

PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Definition of the Problem

At various times the general problem of the Study has been stated as the study of the effect of "enforced mass migration." It is the effect of the changes caused by evacuation on the evacuees, and for that reason the change shall be referred to as "evacuation change." It is essentially a study of social change.

A study of the social change of this sort seems to fall naturally into three divisions. First, in order to observe the change, a description of the life prior to evacuation is necessary. Secondly, a description of the evacuation is necessary in order to isolate the variable, the effect of which is being studied. This would include a description of the administrative organization, the physical equipment and environment in general, other factors such as status of the war between America and Japan, rationing, etc. Third, a description of the initial effect of the evacuation change and the subsequent adjustment made by the evacuee will constitute the bulk of the material gathered by observers. The field notes and reports by them will describe the persistence, change and modification of the old cultural, social and personal organization of behavior within the Project.

From the manner in which the problem was roughly stated and from a general social-psychological interest of an observer, among the above three two important correlations become evident. The first is the effect of the evacuation change -- the correlation between the new adjustment and the evacuation change. The other is the effect of the old adjustment under conditions of evacuation change -- the correlation between the new adjustment and the old adjustment. Even if the first correlation is considered the main problem of the Study, the second can not be ignored because such

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an analysis is necessary in any thorough understanding of social change and in eliminating variables in studying the first correlation. Unless it is not known what effect the old adjustment had on the new adjustment, it is not going to be possible to attribute changes to evacuation change alone.

To understand these correlations it is not sufficient to study them in terms of culture, institutions or group ways alone. For a more fundamental understanding, of the second correlation especially, it is necessary to know the individual or personal factors involved. To understand individual variations within a group it is necessary to know the motives, needs, goals, aspirations of the individual. In reviewing our problem, we find that the personal factor plays an important part in understanding why a person with a particular background reacted to the evacuation change in the way he did. What then are the personal factors which should be considered.

B. What are the Personal Adjustment Factors

The Study is not being approached with a set method. The method used should be suitable to the material on hand and the formulation of the problem based on the material. It is doubtful even then whether an unchangeable method should be worked out and whether a "point-to-point" approach should not be used.¹ The concepts used, too, will depend on the formulation of the problem and the nature of the material. In lining up a preliminary report, however, advantage must be taken of the tools that are available. What then are the personal adjustment factors that should be considered in this preliminary report?

Individual variation in behavior seems to depend on three closely related factors -- the role the individual is expected to play by his group and culture, the needs and goals of the individual, and the particular pattern of adjustment that the individual evolves to adjust roles to his needs and goals and to continue a satisfactory adjustment pattern.

1. W. I. & D. S.

Roles should be defined as the mode of behavior expected of individuals between culture and group to which they belong. It is determined by the group which attempts to maintain certain ways, to include or exclude people from its group, or to assign status to members of its groups. This concept of role is important in social psychology in maintaining a dynamic relation between the group and the individual.

Needs and goals may be biological or social, primary or secondary. Needs are tensions within the individual which must be released. Goals are the things that individuals strive to reach in order to satisfy needs. Both concepts are important because sometimes it is the tension created within the individual, such as sensitiveness to race or feeling of insecurity, that is important, and at other times it is the goal, such as status, that needs to be discussed. It is to be noted that need is used in a very broad sense to include inclinations of the individuals. They are the motivating forces within the individual.

In order to satisfy his needs and attain goals an individual sometimes becomes submissive and plays the roles required of him by his social group. Other individuals may, under the same circumstances, revolt in the role he is required to play and take a more aggressive attitude to satisfy his needs. Gradually an individual evolves a certain concept of himself of his ego. He maintains a characteristic level of aspiration and strives to achieve a certain status within his group. He identifies himself with certain people and is antagonistic with others. When conflict situations arise he is likely to set up defense and escape mechanisms. The sum total of all of these means, the individual employs to adjust his needs to the world about him constitutes his adjustment pattern. It is the process of "organization of life goals," which includes the "defining the situation" in light of the role he is required to play, his needs and goals and the adjustment pattern he has become accustomed to.

These three concepts are very closely related and influence each other. Since an individual is a member of the group he is instrumental in creating the role he himself is required to play. Roles often become internalized within the individual, and as in the case of sense of guilt is likely to function as a need. Behavior that makes the adjustment pattern, too, is likely to function not as a means to achieve other needs and goals, but to serve as ends in themselves. The desire for status or compulsive behavior resulting from defense and escape mechanisms are good examples of this.

C. Relation of Personal Factors to Social and Cultural Factors

The role that an individual is required to play is dependent upon the group and culture to which the individual belongs. While there is a great variation among the individual members in a given group in the needs and goals and adjustment pattern developed, much of this can be traced to cultural and social factors. But the nature of the society in which one lives, the types of conflicts and the means of resolving these conflicts are likely to be somewhat limited. The concern for status among second generation Americans, Nisei sensitivity to race, strong identification with Caucasians can all be traced to the culture conflict situation.

In studying personal adjustment, then, some understanding of the cultural and social background in which the individual operates is necessary. First, the Japanese culture carried by the Japanese immigrants should be understood. More important perhaps is the cultural conflict situation in which the average Nisei is placed, hemmed in by two conflicting cultures on both sides. Also, an understanding of the social structure and the ways of the groups are necessary in understanding the roles required of individuals in different groups. The semi-caste, Japanese-Caucasian relationship, the peculiar Japanese communities on the Coast, stratification, and groups and group ways should be studied for a better understanding of personal adjustment of the individual.

The relationship of the cultural and social factors to personal adjustment can be very well studied in terms of typical roles, needs and goals, and adjustment patterns which the former tends to develop. This will maintain the relationship between the personal and social and cultural factors. While other adjustments **not** particularly characteristic of the particular society in which the individual lives are important in determining individual behavior, concentration on those adjustments typical of the society will serve to limit the field undertaken in this preliminary report. Obviously if not everything can be covered the most significant should be covered and for this reason emphasis will be laid on typical roles, needs and goals and adjustment patterns.

D. Scope of Personal Adjustment Section

The personal adjustment section shall be written in three parts, which seemed ^{be} to the natural divisions of the Study. The first part is dealing with personal adjustment in the past. In this section a short review of the cultural conflict situation, social structure and group ways will be made, as well as their relation to the development of roles, of characteristic needs and goals, and of typical adjustment patterns. This section is to provide the tools which will be used to analyze the effect of the evacuation on the personal adjustment of evacuees.

In the second section the possible effect of the evacuation change on personal adjustment will be discussed. Since a description of the evacuation change is not available yet this section must necessarily remain sketchy. While this section will be valuable in giving hints as to the type of changes to look for in the lives of the evacuees, it should not be forgotten that there is a danger of such abstract analysis ordering the data in the following section. While relying on purely empirical data may be desirable in describing the effect of the evacuation, with the lack of adequate data and the immensity of the scope of work on hand, it seems wise to take advantage

of whatever hunches can be gotten from this section.

The third section will roughly parallel the section on social change (including community organization and disorganization). It will deal with the persistence, modification and emergence of roles, needs and goals and adjustment patterns.

E. Personal Adjustment and Case History

Originally the personal adjustment section was conceived of being based on a series of case histories of individuals. Actually, it will have to draw on incidents, group studies, organization of community activities -- any source from which the roles, needs and goals, and adjustment pattern and attitudes reveal these things. The section will deal largely with individuals, and for this purpose a large number of case histories which are not available at the present time, is wanted. For our present purpose case histories of individuals illustrating typical roles, needs and goals and adjustment patterns are desirable, and this will limit the use of the small number of case histories on hand although narrowing down the field that will have to be covered. It will not be possible to avoid being asked whether the case histories are typical, since no sampling is being done to secure them, but this will have to be worked out later. Since most of the case histories have not been written up as yet, they can be referred to only in a cursory manner.

II. PAST ADJUSTMENT

A. Introduction

One of the most important factors which influence the adjustment of the Japanese in America is the fact that they belong to a semi-caste society.¹ Japanese in America are a racial minority who often find it difficult to participate in social activities in this country on an equal level with the

1. F. M. Social Structure.

dominant Caucasian group. Part of this is due to racial prejudice, which probably has a strong economic basis. It is also due to cultural differences between the racial groups. The fact that Japanese have tended to congregate on the Coast into compact Japanese communities has helped to perpetuate these cultural differences and maintain the semi-caste structure.

It is customary at the present time to divide the Japanese in America into three different groups -- Issei, Nisei, and Kibei. This division is based on generational and cultural differences. When Japanese are divided into generations we have the first generation and the second (also third generation). The first generation Japanese have generally brought with them their own Japanese culture and have generally maintained it rather strictly. In fact, the first generation Japanese in America in many respects are less westernized than many people in Japan, especially ^{Japanese} in large modern cities such as Tokyo. The second generation Japanese, on the other hand, have usually gone to American public schools and have learned most of the ways of the dominant group, in many cases rejecting the culture of their parents. The difference between the first and second generation, then, is not only one of generation and age, but of ways of thinking and doing things. Among the Niseis, however, some were sent to Japan when small and brought up over there in a manner similar to the Isseis. They then came back to America, only to find that they were different from other second generation Japanese and that they did not get along with them. This group, commonly called Kibeis, is a relatively small one, and can be treated as a minority group within the large Nisei group. The Kibei themselves often prefer this treatment, and prefer to refer to themselves as Kibei-Nisei rather than Kibei, which has come to carry a derogatory connotation. However, since the Kibeis have little in common with most Niseis, they shall be treated separately in this section.

B. Issei Adjustment

Most Isseis received their basic education in Japan and came to the United States after having spent their youth in Japan. For this reason they have brought with them a stable, authoritarian, patriarchal culture ~~to~~ to America. Not only that, most of them have come to the United States from homes in rural communities so that they usually lack interest in cultural attainment. By and large, their main purpose for coming to the United States was to make enough money to be able to return to their native land and live in comfort. For this reason assimilation into the American culture was not attempted by the majority of the immigrant group.

The tendency from the very beginning has been for Japanese to cluster together when they came to the United States. This was at first necessary because they did not know how to speak English and had to depend on other Japanese who knew their way about to find work and fill even their basic needs. The antagonism of the majority Caucasian group to the incoming Oriental race also tended to perpetuate this isolation of the Japanese people into Japanese communities. For this reason, among the first generation there was a minimum of adoption of American ways. Also, contacts with Caucasians were kept down to the bare minimum. Within the family circle, within the Japanese communities, Japanese language, Japanese language schools, singing of Japanese songs, celebration of Japanese holidays, teachings of Buddhism were all carried on. This preservation of the Japanese culture by Isseis is one of the important factors which should be remembered in attempting to understand the later adjustment made by Niseis and the incidents that arise within the centers.

While a large percentage of the Isseis in America were immigrants who had arrived prior to the passing of the Exclusion Act, which became effective in 1924 (?), some had come as overseas representatives of the Japanese Government or Japanese firms. Members of the Japanese Consulate

and employees of such firms as Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Nippon Yusen Kaisha, Sumitomo and Yokohama Specie Banks have made up part of this group. They have usually come, not from a rural background in Japan, but from a **back-**ground of culture and education and many westernized ways. This group has kept rather closely to itself, maintaining a sharp distinction from the immigrant group, and has constituted what may be called the elite class among the Japanese in America. Economically this group has enjoyed more privileges than persons hired in America for the same firm. Their social prestige has been maintained in terms of better positions, better family connections in Japan, and distinguishing group ways. The latter has included living in a better district than the immigrant Japanese, playing golf, maintaining their own exclusive clubhouse. Their interests have generally been tied up closely with big business and with the welfare of the Japanese Government, and for this reason they have tended to protect the interest of both.

The distinction between the elite and the immigrant Japanese is definite. The member of the immigrant group may find a job with a Japanese firm, but he is not accorded the same privileges as the members of the elite group who is hired in Japan. There is some association between the elite group and the immigrant group, especially those with education or those who maintain higher Japanese cultural standards, but generally the two groups keep to themselves. The elite group has taken a rather paternalistic attitude toward the immigrant group, and has controlled many of the Japanese associations along the Coast. The immigrant group in turn has tended to concede the superior position of the elite group, and has generally agreed with their policies, which were often nationalistic and undemocratic.

A clear-cut stratification of the immigrant Issei group is difficult. Social status is generally maintained by a combination of type of business engaged in, the amount of money possessed, position within the community,

education, cultural ways maintained, etc., and one criterion does not serve to differentiate the group into definite classes. With this in mind, however, the Issei group can be conveniently divided into the respectable immigrants and the nonrespectable immigrants. To be an accepted member of the Japanese community, it was usually necessary to have some sort of respectable job, raise a family, identify themselves with the Japanese community, maintain middle-class ways. It was the respectable immigrants who made up the bulk of the Issei population in the Japanese communities on the Coast. They had control of the education of the children, the maintenance of the language schools, sponsoring of Japanese celebrations.

The nonrespectable group of immigrants were made up of non-conformists who lived within or on the fringe of the Japanese communities. This included the bachelors who did not settle down; idlers, who had no particular job; gamblers; migrant workers, who were not settled down and who often gambled, squandered their money, or visited prostitutes; radicals and communists, who did not maintain the middle-class ideology. While this group is not a closely knit group or even a group in a strict sense of the word, it has in common the maintenance of ways unacceptable to the majority of the Isseis in the Japanese community and a lower status within the community.

Since the Isseis were immigrants who were discriminated against, they were made sensitive to their racial identity. They could not help feeling their low status within the American community and the difference in their ways. This had led to a concern for status, so characteristic of minority groups, and which had made the first generation Japanese lacking in cooperation and concerned with petty jealousies. Because of their peasant background and their purpose for coming to America, and because they were not able to find full acceptance in American society, their energy was directed toward money making with a hope of returning to Japan some day. The

concern of the Japanese for the welfare of their children has been traditional and the Isseis were not an exception. They attempted to compensate for their low status by giving their children a good education and expecting them to find better jobs than they themselves were able to get.

To meet this peculiar condition, the Issei worked out a pattern of adjustment for himself. In general Isseis withdrew into Japanese communities where he could find the protection and friendship of compatriots like himself. Here he set up little jobs catering to the Japanese people. Some of them went to work for Caucasians at what menial task he was allowed to fill, but usually lived in the Japanese community. Others became farmers, a field which was generally open to the Japanese people. They buried themselves in their work either out of necessity or with the hope of making a fortune. They took pride in being law-abiding, honest and respectable citizens of the community. The only time dishonesty was condoned was probably in business dealings. They took pride in their children, those who had good reasons to put hope in their success did so. Identification with Japan was general, and was especially widespread after the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident and after the stock market crash. Isseis followed Japan's military career with interest, and sincerely believed that Japan had a divine mission in her military conquests. This type of adjustment was characteristic of the respectable immigrant group.

Within this group there were variations in the pattern of adjustment made by individuals, all of which can not be even named. The community leader was generally successful in business, educated, and intelligent. There were usually one or two persons of this sort in the community to whom the people in the community looked for leadership and who were consulted whenever an important community problem arose. When there was a quarrel in the community, such leaders were often asked to step in as go-between to suggest solutions. The entrepreneur conducted a business of his own and his prestige generally

depended on the degree of success with which he conducted it. His status was lower than that of a community leader. Of a still lower status, but a fully accepted member of the Japanese community, was the honest laborer who worked under someone else, had a family, and preserved the middle-class ways of the group. The hard-working wife, who besides doing all of the other tasks expected of a housewife, went out into the field or shopped and worked almost as hard as her husband might be mentioned. This gave her some rights in running the family business.

