. Most of the hostels were open in this area where churches and other large buildings were available. In some cases hostels were in better neighborhoods and in line with the houses in the neighborhood they were much more home-like. However, they did not hold the Japanese because of their distance from jobs.

Areas of Concentration.

For most of the Japanese preference for resettlement areas in Los Angeles tended to be in those places that was most familiar to them.



Areas of Concentration WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

In reply, please refer to:
In February of 1946, Midtown, the area enclosed within the boundaries of Main Street, Alameda, Jackson and Fifth Street accounted for 4,725 people. The Northern boundaries of this area is the location of "Little Tokyo" or "Bronzeville", and of course holds most of the Japanese population in the mid-town area.

The Hollenbeck and Belvedere district, the location of the famed Boyle Heights is next in number of resettlers. 3187.8 are accounted for in this area. The Normandie or the West Jefferson area had 2293 individuals and Hollywood, 1646. West Los Angeles at the time of this survey (March 7, 1946) had 1436. At the time of this estimate there was still a mad scramble for available housing, and considerable shifting of population from trailer camps to other trailer camps, and from hostels into newly purchased homes, or into their own homes which were still occupied by the wartime caucasians.

Before the war there were any number of small colonies of Japanese but since the return of the Japanese, new little concentrated groups developed. Although this was partly felt necessary by the Japanese themselves because of the emotional insecurity, but it was thrust upon them by the WRA and other Agencies in charge of aiding the resettlement. The last group to leave the camps were for the most part the unfortunate ones in that they did not possess funds, were too aged to work, had too many small children etc. These people were placed in trailer camps, and in hostels. They were the last to leave the hostels and approximately 300 have settled permanently in them. Another 800 are living in hotels which were formerly used as hostels. In the Trailer camps, over 1000 are living in the Winona project in Burbank. Another large segment lived in the two



Areas of Concentration
WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

In reply, please refer to:
trailer camps in Long Beach as well as in the Truman Boyd Manor Apartments also in that city.

Housing.

In April of 1946, Rev. Arnold Nakajima of the Union Church in his study of the housing situation found in some cases as many as 15 sleeping in one room. Many of the hotel rooms are crowded with single families of four to six individuals living in a single room. In the outlying farm regions, many are sleeping in barns and garages, and there is very little hope of having the situation ease up in the next few years. Families owning their own homes opened up unused rooms and rented them to other tenants. This practice is not unusual since in September of 1945, Allan A. Hunter of the Hollywood Methodist Church stated that in 26 out of 100 of the one family houses in the "restricted covenant" area of the city, more than one family is living.

From a cooperative attitude in the early days of resettlement wherein vacant rooms were used as l.y-overs, the change gradually became apparent in the exploitive practice that took place. Single rooms were rented for \$30.00 to \$50.00 without private facilities. A kibei living in a "Little Tokyo" hotel with three other members of his family paid \$60.00 a month for rent and had to eat his meals out because of the lack of cooking facilities, sent his laundry out because of the lack of laundry facilities and found that out of his \$275.00 a month income, all of it was being spent for the bare necessities. Apartments brought in \$90.00 a month. \$100 a month was not unusual if the rents in various places cases where families live apart. Those in hostels paid \$30.00 a month, those in hotels paid another \$45.00 a month, then the remainder in the Trailer Camps would be paying \$24.00 for a trailer.

The hostels, so necessary in aiding the resettlers, was found useful



Housing.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

In reply, please refer to:

and helpful. However, the residue who are now living in them find less privacy than they did in the centers. Partitions were put up by hanging blankets, cots lined up side by side and meals were eaten in the central mess hall. In other hostels families would occupy single rooms, but would be charged per cot used. The hostels that changed over to hotels, or which were being used as hostels charged the same price per cots. In this case, however, the OPA ceilings for rooms in hotels in these neighborhood was .50 or .75 a night, and by utilizing the term hostels, they could make two and three times more.

