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THE JAPANESE AMERICAN YOUTH IN SAN FRANCISCO

Their Background, Characteristics, and Problems

National Youth Administration

Junior Counseling ~~Department of~~ ^{SERVICE}
~~the California State Employment~~
~~Service~~

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INTRODUCTION

This report on the Japanese American youths in San Francisco is the result of work carried out under the auspices of the Junior Counseling Service of the National Youth Administration and the California State Department of Employment. There has recently been quite a number of second generation Japanese youths who have sought guidance at the Junior Counseling Service. Because of inadequate information on the backgrounds of this group of New Americans and on the occupational opportunities open to them, the department, under the supervision of Miss Barbara Mayer, formulated a study of the Japanese in San Francisco early in 1940 in order to obtain an understanding of the basic difficulties of these young people.

The Japanese problem today no longer involves the first generation Japanese, as this group is not regarded as likely to provide much competition in trade and agriculture at the present time. Moreover, since the 1924 Exclusion Act, the number of first generation Japanese has rapidly declined, whereas the number of second generation Japanese has been increasing. Therefore, the crux of the present day "Japanese problem" is the coming of age of young Japanese Americans and the problems arising from their economic competition with Caucasian American Youths. But Caucasian youth are also having a difficult problem of adjustment, so that Japanese youths are not alone in having economic difficulties. The present project was formulated with this basic assumption in mind.

In order to get a clear picture of these young Americans of Japanese Ancestry or Nisei (Nee-say), their background was first surveyed. Much of the material for the early history of the Japanese was obtained from reference to previously written literature as listed in

the bibliography. The accumulation of data on the early Japanese settlers in San Francisco was followed by a study of the social, business, and physical aspects of the Japanese community in this city. Books, periodicals, newspapers, interviews, and personal observations were quite helpful in the compiling of this material.

The basic cultural characteristics of the Japanese were next studied in order to have a basis for a later comparison with the cultural conflicts of the Nisei. Fundamental Japanese institutions, such as the family, idea of male superiority, religions, and social organizations were briefly discussed.

With this background material collected, preparations were made for the study of the Nisei. Manifestations of American influences were found to be quite evident in the social, political, and economic life of the Nisei. Adjustments to these new conditions, although difficult, were slowly being made. The chief method of collecting data on the economic adjustments and attitudes of the Nisei was by a field survey of a representative group in the community. The techniques of this survey duplicated that of the Research Division of the W.P.A.'s Federal Youth Survey of 1939 both in sampling and interviewing techniques. Interviews with leading Japanese in the community supplemented this information. In addition, the interviewer throughout the period of the study was in intimate daily contact with the Japanese colony in San Francisco. Further data concerning unemployed Japanese were obtained from a study and analysis

of the Japanese applicants on file and the employer orders at the Oriental Division of the California State Department of Employment in San Francisco.

The object of this report is to present an inclusive picture of the Nisei in this city in terms of their social, political, and particularly, their economic adjustments to American life. Particular stress was placed upon the economic adjustments of this group as this was found to be the most acute problem. On the whole, the initial contacts of the Nisei with American society were pleasant. However, social and economic conflicts developed as adulthood was approached. The last section of this study is a summary of the opinions of the Nisei themselves on what they think of their difficulties and the attitudes arising from them. The results of this study, limited as it may be in some aspects, are presented as a reasonably accurate picture of what is happening to one of the newer racial groups in the American pattern.

PART I
THE JAPANESE COLONY IN SAN FRANCISCO.
OCCUPATIONAL AND CULTURAL
BACKGROUNDS.

THE JAPANESE COLONY IN SAN FRANCISCO.

Early Japanese Settlers in San Francisco and America.

Although Japan was theoretically opened by Commodore Perry in 1853, the Japanese government did not lift the ban on emigration from the Islands until 1885. Previous to this time few Japanese had been in the United States.

The earliest record of Japanese in the United States, probably legendary, goes back to the 7th Century, A.D., when some Japanese priests supposedly were carried by the Japanese Current to the mainland. The first definite record of Japanese in America begins in the early 19th Century when eleven castaway fishermen and sailors were taken back to the Flowerly Kingdom in 1803 by some New England traders to the Orient. In 1830 some shipwrecked Japanese were brought to America by a Spanish trading vessel on its way from the Philippines to Mexico.

Another fisherman came to America in 1841 and he remained for ten years before returning to his native Japan. This fisherman, Manjiro Nakahama, was rescued by a New Bedford whaling ship under the command of Captain Whitfield. He was taken to the Captain's home in Massachusetts where he lived until homesickness caused him to return to Japan. He was thrown into prison for having left the country. When Perry arrived a few years later, Nakahama was released to act as the official interpreter. The grandsons of Nakahama and Whitfield met for the first time in July 1940 in Japan. The present Mr. Nakahama recently presented the community of New Bedford with 1,000 cherry trees. (1)

(1) New World Daily Sun--June 27, 1940.

After Perry's visit in 1853 the few Japanese who left the Islands did so largely for the purpose of education and adventure. They were few in number, only fifty-five Japanese being in the United States in 1870. Later many students were sent by the Japanese government to study western methods in our American universities.

The first group who left Japan in any large numbers were common laborers. They were imported into Hawaii by contract agreements between representatives of the two countries. Wage levels were low in both countries at that time, but emigration was encouraged by various "Emigration Societies" as well as steamship companies who stood to make a big profit on the carrying trade.

The first Japanese to land in San Francisco as an immigrant came on the ship Kanrin Maru in 1860. In this same year, the first Japanese Ambassador to America arrived. Seven years later a few more Japanese permanent settlers came into this city. The Japanese consulate for San Francisco first opened offices in 1870. (1)

In 1890 there were approximately 2,039 Japanese in the United States. Most of them entered this country through the port of San Francisco. The number of immigrants increased greatly after 1890 and in the next decade the total Japanese population in America was around 25,000.

The Russo-Japanese War released a great number of soldiers who were unemployed after the war. These and others started the great influx of Japanese at the beginning of the twentieth century. By 1910 a total number of about 133,000 Japanese aliens had been admitted to the United States.

(1) Japanese Chamber of Commerce.

These Japanese settled in various communities in the state, but their tendency to group together with their conationals made it appear that the number of Japanese in California was much larger than it actually was. The native whites, and organized labor especially, became worried about competition from Japanese workers. Open conflict resulted and the cry was taken up by those seeking political offices.

At the turn of the century San Francisco was noted for its political corruption; and when the Labor Party won the 1901 city election for the mayorlty, the Japanese settlers were made the scapegoats in order to conceal the Party's political corruption. The labor elements were also sincere in their fear of the economic competition of Japanese laborers. San Francisco at this time was strongly in favor of organized labor.

An active anti-Japanese campaign developed in the state, but the movement was largely centered in San Francisco and a few of the larger Japanese agricultural communities. Racial antagonisms were fostered in order to intensify the agitation. Japan's success in the Russo-Japan War, the hysterical warnings by Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany against the "Yellow Peril," plus the increasing number of new immigrants arriving daily into San Francisco all helped to increase the apprehension of the native white resident. About the same time a mild bubonic plague spread over the city, and the Japanese were accused of spreading it. Later investigations traced the source elsewhere. The new immigrants formulated the Japanese Association of America as a means of self defense against these attacks.(1)

(1) Brown and Roucek -- Our Racial and National Minorities.

After the earthquake of 1906 there was a great deal of lawlessness among the rougher elements of the city population. Mobs assaulted Japanese stores and much property was destroyed. Lawless gangs also attacked the Japanese residents. This, together with the fire following the earthquake, was largely responsible for the Japanese moving from South Park up to their present colony, centering around Post and Buchanan Streets. (1)

In the meantime, exclusion laws were proposed, newspaper attacks were bitter, and even the State Legislature became involved. Agitators were particularly violent in their activities, but there are few records of resulting fatalities from assault. "Legal" state laws and city ordinances resulted in discriminatory measures and boycotts, culminating in the "schoolboy controversy": the San Francisco Board of Education attempted, through a local ordinance, to segregate the Japanese children in the public school system into a school for Orientals only. The Japanese parents withdrew their children from classes and refused to comply with the ordinance, and the Japanese government made a formal protest to the National Capitol. This action was not rescinded until the president of the United States, backed by public opinion in the East where Japanese were non-existent at the time, denounced the ordinance.