Nonconforming patterns of adjustment led to a low status within the Japanese community. Even menial tasks such as that of a janitor were considered acceptable as long as they were honest means of earning a living. Such occupations as gambling, however, were greatly frowned upon. Bachelors who did not accept the responsibility of raising a family lived within the Japanese community but never enjoyed a very high status. Migrant workers, who usually did not preserve middle-class ways, also were unacceptable to the conforming group of immigrants. They lived in hotels, boarding houses, and labor camps and usually did not participate in the activities of the community. Those who did not identify themselves with the Japanese community were generally ostracized by the others. This included those who attempted to associate with Caucasians or with the elite group to the exclusion of the immigrant Japanese in the Japanese community. The so-called radicals and communists, who did not maintain the middle-class ideology, were definitely ostracized by the community. Interest in trade unionism, for instance, was often considered sufficient to brand a person as by aka (Red). The anti-fascistic, anti-Japan elements among the Japanese were also unwelcome within the Japanese community. These people found satisfaction in identifying themselves with a liberal, democratic, socialistic, or communistic movement and in turn were antagonistic to the people in the Japanese community.

C. Nisei Adjustment

Probably the most important factor in the adjustment of a Nisei is that he is born to a world of conflicting cultures. On the one hand there is the Japanese culture which is carried by the Isseis and perpetuated in the home and within the Japanese community. On the other hand, is the American culture of the dominant Caucasian group which he meets outside of the Japanese community, on the street, in the public schools. The Nisei finds himself a part of two large groups, of two different ways of doing things, but he finds himself belonging wholly to neither. This has resulted in his making the adjustment peculiar to second generation racial minority groups, and has served to split the Nisei group into accepting different patterns of adjustment in response to the cultural conflict situation.

While the family influence during childhood has been great, the Japanese culture has not usually been transferred to the second generation completely. Japanese language, in the first place, has been difficult for the Nisei to learn, and after he has started to attend school, the tendency has been for him to forget rather than to learn more Japanese. Unless he goes to Japanese school or lives among a great number of Japanese he is likely to learn only enough Japanese to use in an ordinary conversation. His interests, attitudes, and ideals are also likely to be more American than Japanese. Part of the stronger influence of the American culture is based on the fact that the ways of the dominant group are considered tacitly to be superior to that of the minority group.

But many of the Japanese ways are learned and retained by most Niseis. This serves as a barrier to his acceptance by the Caucasian group. Added to this is a general prejudice against Orientals, and Japanese in particular. Even if he is wholly American in behavior, a Nisei is usually not accepted on equal terms with other Caucasians. This in turn has served

to keep the second generation Japanese among themselves and within the Japanese community, thus perpetuating some Japanese culture. In general, however, the barrier to assimilation into the dominant group is not cultural but social. It is not because of their cultural ways, but because they can not identify themselves wholly with the Caucasian group that a barrier exists between the Nisei and the Caucasian.

This conflict situation has presented the Nisei with many problems. For one thing he was open to criticism from both sides. Isseis thought that he was ^{not} acting properly because he did not follow the traditional Japanese manner of behavior. Caucasians on their side felt that the Nisei was not American enough in his behavior. Then there were conflicts between the Japanese and American ways of doing things, which was a source of confusion to the Nisei. Sometimes he abandoned one standard, usually the Japanese, only to find that he had not acquired the other. At other times he acquired part of both which did not fit together very well. Toward both groups the Nisei felt an attraction and repulsion. He did not like the narrow and inferior ways of his parents, but at the same time had to rely on them and on the Japanese people for protection and identification. There was a general desire to break away from the ways of the parents, but a fear of loss of status with the Japanese group if he did so. He desired to identify himself with the Caucasian group and accept their ways, which he considered superior to the ways of his parents. But the racial discrimination and lower status within the Caucasian group to which he was subject made the dominant group both attractive and repulsive at the same time. Sometimes he accepted the ways of both groups and/or identified himself with both groups at the same time, and this was a source of confusion. Because he was a member of a racial minority with less privilege than the dominant group, he was likely to feel frustrated. The Nisei was likely to be sensitive of his racial identity, concerned with the raising of his prestige and with petty

jealousies in the face of frustrations. Out of this conflict situation has arisen a concern for status and a need to identify himself with some group.

In terms of acculturation and identification three general patterns of adjustment have existed among second generation Japanese. The first has been a general submission to parental ways and greatest identification with parents rather than with other Niseis or with Caucasians. The Nisei who learned in his childhood to be submissive and whose parents were strict about maintaining Japanese ways was most likely to accept this type of adjustment. There was tendency on the part of those making this adjustment to be introverted and have a low level of aspiration. They usually went to Japanese school and took their lessons seriously, accepted many Japanese interests, spoke Japanese well. They generally studied hard in school and worked hard at home, and did not go out to play excessively. They were more likely to be Buddhists than Christians.

The second general pattern of adjustment has been an escape into the Nisei world. This has been easy for Niseis whose parents were broad-minded and relaxed the rigid ways which they maintained. For others, however, it has meant aggressively breaking away from parental control. In either case it has meant the accepting of Americanized ways of behavior. Not only such activities as dancing and dating which were frowned upon by many Isseis, but also use of American language and ways of dressing were accepted by this group. While people who made this sort of adjustment were looked down upon by many Isseis who termed them as being "typically Nisei," Niseis who maintained "Japanesey" ways could not be accepted readily in this group. The identification was with American ways, but not with Caucasians. These Niseis preferred generally to keep to themselves. Their adjustment is one of avoiding both Isseis and

Caucasians and living in a world of their own. These Niseis were likely to be more extroverted and sociable than those who had made the submissive type of adjustment. Those who took active part in both Buddhist and Christian churches among Niseis were likely to be of this type. The organization of Nisei social clubs, athletic teams and social events were almost wholly carried on by this group of Niseis.

The third type of adjustment can be called adjustment to Caucasians. This adjustment is one which is generally nonconforming to the ways of the large majority of people living in a Japanese community, both Isseis and Niseis. Its essence lies in a person's identifying himself with Caucasians and associating with them. Where this has occurred the result has been usually the individual to be ostracized from the Japanese group, if he happened to live in one. Consequently this type of adjustment has been most common among Japanese who lived outside of a Japanese community, among Caucasians. Sometimes the isolation has been peculiarly geographical. At other times the family has been isolated because the parents possessed highly Americanized ideas and preferred not to associate with other Japanese. The basis of this adjustment is an acceptance by Caucasians as one of them. This type of adjustment is more likely to be found in districts where the Japanese were sparsely settled or during childhood when racial consciousness is not so strong. However, there is a chance of rejection of the accepted Japanese by Caucasians, and this tends to make such individuals seek association with other Japanese. Where only certain privileges are refused to the Japanese he is often able to make his adjustment by accepting the lower status within the Caucasian groups. When a leadership position is demanded, however, he is often forced to gain admittance to a Japanese group. Even when such an individual makes contacts with Japanese, he is likely to retain his identification with Caucasians and many of the ways he learned among Caucasians. This makes his admittance to the Japanese group difficult,

and he is caught between two groups or wavers between them and becomes a "marginal personality."

Another type of adjustment to the cultural conflict situation, which is not common but is recognizable, might be called an emancipated adjustment. With this adjustment the individual does not make any of the three types of adjustment mentioned above. He tends to be self-sufficient and independent in action rather than controlled by any compulsion to consider the Japanese inferior or the Caucasians superior. He may have friends who have made other types of adjustments, but he does belong wholly to a group of people making a set type of adjustment. They tend to get along with a variety of people and not set up barriers between themselves and other people. Underlying such an adjustment is a feeling of confidence in his racial identity and his own abilities, freedom from control from the narrow ways of particular groups. His adjustment tends to be realistic, and ^{to} not ~~be~~ motivated by a desire to compensate for a feeling of racial inferiority. This type of adjustment is **most** common in people with a cosmopolitan background, those who have traveled.

The stratification of Niseis into definite classes is not clear. The greater the degree of acculturation the greater usually ^{is} prestige of a Nisei within the Nisei world. Among Isseis, of course, the more conservative and "Japanesey" Nisei enjoys the greater prestige. No factors, however, are sufficient to stratify the Niseis into definite classes. As with the first generation, however, certain types of adjustment can be pointed out as being definitely nonconforming within the Nisei world and therefore of a lower status value. This would include the so-called rowdies, who fail to maintain the social codes of the Nisei group. Their behavior is often characteristic of boys in their teens who were not particularly well bred. Their behavior becomes especially nonconforming

when they carry on their antisocial habits into adulthood when they are expected to work, marry and settle down, and shoulder the responsibilities of the community. Drinking, not working, dressing sloppy, gambling, stealing, taking part in gang activities, being unacceptable to the society of girls are all likely to be thought activities of a rowdy. The nonconforming adjustment also includes that of the so-called "radicals," who identify themselves with the "masses" and not the middle class, with which the majority of the Japanese identify themselves. The radical hopes for social change. His participation in labor unions or, perhaps, communism and his anti-Axis stand makes him very unpopular with the Japanese people.

In the other direction different means are employed by Niseis to raise their prestige within their own group. First of all acculturation or Americanization is employed as a means of raising prestige. Among the younger Niseis probably the most common means of gaining prestige is through popularity in the social group. This implies primarily going out on dates and dancing and being popular with the opposite sex. This type of adjustment is generally limited to Niseis who have been accepted within Nisei world, which would exclude the "Japanesy" type, the nonconforming Niseis, and those who have adjusted themselves to the Caucasians. The common complaint against people who have made this type of adjustment is that they talk and think about nothing else except dates and dances. They usually attempt to raise their status by raising the standard of their social affairs, attempting to make them more formal and more like those of the middle-class Caucasians.

Another method of raising status is by getting a higher education or having intellectual interests. This adjustment is characteristic of many persons who are not accepted by the middle social group. Thus in this

group we find the two extremes in acculturation finding a common meeting ground in intellectual interests. The submissive type, because of their habit of conformity, however, are less likely to be liberal in thought and brilliant as those who have made their adjustment to the Caucasians, or the so-called radicals. The rowdies are not likely to make this type of adjustment. On the whole the social group is likely to be antagonistic toward this intellectual type of adjustment, while those who have made this adjustment are likely to look upon those who limit themselves to dates and dances for their interests as being inferior.

Another method of attaining status is through occupation. He who has made a submissive adjustment is most likely to accept the type of work approved of by his parents. Or he often is satisfied with taking over the work of his parents and making a successful business enterprise out of it. For those in the social group professional work, such as that of a doctor, lawyer, or engineer appeals to him the most. Most any sort of "white-collar" work, however, usually lends prestige, and is preferred to domestic work or unskilled work. Those who have made their adjustment to Caucasians attempt to find jobs among Caucasians, which usually pay more than similar jobs within the Japanese community. Those who have made submissive adjustment and rowdies are least likely to seek strenuously for jobs of high social status. Those who have made an intellectual adjustment among Caucasians are probably most likely to get the best jobs among Niseis.

Another type of adjustment is that of being a leader of the Niseis. For this adjustment a following of Niseis is necessary and requires the presence of a sizeable Nisei group. Those who have made a submissive adjustment find it difficult to become leaders, their adjustment fits them better to follow than to lead. For their social functions the social

group can easily find its own leaders, but for real leaders who have to discuss intellectual and political matters often times they have to seek elsewhere for their leader. Those who have made an intellectual adjustment to the Caucasians and the radicals often make very good leaders when they are able to be accepted by the Niseis and identify themselves sufficiently with the Japanese people, although this is often difficult. Some leaders, especially those who desired personal power and glory, tended to be undemocratic in their method of leadership. Leaders recruited from among business men, lawyers and doctors tended to be this way, too.

Another type of adjustment might be called an ego-centric adjustment. With this adjustment status is attained by general isolation from others, and considering oneself superior to others. Often such a person gives the impression of being a snob or "snooty." The person claims superiority of some sort for himself -- intellectual achievement, extremely high social standards, good family lineage, or contacts with Caucasians and the like. Although such adjustments can be shared with several others with similar adjustments, isolation from others is the rule. Underlying such an adjustment is usually a sense of insecurity which perpetuates the isolating type of adjustment to gain a sense of security.

There are other types of adjustment, but all of them cannot be mentioned in this general review of the more common ones. Withdrawal, escape into fantasy, narcotization, excessive sexual activity, neurosis are types of adjustment which are generally nonadjustive.

D. Kibei Adjustment

(To be written up later.)

III. EVACUATION CHANGE AND PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT

(To be written later.)

IV. PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT IN TULE LAKE

The main body of this report is concerned with the effect of the evacuation on the adjustment of individuals. The effect on the culture and group ways will be considered in so far as it affects the adjustment of the individual to the changed surrounding. This section will be studied in terms of the change in the roles expected by the group of an individual, the motivating needs and goals, and the pattern of adjustment. This section will be divided into three parts -- persistence, modification, and emergence of personal adjustment. While the distinction between the three is not too clear-cut, it will serve to show in what area there has been greater or less change.

A. Persistence of Personal Adjustment

Habit is difficult to change, especially in an adult and a great deal of persistence of the old adjustment can be expected of individuals even if they move into a new environment. The individual is still expected to conform to group ways, which change less rapidly than individual ways, the motivating forces which often have been developed in childhood usually continue to be effective, and the individual is likely to seek the same pattern of adjustment that he has been accustomed to in the past as long as it is fairly satisfactory. The difference in reactions of individuals to the changed condition within the evacuation camp can be traced largely to difference in past adjustment.

The greatest amount of persistence of personal adjustment seems to be in the needs and goals of individuals and their pattern of adjustment. Behavior learned in the past such as being submissive, being aggressive, striving for recognition have generally persisted as a motivating force. Defects in personality, such as inferiority complex, have continued to hamper the relationships of individuals unless conditions within the camp

served to correct such defects. Such defects in persons in key positions played an important part in disorganizing some of the departments. Also, individuals have generally sought out the type of adjustment to which they were accustomed in the past: keeping together as the Kibeis did, gaining satisfaction from dates and dances as the social group did, desiring leadership positions, being conforming to group ways, identification with Caucasians by those formerly accepted by Caucasians, have all persisted to a large degree. It can probably be said that those who have had to change their pattern of adjustment the least in general experienced the least amount of personality disorganization.

Caucasians.-- The tasks of Administrative staff members have been made difficult by the unique conditions within the Project and by the size of the jobs, which were often too large for their ability. Their task has been hampered by a gulf which existed between themselves and the Japanese people. Part of this gulf was created by the fact that they assumed that they were superior to the Japanese people. This assumption has existed on the outside, and has continued to exist within the Project. Probably with the exception of possibly one or two members on the Administrative staff, Caucasians could not avoid this assumption. The superior attitude of the Caucasian teachers toward Japanese teachers in the high school, while partially based on their actual higher status in terms of salaries paid, can be traced to this assumption of white superiority. Mr. Cook's attempt to make the Creative Writers write exercises, which they did not want to write, and in general his attempt to tell them how to write their stories partially arises from the fact that he did not strongly suspect that the members, who were all Japanese, might be very critical, and in some cases superior to himself. (See Creative Writers.) Mr. Pilcher's and attitude that he had a right to do things his own way if the Japanese

didn't like it, the Army could be called in to make them like it; Mr. Douglas' charge that Mr. Taketa, who led the mess investigation and strike, was a "Communist," (see Mess Activity), Mr. Slattery's arrogant attitude toward the Japanese workers in his department, Mr. Smith's reluctance to see the Community Enterprise fall entirely into Japanese hands all seem to point to this basic assumption of white superiority.