Newly purchased homes are numerous. In the West Jefferson area up to 9th Avenue upwards of 100 new homes have been purchased since the resettler's return. Those who returned early found houses available at lower prices. Most of these however, were purchased at inflated prices but perhaps in keeping with the pooled income of three or four members of the family. It is not unusual to find families with \$600 to \$1,000 a month income living in this neighborhood. Recently, however, the buying has stopped and the 20 some odd Real Estate Agents are finding the market resisting heavily.

(Estimates of Major Concentration from WRA Records plus 10% for returnees not registered in the district offices.)

City of Los Angeles

Highland Park	198
S.E. Los Angeles	198
Hollenbeck and Belvedere	3,400
Hollywood	1,725
Midtown	4,950
Normandie	2,992
W.L.A. & Beverly Hills	1,298
	<u>14,761</u>

Communities in Los Angeles County

5 Housing Installations
32 Hostels

4,739
2,175
1,472
<u>23,147</u>

17,472
15,000



Major concentrations*

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

Communities in Los Angeles County

In reply, please refer to:

Gardena	409
Glendale	79
Long Beach	1,025
Montebello	225
Norwalk	154
Pasadena (S. Pasadena & Altadena)	805
San Gabriel Valley (Covina, Claremont, Azusa) etc.	444
San Fernando Valley	450
Santa Monica	110
Torrance	132
Whittier	53
Harbor Area (Venice, Redondo Beach, Culver city, San Pedro, Wilmington, "Harbor City,")	361
Misc. (Hynes, Compton, Clearwater, Artesia Downey, Bellflower etc.)	198
Names with incomplete address or irregular addressed	264
	<u>4,739</u>

*Community Relations Committee Meeting. 7 March 46.



C. SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

By the time the movement of large masses of resettlers began in the fall of 1945, VJ day had come and gone and there was little about the Japanese-American returning to Los Angeles that could beat the headlines present in the papers. Many of the discriminations faced by the early resettlers were now legendary and after a period of adjustment in a mixed community, the people were pretty much going about their own way as a member of the larger community.

In seeking to get readjusted, however, it was necessary to move cautiously, and follow the easiest road. The feeling of insecurity of those leaving camp for the first time, combined with the unpreparedness of any formal Japanese organization in aiding in the return of the resettlers, made it imperative for them to rely mainly on the WRA and County Agencies. Therefore, as they arrived into Los Angeles the pattern was to be shunted into hostels and trailer camps before becoming resettled into more permanent quarters. The acceptance of this service was without modesty or prejudices because of the many experiences of the Japanese in going through red tape for every little thing that they experienced while in the Centers.

From the hostels and trailer camps some waited out the OPA eviction period before occupying their own homes (1500~~00~~ parcels of real estate*) or before an opportunity to move in to newly purchased homes was presented. Many waited until they were able to find employment that offered them housing. During this time there was little opportunity for their own organizations to develop and except for the JACL Resettlers's program and International Institute Referral group, none appeared.

Through individuals, however, there appeared a pattern of aid given to later resettlers. Those with extra rooms took in boarders and passed along their rooms to others as they migrated into the County. The whole initial period was filled with incidences of mutual aid in housing, as well as passing along information on jobs. The number of gardeners increased as a result of this type of word of mouth information. Gradually, however, as they became resettled, there was less of this cooperative relationship and more of the exploitive type. Those with extra rooms rented them out, others who purchased homes did so with an eye towards larger buildings so that rooms could be rented.

The tendency for the resettlers in their eventual destination was to find housing in areas that were familiar to them. Invariably these areas had a large population of minorities. For example, Boyle Heights in July of 1946 had a non-minority population of 51.2%, West Jefferson had 73.6%, Downtown area had 71.2% and the Little Tokyo area, 34.4%. The remainder of the Japanese settled into other areas of fewer minorities as for example, Venice with 95.7% of its population white, or Inglewood and Hawthorne with over 98% white or West Los Angeles with 84.6% whites. Yet the Japanese felt themselves a little above the other minorities with whom they lived. However, there was beginning to crop up feelings of lowered status when several bad checks were being passed off in the neighborhood stores with open feeling of distrust of the Japanese's worth by the other groups.