The question whether it was a State or a Federal right to regulate the admission of immigrants made the Japanese problem a national issue. After many efforts to arrive at a peaceful solution, the Gentlemen's Agreement was negotiated

(1) Interview with an old Japanese resident.

in 1907 between the representatives of the two countries.

In brief, this settlement left the voluntary restriction of laboring immigrants up to the Japanese government. Thereafter, from 1908 until 1913 the immigration rate to the United States from Japan was cut down to about 2500 per year. Following 1913 the numbers once more rapidly increased with the arrival of thousands of "picture brides" into the country. Single male Japanese had at first come into the United States with the intention of remaining only until some capital was accumulated and then returning to their native country.

However, as they became established in business and on the farms, they decided to remain permanently and establish families. Thus, in the next few years following 1913, thousands of Japanese women were brought into this country.

Once more public opinion was directed against the Japanese and this time immigration was completely stopped by national law.

Congress in 1924 passed the Immigration Act which provided in part for the total exclusion of Japanese, except for a limited number of students, business men, and so forth. Thus the "Gentlemen's Agreement" was abrogated. The number of entries since 1924 has been negligible. At present more Japanese are leaving than entering the United States so that the population of this group is actually declining rather than gaining. At present there are less than 150,000 Japanese in the United States, two-thirds of whom are American born. Approximately 100,000 of the total live in California.

Physical Attributes of the Japanese Section in San Francisco.

Japanese immigrants, like other racial groups, have tended to establish themselves in their own district, partly for social and partly for economic reasons. The colony for the Japanese of San Francisco is located approximately in the heart of this city. No definite boundary can be set, although the section is largely located from Octavia Street to Fillmore Street; and from O'Farrell to California Street.

This area, consisting of around twenty square blocks, is one of the poorer economic districts in the city. Living within or on the fringes of the Japanese section are other racial groups such as the Filipinos, Mexicans, Armenians, Jews, Negroes, Chinese, and a few Hindus, plus scattered members of other racial groups. The Japanese, however, predominate in this district.

Most of the stores and shops catering to the Japanese are in this section. The Japanese stores for the tourist trade are chiefly located in Chinatown. While there are Japanese scattered throughout the city, the majority of the Japanese inhabitants of San Francisco reside and operate businesses in this particular community. Their social, cultural, religious, and educational activities are centered here.

Frequently one hears the Japanese section referred to as "Little Osaka" (Los Angeles Japanese is called "Lil' Tokyo"), but this term is misleading if one expects to find a typical Japanese village in this area. One does not find an atmosphere of Japanese architecture and temples, with the people

dressed in quaint kimonos, nor do cherry trees blossom in the streets. In fact, there is nothing distinctive to set the Japanese community apart from the other areas of the city except a few Japanese signs over the doors of little shops, and an occasional Japanese moving picture advertisement. For the 7,000 Japanese residents, this district does not have a glamorous appeal.

Most of the houses are old, dingy, and badly in need of repair. Many should be torn down. Housing is one of the most serious problems of this section. The interiors of the homes are usually clean and sanitary, but not much can be done with buildings that have outlived their usefulness. (Most of the houses were built before the 1906 Earthquake and fire.)

A group of Japanese organizations is now working on a plan to enlist the help of the Federal Housing Project in alleviating the housing problem. So far, the progress has been made only in minor repairs. A few private owners have repainted their property under the F.H.A. plan. A proposal to establish and build a new Japanese section has repeatedly been suggested. Real estate restrictions and the high cost of homes prevent many Japanese from moving to better neighborhoods.

Cultural and Social organizations and activities among the Japanese in San Francisco.

The basic social organization among the Japanese is the Family unit, which is very important in the lives of the immigrants and of their children. It regulates much of the activities of its members. Individual families are united into Kens. These consists of all individuals and their families coming from the same prefecture in Japan. Such groups carry on social and economic activities. Frequently the Kens have indirect connections with other Japanese communities which may have the same prefectural organization. Each Ken organization is distinct from another here in San Francisco. One of the duties of the Kens is to help out the individual members in times of need. Once a year the Kens have a large picnic and all the people belonging to that particular Ken meet at a central location and have a good time talking over old times or the latest news from their native towns in Japan as revealed in letters.

Clubs

There are many clubs in this district. These are divided into social, political, or occupational groups. Many are connected with church groups. Since it is impossible to discuss each one individually, a listing appears at the end of this section of all the clubs according to their respective functions.

The San Francisco Japanese have a large proportion of educated and cultured members in this community. One of the reasons for this is that many of the Japanese are businessmen and small store owners who early established themselves in this city. Their cultural level is generally higher than that of some of the other Japanese communities in the State, especially in the agricultural sections.

One of the most exclusive clubs for the more prosperous professional

and business men is the Nippon Club, which has headquarters in a three storey building on Taylor Street. It is completely equipped with reception rooms, dining rooms, auditorium, kitchens, lounges, private rooms, and offices. This exclusive club has a membership of less than one hundred, chiefly from the first generation group.

One of the most popular centers for informal gatherings of the older Japanese are the well-patronized bookstores on Post Street. The immigrant Japanese always seems to find a little extra money to purchase books about his native land. To many the bookstore is the leisure center and one may usually see clusters of the older Japanese around the counters of books in the evening hours. Some of the bookstores put up news bulletins of interest for their patrons. Most of the literature comes from Japan. However, the best United States sellers such as "Gone with the Wind" are available in a Japanese translation. Only a few of the second generation read books written in Japanese.

Newspapers.

The two most important daily newspapers to serve the San Francisco Japanese community, while also possessing a state-wide circulation, are the Japanese American News and the New World Daily Sun. A weekly paper is the Pacific Affairs. A monthly publication is the Pacific Citizen, which is the official organ for the Japanese American Citizens' League. It has a circulation of over 5,000 and it is distributed over the entire Pacific Coast and Western United States. The Pacific Citizen is printed in English and is devoted chiefly to the problems and activities of the second generation in America. There are also several other Japanese language papers in this community. A monthly publication exclusively for the second generation Japanese is Current Life.

The two large daily papers print the news in Japanese with a separate English section for their second generation readers. The English section is linotyped, but the Japanese section is hand set by workers who must have a basic knowledge of the language as well as to be able to handle thousands of pieces of Japanese type efficiently. Last year some of the larger Japanese daily papers of the Pacific Coast formed a news exchange system to facilitate distribution of news. News from Japan is received directly by short wave radio and sent to the papers receiving the service.

Playgrounds.

The Japanese community is sadly neglected as far as playground facilities are concerned. The play area for the little children is either on the streets or at the Raphael Weill School on O'Farrell and Buchanan Streets. Equipment is loaned to the children by the director and those in charge of the playground reported little trouble with these children in regard to broken or stolen property. The nearest city playground is about one-half mile away from this community.

Schools.

Japanese American children attend the public schools during the regular school hours, and the Japanese language schools, of which there are a number, later in the afternoon and the early evening. The chief public elementary schools attended are Raphael Weill, Redding and Pacific Heights. There are scattered numbers in the eight other elementary schools surrounding this area. In Junior High School, almost all of the Japanese American children attend John Swett, Girls Junior High, Roosevelt and Presidio Junior High School. The Nisei students attend all of the high schools, the majority attending Commerce, Galileo, Polytechnic, Lowell, Washington, and Girls' High. A few attend the Americanization School on Buchanan Street.

The Japanese Language Schools.