Personality difficulties have also persisted among Caucasian staff members and have led to the disorganization of more than one department. Mr. John D. Cooke's sense of insecurity has been brought with him from the past, and has continued to disturb him. Along with it has been perpetuated some obnoxious patterns of behavior such as attempting to give people the impression that he had ability, anxiety, excessive craving for attention. This has made smooth relationship, not only with Japanese, but also with other members of the Administrative staff difficult. Mrs. Halle's lack of ability to organize the Social Welfare department was increased by her unstable personality. When she first came in she was already a nervous sort of woman smoking a great deal and talking for long stretches at a time to anyone who was sympathetic enough to listen to her. It is not surprising that the Social Welfare department during her administration was characterized by disorganization and that after she left the department was better organized by a Japanese supervisor. Mr. Ted Waller also had a feeling of insecurity, which made his relationship with others difficult. For one thing he stammered at times and probably feared that people did not like him. His aggressive back-slapping technique was an adjustment that he acquired in the past and which he continued in the Project. His department, too, was characterized by disorganization, and after he left for the Army a calm Japanese supervisor was able to carry on his work of organizing the Recreation department much more efficiently.

Mr. Don Elbertson's adherence to the cooperation principle of non-discrimination, equality, democracy have persisted, and he has aligned himself to the Japanese people and their right to self-government. While the War Relocation Authority laid down a basic policy of self-government wherever possible, many staff members did not believe in it sincerely. Mr. Elbertson upheld this principle whenever he could and for this reason he was able to maintain good relationship with the Japanese people. Mr. Smith was a business man originally from the South and had also lived in Los Angeles. He was mainly interested in running the Community Enterprise, of which he was the head until the co-op took it over as a business enterprise. He did not seem to see the Community Enterprise as a service to the Japanese people, and he ran it in a business-like fashion. These two are examples of persistence of past adjustment.

Issei.--- On the whole the Isseis being old have found many set ways difficult to change. When the people built one large community church where only smaller churches have existed before, Isseis found it more difficult to adapt themselves to such a setup than did the Niseis (see Christian Church).

Since the Manchurian Incident Isseis generally have identified themselves quite positively with Japan and her war efforts. This identification has continued in the Project, although it was not always possible to express pro-Japan sentiment too freely. Most or many of the Isseis had intended to return to Japan sooner or later anyway, and their being driven out from their homes on the Coast cut off the main tie which they had with American soil. Thus they continued to think of themselves as being Japanese and Japanese citizens. Their pride in their race was demonstrated when appeal to racial pride was used during the farm strike to quiet the seething mass of farm laborers (see T.S.'s Farm Strike). Isseis listened avidly to

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 broadcasts from Japan and relayed from some distance away from the Coast for reliable war news. Confidence in the strength of the Japanese Army and Navy^{and} in Japan's ultimate victory continued to be part of the attitude of the Isseis.

The emphasis by Isseis on money was revealed during the discussion of the Theater Project when the main argument against the Project was a fear that a theater would deplete the money that the Japanese people possessed. In the co-op movement, too, great deal of attention was placed on the profit of the co-op. There was a fear that it would not be able to make any profit at all; there was a desire to have the co-op sell goods at the lowest possible price; method of avoiding paying income tax on the past profit was the center of a great deal of discussion. Compared to the Isseis the Niseis laid less stress on profit, and saw more the advantages of the co-op as a social movement rather than as a business enterprise (see Co-op).

The position of a community leader has had to change in several respects, but in many cases Isseis who were formerly leaders in their communities were able to retain that position here. Since many of the top positions in jobs were filled by Niseis who understood English, often the leadership position was limited to more minor positions, such as that of farm foreman or foreman of a construction crew. Positions were open within the block as block representatives. With the organization of the co-op Isseis were able to participate fully in this activity, while the creation of the Planning Board opened up more leadership positions for the Isseis.

Unemployment and gambling have persisted within the community and much of this could be accounted for by persons who were unemployed and who gambled on the outside. In the whole field of conformity and nonconformity however, there have been changes in adjustment at the same time that same old habits have continued.

Nisei.-- In many respects the role expected of a Nisei by the Isseis, his group, and by Caucasians have changed, but still there is a great deal which has not been altered at all from what he was expected to do on the outside. By the Issei he is still expected to be conforming to what Isseis consider the correct ways of behavior, to identify himself with the Japanese people, and in some families not to dance and act too American, etc. By the Niseis he is still required to act American, to treat girls in the proper manner when out on a date. But ^{by} the Caucasians inside and outside the center he was expected to be a loyal American citizen, to volunteer for the armed forces, to become as Americanized as possible.

Probably the Nisei has become less race conscious since he was put in a camp where there were so many Japanese, but he has retained a sense of difference between himself and the Caucasians. This is borne out by the sense of difference that is recognized by Caucasian staff members between most Niseis and Niseis who identify themselves with Caucasians. The desire for status, for remaining submissive, for leadership have not changed in many persons. Defects in personality, such as aggressive behavior and inferiority complex continue to trouble some Niseis, although for some ~~the~~ changed condition in the camp has served to alleviate their poor adjustment. One fellow in his thirties who has not married, probably because of his close attachment to his mother, has not attached himself to any girl here yet. Those who have a sense of insecurity, especially with girls, continue to avoid them. Petty jealousies continue to keep the Niseis from cooperating as fully as they might. In Block 25, for instance, not only does there tend to be a split between those from Isleton and Walnut Grove, the latter again has retained a split into two groups which it maintained in its own hometown.

The type of adjustment of Niseis has not changed, it seems, when a satisfactory adjustment could be made with the continuance of the old type

of adjustment. For instance, sports and dancing were two activities on which the recreation of Niseis has been concentrated in the past, and these two activities have developed the quickest in the center and continues to provide the greatest amount of recreation (see Recreation Department).

Niseis who have made a submissive or "Japanesy" adjustment probably have changed their adjustment pattern the least. Here in the center they continue to comply to their parents just as much as before. When the referendum was taken on the Theater Project and everyone above ten years of age was allowed to vote, it was surprising that about 70 per cent of the people voted against it, even though a sizeable group of Isseis voted for the Project and at least half of the voters were Niseis. It means that many Niseis probably complied with the opinion of the parents in voting against a movie house, which they probably desired personally. They continue to use a great deal of Japanese and identify themselves with the Japanese people. Those who have identified themselves with Japan probably have continued to do so. They level of aspiration tends to be low. They avoid work which requires leadership and are satisfied with work in a mess hall, rather than seek white-collar work (see Mess Activity). They attend classes in flower arrangement, sewing, artificial flower making, and at home spend much of their time sewing and knitting. Boys are more likely to spend their time participating in sports. Church activities afford a good outlet for many of these persons. People with this type of adjustment are more common among Buddhists than among Christians. Those who have taken up intellectual interests attend classes, and can be counted upon to be in several classes in the Adult Education Department (Miyoko Ito, Amy Hashimoto, Asako Higaki, Tad Ikemoto, Agnes). In spite of their intellectual interest, however, they do not make a strong effort to leave camp to go to schools. They are unable to go against the wishes of their

parents for one thing, and also are afraid of the unknown condition on the outside. While they may go to dances occasionally, they do not usually carry it to excess. Some may desire to learn how to dance, but not be able to learn because of their lack of initiative.

Those who have made their adjustment largely to the Nisei social group have also continued the same pattern of adjustment they maintained on the outside. As on the outside there has been a concentration of attention on popularity with the opposite sex, going out on dates, and attending dance parties. In this connection the development of dances within the center from public dances which were at first open to stags and cost only 5 cents per person through public dances from which stags were barred, to private dances with orchestras and which cost 25 cents, lends an insight into the means by which the social group has attempted to raise its status (see Dance). Recently even a semi-formal dance has been attempted by one group. As in the past the conversations of many girls are centered solely around the opposite sex. Another method for this group to raise prestige has been to seek "white-collar" jobs. Girls working in the Administration Building, in the hospital, and in other offices are largely those who have taken this type of adjustment. The Cal Club, which is the result of perpetuating a cliquish sort of adjustment, is a persistence of past adjustment. Prestige has been maintained in the past through attempting to be exclusive, and no attempt was made to include other college students in the organization. In this regard the Tri-State Coeds have taken into consideration the nature of the community. The making of a big game rally into a coat-and-tie affair is characteristic of a social group which attempts to maintain prestige. The church has continued to be a center of activity for those who desired to maintain a respectable standard. People dressed up to attend church ^{when} even/they did not dress up on other occasions. It is

considered a good place to meet Niseis of the opposite sex as well as a place to take out a girl, too, as it was on the outside. Leadership positions in departments and in community affairs have offered many past leaders a continuance of their old type of adjustment.

The persons who are meeting the greatest amount of change in the Project are probably those who formerly made their adjustment almost wholly to Caucasians and had very little contacts with a large number of Japanese. Although some have evidently adjusted themselves fairly well among the Japanese people, others have found it difficult to make a satisfactory adjustment. Part of the difficulty has been the inability to change their ways sufficiently to be wholly acceptable to the other Japanese in the center. One thing that these people have found is the difficulty of changing their identification from the Caucasians to the Japanese. They are likely to approach Caucasians as much as possible and side with them more than with Japanese. Consequently this makes their relationship with the Japanese people difficult. Many of these people have refused to adjust themselves to the Japanese people and have preferred to leave camp for outside work or school in order to get back to their former type of adjustment. For this group leaving the Project is the old type of adjustment; arrangements for the other two groups leaving the center means an adjustment to a new and strange condition. Persons who have lived close to a Japanese group and were isolated from them tended to be more antagonistic toward the Japanese than persons who had very little contact with them. While persons with this sort of adjustment feel insecure among so many Japanese and are conscious of their being a stranger, the former reacts with antagonism and consequently attempts to show it in some way. One method is by keeping aloof from Japanese in general, identifying himself with Caucasians and consider his own adjustment superior to that of other

Niseis. Such persons are likely to accept indiscriminately all Caucasians as being superior to Japanese in general and consequently blame the Japanese rather than the Caucasians for trouble which arises within the Project. Those who do not have that antagonism are more able to be critical of both Japanese and Caucasians and associate with Niseis with whom they have something in common. These people have shown a wider range of intellectual interest, and they have been interested in reading serious books and attending classes in the project. One of the most satisfactory means of retaining the old type of adjustment has been to find a job as an assistant or secretary directly under a Caucasian where they could work most of the time with Caucasians and not with Japanese workers.

B. Modification of Personal Adjustment

For most individuals the evacuation and relocation in what is virtually an internment camp was a considerable change. For this reason they have had to change their past pattern of adjustment in order to fit the new conditions. The movement of the people has caused a considerable amount of relaxation in social control and many acts formerly condemned by the group are being allowed to take place as if they were a natural thing. The "borrowing" of lumber and other government property is one of these things. Also conditions within the Project have given rise to new needs and goals and a modification of a great many old ones. The feeling of insecurity, for instance, is an important factor in understanding the reactions of people to conditions within the Project. The dissatisfaction at being placed in a camp has become general and has prevented the people from being more cooperative than they were. The leveling of status differences has led to change in status goals and also change in what constitutes high or low status. These changes and the general change caused by the evacuation

have made it necessary for many people to change their pattern of adjustment. While the change has not always been drastic, it can safely be said that no individual has been free from the necessity of making some modification in his routine of living to adjust himself to his new surrounding.

General.-- The Japanese have generally tended to be isolated into Japanese communities where they had very little contacts with Caucasians. Such isolation, however, has never provided complete protection against feelings of racial discrimination and inferiority. The center is at present an isolated Japanese community, but the Japanese are in the majority and the Caucasians constitute only a minority. Since direct contact with the outside world is practically nil, the Caucasians on the outside are not able to give the Caucasians in the project much support. The American public is heard only through the newspaper and the radio, both mediums which are not fully effective here. The Army, which has a handful of soldiers posted around the camp do not have direct control over the colonists, and serve only as a warning against the committing of violence and starting of riots. This increase in the gulf between the Caucasians and the Japanese and the superiority in numbers of the Japanese in the project has probably served to reduce the sense of racial consciousness. Sugar beet workers, for instance, as soon as they stepped out to work contend with the problem of coming in direct contact with strange Caucasians whose reactions were potentially hostile. Also, he was likely to realize that he was barred from getting certain types of jobs, living in certain districts, and even to enter bars and stores. Between the bombing of Pearl Harbor and evacuation, the Japanese were under suspicion and fear that they would be interned for disloyal behavior, restraining many persons from acts that might be thought of as disloyal. Niseis had to declare their loyalty

to the United States even if they did not really feel it deep down in their heart..

While most Isseis and Kibeis have never wavered in their identification with Japanese and there were many Niseis that continued to maintain their identification with America and the Allied war cause, many Niseis who were doubtful of their own stand or shaky in whatever stand they had taken probably increased their apathy for the American cause. Both Isseis and Niseis have expressed their opinion that they were willing that Niseis should be loyal American citizens and join the armed forces, but after what was done to them, they are not enthusiastic about it any longer. In fact, the isolation of the Niseis among Isseis has made it dangerous for the former to express pro-American thoughts too openly and strongly. Incidents which have occurred at Poston and Manzanar are a good indication of this. In both cases it was the ones loyal to the American cause against whom the violence was committed. It is not surprising that JACL leaders, whose stand necessarily must be pro-American, are the ones whose lives have most frequently been threatened with violence. The failure of the people to sign up for the work corps when they first entered the Project is an indication of the apathy of the Japanese toward the war effort. The failure of the people to come to a decision to help the Office of War Information in putting on a broadcast describing the actual conditions within the center is another indication of the apathy. While it might be said that it was only the Isseis who were against it, the Niseis also tended to be apathetic about putting on such a broadcast.

Another indication of the general shift toward a greater dominance by Japanese ways is the greater use of the Japanese language. While Niseis continue to speak English in preference to Japanese the quality of their

English is certainly not improving at all but is becoming poorer. On the other hand, opportunity to speak Japanese is increasing because of the closer contact between parents and children and Isseis and Niseis. Persons in reliable positions such as block managers, councilmen, co-op representatives and members of the Board of Directors have found that they could not execute their functions properly without using a great deal of Japanese. Consequently the tendency has been for such key positions to be filled by persons who spoke both languages fairly well, or for persons in those positions to make an effort to speak both languages. One co-op leader has found that she had to make an effort to speak Japanese and to listen to the points of view of the Isseis in order to carry out her work well. Another, an educated Kibei, was given a leadership position on the basis of his ability to speak Japanese well and also be able to speak English. Even those who were not particularly in leadership positions have found that they were speaking more and more Japanese merely because of their greater contact with Japanese. Some ^{who} persons had rarely spoken Japanese on the outside often broke into Japanese expressions at the oddest moments. Isseis in general have kept to Japanese and Niseis to English, and the need for good translators has arisen. People who were capable of translating from English to Japanese and back again were usually able to get good jobs.

One of the more important problems faced by men in key positions has been that of attempting to handle men below them who were being paid ridiculous wages. They were expected to work for 44 hours a week at \$16 or \$19 a month "cash advance." It was difficult to force the workers to work as it would have been possible on the outside because the wages were so low. On the farm, for instance, the men loafed a great deal, and worked only for about two or three hours on the average. There was trouble in the Construction Department because the men were leaving for lunch too early and

took too many rests in between work. There was a strike at the furniture factory because the superintendent was too strict. On the whole in almost every department the practice was to let the workers come a little late in the morning and leave a little early and not make too much fuss when they don't have too much work to do, in between. In the Records Office Shigekawa's attempt to organize the office into an efficient machine, interviewing about 600 persons daily, resulted in a revolt on the part of the workers, and he was finally forced to leave the center. Miss Bonack who replaced him slackened the pace down to 400 or 500 interviews per day, made allowance for some leisure time in the late afternoon, and consequently was able to handle the office without any trouble at all.