The Little Tokyo concentration appeared as the center of business and social gatherings. The merchants were a little wary of the heavy concentration of Negroes in the area but finally concluded that they

were good business clients when in some cases up to 70% of the business came from them. Yet, from other communities like the West Jefferson district came a feeling that after the passing era of prosperity the business section for Japanese would be located in that area. Others in Little Tokyo with far sighted views felt that there were too few residences, combined with the expansion of the Civic Center ^{that} would limit business opportunities on First and San Pedro. They also felt that in spite of the free-spending trade from the Negroes in the current period of prosperity, they would be the first to be out of jobs.

But for the present, the churches, motion picture theatres, the chop suey houses are principally located on First and San Pedro. In the early days when reunions were held with friends or members of families, little Tokyo was the place for them. Later, as marriages and funerals were held, the chop suey houses became centers for banquets. Also because of its centralized location, meetings for JACL and other social plannings were held here. But the degree in its acceptance as a more formal center of social activities has been limited. Whereas the nisei boys find the pull of First Street strong, formal social activities are held outside of the community. During the summer months of 1946 a series of dances were held in one of the ballrooms, but this was considered a failure. "Good" girls would not be seen there, nor would boys with pride in their associates be seen entering the hall.

Even the Evergreen playground hall began getting a reputation for the crowd being wild. The niseis favored the Long Beach Trailer Camp dances or privately sponsored dances held at the Royal Palms near Westlake. Skating parties and bowling were popular and attracted 300 over the weekends.

700

The striving for economic adjustment kept the isseis busy and tired. They were no longer as youthful as they had been before the war. Jobs opened to them were of those that required long-standing, and much physical work; women who before the war worked out in the fields, or who took the role of a housewife found jobs in power machine clothing factories. All of this deprived the isseis from the energy needed to go out in the evenings or on weekends. Immediately after their evening meals they would spend a few minutes on the local vernacular and then would be in bed by 7:30 or 8 o'clock. Their weekends would be spent in cleaning up their homes or doing the week's accumulation of washing. Their rooms were such that they were reluctant in accepting visitors. Three or four living in one room were not conducive to social visits.

Organizations

The resettlers were wary about forming organizations, even ^{when} ~~the~~ the factor of economic security ^{was} ~~was~~ waived. Many of the capable leaders had spent their war-years in the internment camps and were only recently released. They were still suspicious of the FBI, although many ~~of them~~ called them their best friends since their records were always available for scrutiny. New faces had shown up in the Japanese community ~~and~~ ^{but} they were reluctant in forcing themselves into leadership position because of ingroup pressures. The CRDU which did develop was forced out because of differences in personality and also because the feeling of many isseis that two organizations, the CRDU and JACL were duplicating ~~their~~ programs. It was the feeling of many isseis that the JACL need be the only organization for the community. The JACL's national program much publicized during the war was relayed to the leaders via the Rocky Shippo and the Utah Nippo. For the niseis, except for a few

and

of the leaders, there was little evidence of active support. It was either passive resistance or no interest in the organization.

~~II. SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT WITHIN THE COMMUNITY~~

Except for geographical isolation, there is very little community-ness in the various concentrated areas of Japanese. Social organizations have been slow in developing, and there is very little feeling of the need for it. Several respondents have stated that there is no time for such activities. "Now is the time to get economic stability and the only way to achieve it is to work". This attitude has led to a myopic viewpoint and selfish interests of the individuals have tended to make them more shortsighted.

Therefore, the only activity in the interest of the whole community has evolved around two testimonial banquets. The first was sponsored by the Southern California Church Federation for "loyal" caucasian friends, and the second was sponsored by the "Nisei Council" for the veterans and friends. The second affair lead many to believe that there would be a central organization which would coordinate the various groups in the Japanese community, but so far, little has been done to promote it. The banquet was a joint issei-nisei affair. The Niseis were in charge of the program, and the issei in charge of finance. Each of the committees were co-chairmanned. Behind all of this cooperation from the isseis was the hope of greater backing of the JACK, who was the initiator of the banquet.