Because of the many misconceptions arising in the public mind about the true functions of the Japanese language schools, an extensive study was made on this phase of the Japanese life.

Californians generally regard with suspicion the influence of the Japanese Language schools on its pupils. It is commonly asserted that these schools develop a spirit of loyalty to Japan, which is assumed to conflict with the development of loyalty to America. The California Joint Immigration Committee, which represents the state bodies of the American Legion, the State Federation of Labor, and the Native Sons of the Golden West, has been a strong pressure group in the state legislature to have the Japanese Language schools abolished.

In a recent pamphlet this body declared that the real purpose of these schools was to teach Japanese ideals and loyalty and to make dependable Japanese citizens of the Nisei. The article further declared that these schools were maintained to train in this way those children whose parents could not afford to send them back to Japan. On their return, these children supposedly used their American citizenship for the purposes of Japan. (Commonwealth Club Bulletin on an address given by the Secretary of the Joint Immigration Committee in January 1941. The facts were based upon a pamphlet written by James Fisk the head of the California Joint Immigration Committee and entitled "Yellow Peril Over California.")

This organization also stated that the texts of the Japanese language schools were only adopted after the approval of the Japanese government. Another point of issue was that these schools sang the Japanese national anthem, the Kimigayo, in preference to the Star Spangled Banner. The chief charge made was that the Japanese govern-

ment carefully planned and controlled the instruction in order to teach Japanese traditions, history and ancestor worship for the purpose of insuring control to Japan of the Nisei forever.

In interviews with the leading teachers and officials of these schools in San Francisco, it was found that many of these accusations were misleading and false.

The declaration of purpose of the Japanese Language Institutes of Northern California are:

".....to effect the education of good citizenship of the American born Japanese based upon the spirit of the public school instruction in the United States of America.

"The schools are dedicated for the express purpose of teaching the English and Japanese languages, literature, history and the fundamental principles of good American citizenship.

"The teaching of the Japanese language shall be to facilitate the understanding between the parents and children so that they shall enjoy home life.

"The Language Institutes shall provide the playground for the children to encourage their healthy activities and avoid the danger of street play and its bad influences.

"The textbooks used by the Japanese Language Institutes have been approved by the California State Board of Education."

The largest of the language schools in San Francisco is the Golden Gate Institute. Mr. K. Suzuki, the principal of the school kindly allowed the writer to attend several sessions of the classes in order to obtain thorough information on the courses of study and methods of teaching. The Catholic Church conducts the Morning Star School at St. Xavier Mission on Octavia Street. There are also other

language schools conducted by the Churches.

The Golden Gate Institute, Kinmon Gakuen, is non-religious and children of any faith may attend. The student body of 350 students is instructed by nine teachers. Five of these teachers are Nisei, and one is a Caucasian American graduate of the local State College who teaches English to the pre-school children. A small tuition fee of \$2.00 per month is charged the pupils in order to cover maintenance expenses. Salaries of the teachers range from \$40.00 to \$125.00 per month. The school is completely independent of the Japanese Government and any deficit in operation is covered by donations by the local Japanese community.

The Institute consists of five main departments: Kindergarten, Preparatory School, English Language, Japanese Language, and Physical Education.

The Kindergarten Department admits pupils of pre-school age who are more than three years old, but under six. Instruction is given in conversation, play, singing and handiwork. The pupils are also given instruction in the English language in order to prepare them for admission to the public schools.

The Preparatory School Department offers instruction in the English language and in such other subjects necessary for entrance to the public schools to those pupils above school age, who have come to the United States and are unable to enter the public schools because of a lack of knowledge of the English language.

The English language Department offers instruction in the English language to pupils over eighteen years of age.

The Japanese Language Department offers instruction in the reading, writing and composition of the Japanese language. The period of instruction is from one to three hours daily, classes being held after

the regular public school hours. In addition to the eight grades, there is a supplementary course of two years which offers further instruction in the Japanese language.

The school term is from January to January and all the public school holidays are observed. Pupils may withdraw from the school simply by giving a notice to this effect.

The classes are conducted by the old Japanese method of all reciting aloud in a chorus. The textbooks, written by the local Japanese association, are sent in a translated form to the California State Department of Education. If approved, they are published by a local book firm. The Japanese government has nothing to do with these texts. Supplementary readers are from Japan, but the Principal stated that all of the Japanese language schools eliminated any references to Japan that were not favorable to the development of American loyalty.

The material in the textbooks are on subjects familiar to the Nisei. Following is the course of study for the eighth graders:

1. Ancient Egyptian Civilization.
2. Study of the life of Marco Polo.
3. Familiar Japanese stories.
4. Love and duty towards Mother.
5. The Migratory habits of birds.
6. Proverbs.
7. How to live in this world.
8. The spirit of Social Service.
9. Interesting books to read.
10. Study of the Stars.
11. Wishing.
12. The Life of Beethoven.
13. A Day at the Equator.
14. Japanese Songs.
- 15-17 The Life of Florence Nightengale and the Red Cross.
18. The Spirit of Progress.
19. Study of the Declaration of Independence.
20. Study of the Constitution of the United States.

All of the Japanese Language schools in Northern California follow a similar course of study and organization as the schools in San Francisco establish the general pattern of conduct. Before the

school starts the American Flag is raised and the national anthem is sung by the children. The only time the Japanese anthem is sung is in connection with some Japanese festival.

The principal of the Kinmon School stated that problems of truancy arise as many of the children do not like to attend the language school after the regular school hours. Many of the students neglect their studies and simply waste their time in the school by playing. It is not until they have become older that many of them study the language seriously. A typical attitude of the young Nisei is expressed by a seventeen year old student: "What's the use of learning Japanese? I don't see no value in it and I don't ever expect to live in Japan. Besides my parents need more practice speaking English."

Social Centers.

The Japanese social settlement is located on Geary and Laguna Street. It is financed by the Salvation Army, an international religious organization, and the community. Besides its religious aspects, the social settlement is a combination of home for the aged, for homeless children, and for the ill. It also has educational and medical functions. A new building for this purpose was constructed by public subscription in 1935. It is a three storey cement building and contains private bedrooms, library, auditorium, kitchen, dining room, playrooms, offices, barber shop, clinic, and many other facilities needed in a project of this type.

Across the alley from the main building is located the home for aged men who are destitute. They are taken care of without cost to themselves by the Japanese center. At present, there are between ten and fifteen old people there, all males. The Social Center also helps bury those whose families cannot carry the full burden of funeral expenses. Families in poverty are given aid in times of extreme need. The San Francisco Community Chest gives the Japanese Social Settlement a grant of money each year to help them carry on their work.

The Social Settlement also keep children from homeless or broken families at this center. There are approximately sixty children at the home. They are brought here from all over the state to live at the Center permanently. A few are delinquents. The children range in age from six to eighteen and are about equally divided in sex. A language school is conducted at the Center for these children, but their American education is received in the nearby public schools. There is little of a typical orphanage atmosphere about the place. The children are permitted great freedom in activities. The superintendent stated that their theory of rearing these children was to have them

develop their character by permitting them to make as many of their decisions as possible. The older children are responsible for the conduct of the smaller children. In the summer, they are given an opportunity to earn a little money by working in the country.

The work of the Japanese Social Settlement and the various Ken Associations often interwine in the field of relief. This is one of the principal reasons why there are so few Japanese families on public relief. Those Ken associations contacted would not release the figures for the approximate number being aided in San Francisco by their activities. Several of the secretaries stated that this function was a "family affair" and therefore could not be considered as relief. One of the Ken members stated that their organization would not release such figures because of the Japanese pride. Furthermore, they did not wish to "lose face" in the community by showing that their Ken may perhaps not be so economically well off as other Kens. The burden of taking care of those in need is chiefly carried on by these private Japanese organizations.