Mr. Smith was able to get the loyal support of the canteen employees because he took a paternalistic attitude toward them and did them little favors, such as taking them home in his car. Thus, while he found it difficult to get along with the rest of the Japanese within the Colony with whom he came into contact, he got along very well with his own workers. On the hog farm the manager did not boss the workers around and did not complain too much. Consequently except for one or two loafers who hardly did any work at all, he was able to get the workers to work hard at relatively unpleasant tasks. On the other hand, he allowed them to come a little late in the morning and quit a little early, and take time off in between, too. In the co-op office the Executive Secretary got the idea that he was the head of the office and everyone else in the office was subservient to him, and used everyone in the office as messenger boys or whatever tasks he wanted done. Consequently the Educational Director and the Research Director revolted and refused to take any other work than which rightly belonged to them. Even the secretary resented the fact that he gave them work indiscriminately without considering their feeling about the work. In spite of the fact that Mr. Elberson was swamped with complaints from block managers,

he has not had any real difficulty with them, primarily because he was sincere in wanting to do the best he could for them and because he considered their standpoint whenever he could. To his assistant he was able to delegate the work he himself had been doing without interfering and then turn the work over to him entirely. Mess 26 was always having trouble primarily because the chief cook was a man lacking in integrity. Mr. Hayes mishandled the coal distribution problem because he came out bluntly with a word that colonists should shovel their own coal for their blocks if they did not want to freeze. If the people had been asked to cooperate because there was acute need for their help, they would have been more than willing to help. The need of having built a theater in the fall is only now becoming evident. The mistake that Mr. Smith made was not that his plan was not wise, but that he did not consult the people on the matter. When Mr. Shirrell turned down the request of the farm junior foremen and social welfare workers to be paid \$19, he made the mistake of telling them rather bluntly that if they didn't like the work they could go out after some other job.

All of this brings out the resentment that workers had because they were being underpaid and the feeling that they should not be required to work as hard as they would on the outside with better pay. They also bring out the inability of some men in key positions to appreciate this difference between the outside and the inside, and consequently attempt to run a crew of men in a dictatorial manner. It is being noticed that the issue is not whether the head is a Caucasian or a Japanese. Miss Bonack got along better than Mr. Shigekawa, Mr. Harry Mayeda better than Mr. Waller, Miss Hoshino better than Mrs. Halle, but Miss Montgomery as well as or better than Miss Hoshino. It was not difficult for a Caucasian to understand the Japanese, but on the other hand, it was easier for him to give orders without being resented, as is sometimes the case between Japanese. The important

factor in smooth organization of an office has been tact, a more democratic control, delegation of authority. A dictatorial control more often than not has been at the root of many troubles.

The Japanese in America tended to have rather unrealistic goals, probably because of lack of opportunity and because of their unsettled condition. Isseis generally have hoped to make sufficient money to return to Japan and live leisurely. They have preferred to forego present pleasures for future hopes, which was usually uncertain. Even for their children they have dreamed of good education and good jobs either here or in Japan. This type of unrealistic thinking seems to have increased since evacuation. At the time of evacuation what little hope people had left in a life in America was shattered. The talk among Isseis that there was no more hope for Japanese in America and that it was best to "return to Japan after the war" was quite general. Another common expression at the present time is that since Japan will win the war, she will be able to subsidize the Isseis in their new ventures on the Asiatic continent. When the Spanish Consul came to Tule Lake as a representative of the Spanish Ambassador to find out about the real condition within the center, people in blocks discussed the amount of money they should ask of the United States government for indemnity for being interned. In some blocks the Isseis asked for only \$10,000 per person, but in another block \$100,000 in gold was asked. While most Isseis did not seem to believe that such a large sum could be gotten, most of them clung to the belief that they would be able to get a sizeable amount in case Japan won the war. Many Niseis, too, believed that it would be better for them if they returned to Japan where there would be opportunities for decent jobs especially of the "white-collar" variety. Most Isseis and many Niseis do not seem to consider the possibility of their having to live in America and that even if they returned to Japan they might not be able

to adjust themselves happily over there. Also, there is a general dissatisfaction of being interned and the advantages of life in a center of this sort are not usually considered by most of the people.

Much of this sort of unrealistic thinking can be traced to the fact that many of the means of satisfying needs have been taken away from the people. The Isseis, who have spent most of their lives in toil, find that they cannot make any money here at all. The Kibeis, for instance, find that because of their inability to handle the English language well they are not able to get the better jobs within the Center and neither do they find much chance for improvement of their condition with the passage of time. Consequently it is not strange that they think only of returning to Japan. To a certain extent a similar sort of thing is true of those who have made a Japanesey sort of adjustment and find that they do not have the opportunity they desire in America. Those who have identified themselves with Caucasians and who know they are going to have to live in America who think more in terms of resettling on the outside, getting an education, finding a job, safeguard good relations with the Caucasian people.

Occupation has been one of the chief means of maintaining status. The status of certain jobs has changed with passage of time within the Project. Private enterprise, which was the principal means by which Isseis were able to maintain status was made impossible in the Project. On the other hand, the "white-collar" jobs were all open to Niseis, more so than on the outside. This included Administrative positions which were usually filled by Niseis because of their ability to use the English language. Many technical jobs, such as those on the agricultural technical staff, those as accountant and the like were largely filled by Niseis, giving them more prestige than Isseis who could only fill positions as farm workers, farm foremen, workers on the construction crew, janitors and boiler firemen, cooks,

and wardens. About the only job with real prestige filled by Isseis was probably that of a doctor. Besides the Administrative jobs, positions on the legislative council has been open only to Niseis, leaving very few sources of prestige for Isseis. The creation of the Planning Board composed entirely of Isseis has somewhat alleviated this situation.

Jobs, also, have come to take on somewhat different values from the outside. At the outset there was a great deal of scrambling for the "good" jobs, which were mainly technical or clerical in nature. This sort of competition, however, has died down to a large extent and people seem to care less at the present time what type of job they are in. The emphasis has shifted from a "good" job to a job which is "easy." Jobs as boiler firemen and janitors have been filled by former Issei leaders in the community. The job is considered desirable because it is not too difficult and does not require many hours of work per day.

The job of a cook has taken on a greater degree of prestige value than it had on the outside because of the greater amount of energy and time required to fill it (see Mess Activity). The wardens have attracted adverse comments from the people because of the type of people who became wardens. Many persons were the type who had a poor reputation on the outside and those whom, the people thought needed themselves.

One of the most interesting trends has been the gradual change of the public opinion against the so-called "agitators." The basic motivating force of the "agitator" seems to have been the desire for attention. These persons attracted attention to themselves largely by doing a great deal of the sort of talking that attracted attention. One of their favorite tricks was to declare anti-administration and pro-Japan sentiments which the more conservative people were afraid of expressing. At meetings these outbursts earned approval of most of the others, mostly Isseis. Another method of

attracting attention was to heckle the leader, either block manager, councilman, or administration officials. Another was to turn down any constructive proposal that was presented to them. Another tactic often used was to threaten the opposition with violence whenever argument wasn't sufficient. These so-called "agitators" took delight in attending meetings and in getting up to express their opinions. At first, the rest of people (Isseis again) seemed to be with them, and they received some enthusiastic applause. Gradually, however, it became clear that they were making themselves obnoxious, and that the rest of the people did not like the fact that they were obstructionists. After the broadcast affair, the theater project, and the mess slowup strikes were settled, the tide turned definitely against such agitators. They began to find it less interesting to attend meetings. Finally many of them changed their tactics by accepting respectable jobs within the block and the community in order to retain their status in the community. One fellow who took part in the farm strike regrets it now because he is not allowed to leave the Project even though he has a job because of his participation in the strike.

Another method by which persons desiring recognition attempted to satisfy their need was to gain leadership positions. Those who were recognized in their communities as incapable of leadership were generally prevented from attaining their goals. Here in the Project, however, the relative newness of the situation has made it possible for persons who were not popular or without ability to get leadership positions or to "horn" in, on them. Frank Tanabe was editor of the project newspaper because he arrived here early, but he was later replaced by the more capable Howard Imazeki, Ray Muramoto also arrived early and was put in charge of organizing Issei recreation, but he proved to be too independent and after a series of incidents found himself without support from the Isseis interested in recreational work. He would not have lost his leadership position if he had

been a capable leader (see Recreation Department). Mrs. Yoshimura's attempt to gain control of the Music Department and Tanihara and Ijima's attempt to control Issei recreation are good examples of attempts to "horn in" on leadership positions. All of these persons seem to have been unpopular in their former communities (see Recreation Department). George Shigekawa's failure to reorganize the Records Office to his liking is also another example of ^apoor leader. A more striking example is that of Miss Sakai of the Sewing Department, who succeeded in replacing a more capable supervisor by telling lies to Dr. Francis. She was in the habit of boasting about the superiority of her own method of drafting, even though actually she herself was a poor teacher. Soon even her own pupils learned her true nature and began to despise her. With most of these people the retention of their position becomes more difficult as time goes on because the people recognize more and more their real nature. If they learn to adjust themselves to the people, however, the possibility of retaining the leadership position becomes increasingly greater. Those who are unable to change their obnoxious ways would not fall in this category. Ruby Kawasaki, in the Records Office, was unable to retain her position as secretary and head of a crew of typists because they would not work for her. Fumi Sakamoto, on the other hand, was able to carry out her duties as assistant to Elberson ⁱⁿ the Co-op Movement because she learned to be tactful. Another example of poor leadership is that of Yoshimura in the Maintenance Department (?).

On the outside there has been some consideration for community welfare, but the general pattern of living was individualistic. There is some evidence that there is a growing concern for the welfare of the community and less emphasis on the welfare of the individual. When the colonists first arrived the emphasis was on individual comfort. The scramble for scrap lumber was an example of this (see Scrap Lumber Conflict). However,

after their own apartments were furnished to a reasonable degree, they began to have more opportunity to take interest in community affairs. The gathering of scrap lumber on a block basis was a move in this direction. Also when the sheet rocks were to be put in, it was done on a block basis for fear other blocks would use up the sheet rock first. When the Army stoves were put in, one resident of a block made sure that all stoves that went to his block contained ash pans. When coal was first used from the block coal pile, people took all of the large ones first, even digging them up, and leaving the smaller sizes and dust only. People have come to realize the inconvenience of this when it comes to burning dust alone because they do not burn as well and is likely to harm the grate by falling in the ash pan and burning there. Agreements seem to have been reached in most blocks to take small and large pieces together and not dig into the pile for large pieces alone.

The interest of the people has come upon the block and has extended to the community as a whole. The creation of a single community church shows the community spirit of the church leaders. The clamor for uniform wages was based on the argument that the people were all in the same circumstances and therefore should be treated alike, a stand which increased community solidarity. The demand that the canteen stop selling expensive and luxurious goods, the demand that the profits of the co-op not be returned to the members but spent for the good of the community reflect the community spirit; discussion of such questions as the Theater Project or juvenile delinquency has further stimulated community interest. This means that an individual is expected to act more with the welfare of the community in mind and less individualistic than he has been acting in the past. For example, wages are expected to be about the same for everyone and no one allowed to make a great deal more than others in order to prevent dissatis-

faction within the community.

Since evacuation a great deal of discontent has been expressed by colonists. The experience in the poorly equipped assembly centers especially have given cause for dissatisfaction. It is rare to find anyone in the Project who admits that he is enjoying himself or that he would prefer to live in the Project than on the outside. People are expected to feel dissatisfied with their present condition, and few are willing to see the better side of life in a Project. Boys who have gone out to work in the sugar beet field have come back admitting that they wanted to come back and would not want to go out again. Even if people do not admit, however, it is a fact that they are gradually becoming accustomed to the new mode of life. The community mess hall, the doling out of clothing allowances, the public shower, laundry, and ironing rooms, the little apartments are all becoming an accepted part of daily living. For the great majority of the people the changed physical aspect of living conditions no longer are sources of acute dissatisfaction. What dissatisfaction is felt is more due to a sense of insecurity for a failure to achieve social needs such as recognition, association, etc.

Caucasian-Japanese Relationship

Between Japanese and Caucasians there has always existed a gulf due to the racial prejudice against the Japanese on the Coast. On the other hand, the Japanese was sensitive about his skin color, while the Caucasian assumed that he was superior to the Japanese immigrants. There was a certain amount of antagonism between the two groups, but it was generally not acute. At any rate a feeling of extreme distrust against the Caucasian did not, in general, exist among the Japanese. During the first months in Tule Lake, however, there was a great deal of feeling of distrust toward the Administration. Many people, especially Isseis, held resentments against

the War Relocation Authority officials even though they did not have good grounds for such suspicion. Mr. Smith, for instance, was suspected of making a lot of money for himself running the Community Enterprises. It was also felt that Caucasians handling the food would also make money out of the food that belonged to the colonists. When the resettlement policy was announced by Dillon Myer, many Isseis felt that the War Relocation Authority was now trying to get people out of the Project because if they stayed longer than six months they would be considered war prisoners. Also, to have a large number of Japanese as virtual prisoners would hamper the negotiations when the peace came. This suspicion even spread to anyone having any close contacts with Caucasian staff members. Such persons were likely to be looked upon as informers, even though there was no definite proof of it. Even the clerical workers in the Administration Building were suspected of being "stool pigeons" to the Caucasians since they tended to agree with them more often than did other workers. The Council was also suspected of yielding to Caucasian influence. Some felt at the time of the theater project and drawing up of the new community council charter that the administration was attempting to create a split between the Issei and the Nisei in order to weaken the Japanese people.

This feeling of suspicion resulted in the rejection of the theater project. The suspicion in this case was directed mainly against Smith who people thought was trying to make money out of the people, and Mr. Shirrell who they thought was trying to get the people to build a theater which the War Relocation Authority was supposed to put up. The overseas broadcast was rejected, too, as a result of the suspicion that the Office of War Information might use the broadcast in a manner detrimental to the Japanese people. Even the setting up of the co-op met with a great deal of opposition at first because it was felt that the War Relocation Authority was trying

to shove a responsibility on to the shoulders of the people. This feeling of suspicion, however, has started to die down. By the time the tent factory proposition came up, the people were able to discuss it rather calmly. In one block the Isseis merely left the decision up to the Niseis because the work was to be done by them. When the Spanish Consul came in to find out the living condition of the Japanese people, the discussion was not as heated as in the discussion of the Theater Project or the broadcast. In the co-op the Board of Directors which came most in direct contact with Caucasians felt the least suspicion for Mr. Smith and other Caucasians. Each new incoming committee was likely to be suspicious toward Caucasians at first, but after a few meetings calmed down a little more. Cooperative representatives were more suspicious in general than Board of Committee members, and block people were more suspicious than the representatives.

On the part of the Caucasians they were likely to assume white superiority. On top of that they did not understand the ways of the Japanese people (see Embree's article). Also, the Caucasians were likely to feel that the Japanese were receiving fairly good treatment within the Project already and would not sympathize with the demands made by the colonists. For one thing, there was a feeling that if they gave ⁱⁿ to the demands of the colonists once, they would have to be giving in all of the time. This was probably one reason why Mr. Shirrell was so reluctant to accept Mr. Pilcher's resignation which resulted from the mess strike. Also, there was a war going on which seemed more important to the Caucasians than the welfare of the Japanese people. Since the Japanese in general were not in sympathy with the war effort this was a source of friction between the two. Mrs. Halle's contention that the demand by Japanese for more food did not take into consideration the fact that people on the outside were having difficulty getting food (see Social Workers Group), and Mr. Shirrell's declaration that

people here did not know what was happening on the outside are indications of one source of disagreement. The lack of sympathy and the assumption of an air of superiority by the Caucasians have aroused resentment on the part of the Japanese.