~~There is a feeling among the isseis that there need be no organization other than the JACL, and because of this attitude, and also because of personality conflicts, the CRDU, rival of the JACL, disbanded and was taken over by the JACL. The Fair Play United, a newly developing~~

organization is also being shunted. This organization has majority of its members in the Burbank Trailer camp where several of the organizing members are located.

In spite of the JACL being one of the most vocal of organizations, there is still hesitency on the part of the niseis in accepting it. Stories of pre-war JACL remain in their minds.

Other organizations which have developed are the Church Federation, Nisei Ministerial Association, etc.

The veterans in the area have not shown interest ^{any of the service} in organizations, ~~either in the American Legion, AVC, VFW, or in the Nisei Veterans' Association.~~ Approximately 100 are registered as members of the NVA, and only a half dozen or so in the AVC. The extent of the veterans interest in wider community affairs is evidenced by the fact that not one veteran participated in the Armistice Day Parade.

No basketball?
No hard baseball?

The nisei leaders have not returned to Los Angeles in any great numbers. They ^{are} ~~were~~ possibly the ones who are making good adjustments in the east. The older niseis who have returned are encumbered with family responsibilities, or are not of leadership calibre. Outside of bowling and softball, there has been no athletic competition. Of course, the season for other sports had not arrived and it is this coming year that other sports activities should emerge. However, the nuclear Japanese Athletic Union has not emerged, but is being talked about. Before the war, there was the YMCA that took charge and coordinated such activities. There is no such organization to work in the interest.

For the most part, the lack in able leadership has prevented the growth of organizations. The isseis during the first three quarters of 1946 have been busy getting established. Those in leadership

position before the war were taken into the internment camps at the outbreak of war, and although many have returned, they are reluctant in participating in community organizations because of their fear of being watched by the FBI. Their interest in community affairs before the war led many into the internment camps, and this fear still persists.

Among the Christian Church groups, the leaders feel that their hands are tied by the Wider Church Boards. Their program has been established according to the policy of over-all community participation, hence, it is their feeling that they cannot develop a program to fit solely the Japanese. It was remarked by one minister that they have to have the help of the caucasians, otherwise they will not be able to develop an interest in church activity. This attitude has led the observer to feel that it is not necessarily the need for guidance, but a reaction to the policy set forth. If the Caucasian Board is to set such a policy, the Japanese want them to bear the brunt of the program so that the blame will not rest with the Japanese ministers. This may have arisen from the help that the Caucasian churches gave the Japanese during the war and had created in the Japanese a feeling of "agency-consciousness" which still persist.

Issei-Nisei relationship have developed to an increasing extent. This is perhaps the result of both parties recognizing the need of the other. Up to the time of evacuation, the isseis considered the niseis upstarts, and gave them little chance in leadership in joint organizations. The JACL was perhaps the only organization where the niseis were actually leaders on a community-wide basis. The niseis were represented in issei organizations without voice and were given little chance to gain the necessary experience in taking complete charge of

affairs. Then with the outbreak of the war, the JACL emerged and since it was the only citizens organization with mature niseis, they took over completely. Many unfortunate tales developed out of this rise in power. They were said to have ignored the mature judgment, made rash statements, etc. The isseis felt left out, the niseis felt that interference from isseis would hamper their progress. The war years had matured the niseis and has changed the issei thinking on the judgment of the niseis. Their sons made a good record in the armed forces, the JACL fought through heartbreaks for what they believed were in the best interest of the people, and when resettlement began in Los Angeles, the isseis were willing to accept the niseis on an equal footing.

This is perhaps most noticeable in the JACL. The isseis are willing to be contributing members and have talked of forming a Koenkai, but so far, outside of verbal acknowledgement of JACL's services, nothing has emerged. The best indication of issei backing is indicated in the backing of the Veteran's testimonial dinner, *and thousands of dollars in contribution.*

The Flower Market Association is another example of the shift in responsibilities from isseis to nisei. On the Board there were 14 isseis and one nisei. *The* lone nisei fought through 1946 for a formation of a corporation of niseis and has finally won, *and is in the process of development.* It is felt that through a nisei corporation, many advantages are offered.