The California State Relief Administration Office in San Francisco reported that there were few cases on their files of Japanese families on public relief. Miss Woods of the Information Department could not remember of only one Japanese family handled by the San Francisco office in her six years of S.R.A. work. Miss Cox of the same office confirmed this statement by a study of the case files. There was only one Japanese family at present (April 1941) on the S.R.A. case loads.

The Statistical Division of the Public Welfare Department of the City and County of San Francisco revealed that the number of Japanese families on relief was also small. The number of families on the Indigent relief Rolls during the period from January 1940 to April

1941 were:

- 1 single woman
- 4 single men
- 2 families--5 persons in one and 2 persons in the other.

Thus, only 12 Japanese were on public relief during 1940. Only

two families were on public currently. (April 1941).

The public welfare program of the Social Security Act is administered by the County Office. In San Francisco the Japanese have benefitted in small numbers from several of the related programs. In the early months of 1941, there were two single men receiving Blind Aid. Both were non-citizens.

The greatest number of Japanese aided by the Social Security Program were on the Half Orphan Aid Program as administered by the County Office with State and Federal funds. There were a total of six families consisting of a total of twenty-three children at present given aid by the San Francisco Public Welfare Department.

Y.M.C.A.

At 1530 Buchanan Street is the Japanese Y.M.C.A., financed by the International Y.M.C.A. and [by money donated] from interested people in the community. The building was opened in 1936. A large gymnasium, several halls, an auditorium, and billiard rooms are some of the facilities provided for boys and young men in the neighborhood. A swimming pool and dormitory has yet to be built. Americanization classes are held for those older Japanese who wish to learn English. This is conducted by the adult education program in this city. The girl's "Y" is located on Sutter and Buchanan Street. It is a much smaller place and is used mainly for a meeting place and reading. Both organizations have a full staff of Nisei workers.

The building having been erected with funds secured by

Churches.

There are about twenty churches of various Christian, Buddhist, and Shintoist denominations in this community. The Christian Churches are generally conducted in English for the young people and in Japanese for the older Japanese Christians.

The Buddhist Churches reflect a part of the cultural life of Old Japan in this colony. Buddhism, the adapted religion of the Japanese, is highly ritualistic and correspondingly colorful. It is often an interesting mixture of the Orient and the Occident.

Buddhist missionaries were sent from Japan to lay the foundations of the missionary work among the Japanese residents in America, and also to make contacts with such of the American people who were interested as far back as 1891. The first Buddhist Church was built in San Francisco in 1899 by the Shin-shu sect. At present there are thirty-seven churches of this sect in California and in the other states with a Japanese population.

The headquarters for the Buddhist Mission of North America are in San Francisco, and under their jurisdiction are approximately sixty-three clergymen from Japan who are spreading the gospel of Buddha in America.

In the San Francisco temple on the corner of Pine and Octavia Street are located the headquarter offices of this group. The Temple was completed in 1938 and it is built in Indian style. The temple seats around 350 worshippers. Various conference rooms, banquet halls, and an auditorium-gymnasium are also to be found in the building. In the Dome of this church, there is supposed to be a portion of the Ashes of the Lord Buddha in a gold and crystal shrine! They were given by the King of Siam to the loyal Buddhists of America.

The Nichiren Mission on Buchanan Street conducts services in sanskrit, occasionally with English translations. The Konko Kyo Temple on Bush Street holds services every day at six in the morning, two-thirty in the

afternoon, and at eight-thirty in the evening. At some of the services music is supplied by a Japanese orchestra. The Japanese Music Society holds its meetings and concerts in this temple.

The Zen Buddhist Church holds services in sanskrit also. Japanese films are shown here occasionally. This church was formerly the property of the Jewish people, and its type of architecture is of that faith. There are eight other Buddhist and Shintoist churches in this city.

Occidental influences are quite evident in the Buddhist Church. It conducts sunday school services for the young people; it holds raffles; and frequently the Church is turned into a Bazaar Hall in order to raise money. The collection box, called the kifu, is also passed around after the meeting for donations or it is left near the door of exit. The Buddhist songs, however, all are sung in Japanese with Japanese music.

A typical Buddhist service is very simple. The services lasts for about two and a half hours. The meeting starts with candles being lit around Buddha in order to purify the air from evils arising from material things. Then the robed priest majestically comes forward and he leads the congregation in a prayer, which is read from the Okiyo, the Japanese translation of the Buddhist Bible. Then there are a few moments of silence during which the audience meditates in order to complete the purification process. Japanese hymns are then sung. For the next hour and a half the priest preaches a sermon on the divinity of Buddha and his followers. After that another song is sung and the priest prays once more. The meeting ends with the collection box being passed around, after which the congregation disbands.

In conjunction with the regular church, the Buddhist people have organized the young people after the pattern of the Christian "Y's".

Drama

Although there are no Japanese movie houses in this district, Japanese films are shown occasionally to the community by social groups which sponsor and present them in the various auditoriums and halls. Frequently Japanese drama may be presented by the churches. There are several companies that import Japanese films and circulate them around the Japanese communities in the United States and Canada. Although the photography of Japanese films is excellent, the acting is rather amateurish by American standards. Most of the young people prefer to attend the American picture houses in this city for their entertainment.

Besides the modern plays, many of the plays presented are based upon the old Kabuki Plays which are founded on feudal legends and involve traditionally set rules of action. These plays had their origin in the Feudal period of Japan about four hundred years ago. There is no stage scenery or props when this type of play is presented. The Japanese actors are all males trained from boyhood to take all parts, male and female. Much of the action of the drama is improvised. The Japanese were the originators and developers of the so-called puppet plays, and at intervals a drama is presented to this community by expert manipulators of puppets from Japan. The more formal Japanese or the Noh drama are also occasionally presented.

Other Organizations in the Japanese community.

The Japanese Chamber of Commerce, the Japan-America Society, and the Japanese Associations of America and San Francisco have important promotional and cultural functions. It is their functions, among other things, to bring about better relations between the Japanese and Americans as well as help the Japanese to adjust themselves to American ways of life.

The Japanese Association looks after the rights of the alien

Japanese and also aids the individuals in such matters as business processes and laws, obtaining passports, and last year in registration of the aliens. Recently an agricultural department was added in order to aid young Nisei farmers. For the past two years, this group has been responsible for the excellent Japanese divisions in the various parades in connection with civic affairs. It sponsors a boys' band and also arranges the floats with kimono clad girls. The Japanese Boy Scout Bugle Corps sponsored by this organization is judged one of the best in the state. About 500 people are usually rounded up by the Association to participate in the Japanese division of a civic parade.

JAPANESE OCCUPATIONS AND BUSINESSES IN SAN FRANCISCO

Early occupations and businesses.

The first occupational field entered by the early Japanese settlers in San Francisco was in domestic work and unskilled labor. Domestic work still remains as one of the fields of work where a large percentage of Japanese earn a livelihood. As early as 1869 some destitute Japanese workers were employed in American families after unsuccessfully attempting to accumulate money by working in the mines. Most of the eighty Japanese who were in California in 1874 were in domestic service in and around the San Francisco area. They received small wages.

The designation of "school-boy" was early applied to these workers because of the ambition of these Japanese, who regarded domestic work as a means to obtain an American education. In 1877 a number of students holding school-boy jobs formed a Society for mutual friendship. They met in a dingy basement in this city and discussed news from their homeland and made plans for their advancement. (1)

By 1910 the number of "school-boys" in San Francisco was about 500, most of whom actually did attend some school. Some of those who returned to Japan after completing their education are now in high positions in the government and in business. However, many of them remained in San Francisco to start their own business or to remain as domestic workers on a full time basis. In time they branched out into other types of domestic service as cooks, waiters, butlers, and janitors. Since 1915 the domestic service has remained in an important position among the other Japanese occupations.

Many of the young second generation students still do this type of work while obtaining an education. The tendency in the past few years

(1) Ichihashi--Japanese in America, Chap. 8

JAPANESE OCCUPATIONS AND BUSINESSES IN SAN FRANCISCO.