This resentment has been made more definite by the greater gulf between the position of the Japanese and the Caucasians. On the other hand, the greater number of Japanese have given the Japanese more confidence in certain respects. While part of the resentment was released in private conversations among Japanese, in some cases as in the case of the ahodarakyo (see Recreation Department), the broadcast and the farm strike, it was released in public meetings. In other cases Japanese division heads have gone to Caucasian superiors to tell them rather bluntly what was wrong with them, probably releasing some stored-up tension.

Issei.-- In the past the goals which Isseis strived for were closely tied up with their work (see Recreation Department). Consequently, their need for recreation was small in the past. In the Project, however, interest in work was practically lost. Everyone was paid the same ridiculous amount no matter how hard they worked. Consequently many Isseis did not work, and when they did often preferred the work requiring the least amount of effort. When the day's work was over the men did not have to worry about any other work. Except for making furniture, there was very little to do and generally no garden to work on. This void in their activities was taken up largely by making of furniture, although this could not continue indefinitely because for one thing there was a scarcity of ^{scrap} lumber. During the summer and fall many Isseis began to make rock gardens and beautify the space in front of their apartment. Many went on long trips into the nearby hills to come home loaded with quaint rocks and shrubbery. Making of art goods, such as vases, became a fad and many men spent long hours

looking for tree trunks and posts and working on them. Others concentrated on indoor games such as go and shogi. The women were also left with a great deal of spare time. Most of this was filled by attending classes in sewing, drafting, artificial flower making, adult English. The whole emphasis shifted from work to play.

The Isseis in the Japanese community have always identified themselves with Japanese things and have expressed their Japanese sentiments through songs, festivals, identification with Japan's war effort. This need for identification has had to be largely suppressed to a large extent within the Project for fear of the F.B.I. Only a few persons have been bold enough to display definite signs of identification with Japan. The earliest widespread display of Japanese sentiment occurred at the time of the Fourth of July program. Not only was the stage profusely decorated with Japan's sakura (cherry blossoms and lanterns) ^{but} the Isseis' program was filled with many patriotic numbers. More extreme were the ahodarakyo and the Naniwabushi given on the same night at an Issei entertainment, which were outbursts of traditional Japanese sentiment (see Recreation Department). At the time of the farm strike speeches were made appealing to the racial pride of the Japanese people. The height of emotion was reached, however, at the meeting at which the broadcast issue was discussed. Here the pent-up emotions of the Isseis broke into full fury to turn down the request of the Office of War Information for cooperation from the Japanese people in sending an overseas broadcast to Japan. It was a triumphant moment for those Isseis who were able to charge the Caucasians with past and present injustices, feel they were safeguarding themselves, and at the same time embarrass the Caucasians by refusing them cooperation (see Broadcast Affair). All through this period there was fear of stool pigeons because

the administration seemed to learn of every instance of patriotic outbursts, and Isseis generally did not believe Mr. Shirrell when he said that he had no paid spies in his employment. Since the broadcast affair, however, the tension has somehow subsided. While traditional Japanese sentiment is still expressed, both the need to release pent-up emotions and the need for its suppression has been reduced considerably. Consequently the fear of being accused of being a stool pigeon has been reduced correspondingly.

There has always existed a general difference of opinion between Isseis and Niseis on the matter of loyalty. Many Isseis insisted that Niseis were Japanese and for that reason they should at least show some respect to Japan. Most Niseis, however, have tended to disagree with their parents on this matter. Issei leaders, too, before evacuation often urged Niseis to be loyal to the United States because they were American citizens. This point was urged by many leaders from Japan for whom it was more natural to stress a loyalty to a relationship (citizenship) rather than to the side they could get the most from. A few Niseis felt that they did not owe as much to America as they did to the Japanese race because they were discriminated against. Before the war the JACL was able to carry on its citizenship program in the open without any interference from the Isseis. This continued up to the time of evacuation. Since evacuation, however, it has become increasingly difficult to voice pro-American sentiments. Most Isseis have come to rely on Japanese victory for the possibility of better treatment after the war. Some envisage the possibility of receiving indemnities running to thousands of dollars if the Japanese win the war. For this reason any attempt on the part of Niseis to help the American war effort is resented. Pro-American editorials are still written and pro-American sentiment still expressed by scattered individuals, and no harm is done to anyone. But pressure is definitely felt by these individuals and by

Niseis as a whole. The threat on the lives of JACL leaders and reputed "stool-pigeons" is just an indication of this pressure. Incidents at Poston and Manzanar are also manifestations of this trend of feeling among many Isseis and Kibeis. In other words, since evacuation it has become increasingly difficult to play the role of a loyal American and much easier to keep quiet or to be apathetic.

Because of the need to live within a closely confined community where privacy was next to impossible, Niseis have tended to comply with this pressure exerted by Isseis about them. Many Niseis say that they would have been willing to fight for the United States before evacuation, but now they don't see why they should be so enthusiastic about it. This shift in stand is probably causing most friction among those Niseis who had taken only a vague middle course, and the changes of evacuation were sufficient to make them apathetic to the American cause. It can be supposed then that Niseis who still retain their faith and loyalty in the United States have decreased since evacuation. Even persons in this category have found it wise to keep their thoughts largely to themselves or only to close friends. The alternative for these people has been to face the hostility of many people about them or to leave camp. Many have preferred to take the latter alternative as can be glimpsed from the fact that the greatest proportion of people have left the Project from among those who were sympathetic to the United States cause.

Issei-Nisei Relation.-- Before the war the Isseis still retained most of the control in the home, in work, and in the community. It was not until after the war that Niseis were called upon to shoulder more responsibility and that the JACL took a large portion of the community responsibility. This trend toward greater Nisei control was continued within the Project, resulting in greater power for Niseis than for Isseis. In the field of work Niseis filled most of the desirable jobs and jobs in key positions. Also, only citizens were allowed to hold elective offices. This left the

Isseis with power only in the home and in the block. Both desired power and status.

At first, the split between Isseis and Niseis was not obvious. When important problems arose on which they took differing **stands**, the split came out into the open. When the Broadcast Affair came up for discussion, the Niseis for their own **protection** desired to cooperate with the Office of War Information in putting on an overseas broadcast. The Isseis were generally opposed to it. The matter was referred to the individual blocks for decision, and most block meetings were dominated by Isseis. The blocks were against the broadcast. When the Theater Project came up councilmen desired that they would not take the matter back to the block but settle it among themselves. The result was threat of violence toward the councilmen if they did not reconsider their decision to put up a theater. Also pressure was put on councilmen from a block to respect the opinion of that block. When the matter was voted upon pressure was put on wives and children who voted to insure that the opinion of the Isseis carried. These moves can be looked upon, not only as a protection of Issei interest, but also the reaction to a feeling of frustration. The Niseis on their side have not been too interested in retaining power over the Issei, and only a few older Niseis -- predominantly the Tsukamoto-Yego-Taketa-Miyamoto group -- attempted to keep the power in the hands of the Niseis. The new charter was drawn up with this in mind, and made the councilmen responsible to a ward body ^{of an} equal number of Issei and Nisei block representatives, and not directly to the block. In a few blocks Nisei leaders organized the Niseis in order to present a more solid front against the Isseis, and a feeble citizenship rally was held. On the whole the Niseis were apathetic toward such political issues, and most of them made hardly any attempt to free themselves from the control of Isseis.

Niseis.-- While most Niseis have not made a change in their fundamental pattern of adjustment, they have had to adapt themselves to certain changed conditions within the center. Getting jobs, for instance, has depended to a great extent on the initiative and aggressiveness of the individual rather than on the automatic filing of names at the placement office. Many of the most desirable jobs, such as private secretary, have gone to those who had formerly made their adjustment to the Caucasian group. While their attitude toward the Caucasians helped them enormously in getting such jobs, their aggressiveness has been an important factor also. Those desiring to get "good" jobs also have gotten better jobs than those who did not make any particular effort by trying harder. The submissive and Japanesey person has been the slowest in getting the more desirable jobs. In other words, the more submissive and conservative persons have been less adaptable than the aggressive in getting things in open competition. A comparison of the Christian and Buddhist church shows that the former has organized quicker, was more efficient, and got hold of desirable facilities before the Buddhists. The more submissive individuals have adapted themselves to the new situation, not by going after things, but by being satisfied with what they had or were able to get without too much trouble. They have settled down to a routine of working in the mess hall, going to sewing classes and going out to play very little without expressing too much dissatisfaction. Such an adjustment has not been too difficult because it did not differ greatly from their former mode of living, which had never been very exciting. Because of the "Japanesiness" of the community^{it}/has been easy for them to maintain their former attitudes. In comparison those who had made their adjustment to Caucasians have been aggressive, but have found that conditions were too greatly different from the outside for them and that the adjustment was very difficult. In fact, even holding down a good job which

required contact with the Japanese has been difficult for these people and it has not been possible for them to be satisfied with life in the Project. Those who were aggressive but were used to living among Japanese have not found it too difficult to adjust themselves. They were able to get the better jobs and still be able to get along with the Japanese people too. But they have expressed dissatisfaction with life in the Project. In general it can be said that those who have adjusted themselves to the Caucasians on the outside have had to do the most adapting here and have been the least adapted within the Project. Those who have adjusted themselves to Isseis have had the least adjustment to make and have complained the least about their present position.

"Japanesy" Nisei: The adjustment of the Japanesy and submissive type of Nisei has not changed very much since evacuation. They have generally clung to ways approved by their families. They have attended such classes as sewing, drafting, artificial flower making, flower arrangement and other adult education classes. Many have continued to attend church services. There have been some changes, of course. Their reaction toward their being put into a virtual concentration camp has been one of indignation and a feeling of injustice. For this reason they are likely to feel uncooperative toward the WRA and the war effort. Some had thought before that it would be better for them to return to Japan after the war and many more have come to feel in that way too.

While to many conforming to the ways of the parents has been a satisfactory adjustment, to many others it has meant a repression of some of their desires. This has been especially true in regard to contact with the opposite sex, when the parents were against it. For the conservative, as well as for others, the change into camp life has meant a disruption of social control. The newness of the neighborhood and other conditions in themselves have served to free individuals from past control. Thus, it

gave an opportunity to some restrained desires to find means of expression. Hard work for instance, was expected generally before, but in the Project it has been possible to find easy work or loaf on the job without being censured. Working with a rough outdoor work crew, some have taken to slang and profane language which others about them employed, which would have been condemned by the parents. Others because they have found themselves in relatively good positions have lost a great deal of their shyness. Some have lost ambitions to get ahead and also the fear of failing and have been satisfied to work as a fireman or on the construction crew. Some who did not know how to dance learned to do so when dance practices and dances were organized on a block basis. The fact that most young people in the block took part made it easier for them to join in, too. Others who had been afraid to meet girls have begun to take more interest in them. In many families the control over the children has been strengthened because of fear of delinquencies. The net effect of the evacuation, however, has been a general loosening of social control.

Social Nisei: The status needs of the Niseis who preferred to keep largely among themselves have remained the same. On the one hand this has resulted in a scramble for desirable white collar positions. Many positions of responsibility which were not available to Japanese on the outside have been filled by these people and this has helped to fill their need for prestige. The other means of raising prestige has been through dates and dances. The public dances have been gradually replaced by more elaborate private dances. The cost started at 5 cents per person and has been raised to 25 cents. Stags were allowed at first at public dances, but for the most part they have been kept out of most dances. There has even been a semi-formal dance by one of the organizations. Thus the social groups have succeeded to a great extent in building up the sort of organization and barriers which existed on the outside to maintain their social prestige.

Political leadership within the community has also been another means of maintaining prestige. Because positions as councilmen were filled wholly by citizens, more of these positions were open to Niseis than formerly. Those who had formerly taken this means of attaining prestige within the community -- especially former JACL leaders -- attempted to gain personal power and also keep the power among Niseis and within the Council. This was strongly resented by Isseis from whom the power had been taken, and consequently some of these leaders were threatened with violence or were not selected when the permanent Council was selected. Yoshimi Shibata and Koso Takemoto who took the opinion of the Isseis into consideration fared better and have been selected for leadership positions both in the new Council and in the Co-op. For the most part, however, councilmen have tended to be rather lukewarm toward their positions.

In general the Niseis have been able to set their status needs in a satisfactory manner without changing their pattern of adjustment very much. As a whole, however, status differences have been reduced considerably by the changed condition within the Project. While one position may be more desirable than others, the wage scale was practically uniform and served to reduce differences in status. While there has been a general raising of the level of the dances, one dance is not very different from another. The same orchestras are being hired at the same rate and the same halls are used decorated about the same way. This means that those who considered themselves socially in the elite group have not been able to maintain their status through jobs and exclusive social functions. Probably those who have never held any clerical jobs before and were first working in a mess hall felt the greatest amount of increase in prestige by taking clerical work. Those who have taken on jobs of responsibility where they were able to be the head of a crew of workers also felt a rise in their status.

One of the more important changes experienced by Niseis have been in their identification with their country and with the war effort. There has been an unmistakable swing toward less identification with the country and more apathy toward the war effort. Part of this has been a mere dropping of pretenses of loyalty which was required of them on the outside, since pressure has been largely removed here on the inside. For many who remained loyal the pressure from Isseis served to keep them from expressing their sentiments openly. Whenever the matter of cooperating in furnishing labor for the sugar beet field or soldier for the Army is brought up the typical reaction of a Nisei is one of sense of futility of such cooperation. Deep down in their hearts they question whether they can improve their own condition by cooperating, whether racial prejudice can be removed, whether they will be treated fairly if they did cooperate, whether after the war they will be discriminated against again. This has led some to believe that it was best for them to go back to Japan. Others have felt that they would join the Army only if they had to. For many going out to the sugar beet field was not a matter of helping the war effort, but a means to freedom. Others have refused to consider resettlement at the present time for fear of racial discrimination or because they could see no future in it. Many of these people have said that they would go out if they did not have to look after their parents or if their parents permitted them to go. Their tie to their parents has increased or has always been strong.

• Progressive Nisei: For want of better term "Progressive" is employed to designate Niseis who have identified themselves with Caucasians. Their blunt and aggressive ways and their identification with Caucasians have usually led to their rejection by other Japanese in the Project. Although they were in the minority, they usually considered themselves superior to other Japanese because of their Americanized ways, and consequently were

not satisfied by making an adjustment to the Japanese group. For those who had had no contact with Japanese and consequently had not built up any resentment against Japanese a partial adjustment to them was easier than for some who had had contacts with Japanese but had built up a strong antagonism against them.

The characteristic reaction of this group to the other Japanese people was that of escape from them. Either they had lived in isolation on the fringe of the Japanese community or had lived among Caucasians entirely. When evacuation became imminent, however, many who had adjusted themselves to the Caucasians, instead of escaping to a free zone preferred to throw in their lot with the other Japanese. The war had served to make many of these people identify themselves with the Japanese people and want them to help their own people. This was especially true of those who were capable of leadership and could not be satisfied by making subordinate adjustments to the Caucasians. These people, however, have found it difficult to maintain leadership positions within the Project. When even JACL leaders who had lived in Japanese communities found it difficult to maintain their leadership, it was much more difficult for those who identified themselves with American ideals and with Caucasians. The fact that these people were likely to put themselves on the side of the Caucasian staff members instead of the people, made it difficult for them to be accepted in confidence by the Japanese people. Since there was practically no support from Caucasians on the outside for the Japanese people, these people could not serve the function of intermediary between the Caucasians and the Japanese people. Generally, then, they were not acceptable in leadership positions unless they could identify themselves with the Japanese people and put themselves against the Caucasians. This was often very difficult because about the only thing that gave these people confidence was their identification with Caucasians.