Both the Christian and Buddhist boards are composed of both niseis and isseis. The Christian Churches began this before the war, but were held in minor roles except for a few of the churches. The Buddhist board was mainly composed of isseis. *It* is still felt among the buddhists, however, that it will be up to the isseis to raise the necessary funds for maintaining the churches.

There is considerable criticism over the fact that if the issei control these organizations, there will be continued the practice ^{of asking} for donations ^{to support them.} This is perhaps another strong element in the reluctance of forming organizations. The more organizations, the more donations the people have to put up with.

Although no formal organization has developed in mutual aid of any type, the various customs still thrive. At weddings, funerals, gifts in the form of money is brought to the door before services. There has been rumors of a group of gardeners pooling their resources in making down payments on houses. There has been cases of friends offering food and shelter temporarily until such a time the individual gets on their feet. These practices, however, have been superseded by accepting aid from the county without hesitation.* When the resettlers first arrived, there were a number of families who had to accept aid because of various factors. The location of trailer camps were such that there was no employment in the immediate vicinity. The resettlers had no cars and bus and streetcar lines were not easily accesible. The practice of working on their own farms or living behind their business establishments besides little commuting experience also tended to prevent many of the resettlers accepting employment away from the immediate area. Then there was the experience of having to move away from the trailer camps because of their temporary nature led many Japanese to refrain from looking for employment and on relying heavily on relief.

* Between January + October of 1946, there was a drop in total relief cases from ~~2828 to 1045~~ from 1196 to 465. (missing 2828 individuals to 1045) of the 1045 receiving ~~general~~ aid, 826 were getting general relief. Issei were not eligible for Social Security because of their citizenship status.

THE FAMILY

Of the resettlers who moved into Los Angeles, very few family groups were the same in composition as when they were moved out of the West Coast. A number of their sons were still in the armed forces, and many other sons and daughters were still in the east or midwest. Many of the families were set back into their pre-war pattern in having their oldest son or daughter in the returning group still of the high school age. They could not take over the heavy responsibilities of making decisions. The older members of the nisei groups were out making their own decisions in other environments in the east.

1500 pieces of property?

Families were divided in most cases since it was not possible for all members of the families to be housed under one roof. If the temporary shelter were a hostel, there was still communal eating to contend with. If it was in a hotel room, it was only a place to sleep and the ~~people~~ ^{family} ate in restaurants. Family members who returned from the east were again housed in temporary shelters or hostels where they lived apart from the other members of the family. Generally, the relationship between members was loose and in many ways, it was following the pattern that had developed in the centers. Parental controls were lax, and there was a frightening amount of independence among the children.

The authority, however, still lay in the issei who controlled much of the wealth. When businesses were opened, they may have been opened under the name of niseis, but the power was in the issei's hands. The niseis would quibble over a few cents, but when it came to handling hundreds of dollars, the isseis were the ones to make the decisions.

In wage-earning families all members worked. The father could be a gardener, the mother, a textile worker, and the sons, mattress-factory employee or record maker. The daughter probably worked in the Board of

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Education. In fortunate cases such as these, the combined income was in the neighborhood of six or seven hundred dollars a month. The pooling of resources led to an accumulation of wealth which could be put down as a payment towards purchase of a home. Other families struggled with only one breadwinner. In these cases, it was usually a younger family with many small children. They were the ones who faced considerable hardships. Everything the sole breadwinner earned went into the payment of rents, food and clothing. Savings were an impossibility. In other family groups where the husband was considerably older than the wife, it was not unusual to see the wife working in garment factories while the husband played Goh, or took care of the children. In these cases, it was usually because the men could only make \$.65 an hour at some menial job.