Early occupations and businesses.

has been towards a gradual decrease in the number of Japanese employed in domestic service as permanent work due to the fact that the younger Japanese are not entering this field in such large numbers as the first generation did. It is gradually being released to a newer immigrant group, the Filipino.

Since entering the United States, Japanese trades in San Francisco were of two sorts, catering to the American and to the Japanese resident. The first occupations and businesses to develop were those which met the needs of their co-nationals--such as boarding houses, barber shops, bath-houses, and food stores. As the community expanded with the arrival of additional immigrants through the port of this city, places for amusement, newspapers, doctors, dentists, and merchants came into being. After 1900 trade development with Japan also benefitted the merchants of this expanding community. (1)

Gradually the Japanese entered into general American competition in such fields as grocery stores, laundries, restaurants, and shoe shops catering to caucasian patronage. The capital invested in these firms was small and individually conducted by enterprising Japanese on a very small scale.

Since San Francisco remained for many years as the business center of the Japanese in California (as well as for large Japan firms with branch offices in this city), the Japanese businesses prospered. These establishments were patronized not only by the resident Japanese but also by the many Japanese entering and leaving the port. However, restrictions on immigration and the anti-Japanese agitation which developed forced many of the small

(1) Ichihashi Japanese in America, Chap. 9

shops to close up or move to some other center like Los Angeles. This reduction in business opportunities for Japanese is one of the principal reasons why the San Francisco Japanese population is gradually declining.

Present Occupations and Businesses.

The total number of establishment listed in the Japanese Directory for 1941 is six hundred and eighty-seven. This is only an increase of about fifty over the 1930 number and the increase is chiefly in the few lines of importing and exporting, cleaning and dyeing, and tailoring. On another page, there are listed the most important businesses in this community.

One of the enterprises that has increased greatly in the past few years is that of cleaning and dyeing. There are one hundred and seventeen of these establishments owned and operated by Japanese in San Francisco, employing several hundred individuals, principally members of the owner's family. They are spread out over the city and are largely retail in character. Most of the work done consists of pressing and cleaning out spots. All other work is sent out to the larger American companies, with which the small owners have an arrangement. These little firms usually are conducted by one family and only several of the larger cleaning establishments hire outside help. Recently white opposition has arisen against the Japanese competition and threats have been made to boycott and picket the Japanese places if their workers do not uphold Union standards. The Japanese are not allowed to join the American union. Since the margin of profit is small, the Japanese cleaner cannot easily uphold the union standards.

Near Bush Street and on Post Street there are two fish hatcheries that specialize in artistic pot plants, water plants, aquariums, and fish food. Most of the patrons are caucasian Americans. Curious or unusual fish are also exported to Japan.

The arrangement for most of the Japanese laundries are peculiar. Instead of a straight salary, the hired workers get a fixed sum of money plus room and board. This plan no doubt helps to reduce the overhead expenses.

The curio and art goods stores are chiefly small concerns set up by the Japanese immigrants. Only a few of them are branches of large concerns with home offices in Japan. They are in general clean and efficiently conducted. As most of them are located in Chinatown, they are chiefly patronized by the tourist trade. The economic difficulties of the past few years and the affairs in the Orient has affected their business, but the merchants manage to keep going by cutting down on the overhead, which usually mean wages.

The Japanese flower growers of the San Francisco Bay Area employ about five hundred workers and annually they produce about \$2,000,000 worth of flowers for local and Eastern markets. About one-hundred and fifty Japanese growers are engaged in this industry, chiefly in the East Bay Area. Flowers are shipped to Eastern markets by refrigerator trains. In 1924 the local Japanese controlled about two thirds of this business, but since that time the Italian growers have increased in number. At present the Japanese and Italian growers are equally divided in the amount of annual output. Many of the second generation Japanese youth are going into this work, but wages are low and hours of work excessive. (1)

There are many Japanese restaurants and hotels in and throughout this section. They are chiefly patronized by the Japanese. The most fashionable center for Japanese social affairs is the Kashu Hotel on Laguna Street and the Yamato Hotel located in Chinatown. Most of the other hotels are small, some being combination hotel-apartment houses.

(1) Japanese Flower Growers Association, Secretary.

Restaurants where distinctive Japanese foods are served are Tenkin, Tenkatsu, Cherryland Takiwa, Yakko, and the Yamato Hotel. In all of the Japanese restaurants that specialize in their native dishes a pot of tea is served immediately to a guest. The cups are small and delicate, and tea drinking serves to keep the patron occupied while the main course is individually cooked. The price for Japanese meals varies with the taste of the individual.

Among the distinctive dishes one hears of Tempura and Sukiyaki the most frequently. Tempura is a combination of sea foods and vegetables dipped in batter and fried in oil in the form of fritters. These fritters are also served with chicken noodle soup. Sukiyaki is a combination of beef or chicken and vegetables fried in oil and it is usually cooked at the table in the presence of the diners, or by the diners themselves if they so desire.

Most of the restaurants seat their guests on chairs at a table. However, one or two restaurants use the Japanese arrangement of sitting cross-legged on the floor. It is quite uncomfortable for the uninitiated and not generally used.

There are about fourteen groceries catering to the residents in the community. However, a number serve the caucasian people in the city who wish to obtain special Japanese foods. It is not infrequent that a chauffeured car drives up to one of these stores for shopping.

Some of the native foodstuff which may be purchased in these groceries are pickled radishes, plums, bamboo sprouts; fish cakes, beancakes, Japanese peas, imported wafers and other delicacies.

The Japanese barber shops in San Francisco have had to depend solely on Japanese patronage. This condition is peculiar to this city as Japanese barbers in other small towns have been successful in catering to caucasian patronage. Most of the San Francisco barbers belong to the Japanese

Barbers' Association which sets a standard price and hours for business for its members. Shops with two or more barbers usually run on a schedule of ten to thirteen hours a day. Several of the shops in the community are conducted by women. This is not a strange situation as most of the barber shops in Japan are run entirely by women. (1)

One of the newer fields for women in San Francisco is the beauty parlor business. There are about five now in the community. All of the girls are Nisei. There are a few young Japanese girls from the Hawaiian Islands who have come here to get their training in this field. It is difficult for a girls to secure this training in the Islands and few beauty operators obtain certificates so that the field remains limited and financially profitable. Therefore, the girls come to San Francisco to become certificated and then go back and are able to get a job easily, or else they open up their own little shops.

There^{are} a number of billiard halls run by the Japanese immigrants which cater to both generations of Japanese. As there are a large number of the first generation males who are yet single, these places are frequented by them as a sort of social center. Many of the youths of the community use them as "hangouts" also, since places for recreation are few. Gambling places are also to be found in the neighborhood. They cater chiefly to single Japanese fishermen and young men who are trying to win some "easy money."

The single men whose occupation is fishing form a declining element of the population. The work is seasonal and they work from Alaska down to Mexico. Many of the older fishermen tend to be loose with their money and many have a fondness for drinking and gambling, plus the usual vices of sea-going men. Abalone, salmon, sardines, and tuna fishing occupy the largest group of fishermen.

(1) Interview with Secretary, Japanese Barbers Association

The Japanese fishing industry formerly was a monopoly of the first generation group. It was almost impossible to get on a boat unless the young Nisei youth had friends or relatives connected with the industry. The first generation still hold a dominating position. In 1940 there were eight-hundred Japanese employed in fishing in the California coastal waters. Of this number, only one-hundred and forty-two were second generation youths.

Replacement of the aged, and the pending Fishing Bill of the State legislature, which requires three-fourths of the crew to be American citizens, will soon greatly increase the number of second generation fishermen.

The bill was provisionally passed during the recent fifth column investigation and it may work a hardship on the older fishermen who will be removed from their means of livelihood. A compensating factor is that it opens up the field for the young native Japanese American Youth. (1)

Professional and semi-professional fields.