Socially their blunt and aggressive ways made them repugnant to the other Japanese. They tended to be too direct in what they said and too critical of the others. They also tended to remain aloof from the other Niseis, considering themselves superior to a great many of them. The sense of inferiority they felt among Japanese and the reactions which they took to cover up that sense of inferiority served to isolate them from the others. Those who had never had very much contact with Japanese and who were forced to live in the Project because of evacuation found it all the more difficult to adjust themselves to the Japanese since they had not been rejected by the Caucasian group directly.

The reaction to this rejection and consequently this lack of adjustment to the majority of the people in the Project has been varied. One of the most characteristic adjustments has been identification with Caucasians. For this purpose jobs close to Caucasians were obtained by these people whenever possible. A job as private secretary to a Caucasian was one of the most satisfactory jobs for adjustment of this sort. The secretary was able to maintain her prestige, agree with the Caucasian in many things and win his confidence. This served, however, to create a greater gulf between herself and the rest of the Japanese. One girl who had a job as a secretary finally had to leave the job because she could not control the crew of typists with whom she worked. When she next got a job as a private secretary working with a Caucasian alone, she was able to retain the job. Identification with Caucasians has also been expressed by girls approaching the soldiers. One young girl, age seventeen, was found near the soldier's watch tower. She had lived among Caucasians and was engaged to a Caucasian soldier. She had been working in the mess hall as a waitress, but quit her work because she was unhappy there. She asked for a job working for the Caucasian staff.¹ Two sisters were suspected by a warden of seeing soldiers

1. Warden's complaints, Case No. 8.

in their barracks. They denied this when they were questioned. Their background should show that they had adjusted themselves to Caucasians. They were among the earlier ones to leave the Project for resettlement.

Another characteristic form of adjustment has been one of remaining aloof from the others. This reaction is based on a sense of inferiority and is a result of the fear of rejection. Without consciously attempting to do so they succeed in giving others the impression that they consider themselves better than them. Contact with Caucasians, higher social standards, intellectual interests have been employed by such persons to give themselves the confidence they desire.

Committing acts which are nonconforming to the ways of the Japanese group in some cases have been observed as another form of adjustment. Because she could not get along with other Niseis, one girl took to going around with "rowdy" boys rather freely and earned a bad reputation for herself. This happened in spite of the fact that she was already engaged to a soldier. (See Records Office.) Telling Caucasians of the weak points and the wrong acts of Japanese employees has also occurred and would probably be referred as an activity of a "Stool Pigeon" by other Japanese.

The most characteristic mode of adjustment to the situation by those who have identified themselves with Caucasians has been that of physical escape from the Project. With very few ties in the Project, leadership positions difficult to maintain, lack of friends, these people have had the greatest reason for leaving ^{the} project as soon as they could. It was partially because of this alternative that they did not take the trouble to adjust themselves to the others. While most of them made a feeble attempt at adjusting themselves within the project, they have also applied for school or work outside. Many have left already as students and more are leaving at present to fill jobs on the outside. Still others have been deferred

because of lack of jobs or opposition from parents. The great majority of them, however, seem to be leaving.

Rowdies: A nonconforming adjustment has been characteristic of many boys unattached to families, Hawaiians, and Kibeis. To this group has been added boys in their teens who were not under strict control by their parents. There is reason to believe that rowdy activities are on the increase. The tendency seems to be to study less, to work less, and to play more. Young high school kids, for instance, who work part time on the hog farm, are learning to use profane language like older workers. The increase in petty theft in the warehouse, the canteen and other places have become noticeable. Loafing on the job is no longer considered a serious fault. The nature of rowdy activities has had to undergo some change. Convenient localities for hang-outs are few, and privacy is difficult to obtain. Young boys can be seen loitering in the canteen, in the recreation halls, in the ironing rooms. Bachelor apartments probably offer the greatest amount of privacy for the older boys who are able to stay up till late playing card games or gambling. Some do not have jobs. Others who have jobs hardly do any work at all. Pilfering from warehouse, the canteen, and other places is rather common practice. One common practice is to walk into the canteen in a group and eat and drink as much as they want, and then walk out without paying. When they are stopped and asked for the money, they pay only a fraction of what they actually bought or say that someone else in the group had already paid it. Dancing, especially jitterbugging, has been popular among the rowdies, but active participation in this direction has been somewhat curtailed by restrictions made against stags and the dislike of girls for rowdies. Friendly gambling games have been going on in individual apartments. Illicit sexual relations have existed too, although it is difficult to ascertain whether these have increased or decreased since evacuation.

Separation, divorces, and triangular affairs have broken up families which had kept together up till the time of evacuation. Liquor has been difficult to get in the Project, but it has been available at an expensive rate. It is suspected that Caucasian workers and others who come into the Project regularly, like the laundry service, bring in liquor to sell to the people. Workers who had gone out to the sugar beet field smuggled bottles of whiskey in, and some of the wardens are reported to have helped them do so. The soldiers became rather strict about it and searched the luggage and the person of the returning workers quite thoroughly. Even then some liquor was brought in by such ingenious schemes as wrapping flasks about their legs.

Those with rowdy tendencies have usually not taken work too seriously. When they did work, they usually sought work **requiring** physical rather than mental labor. Work in the warehouse, on the construction crew, as truck drivers and to a lesser degree on the farm and in the mess hall have been the favorite of these people. The Fire Department and the warden crew to a certain extent have also attracted them. Younger boys still tied down to their families have been satisfied to stay within the Project. Many older boys, set in their nonconforming ways, however, have preferred to escape from camp life to work in the sugar beet fields of Idaho and Montana. The lack of freedom probably has been the main motivating force which led them to leave for work on the outside. While most of these outside workers have come back for the winter, those less hardened ^{field} to labor have declared that they were glad to come back into camp.

One healthy outlet for teen age boys has been sports. Softball, then football and at present basketball have absorbed a great deal of their energy.

While these boys characteristically go around in groups or gangs, in the Project there has been no large clash among them. A scrap between

two ball teams, a fight between boys from Isleton and Walnut Grove, the Hawaiians threatening to beat up a person who had gone out with a girl "belonging" to one of their members, a fight started by Hawaiians from Santa Anita after a dance. On the whole, the Project has been free from troublesome nonconformists.

Maladjusted Personalities: Most maladjusted personalities have brought their maladjusted pattern in from the outside. People who have not associated very much with Japanese before were probably among the few who were well adjusted on the outside and found themselves maladjusted on the inside. Such pattern of adjustment as withdrawal, aggressive, and obnoxious behavior, inferiority complex, anxiety state, mental break down, family trouble have usually existed on the outside and have persisted after coming to the Project. Thus far clearly defined maladjusted personalities have laid their basic pattern of maladjustment in the past.

The general feeling of insecurity and dissatisfaction which exists throughout the colony is an important factor for expecting an increase in the amount of maladjustment. Since evacuation one Nisei husband has become morose and has taken to beating up his wife apparently without much cause. Such instances are traceable directly to the changes effected by the evacuation, although even then both of the persons involved had relatively unstable personalities. The strangeness and the newness of the conditions and the people in the colony have also been a source of maladjustment. This is especially true of those who had never lived among Japanese before. Also, those from the northwest have come to the colony from scattered sections and unorganized as a group, and have found themselves a minority group among Californians and have tended to show signs of insecurity. They have been accused of being "snooty" and "hard to get along with." They offer a good

contrast to the groups from Pinedale who came from the northwest but were organized as a group in Pinedale, and they seem to be as well adjusted as are people from California and are known to be cooperative. Former leaders who have not been recognized as leaders here because of chance factor or changed conditions have tended to be dissatisfied, and sometimes have become troublemakers.

On the other hand, there are factors which have led to a decrease in the strain felt by individuals living in the Project. Living in general has been made easier since job getting and maintaining, food getting and the like have been made extremely simple. Also differences which formerly existed among the people have been reduced greatly and this has meant the lowering of barriers and the reduction of ill feeling between them. Coupled with this has been more freedom from social control, and the dropping of inhibitions which formerly bothered the individual. The improvement in status of some because of the increased opportunity for varied types of jobs with responsibility have all tended to reduce maladjustment. While many habitually declared that they would "go crazy" if they stayed in the colony for several years, the increase in personal maladjustment, if any, has not been conspicuous.

The basic cause of maladjustment can be stated as the inability of the individual to find a satisfactory adjustment pattern to adjust expected roles to needs. Two important factors in maladjustment are the lack of satisfactory status and the inability to get along with people, especially the unpopularity with the opposite sex. Status in the central Nisei groups is especially hard to achieve for those who do not measure up to the standards maintained by the group. Maladjustment is especially noticeable in the cases

of persons who attempt to shift from a position on the fringe into the major Nisei social group. The conservative person who desires to have contacts with the opposite sex but who has not learned the proper manner of behavior when taking a girl out on a date is likely to be repulsed by the opposite sex. The maladjustment of those who have adjusted themselves to Caucasians has already been discussed. Rowdies, too, who desire to be accepted by girls must often go through a period of painful readjustment before he is accepted. On the dance floor he is likely to feel an acute sense of inferiority because he finds it difficult to be accepted by girls. The stag in dirty cords who stands on the sidelines all night long without asking a girl for a dance is indicative of the dilemma in which he finds himself. Those who are able to drop traces of their rowdy behavior by dressing up properly and approaching girls in the proper manner are more readily accepted and are able to enjoy themselves at a dance. Kibei as a group are not accepted by most Nisei groups and consequently are likely to keep among themselves. They are likely to feel frustrated because they do not have the privileges that Niseis are able to accord themselves, such as holding responsible jobs, attending social functions, and the like.

Among individual personalities the most common source of maladjustment is probably a feeling of inferiority. Shyness, aggressive obnoxious behavior, withdrawal, escape, rationalization, and compensation have characterized the adjustment of many individuals to their feeling of inferiority. One person is disliked by others because of his attempt to give people the impression that he knows a great deal. One is disliked by girls because he is a "drip," another because he is a "wolf." Others are thought to be "queers." Inability to attain status or to get along with people is likely to be a source of inferiority feeling. On the other hand, many of these maladjusted personalities are unable to get along with other

people because of their feeling of inferiority and the defense mechanisms they employ.

Some compensate for their maladjustment by taking refuge in books and intellectual interests and are often referred to as queers (see Creative Writers). One person has compensated for his sense of inferiority by starting clubs, taking part in parades, writing stories in which he is always jilted by a beautiful girl, and calling his friends "queers." Another attempts to convince himself that he is getting along all right with people by acting as though everybody likes to talk to him and that girls did not mind going out on dates with him, by making himself so obnoxious with his aggressive ways as to defeat his purpose. In order to keep up the impression that he is all right, however, he continues to shove himself on to people and to ask half a dozen girls in a row for a date just to show that he can get one. One division head keeps people at arms length and has built a wall around herself for protection without being able to reduce her sense of inferiority. Others are merely worried, do not know why. Some girls seek compensation in popularity with boys, but send many boys away by giving them the impression that she doesn't care for them because she receives attention from other boys. Persons who are slightly maladjusted within a group are more likely than those who are well adjusted to be argumentative or raise opposition to constructive plans which are agreed upon by most of the others. They are the ones that are most likely to be the "agitators" or "radicals" in a group. On the other hand, they often take more interest in meetings than those who are well adjusted and when given a responsible position are likely to take it seriously.

The maladjusted, then, on the one hand, may be too withdrawing or be too aggressive to get along with people or may be so disturbed that he is not capable of carrying out his tasks properly. On the other hand, a slight

maladjustment may make the individual just aggressive enough to get things done. He is more likely to have ideas, to appreciate leadership positions given him, to want to appear in front of others, to be loyal to a cause.

Kibeis: The Kibeis in general have always identified themselves with Japan, particularly because of their lower status here in America. Most of them have found it difficult to adjust themselves satisfactorily here in America, and consequently have always thought in terms of some day returning to Japan. This identification has been strengthened by the war and the consequent widening of the split between Caucasians and Japanese. They have sided with Isseis on most issues of an antiadministrative and noncooperative nature. Consequently their antagonism toward the Niseis has generally been widened with the widening of the split between Isseis and Niseis. Along with a great number of Isseis they think in terms of returning to Japan or the Orient after the war. Since their future is tied up in Japan they naturally hope for a Japanese victory.

The status of the Kibei within the Japanese community has always been low, and it has not been improved by conditions within the project. Positions of importance have required a knowledge of English which most of the Kibeis did not possess sufficiently to qualify for the important positions. There were exceptions, of course, among those who had studied long enough or who had been in the United States long enough to speak English well. Jobs available to Kibeis, then, have been limited largely to unskilled jobs such as on the farm, the construction crew, the warden force, in the Fire Department, and in the mess hall. But even these jobs were not all open to them because of antagonism with Niseis. There was a sizable group of Kibeis on the warden force, for instance, but as a result of a conflict with Niseis on the force, a large percentage of them left the force to work in the sugar beet field. Many of the dish washers in the mess halls were

Kibeis. The night crew in mess 18, for instance, was composed entirely of Kibeis. When the call for sugar beet workers came in September many Kibeis took the opportunity to escape from the narrow confinement of the camp, but most of them returned again when their work was over. Some of them continued their nonconforming ways of behavior. Their closest association was with Isseis and with very Japanesy Niseis. There were some Niseis, in fact, who preferred the company of Kibeis to those of other Niseis. In general Kibeis have always been a poorly organized group in spite of the fact that they keep to themselves. They tend to divide up into smaller groups, such as according to Ken (prefecture). When the war broke out most of the Kibeis' organizations were disbanded for the self-protection of the members against being suspected of fifth column activities. Here in the Project most Kibeis have not organized as a group. Two groups that have been formed were the Twilight Circle, made up of Kibei Christians, and recently Kibei students have organized a club among themselves. It should be noticed that both groups are composed of Kibeis who tended toward Americanization and education. Many of them have purposely avoided contact with the more "Japanesy" Kibeis who are extremely nationalistic. While Kibeis have gone out to work in the sugar beet field as a means of escape, most of them do not intend to leave the Project permanently just yet. Many of them have a feeling that if they remain within the camp for the duration the Japanese government will make it possible for them to return to Japan.

To what extent Kibeis have participated in "agitation" within the Project cannot be readily determined. In Tule Lake they have not made themselves conspicuous by disorderly conduct, and hence cannot be accused of being a dangerous group, as they have in Manzanar. The fact that they are sympathetic toward Japan can not be denied, and this coupled with the fact that they are a maladjusted group with low status within the community make

them liable to incite trouble. The Imazeki Battery Case was an attack by Kibeis on Niseis, but there were good reasons for this. During the farm strike Kibeis took active part in extolling racial **pride** and voicing dissatisfaction against the administration, but the leading roles were played by Isseis. Most Kibeis were opposed to the Theater Project and the overseas broadcast, but in both of these the Isseis expressed most of the opinions against the Caucasians and against Nisei. The mess hall strike was led by an Issei and not a Kibei. On the whole it can be said that Kibeis have not been as bold as some Isseis in taking the lead in expressing opinions contrary to the Caucasians. They have been afraid to organize and have avoided open conflict with Niseis. Their threat to the peace of the community has not been as great as it might have been expected by some.