The income, however, must be ruled out as a unifying factor in most cases since the individuals live alone and their living expenses took up most of their salaries. For boys and girls of school age, their summer earnings would go into the purchasing of clothes for the coming school year. The older boys saved their money until they were able to purchase cars. This expense, however, is shared since all members of the families use the cars. It is perhaps one of the first acquisitions of the Japanese family since it is almost imperative that one has a car to be able to get to work or to see their friends who live in other communities.

Because of the tight housing situation, many of the children stay out all hours with their friends. Gang groups developed to a large extent during the summer when there were no pressures of school work. These groups hung around Little Tokyo, the bowling alleys,

playgrounds, and in extreme cases in a cooperatively rented room in hotels. Their attendance at certain dances was regular and their reputation was becoming ~~fact~~ tarnished. Community-minded individuals attempted to push a program of clubs for these youths, but there was no central organization to assume the responsibility. The parents were busy earning their livelihood and tended to neglect their off-springs. It was all too easy to blame the housing condition, or the center life, or the necessity for earning a livelihood. The sanctions of the community were not yet sufficiently crystallized to work against the symptoms of social maladjustment. Everyone was too busy with their own affairs to be worried about others.

New families have not been developing to any great extent. In the period between the first of August and last of December, less than 25 nisei marriages took place and one issei marriage. This is perhaps another indication of the young age group of the niseis, besides also being an indication of the unsettled condition in the community. Girls working as domestics get very little opportunity to meet boys, and it has been the complaint of a number of isseis that one room quarters for four or five do not present an ideal situation for courting. Other reasons given was the fact that many boys believe that girls who relocated eastward have had too varied an experience in their sexual life, while those who came directly from camp are not socially mature. The girls working as ~~deomstics~~ domestics are looked upon with suspicion also. Because of their confinement in homes all week, they are considered good baits for "wolves". Therefore, until there is greater stability in the niseis' economic life, there will be few marriages.

Part IV

D. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION TOWARDS THE LARGER COMMUNITY

Relationship of the Japanese organizations to the larger community has been restricted. Participation has been limited to a few baseball games between semi-pro teams, and the joint dinners held for the Caucasians. There has been considerable urging of participation from both groups, but little response has emanated. The Nisei Veterans Organization has, for example, urged its members to join the AVC with little success. The YW and YM has extended its invitation to the Japanese and the churches extended similar invitations, but with little response. The JACL has contacted other organizations mainly for purpose of soliciting votes on the November election.

organized
by
Nisei

The lack of interest is perhaps due to the fact that the people are still unsettled. Much of their working day exhaust their physical capacities for night activities. The younger niseis are interested only in bowling or dancing. It is more interesting to them to go to these than to attend meetings or joint Caucasian-Japanese affairs. They cannot seem to see beyond their immediate recreational activities. The Community/Council group in their Thursday meeting invited Japanese participation but because membership is invitational, only a few of the leaders attend.

It has been mentioned several times that the Caucasian organizations are getting tired of the lack of interest shown by the Japanese in their own well-being. They have begun to feel that if the Japanese do not help themselves, why should they.

In the individual's social adjustment, there has not been too great a difficulty. The niseis have fitted in well in their high school program, the older niseis out of high school have for the most part been able to get jobs with the gardener group, or in Caucasian factories.

Their off-work activities consist mainly in getting together with other niseis. Except for a very few of the older niseis living in Caucasian communities, there is very little social intercourse between the two groups. In the high school group, they join the Hi-Y, the Knights and other organizations; they play on the school team and sit with the rooting section, but after school hours, very little association with other racial groups exist.

The isseis, in the same way, have very little association with Caucasians or other groups. The Japanese movies and other programs in Little Tokyo attract them. They visit back and forth, and except when business take them away from the Japanese group, they are mostly together. A few perhaps feel at ease with the Caucasian, but the majority of them are ill at ease and tend to shy away from the larger society. Yet they speak of the area as accepting them better than they were accepted before the war. The majority have yet to face discrimination and feel a greater sense of freedom because Japan is no longer a potent enemy.