In the professional and semi-professional fields there are in this community eleven dentists, five doctors, three midwives, six masseurs, four attorneys, eleven music instructors, five flower arrangement instructors, fifteen insurance brokers, four engravers, eight architects, seven photographers, six printers, five optometrists, and forty-two general importers and exporters. Many of the above are of the older first generation group, but the Nisei are entering these fields in increasing numbers.

Branch Offices of Japan Companies.

In connection with International trade, there are several large Japan firms with branch offices located in the Port of San Francisco. Aside from the numerous small importers and exporters that may have home office connections in Japan, the two most important and largest are the Mitsubishi and the Mitsu Companies. These two companies have branch offices all over

(1) Interview with the secretary of the Japanese Fishing Association.

the world in important trade centers.

The Mitsui Company is located on 465 California Street and the Mitsubishi company have their general offices at 417 Montgomery Street. Most of the products and raw material such as machinery, scrapiron, cotton and so forth are purchased by these companies to be exported to Japan. The chief imports consists of silk and cotton goods, manufactured goods, and Japanese food products.

International banks represented in San Francisco (with home offices in Japan) are the Yokohama Specie Bank, Ltd; and the Sumitomo Bank, Ltd. Three large Japanese steamship lines are the Nippon Yusen Kaisha Lines.(N.Y.K.), the Yamashita Steam Ship Company, and the Kawasaki Steamship Lines. Two large Japanese Stocks and Bonds Companies have their agents in San Francisco to sell Japanese securities to the American public. Many Caucasian-Americans are employed in the offices of these larger firms.

The Japanese Community. - 1941Organizations and Clubs. (Social) (132)

Japanese Association of America	1619 Laguna Street
Japanese Mutual Aid Society	1647 Post Street
Japanese American Citizens' League	1623 Webster Street
Japanese Benevolent Society	1619 Laguna Street
Japan Society of America	Fairmont Hotel
Japanese Labor Association	1525 Geary Street
American Legion Post 438 (Japanese)	1752 Sutter Street
Japanese Cemetery	Colma, California
Japanese Schools Mothers Clubs (2)	
American Schools Mothers Clubs (2)	
Nippon Club	740 Taylor Street
Various Students Clubs. (15)	
Various clubs connected with Church (35)	
Various Ken Social Clubs. (25)	
Hawaii Club	1371 Pine Street
Alumni Association of Japan Universities	
Alumni Association of American Universities	
Various Recreational Clubs for the first generation Japanese (22)	
Japanese Fishing Club	1625 Geary Street
Japanese American Roller Canary Club	2011 Buchanan Street
S. F. Japanese Camera Club	1939 Post Street
Japanese Miniature Camera Club	1988 Bush Street
Boy Scout Troops (3)	
Japanese Tennis Club	1783 Sutter Street
Japanese Golf Club	740 Taylor Street
Yawara Club	566 Fulton Street
S. F. Judo Club	1726-A Sutter Street
S. F. Japanese Theatrical Association	578 Cedar Street
Japanese Y.M. C. A.	1530 Buchanan Street
Japanese Y.W.C. A.	1830 Sutter Street
Japanese Y.M.B.A.	1881 Pine Street
Japanese Y.W.B.A.	1881 Pine Street
Japanese Catholic Y.M.A.	1801 Octavia Street
Japanese Catholic Y.W.A.	1801 Octavia Street

Churches (20)

Buddhist Church	1881 Pine Street
Buddhist Church (Nichiren Sect)	2016 Pine Street
Japanese Salvation Army	1450 Laguna Street
Japanese Church of Christ	1500 Post Street
Japanese Catholic Church	1801 Octavia Street
Japanese Episcopal Church	1732 Buchanan Street
Japanese M.E. Church	1359 Pine Street
Buddhist Church (Nichiren Sect)	1860 Buchanan Street
Konkokyo Church of S.F.	1909 Bush Street
First Reformed Church	1746 Post Street
Shintoist Church (Tenrikyo Kyokai)	1440 O'Farrell Street
Young People's M.E. Church	2025 Pine Street
Plus eight other Buddhist churches	

Japanese Business Organizations (16)

Japanese Chamber of Commerce	549 Market Street
Art Goods Wholesale Association	549 Market Street
Japanese Wholesale Grocers Association	549 Market Street
Japanese Doctors Ass'n	1794 Post Street
Japanese Dental Ass'n	1739 Buchanan Street
Japanese Carpenters Ass'n	1751 Post Street
Japanese Barbers Ass'n	1651 Post Street
Japanese Bathhouse Owners Ass'n	1523-A Geary Street
Japanese Restaurant Owners Ass'n	1709 Buchanan Street
Japanese Laundry Ass'n	165 Tenth Street
Japanese Businessmen's Ass'n	1619 Laguna Street
Japanese Hotel Ass'n	549 Market Street
Japanese Confectioners Ass'n	1533 Geary Street
Japanese Druggists Ass'n	1601 Post Street
Japanese Tailors Ass'n	1632 Gough Street
Japanese Cleaners Ass'n	1881 Bush Street

Japanese Language Schools (13)

Kinmon School (Golden Gate)	2031 Bush Street
Kinmon School Branch	945 Clay Street
Gyosei School	1715 Octavia Street
Nippon School	1765 Sutter Street
San Francisco School	1881 Pine Street
Chiwaki School	3735 Geary Street
Rissei School	2016 Pine Street
Konkokyo School	1715 Octavia Street
Reformed Japanese Language School	1746 Post Street
Y.M.C.A. Language School	1530 Buchanan Street
Buddhist Language School	1881 Bush Street
Japanese Social Settlement Language School	1450 Laguna Street
Beigakujuku School	1523 Post Street

(There are also a number of private instructors)

Japanese Flower Arrangement Schools (5)

Ikenobo School	1570 Buchanan Street
Enshuryu School	1822 Buchanan Street
Mishoryu School	2016 Pine Street
Shinkado School	1639 Pine Street
Shizan Bankei	1882 Sutter Street

Japanese Sewing Schools for Girls. (6)

Fashion Sewing School	1850 Buchanan Street
International Dressmaking School	2100 Pine Street
Obata Sewing School	1827 Laguna Street
Shimizu Sewing School	1950 Bush Street
Tokunaga Dressmaking School	1916 Pine Street
Embroidery School	1859 Pine Street

Japanese Music Instructors and Studios (11)

Japanese Hospitals and Clinics (2)

Nippon Hospital	1730 Post Street
Japanese Association Clinic	1619 Laguna Street

Newspapers and Magazines

The New World Sun	1618 Geary Street
Japanese American News	650 Ellis Street
Current Life Magazine	1738 Post Street
The America	1618 Geary Street
Pacific Affairs	1737 Sutter Street
Nippon to America	1895 Sutter Street
Beikoku Kyodan Times (Buddhist Church)	1881 Pine Street
Tokinokoe Sha	1450 Laguna Street
Plus branch offices for three Japan newspapers, two Los Angeles Japanese papers, and one Seattle Japanese paper.	