Emergence of Personal Adjustment Pattern: We have seen the adjustment of individuals has not been a matter of facing an entirely new condition and the taking up of entirely new habits. The needs to be satisfied and the behavior expected of individuals by the groups have not changed very much so that on the whole past patterns of adjustment, with some modification, have been sufficient to allow an individual to adjust himself to life within the Project. There were, however, new tensions caused by the evacuation and the living conditions within the colony, and these have resulted in new attitudes which were not so readily observed among the Japanese people before. This process of adjustment is accompanied by a loosening of social control on individual behavior, resulting in the increase of delinquency behavior. Whether these changes which are becoming more and more observable will become a permanent part of the adjustment pattern of the individual or whether they are only temporary is difficult to say.

Probably one of the most important sources of new attitudes is the widespread sense of insecurity and a general dissatisfaction with camp life.

The forceful uprooting of people from homes and herding them into virtual concentration camps have been traumatic to most of the Japanese. The extreme centralization of activities within the project with Caucasians at the top have added to the feeling of helplessness felt by the people (see Mess Activity). The upsetting of the whole social structure, being thrown together with strangers, the new living conditions have all added to the sense of insecurity and dissatisfaction felt by the people. In the processes of adjustment they have largely forgotten that there was a war going on on the outside and that even if they had been allowed to stay on the Coast their daily living could not have gone on as calmly as before. They made demands for better food and clothing which were no doubt excessive. The response from the Caucasian staff was generally unsympathetic, and this led to a greater sense of insecurity.

The existence of a state of anxiety among the people can be seen for one thing by the prevalence of unfounded rumors which daily circulated throughout the colony. They have been especially widespread during the first four or five months when the colony was most unsettled. The lack of a news sheet printed in the Japanese language at first made it next to impossible to stop a rumor once it had started to circulate. The most frequent rumor was probably that the people would have to move to another relocation center. There was also a great deal of anxiety over the approach of winter. The story had gotten around that the mercury went down below zero in Tule Lake, a degree of coldness people who had come from the Coast could not very well imagine. What scrap lumber that was available had been quickly grabbed up and coal was slow in arriving. Lack of money also caused many families a great deal of worry. The sum of \$16 a month seemed ridiculous, but even that was slow in being paid. There was a clamor for laundry soap because so much of it had to be used in one washing since the water here was

so hard. Clothing had begun to wear out and demand was made on the WRA for clothing allowance. Another sign of anxiety was the sudden popularity of the Ouija Board. Many boards were ordered from mail order houses and card tables were used in many homes to find out how long the war would last, how many children the neighbor had. Even the Isseis joined in on this fad and seemed surprised to find that many of the answers came out true. Many people believed in the power of the Ouija Board to tell the truth or to say that it was telling a lie! With the coming of winter months and the payment of overdue pay checks, the improvement of meals, the creation of the Planning Board, the setting up of the co-op, the firing of Pilcher, the prevalence of rumors, the popularity of the Ouija Board, and general anxiety died down.

Something new among the Japanese people, probably resulting from the insecure condition in which they were placed was the organization of strikes. Formerly most of the men have very little acquaintance with strikes and were almost all opposed greatly to labor unions. Most Isseis and Niseis identified themselves with the middle class capitalists and usually referred to anyone who favored labor unions as "radicals" and ostracized them from the Japanese community. When food became very poor and Pilcher arrived on the scene, the farm workers decided to go on a strike, and the construction crew decided to go on a "sympathy strike." A bargaining committee was selected to approach the administration. Better food was promised by the administration and the committee recommended that the men go right back to work. While a group of workers were dissatisfied with the arrangements, Mr. Shirrell's absence made it difficult to achieve result by prolonging the strike and the strike was ended soon without any unfortunate incident. The mess hall strike was proceeded by appeal through the proper channels and resorted to only as a final step in getting the voice of the people heard.

An ingenious method of disrupting the work throughout the colony, but still allowing the people to eat three meals a day, was worked out by the mess hall representatives. The organization of strikes in itself was something new to the Japanese people, but when a strike was called these strikers tended to be unreasonable in their demands. At the time of the mess hall strike, for instance, after all of the four demands were met, they demanded warm clothing as an extra concession before they called the strike off (see Mess Activity). When Community Enterprise employees were threatened with unreasonable demands from the new co-op leaders, they formed a "social club," which could have just as well been called a labor union. Collective bargaining was recognized by the co-op in a recommendation written by the Research Director, Fumi Sakamoto, and this was accepted by the Board of Directors without any question. This acceptance of the principle of the labor union which most of these people would have fought against strongly on the outside brings out clearly banding together as a means of defense against general insecurity and helplessness.

Another characteristic which was noticed during the first few months when the colony was unsettled was the frequent use of threats of violence, especially by the Issei. For some reason or other this was not used toward Caucasians, probably because of the fear of the Army stepping in. But toward fellow Japanese threats of violence was employed rather than to appeal to the proper authority. This was especially true of persons accused of being "stool pigeons" or who were thought to be pro-administration. Threats of violence were probably employed because it was felt that accusation of such persons would not be upheld by the administration. Both Dr. Iki and Walter Tsukamoto received threats of violence because they were thought to be on the side of the Caucasians. When the broadcast issue was brought up for discussion people who favored it were definitely in danger of being harmed,

although no actual words of threat were employed at the main discussion meeting. Fortunately at that meeting no one expressed a clear-cut stand in favor of the broadcast in order to seem loyal to the United States. The Council went on record as being for the broadcast, but avoided conflict by taking the matter back to the block to be settled. When the Theater Project was discussed, however, the Council decided not to take it back to the block. The Isseis held a meeting of their own and decided that the Council would be asked to reconsider its decision or else more extreme measures would be taken. In this case physical violence was definitely suggested as an alternative to reconsideration. The incidents that took place at Poston and Manzanar show that these threats were not empty ones. In general the Japanese have been very law abiding in the past and this use of threat can be looked upon as one of the new attitudes developed as a result of the changed condition within the Project.

The Japanese have always been authoritative in their organization. Usually one or two men in the community were looked up to and their suggestion accepted whenever they were available. Instead of electing an officer, it was more common to select people for positions by listening to the suggestions of several influential men in the group. Leaving the important matter up to the head persons and the whole group taking the responsibility for their act was more common than taking a vote and relying on a majority decision. Curiously enough during the first several months the Isseis were the ones who demanded the strictest adherence to the democratic form of government. They did not believe that the Council had the right to go ahead and make decisions without consulting the block people. A council man was a representative of the people and therefore had to act according to the wish of the people. They did not accept the principle of delegated authority even, and

wanted to have all of the important matters brought back to the block to be discussed by the block people. The common complaint against the administration was that it did not respect the "voice of the people. "

Mr. Smith, for instance, was criticized for contracting for the movie theater because he had not consulted the people first. One of the most common sources of complaint against Caucasian staff members was that they were "too nosey" or did not allow the workers to run their own work. Failure to listen to the people lay at the base of almost every one of the major conflicts.

In this connection the use of petitions to convey the wish of the people is interesting. Probably by most of the Japanese a petition had never been used before. Matters might have been better left in the hands of an efficient committee instead of getting a large number of petitions. When it was learned that Dr. Harada was to be sent to another center a petition was circulated to ask Mr. Shirrell to retain him. Many people signed the petition without much thought and not knowing, for instance, that indirectly it meant that they desired to have Dr. Iki leave instead. When Mr. Pilcher was asked to resign about 9,000 signatures were obtained, most of them rather indiscriminately by stopping people as they left the mess hall.

All of these -- the popularity of the Ouija Board, prevalence of rumors, anxiety, organization of strikes, threat of violence, insistence on democratic government, and use of the petition -- point to the sense of insecurity as an important factor in the adjustment processes during the first several months here in Tule Lake.

Closely allied with the demand for the practice of democratic principles has been the demand for uniform wages and equal distribution of co-op profits. While many felt that people taking on greater responsibility should receive more pay, there has been a considerable

number of people who felt that wages should be uniform. The argument was that no one wanted to work, but as long as they all had to work they should be paid the same amount. No doubt those in "white collar" and professional jobs were ^{more} against uniform wages than, say, farm workers and mess workers. In discussing the distribution of co-op profits, many people felt that it was unfair for those who had the greatest purchasing power to receive the largest amount of refund. It was more fair, they felt, if the profit were distributed equally. Some thought that profits should be used for the benefit of the community and to help the needy. Both of these ideas might have been termed "socialist" or "communistic" formerly. These people were demanding the distribution of goods according to need or equally rather than according to the amount of work the people did. In the past the Japanese would have been afraid to voice such opinions as he would immediately be branded as an Aka (Red). The conditions within the camp which leveled the differences between individuals is reflected in these attitudes new to the Japanese people.

In reaction to inforced evacuation many persons seem to have taken the attitudes of a ward of the government. Formerly Japanese considered it a shame to ask for help of the government or from any charitable institution. During evacuation, for instance, it was difficult to get needy families to apply for help even when they needed funds for evacuation from a region. At the present time, however, it is no longer considered a shame to demand as much as possible out of the WRA. This attitude has been most clearly shown in the widespread request by colonists for better food, for clothing, for allowances. Where formerly the hard worker was respected at the community, in the Project, he is looked upon generally as a "sucker," and the slacker has gotten by without much adverse comment. On the farm, for instance, the pace of the work was so lowered that most of the workers were not working

more than about two or three hours a day. While in some departments the slacker has been unpopular, in general he doesn't draw the unfavorable comment he would have on the outside. When the mess hall strike was being settled, the mess workers refused to go back to work until the administration showed their good faith by giving the workers extra warm clothes immediately, aside from meeting all of the other demands presented. In general work which is easier is gaining in popularity over work which formerly carried prestige but meant working harder. This ward-of-the-government attitude has also been reflected in the refusal of a large number of people to resettle on the outside. Many reasons are given for this such as that if they remain within the Project they can collect indemnities after the war, they are returning to Japan after the war anyway, they want to return to their former homes after the war, it is dangerous on the outside due to racial discrimination. But underlying these reasons is the acceptance of the role of wards of the government. The fact that they are being fed and clothed by a government agency no longer bothers their conscience, and in fact some are out to be wards of the WRA as long as they can. This attitude has ^{been} encouraged by the fact that life within the Project has proved to be not too intolerable and certainly a very easy, if not a free one. The declaration of the bachelor after having gone to work in the sugar beet fields is typical. Formerly he expressed a great deal of dissatisfaction on the condition within the Project, but after he returned from the sugar beet field he said that life in camp wasn't so bad after all and that he was going to stay in for the duration and take it easy. When the Spanish Consul came into the Project the amount of indemnities to be requested from the United States government was discussed in many of the block meetings. The amount demanded ranged from about \$10,000 to \$100,000 per person. There is a general belief among Isseis that after the war if Japan wins they will

be given special consideration and given opportunities to resettle in Japan. This, too, shows to some extent the reliance the Japanese have come to place on others helping them back to their feet.

Another definite development is the increase in the degree in which individuals have "gotten away" with antisocial behavior. Sometimes it has been based on a feeling of not caring what others thought. Another excuse for committing antisocial acts has been "they're all doing it anyway." A very conservative and honest fellow has refused to be the only one driving a taxi and not running little errands for his friends and for himself during working hours. The individual's conscience doesn't hurt him as it did formerly, and he has discovered that he can "get away" with a lot of things which were strictly frowned upon by people about him before. Grabbing for scrap lumber, for instance, was done by a large number of people, even though it was recognized by many as an unfortunate state of affairs. Pilfering of lumber has generally become referred to as "borrowing for the duration" and is no longer considered a wrong act. Wardens who attempt to stop people from taking lumber home from the lumber yard are sometimes verbally attacked for interfering with the activities of the Japanese people. The wardens in turn often take lumber from pilferers and keep it for themselves. Pilfering in the warehouse and in the mess hall is so common that a little of it is usually taken for granted. Among boys who go around in gangs it is fashionable to take things without paying for them at the canteen, although this is nothing new on the outside. Clerks in the canteens have been seen giving away merchandise free of charge or for less money than the actual price. Spending money rather freely has also reflected a loss of former self-control. The fact that Japanese tended to buy the most expensive goods sold in the canteen and the large amount of purchases (\$100,000 a month) is a reflection of this trend. At the New

Year's Jamboree 35 cents and 50 cents corsages made of crepe paper were bought by many of the boys for their partners. The trend seems to be not to keep very close watch of the money but to spend it quite rapidly when the pay check and clothing allowances arrive and then to wait for the next checks.

It is not surprising that recently there has been a great deal of concern for juvenile delinquency. In some blocks curfew has been established for people in the block. Some have been limited to those below eighteen years of age, but in one block the curfew has been set at 9 P.M. for everyone in the block. Rumors of unmarried girls who have gotten into trouble and scandals caused by married people becoming involved with a third party have jolted many people into realizing the extent to which they have lost control of themselves.

One role which has emerged in the Project has been that of an "agitator." By "agitator" here is meant a trouble maker and is not necessarily limited to those intent on "subversive" activities. Such persons have existed on the outside, but because of the stable conditions of the former communities it has been usually possible to suppress any undesirable persons. During the first several months of camp life when the position of persons within the community was not clearly determined, it made it easier and dissatisfied persons to attract attention to themselves by "agitating." This has usually taken the form of arguing about various issues. "Agitators" took delight in attending meetings to voice their opinions. Attention getting seems to be the main motivation of these "agitators." They have tended to be rather argumentative, often against the opinions of the more conservative and cooperative people. Two favorite means by which these people have attracted the attention of others is by attacking the WRA and by appealing to the racial pride of the Japanese people. At first both of these methods were

successful in winning applause for these people since they put in words what others felt but were afraid to express openly. Whenever a constructive program was brought up for discussion these "agitators" were likely to bring up reasons why it should not be put to effect, accusing the United States government of putting them into a concentration camp and expressing nationalistic sentiments. When the co-op was being set up suspicion that the WRA was trying to "put something over" on the people was expressed by these people, and their indignation at being confined in a camp expressed a number of times. When the farm strike was in progress one of the favorite phrases of the leaders, who were essentially of this "agitator" type, was that they were Japanese and should not do anything that would be a shame to their race. When the broadcast affair was being discussed, those who got up and expressed their dissatisfaction about living conditions within the Project received a great deal of applause. One fellow who expressed the sentiment that he preferred to see Japan win also received the approval of the audience (see Broadcast Affair). When the Theater Project was being discussed the very same people who argued at other meetings opposed the building of a theater vigorously mainly on the ground that it would be too expensive for the people to attend. When the community charter came up for discussion the opposition wasn't as great as might have been expected, but still some of the "agitators" opposed it without knowing very much about the details of the charter -- such as on the ground that it was composed wholly of Niseis.

The career of an "agitator" as such, however, was rather brief. The height of his career was probably reached at the time of the Broadcast Affair when the greatest amount of emotion was released by his outbursts. Since then he has been speaking less and less at meetings, and in some cases has lost interest in attending meetings at all. The Broadcast Affair seems

to have served to widen the split, not only between Isseis and Nisei, but also between the more conservative Isseis and these so-called radical "agitators." Many Isseis admitted that the meeting in which the broadcast was discussed was ruled by an "almost-crazy" mob. There was a gradual realization on the part of the people that these people were "trouble makers," that they were letting loose a flood of "foolish arguments." After the Broadcast Affair, the Theater Project, and mess hall slowup strike were settled, "agitators" became rather upopular. In the co-op, for instance, opposition to the co-op movement was no longer popular, and persons who opposed the co-op and asked too many questions were laughed at. In the block meetings some of the "agitators" ceased to come to meetings, and others attempted to understand what was being presented by the councilmen and co-op representatives. When offered responsible positions within the block they accepted them readily and became less argumentative. Some block managers realized that the best way to keep them out of mischief was to give them responsible positions and attempt to steer them into such positions. This had the approval of the people evidently because it was evident it was these "agitators" who were elected to positions rather than the quiet persons who did not express their opinions at meetings. There were still persons who protest against constructive measures such as the formation of a youth organization in the block, but it is significant that they tended to be those who desire attention but had not been given a responsible position to hold.