The niseis during the early resettlement period found few socials that were of the segregated type. Therefore, they had to go to ballrooms for their recreation and frequented many of the well-known places. Los Angeles with its numerous places of recreation could easily have filled their social-playtime needs. In spite of this, however, there was a demand for segregated dances and they were being developed. These, along with other social activity, began to flourish until the latter part of November crowds of 300 niseis were attending skating parties at the Shrine Skating Rink sponsored by the YBA. Small dances at various playgrounds still drew a number of participants, and these increased until the recreation hall in a Long Beach Trailer Camp

boasted crowds of 400. From here other dances sponsored by nisei groups at the Royal Palm's Ballroom attracted three and four hundred people.

The niseis are oblivious of the necessity for greater community participation in their social relationship. They seemed to have fallen back into their pre-war pattern of self-sufficiency without realizing it.

The large group of post-high school age niseis who went through the relocation camp high school are perhaps the most to suffer from the lack of poise in Caucasian groups. Whereas before the war many niseis had numerous Caucasian friends in high school, the relocation center students lacked this. Their distinct characteristic is their poor English. It is a common sight to see a girl dressed in furs to speak "pidgin" English. It is not as noticeable in boys because they are not dressed so much out of character.

ORIENTATION

The isseis for the most part have accepted the United States as a place they intend to live. Their feeling of eventually returning to the homeland has decreased. Many, however, would like to return to Japan for a visit to see what their old country looks like or to find out about relatives. This feeling is also present in a number of kibeis. Even if they look upon their country as a defeated nation, they believe that within a few years it will emerge again as a leading nation. They expect trade to flourish which will bring prosperity to many Japanese contemplating in going into foreign trade. This feeling is shared also by many niseis, although only one girl has stated that she wanted to return to the west coast because she felt that this section

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of the country would be the center of future foreign trading activity.

If the isseis were to be backed against the wall in their feelings towards their mother country, they would probably still back the country of their birth. This is inevitable since this is the usual trend among immigrants. It is perhaps stronger in the Japanese because of the discriminatory practices present in their immigration and naturalization proceedings. The hardships they have suffered have been rationalized in their attitude toward being Japanese. They feel that if they were not Japanese, that if they were any other group, they would still be whining over the evacuation.

For the present, however, their overt interest is principally in sending food and clothes through the Japan Relief. But to a greater extent, they will laugh over the results of the war and talk about the present economic situation. Who is making money? What business will be more profitable? These subjects, however, are spoken in confidence because of the cut-throating practices in getting leases. If one Japanese hears of another attempting to purchase a place, he will investigate it for himself and outbid the other. The lack of originality follows when one counts the number of Japanese restaurants that have opened up, or if one counts the number of fountains or Service Bureaus^u. When one makes money, there are sure to follow several others.

DISCRIMINATION *

Much of the open type of discrimination occurred in the early days of ~~relocation~~^{relocation}. After the mass movement of the evacuees in October of 1945, the face to face type of discrimination ceased and other types emerged. Boycotts in the Flower Market and nursery, pressure from big wholesale fruit market, discrimination in housing (restrictive

* For early discrimination see Final Area Report for the Los Angeles district.

covenants), business rentals, and an underhanded method of ousting the Japanese through legislation became noticeable. Civic organization moved to aid in settling these differences, and except for restrictive covenants, and perhaps pressures, there is very little left. Practices of charging more to Japanese for leases tend to keep them out of certain areas.

Other types of discrimination which existed before the war has also emerged. The Japanese are again being stereotyped as domestics and gardeners. There are numerous calls for the house-boy type, but the Japanese are not too willing to go into it.

Such organizations that are interested in inter-racial relationship have tended to be detrimental in the psychological adjustment of many Japanese. Thrusting the Japanese from a segregated program of the relocation camps into the melting pot has caused many to feel that they are being discriminated. It occurred in the matter of the Church, the YWCA and the YMCA. From the long range point of view, they have the best interest of the Japanese; but in meeting current adjustments, they have failed. It may be because of the leadership that has been taken away from the issei leaders who have to have a Japanese community to enhance their leadership. Then, when Japanese-owned property was being used for such a program, they felt that something that materially belonged to them was being taken away. This taking away is projected into their pre-evacuation days when many items of household goods were taken away from them. In other words, there is an intense feeling of distrust.