<u>Banks</u>	(2)
<u>Steamship Companies</u>	(3)
<u>Stocks and Bond Agencies</u>	(3)
<u>Importers and Exporters</u>	(42)
<u>Insurance Agencies</u>	(15)
<u>Law Offices</u>	(4)
<u>Dental Offices</u>	(11)
<u>Doctors</u>	(5)
<u>Optometrists</u>	(5)
<u>Midwives</u>	(3)
<u>Cleaners and Dyeing Establishments</u>	(117)
<u>Restaurants, Japanese Style</u>	(25)

Harusami Tei	1718 Buchanan Street
Hatsune Tei	1621 Buchanan Street
Kikusui	1606 Post Street
Manmaru Tei	546 Grant Street
Mitsuwa Tei	1661 Post Street
Otafuku Tei	1545 Post Street
Cherryland	1650 Post Street
Yamato	562 Grant Street
Manseian	1740 Post Street
Minato Sushi	1687 Post Street
Tenkatsu	1762 Buchanan Street
Tenkin	1616 Laguna Street
Tonbo	1672 Post Street
Plus twelve other smaller establishments	

<u>Japanese Restaurants serving American foods</u>	(18)
<u>Japanese Hotels and Apartments</u>	(42)
<u>Retail Groceries</u>	(18)
<u>Laundries</u>	(15)
<u>Barber Shops</u>	(15)
<u>Florists</u>	(15)
<u>Shoe Shops</u>	(15)

<u>Carpenter Shops</u>	(11)	<u>Beauty Parlors</u>	(4)
<u>Drug Stores</u>	(11)	<u>Bath Houses</u>	(4)
<u>Paint Shops</u>	(10)	<u>Miso Factories</u>	(4)
<u>Garages</u>	(10)	<u>Furniture Stores</u>	(4)
<u>Embroidery Shops</u>	(9)	<u>Engravers</u>	(4)
<u>Camera Shop</u>	(8)	<u>Radio Stores</u>	(3)
<u>Wholesale Groceries</u>	(8)	<u>Goldfish Shops</u>	(2)
<u>Sporting Goods Stores</u>	(8)	<u>Plumbing Shops</u>	(2)
<u>Billiard Parlors</u>	(7)	<u>Bakery Shop</u>	(1)
<u>Dry Goods Stores</u>	(7)	<u>Sake Brewery</u>	
<u>Photography Studios</u>	(7)	<u>Picture Mounting Shop</u>	
<u>Meat Markets</u>	(7)	<u>Milk Company</u>	
<u>Transfer Companies</u>	(7)	<u>Card Manufacturing Co.</u>	
<u>Employment Offices</u>	(6)	<u>Nursery</u>	
<u>Masseurs</u>	(6)	<u>Coal Dealer</u>	
<u>Commission Merchants</u>	(6)	<u>Plus 15 miscellaneous</u>	
<u>Printing Shops</u>	(6)		
<u>Tailor Shops</u>	(6)		
<u>Rice Distributors</u>	(5)		
<u>Jewelry Shops</u>	(5)		
<u>Book Stores</u>	(5)		

Oriental Art Goods Stores (53)

Nippon Dry Goods Co.	400	Mission	Iwata Trading Co.	715	Grant
The Nara	425	Grant	City of Tokyo	347	Grant
The Asahi	953	Market	Pacific Dry Goods	440	Grant
Ino Merchandise Co.	430	Grant	Mme. Butterfly	430	Grant
The Lantern	309	Grant	The Ginza	1013	Market
The Ginza	656	Grant	The Fyuo Co.	330	Grant
Kato Bros.	526	Pine	Daibutsu Co.	501	Grant
Endo Co.	315	Grant	Kajiwara Art Co.	449	Grant
Kawa Art Co.	535	Grant	Matsuoka Co.	597	Grant
Minamoto Co.	463	Bush	Meiji Co.	535	Grant
Nichibei Art Co.	1616	Fillmore	Nicko	433	Grant
Magario Co.	455	Grant	Cosmopolitan Co.	621	Grant
Linen House	615	Grant	Sakaki Co.	627	Grant
Matsumoto Co.	574	Grant	Ashizawa Co.	1121	Sutter
Yoshizawa Co.	560	Grant	Hinomoto Co.	541	Grant
Sato Co.	414	Grant	Shiota Co.	515	Grant
Takazawa Co.	670	Grant	Kimono House	625	Grant
Fujita Co.	461	Grant	Benten Co.	527	Grant
Kyoto House	411	Grant	Pagoda	435	Grant
Inouye Co.	1836	Fillmore	Shinkai Co.	525	Grant
Shimura Co.	433	Grant	Kisen Co.	456	Grant
Miyajima Co.	2121	Pine	Geisha Incense Co.	456	Grant
Nakajima Co.	530	Grant	Plus six others		
Oriental Art Co	2732	Mission	(The larger stores have branch shops)		
Kimada Co.	557	Pine			

shall I eliminate this whole section??

The Family System.

Every immigrant group more or less attempts to retain the cultural pattern of its homeland in America. The Japanese are not exceptions. The Japanese immigrants in most cases were adults when they entered this country. Much of their former heritages and environmental influences were deeply rooted within them, later to be transmitted to their children born in the United States. The American born Japanese, because of these cultural heritages in the immigrant home and community, differ from typical old stock Caucasian Americans. Thus, in order to better understand the Nisei's problems, an understanding of their cultural background is necessary.

The family system is the most important thing in the Japanese picture. Based upon Confucianism, the link which connects the family system to the Japanese emotional life is the Sun Goddess--the national emblem of Japan. The theory works as follows:

Every old race, historically speaking, has its own special story of creation. The Japanese have developed a fitting story also. Their legend of creation is every bit as valid and logical to them as the Christian story of creation is to many Christians. The Japanese go even further; they have closely woven the legend into the history of their country.

Once upon a time, as all good legends should begin, Heaven and Earth were not separated, but were enveloped in Chaos. As time went on the clear airy substance expanded and became Heaven, while the heavy and thick part coagulated and became the Earth. The young land floated about in a jelly-like water, and from it sprouted two heavenly deities. After them seven generations of gods were born. They were all single and had no sex, except the last two named Izanagi (male) and Izanami (female).

These last two were given a heavenly jeweled spear by the other gods and commanded to give life to the drifting Earth. So they went forth to the Floating Bridge of Heaven and pushed the spear into the soft, warm mud

and stirred it up gently. When the sword was drawn up, the drops that fell from it formed one of the main islands of Japan, while the smaller drops formed the lesser islands.

They and their children lived many years on these islands until Izanami died giving birth to Fire. She went to the Land of ^Aoots and Darkness below the Earth. The male went after her to bring her back, but he found her worm-ridden, living in a region of foulness. ^Rushing out, he washed himself in the sea. From his ^rinings were born all the evil gods that annoy mankind. From his left eye was born a brilliant, beautiful maiden. As the earth and heaven were still united by a pillar, this beautiful maiden climbed the pillar and became the sun while a son of Izanagi became the moon.

Many years later the grandson of the ^Sun Goddess was sent to rule the earth. The Heavens now grew far apart from the Earth, and Ninigi, the grandson was on his own merits to maintain order among mankind. Armed with a sword of divine temper, a mirror (Emblem of the soul of the Sun Goddess), and a ball of crystal, Ninigi was soon able to create an orderly rule. (1)

His son became Jimmu Tenno, the great grandson of the ^Sun Goddess, and the first Mikado of Japan. Thus began the dynasty of the Emperors of "Everlasting Great Japan unbroken from ages eternal." The national flag of Japan, a picture of the sun on a white background, shows this contact with the Heavenly forces.

The birth of the Japanese Empire was supposed to have taken place on February 11th, 660 B.C., with the accession of Jimmu Tenno as the first Mikado. The present Mikado is claimed to be the 123rd of the royal line. The earliest written annals, the Kojiki, were composed in 712 A.D., so that a great deal of Japanese tradition may be questioned.

(1) Griffis---Japanese Mythology, History and Arts. Chap. 1

Thus, so the Japanese claim, the Emperor is the direct descendant of the Sun Goddess and as a representative of divinity is the divine ruler of his people. The Empire belongs to him and all the people are his servants. In the family the husband is the direct representative of the Emperor and as the Emperor rules his people with benevolent autocracy so the father rules his family. Each individual has his place in society. Each father is responsible to the Emperor for the behaviour of his family. If a child is disobedient to his father he is defying his Emperor and his divine ancestors. This rule is theoretically kindly, but firm.

In the lives of the Japanese, this theory has a definite hold. The woman under such a system has few rights. Her place is where her husband puts her. Rarely does she own property and never is she allowed to control it. Divorce under such a system is rare. Her submission is automatic because of her education. Her father may sell her to a prospective husband without even securing her consent on the matter.