Just roughly there seem to be two kinds of "agitators." The first is the kind that do not have the respect of the people and who have been suppressed in the past in their own community. Persons in the nonconforming Issei group such as gamblers and bachelors seem to fall into this category. They have taken advantage of the unsettled condition during the early

months of relocation in the Project to make a bid for public attention. For a while they were in the limelight and received the approval of many of the people. When their role became unpopular, however, many of them sublimated their needs into socially acceptable channels. When they have proved to be too troublesome to occupy responsible positions or when they attempt to get positions which were beyond their ability they have had to be suppressed and they have tended to continue their career as an "agitator."

The second kind of "agitator" has the same fundamental need for recognition, but in the past he has been recognized as a leader in his community. When he came to camp, however, he found himself not recognized as a leader any longer. This state of affairs was often unavoidable in some cases, as when people from different districts who did not know each other were thrown together. In the Co-op Movement, for instance, "blocked Nationals," whose funds were frozen, were not allowed to become members and could not become members of the Board of Directors. Persons who felt that they rightly belonged on the Board because of their former position in the community felt ignored. These people have tended to be trouble makers too. While their intelligence was generally superior to those of the first kind of "agitator" these people nevertheless offered opposition to the constructive work of those already in responsible positions. Their favorite tactic was to criticize the work of those already in office, attempting to show how things could have been done better. The people have recognized that these people should be given some responsibilities, and the situation is being gradually remedied.

One question that naturally arises concerning "agitators" is "to what extent are these 'agitators' subversive?" While it is true that many of them have expressed opinions which were antiadministrative and nationalistic it doesn't readily follow that these people are out to cause trouble. The fact that their activities have died down and they have generally accepted

a more responsible position in the community shows the fallacy in this interpretation. This is more readily seen when most of the people have felt bitter and suspicious toward the WRA and when most of the Isseis have continued to identify themselves with their own people. The "agitators" have only expressed what others felt. However, where their activities have become definitely identifiable as pro-Axis propaganda or where threat of violence has been employed to keep in check loyal American citizens, such activities can be labeled as subversive.

A new phenomenon in the Project is sectionalism. This has been caused by people from different districts being thrown together in the same project, the same ward, the same block. The commonest types of sectionalism are probably those based on regional differences (Washington and Oregon vs. California) and rural and urban differences. Since petty jealousies have always existed in the Japanese communities, sectionalism in the Project is not surprising. Acute feeling of sectionalism, however, is probably based to a large extent on a feeling of insecurity. A threat to one's security intensifies the fear of the "outgroup." This feeling of sectionalism was especially felt by the people from the northwest who were the first to arrive in the Project and who settled in Ward I. They numbered only about 1,400 and even in their ward were put in together with a group of 500 from Clarksburg, California. The fact that the people from the northwest were not organized because they had come directly from scattered parts of Washington or Oregon or because they had left a large number of friends in the Puyallup Assembly Center. Because they were the first ones to arrive, they were able to fill the desirable jobs throughout the Project. When the people from Walerga began to arrive at the rate of 500 a day and were followed by those from Arboga and the white zone, the threat to the security of the people from the northwest was great. Probably the clearest example of that threat

occurred in the newspaper office where the first editor, Frank Tanabe, was replaced by Howard Imazeki, a more capable newspaperman. In the Dispatch office the feeling of sectionalism still exists between those from the northwest and the Californians. In Canteen No. 1, which was staffed largely with workers from the northwest there were many complaints that the clerks were impolite to the customers and it seems reasonable that much of this is due to the feeling of insecurity on the part of the clerks. When Ward I was being interviewed for the census the interviewers noticed that people from that ward were especially uncooperative in giving information. In comparison the people from Pinedale, although from the same northwest, arrived as a large group of 4,000 which had lived together in an assembly center. People from Pinedale have not shown signs of insecurity and sectionalism that has been manifested by people in Ward I and have been the most cooperative with the administration in such issues as setting up of a cooperative, the giving of an overseas broadcast and building of a theater.

Conclusion.-- In this section an attempt has been made to bring out the individual adjusting himself to life in the colony. The field has been too broad to include everything and it has been necessary to limit the analysis to what was typical of a large number of people. This has probably resulted in the slighting of individual factors for social factors, which would naturally have an effect on a larger number of people than the former. For convenience the concept of types has been employed, but it should be remembered that these types are more descriptive of people at the extremes than of the bulk of the population. Both the "Japanesy" type and the "progressive" types are extremes who are in the minority. The bulk of the people are probably some place in between in varying degrees. Some of the background factors which affected adjustment within the project were brought

out and some of the factors which caused changes in adjustment were hinted at. The concepts of expected role, needs and goals, and adjustment pattern have not proved too useful, except as aids in analyzing data. The interpretation of behavior into these concepts has been difficult and in most cases has been omitted during the discussion. The lack of documentation and the abundance of generalizations are due to the lack of time and suitable material. This section is just a hint of what might really be done with a wealth of case histories, writeups on incidents, block histories, department histories, and the like in which the behavior of individuals is clearly brought out. This need for more basic material is probably the most acute to improve the present section. The refinement of concepts and typology employed is also necessary. The validity of a section of this sort will depend largely on the validity of the original basic directments and the skill in interpretation. Reliability has received consideration only to the extent that effort was made to limit generalizations to types whenever possible.

DST March 4, 1943.

PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT - J. SAKODA

Page 1. I would make the three-fold classification of the following:

1. The Japanese in America prior to evacuation
2. The evacuation: legal, political, economic, social aspects
3. The relocation: initial phases, later phases

Page 2 and following Good statement

Page 7 I don't understand the "second section" you refer to. This misunderstanding goes back, I think, to lack of clarity in your three-fold classification on Page 1.

pp.8-9 "Ideal" sampling obviously cannot be achieved, i.e. you cannot select, say, every tenth case at random and get the case histories of these people. You can, however, describe your sample as part of the statistical universe if and when we get statistical analyses, e.g. cases from specified family types. Examination of family-type data will show which "types" are "represented", which are neglected; persons of specified social class, from specified regions, with specified amounts of education in Japan, etc. For this reason, it is quite necessary to obtain very accurate statistical and background data on your selected cases. It is, of course, perfectly true that even if you had a case from every defined category, you could not prove that that case is "representative" or "typical" of the category. The very fact that a person is willing to tell his story, for example, introduces a selective factor.

This defect is common to all case history approaches, and I know of no way in which it can be overcome.

Page 10

Good

Page 11

Here we can use our "spot map" technique to show the clusterings. Of course, in cities where residential segregation was enforced by law, there was an external pressure.

pp.12-13

"Elite" group was confined to a few cities, wasn't it?

Page 14.

The pattern of Segregation and discrimination should be developed. See recent book by Charles Johnson (which I loaned to Tom)

Last paragraph: Evidence that the Japanese were unduly concerned with questions of status and given to petty jealousies?

Page 15

In what sorts of business dealings was dishonesty condoned?

Page 17

What role did gambling play?

Page 18

The adjustment pattern of all second generation immigrant peoples, irrespective of race, has certain similarities. The racial difference is just an added complication.

pp.18-19

What sorts of American "ways" does the Nisei take over?
What sorts of Japanese "ways" does he adhere to?
Lots of examples are needed in this section to develop the points properly.

Page 21

I don't agree that "submissiveness" is necessarily something learned in childhood. But maybe I am merely ignorant of the way in which Japanese children are brought up.
I don't like the use of the concepts "introversion" and "extraversion" in this connection.

Page 22

By geographical isolation, do you mean there were no other Japanese around? In your discussion of Issei, you have not

given consideration to the group with "highly Americanized ideas" to which you refer here.

Page 23

Types of rejection should be analyzed. Intermarriage should be considered here.

Page 26

What "two extremes of acculturation" do you refer to? This paragraph on the educated group is confused and needs further clarification.

pp.23-28

These "types of adjustment" do not fit in with your earlier classification. Beginning with page 21, you mention "three general types of adjustment." These are described as (1) adjustment to the Japanese element of the culture (2) adjustment to American culture in a "Nisei world," but not adjustment to the majority group (3) adjustment to American culture and to the majority group. Then, however, on page 23, you introduce the "emancipated type of adjustment." On page 24 you begin to discuss stratification and the mechanism of achieving prestige. Those who conform to Japanese ways have prestige in type (1). Rowdies have prestige in no group. Social popularity with other Nisei leads to prestige in group (2). Education presumably leads to prestige in (1) and (3), but not so much in (2). Although your analysis here is not clearcut. Occupation leads to prestige in all groups, though with definite differences in re type of acceptable occupation. Then on page 27, you come to "another type of adjustment" which is that of being a "leader of the Nisei," and on page 28 to "the egocentric type of adjustment." This simply does not hang together well. On pp.21-22 you are, I think, on the right track, with your three types. Let's leave the word "adjustment"

and see whether we can clarify the classification. There are, let us say, three general types of Nisei (1) those who conform, in the main, to Japanese ways and to Japanese people, (I.e. the Issei). (2) those who conform primarily to American ways, but neither to "Japanese" (Issei) nor to "American" (Caucasian) people, but whose personal adjustment is made to others of the same kind and (3) those who conform to American ways and adjust readily to Caucasians. Conformity and adjustment are both a matter of degree, i.e. are not absolutes. "Rowdies", who are generally nonconforming, are probably a subclass of (2): they get along with their own group but not with others; they accept certain American patterns (e.g. gangsterism, but not the more "approved" patterns, while the major part of type (2) tends to accept the "polite" or "middle-class" ways of American behaving. I see no place here for your subclasses "emancipated" and "egocentric." These would, I think, be taken into account as individual variations when you discuss types (2) and (3).
Omit in this section.

Means of achieving prestige should likewise be considered as a separate section, where the roles of education, occupation, and other factors would be considered. Similarly, leadership would be discussed in another section and could be developed in terms of all three types. Does this seem to clarify the analysis for you?

Again, when you discuss Kibei, treat them as "types of persons" rather than "types of adjustment" at first, then take up your individual differences. This is, on the whole, good. If you follow through the tentative typological framework

which you will have developed on ^{← footnote} pp.21 in each subsequent section, you will have a close-knit study.

pp.45-61

This "general" section contains many good ideas, but does not seem to fit into your general framework. The points you develop here are

- (1) Reduction of racial consciousness
- (2) Strengthening of identification with Japan and increase in Japanese ways of behaving
- (3) Weakening of habits of industriousness
- (4) Frustration because of inability to achieve financial security
- (5) Weakening of the means of achieving status through occupational prestige
- (6) Development of new means of achieving prestige
- (7) Old and new devices for achieving leadership
- (8) Decline of individualism
- (9) Development of general discontent

The main trouble is the "discursiveness" of your thinking. But that can be overcome when you get the limits of your problem more clearly in mind.

pp.61-64

This discussion of the development of a real race cleavage- which had not existed prior to evacuation-is good. But it does not fit into this chapter at all - as far as I can see. In general, the great weaknesses in this whole chapter are (1) failure to build up on the framework you developed in the beginning and (2) weaknesses in the connecting links between sections.

pp.65 d

~~Footnote~~
Footnote

All this seems to fit in with the section beginning around page 35. I don't understand this shifting about that you do.

Why not write a complete section on Issei, with various sub-headings, including the relevant parts from such sections as Caucasian-Japanese relationships, etc.

Page 67-69 Again, attitudes towards Japan and America in re war do not belong here but under Issei and Nisei, generally, with, again, particular discussions of individual and group differences.

Page 69-71 The Issei-Nisei split should follow a complete discussion of both Issei and of Nisei.

Comments on new section beginning with page 1 again

Page 1 This is, as far as I remember, the first mention of the religious fact~~s~~. It should be considered in your "framework" or typology pp. 21 ^{& following} ~~footnote~~ of first part of ms.

Page 2 This is a very good point, i.e. the greater maladjustment of those who were of type (3).

In this section, again, I find many good ideas, but a great deal of repetitiousness. I suggest you go over your whole ms. carefully, listing, in outline form, the points you have made. Then see whether you are not repeating yourself quite often, decide where the specific point really belongs, keep your "framework" in mind, cut, delete and "tone up."

Page 3 This discussion of nonconformity or breaking with past patterns is good, but seems to contradict some of the earlier statements of "little or no change" in this type of person. Of course, I realize that you will build up documentation of all these sections. When you do this, keep your framework in mind, but be careful not to force the documents into this frame-

work and avoid dogmatic generalization.

Even the best of categories will not cover all cases.

Deviations from pattern or type are to be expected.

Page 5 Too great a generalization about "Nisei." It is really your type (2) that you are referring to, not all Nisei.

pp.5-6 You tend to infer "feelings" and motives somewhat loosely. What was the behavior that led you to infer these feelings in regard to increase of status?

Page 6 Again, the loyalty issue is repetitious. Decide where this can best be treated. What you say here seems to refer to all Nisei, not alone to the particular class of so-called "social Nisei". Nor do I like "progressive Nisei". There, too, you use the word "adjustment" loosely. I would say "characteristic reaction" rather than "characteristic adjustment." A good deal of the confusion here will be cleared up, however, after you have reworked the earlier part of this chapter.

Page 10. Again, too much psychological generalizing. How do you know the people in question had a "sense of inferiority"? And, is "committing nonconforming acts" an "adjustment?" It might be called a "maladjustment" by some people. And in last paragraph, use "reaction" rather than "adjustment." In fact, you have never given a precise definition to some of these words like adjustment, that you use so freely.

Page 11. You will, of course, want to get as much statistical data on those who leave as possible. Some of these generalizations can be checked on by data on leave clearances.

pp.12-13 The weakness here is the assumption that the people concerned were already "rowdies" before evacuation. To what extent

has "rowdyism" merely developed as a reaction to the confinement of the camp? The sentence "On the whole, the Project has been free from troublesome nonconformists" requires considerable elaboration. Also the very last sentence on this page is certainly a strong generalization.

Page 16. Again, too much psychological generalizing about "feelings."

Page 17. It is far safer to say "Some take refuge in books,....One person has become hyperactive: starting clubs...etc. Another boasts of his popularity. Although his aggressiveness brings many repulses, he continues to ask one girl after another for a date. One girl, a division head, keeps everyone at arm's length. Others move about aimlessly from one thing to another...etc." Do not attribute "feelings of inferiority," "trying to convince oneself that one is alright," "inability to overcome sense of inferiority," "seeking compensation through popularity," etc. Behavioral analyses will carry you much further than these loose inferences.

pp.18
footnote

Until you have written up the earlier, missing section on Kibei, this becomes difficult to evaluate.

Page 19. Was the position of Kibei really "universally low."? Certainly not in some Issei groups. I see that you modify this statement later.

A good deal of the material in this section actually belongs in the earlier unwritten section.

Page 21-32
(end of 1st
para.)

The heading is not descriptive of what follows. In fact, a very large part of this section is covered in Frank's "Collective Behavior." You can utilize much of this in your "framework." Other parts can be used in your "interpretations and conclusions" when you come to them. Other parts can be used to elaborate the background in which "personal roles" develop. But try, in general, to stick much more closely to your own subject than you do here.

Pages 32-
36

This discussion of "agitators" is excellent. When this is fully developed and documented, you will have a real contribution bearing directly on "personal roles."

Pages 37-
38

Discussion of sectionalism belongs in your general introduction.