As to their relationship with other minority groups, the Japanese still feel the Negroes, Mexicans, and Filipinos are below their social

standard. They feel that in business ability and in their habits, they are above the other minority groups. They have, however, accepted other minorities as good customers and in many cases, although they dealt with them before the war, are surprised at the way the other groups spend their money. They know that these groups made a good deal of money during the war, but that sooner or later they will lose it. It is at that time that the Japanese feel that they will make a comeback into the economic picture.

2 The economic dependence of Little Tokyo on the Negro trade is seen in a statement of one merchant who stated that over 70% of his trade comes from them. Yet, in their attempts to remake Little Tokyo, they are easing their best customers out gently. Very few of the businessmen seem to remember the downward trend of the Little Tokyo businesses before the war. It is perhaps due to the fact that many of the businesses are owned by out-of-towners who saw only the best side of the business picture before the war.

Those in the wider community where their trade is with other minority groups, they feel that at least economically they will be better off than they were before. They do not have to depend on the Japanese customers. Socially, there has been little mixing, as has been said before.

In fighting for the rights of minority, there has been little participation of the Japanese in aiding them. For example, to solicit votes against proposition 15, they approached the Urban League and other minority organizations. Yet, when aid was asked by the Negroes in fighting restrictive covenants, the JACL has been only passively interested. They are going to wait out the decision before the Supreme Court before becoming vocal.

WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

In reply, please refer to:

Since the Japanese have settled into neighborhoods where many of the other minorities live, what is the relationship between the groups? Little Tokyo, because of the in-migration of the Japanese into an area already over-crowded with Negroes should point out the relationships rather sharply. The Japanese have gradually been pushing out the business-men as well as the residents. High prices were offered for leases. These prices were known to be inflated, and an opportunity for the Negroes to make their last big "wad", or to die a natural death without the benefit of the "big money". To other Negro businessmen, it was only a case of economic competition; hence they elected to stay and get some of the trade. So far there has been no tension developing over this type of competition. As a residential area, however, some tension is developing. The Negroes have complained that as the ownership of hotels and apartment change from Negro to Japanese, the building would be remodeled and the apartments vacated for that purpose. When these are re-opened, preference is given to Japanese, and the evicted Negroes have to look elsewhere for their housing. No open tension has yet developed, and there ~~is a good indication that none will develop over this discrimination.~~ *has been an undercurrent of dissatisfaction* *However,* *it* has been said by several Negroes that the mobility upwards is to get away from the area as soon as they are able to. To live in the neighborhood is a mark of an individual not being able to advance.

very little
There has been ~~no~~ social intercourse between the groups so far.

The Pilgrims House which is designed as a Community House for the residents of the area is used separately. During the week the Negroes have access to it while on Sundays the Union Church holds its service. The shift in management is said to be in the offing, and as indication of the infiltration of the Japanese, the sign indicating that the Union Church is located in the building, ~~there has been a progressive growing of the sign.~~ *gains in prominence*



WAR RELOCATION AUTHORITY

In reply, please refer to ~~the entrance~~. In July the sign occupied a subordinate role as was

indicated by its bottom position. Several months later it moved upward

and in larger letters. ^PAccording to the Negroes, there is no attempt

made by the Japanese to co-operate in building the Pilgrim House as a

Community Center. Contributions are small, and except for a small

number of nursery school children participating in its program, the Japanese

have tended to ignore the institution. In other words, the

Japanese have chosen to ignore the joint Negro-Japanese social life.

In other areas of mixed groups, there is a limited amount of social life between them. The upper-middle class Negroes living in the West

Jefferson area and the Japanese residents exchange phone calls, go fishing,

go to the fights etc together. This, however, is done purely on an

individual basis and it may be due to the neighborliness of both groups.

The pattern exist similarly in the Boyle Heights area where there

is a large number of Mexicans living together with the Japanese. There

are individual cases of mixing, but on the whole the groups tend to ignore

each other.