The family in Japan, therefore, is the real foundation of Japanese social organization; it controls much of the routine of living; and it is the dominant influence in behavior. This stress on filial piety gives a minimum of freedom to the individual as minute rules govern all phases of his life. A redeeming factor of course is that each member of the household is obligated to assist the others, and in turn could expect protection and aid in times of difficulties.

Despite the different conditions in the United States, the Japanese family heritages exert a powerful influence. Family solidarity is very noticeable in the Japanese community in San Francisco even in spite of many disorganizing forces. Examples of mutual helpfulness are many among both the young men and women in relation to their families. Family loyalty seems to transcend even cultural conflicts. The first generation pay much attention to the family name and family traditions, and

the honor of the family must be upheld at all times. This viewpoint ranges from the extreme to moderate. Changes in the traditional system have been inevitable. As the first generation immigrants are so far from Japan, much of the old life has been broken off. The lot of the immigrant is hard, and the Japanese immigrant could not carry on the leisurely activities and ceremonials as in Japan. With most of the future Japanese families being American born, due to immigration restrictions, it is most likely that the family system will be greatly modified and be modeled more along American lines. This process is in great evidence in many aspects of the first generation home.

Male Superiority.

In the Japanese family the male is dominant whether he be father, grandfather, or elder son. Sometimes the uncles may assume the leadership of the house until the oldest son reaches maturity.

The idea of male superiority is carried into every small detail of conduct. At meals the woman must first wait on her husband before she may eat. If there are guests the wife must make herself very inconspicuous. The wife follows the man through doors, entering trains, or in walking in the streets.

The Japanese considers it an outrage against his ancestors to die without a male heir to perform the necessary rites. Thus, it is up to the male member to carry on the family line. Since daughters are expected to marry into other families, they are in no position to perpetuate the family cult.

This idea of male superiority has been transplanted to America, although moderated in many ways. One youth explained his father's role in the family thus:

"My father thinks he is most important in the house. He

thinks that he is the big 'boss', and he won't listen to anyone. He makes my little brothers and sisters do as he says, even though he little understands the different conditions in this country. My mother is obedient no matter how much she is imposed upon. She thinks that she has to be self-effacing. Sometimes my father gets drunk and mistreats my mother, but she never says a word of complaint." This woman was carrying out the customs of Japan which demanded that a wife should obey and be loyal at any cost.

Wedding Ceremony.

Weddings in Japan are simple, yet very formal. The principal feature is the Son-ku-do or three-three-nine times. This consists of both bride and bridegroom drinking three times out of each of three cups of different sizes. This ceremony is equivalent to the American wedding reception. Of course, wedding practices differ and are not standardized for the whole country. Many parts of Japan are now modernized to western practices to a large extent in the marriage ceremonies.

The most prevalent form of marriage is still the traditional so-called marriage of convenience. This is practiced in many European countries and is by no means peculiar to the Orient. These marriages consist of making "matches" by the arrangement of parents, guardians, relatives, friends, or professional Baishakunin. Usually the prospective husband pays a certain sum for the privilege of obtaining a wife. The bride has no voice in the proceedings. She just pays her wedding expenses and is obedient. The object of many of these marriages is to have the prospective wife provide a large a dowry as possible in order to replenish the

family fortunes. In many weddings the male guests celebrate the occasion by drinking great quantities of sake which is provided by the bride.

Most of the parents of the second generation Japanese were married under the old Japanese practice of fixed marriage. As the young Japanese male workers were all young when they came to America, they were single. Many, after accumulating a sum of money went back to Japan to arrange for a wife. Others merely had friends or relatives in Japan arrange a match, and after the wife was married by proxy in Japan, she came into this country as a so called "picture bride." In some cases the couple were re-married in this country. More often than not, the bride did not get a look at her husband until she arrived in the United States. The object of these marriages was to raise a family and not for romance. The story of the hardships that many of these young brides underwent in this country is largely unwritten as yet.

Death Ceremonies.

Because of the intense fatalism of the Japanese, the fear of death is greatly minimized. This partly explains the extreme patriotism of the military forces who do not value the individual life.

The State and the Mikado are Supreme. Failure to them means that the offender has to carry out the code of Hara-Kiri (suicide) or he will be branded a coward. This practice is by no means extinct as just lately a high political figure in the country committed hara-kiri because of some failure. He then became a national hero because of his extreme sacrifice for his country. In the United States the practice is rare although occasionally some young people decide to carry out this old practice as a form of protest.

Hara Kiri in Japan consists of an elaborate ceremony, which in form has lingered on from the Feudal Period. The prospective victim straightens out all of his affairs like a gentleman. He then bids his wife and family good-by. With a trusted friend he goes into the room where the family god is located to pay his last respects to his ancestors. Kneeling before the alter, he takes out a sharp dagger and cleans it well. The great moment arrives when he plunges the knife into his stomach, making sure to fall forward on his face. His trusted friends then slashes a sword down upon his head.

The Japanese take great care of the dead. Funeral services are elaborate. Shinto rites are generally more simple than the Buddhist. Coffins may be long and low or squared so that the corpse may be placed in a squatting position. Pall bearers usually wear the robes of their religion.

The mourning code is strict. No animal foods may be eaten during this period. The sign of mourning is the wearing of white garments for some of the religious sects. Visits to the grave are on set days as the 7th, 14th, 21st, etc, days, and on set years. There are also set days for ancestor worship. On certain days choice foods are placed in the family shrine.

Many of the old people in San Francisco and other Japanese communities, for this reason wish to be buried in Japan where the rest of their ancestor spirits are located. The most frequent method is to cremate the corpse and then send the ashes back to the family in Japan where they are placed in the family shrine and treated with the proper respect.

Religions

The history of religion in Japanese culture follows three general philosophies. To one who has seen pictures of Japan, there seems to be an over abundance of temples and shrines. It is not because the Japanese are over devout. Religion has a special status among the people.

The three chief organized religions are Shintoism, the official cult; Buddhism; and Christianity. Confucianism is not a distinct cult although it has many adherents.

Shinto means the "Way of the Gods." It was the original faith of the Japanese which was revived last century. The government does not regard it as a religion. The essence of Shintoism is ancestor worship. It involves many deities of the mythological age and many shrines are erected to them. Distinguished patriots are also worshipped at national shrines. Family ancestors are worshipped in family shrines. It is surprising to note that there are over 115,000 public shrines served by 15,000 priests yet in existence in Japan. The total number of believers of the different Shinto sects are about 16,000,000. (1)

The philosophy of Shinto in modern times has been used for nationalistic purposes. Intense patriotism to the state and imperial house has been gained by stressing the divine origin of the nation and rulers as told in their legendary history. This hold of Shinto has naturally been weakened by the spread of education among the masses.

Buddhism was introduced from China in the sixth century, A.D. It gained a foothold by compromising with Shinto deities and making concessions to the military spirit of the ruling class. The contributions

(1) JAPAN YEAR BOOK--1940

of Buddhism are principally in education, art, literature, and culture.

Buddhism is divided into many sects of which three are the most important- the Zen, Nichirin, and Shin Sects. All three are represented in San Francisco. There are about 50,000,000 Buddhists in Japan, but many of them are also Shintoists. The various sects of Buddhism disagree among themselves just as the various denominations of Christianity.

Almost everyone is acquainted with pictures of the squatting statue of Buddha. In Japan almost every Buddhist home has one on a shelf. In America, many of the homes also have several of these tiny statues made of bronze and gold on a shelf.

Christianity was first introduced into Japan in the middle of the 16th century, but was banned before the end of the century. However, the Roman Catholics gave it a firm footing among the people, especially under the Portuguese Father, Francis Xavier, and his fellow Jesuits. This group is also represented in San Francisco.

After the reopening of Japan in the middle of the 19th Century, the Protestants came in. Christianity has a relatively small following among the Japanese, the followers being numbered at less than one-half million after a period of over one-hundred years. Their work has been mainly confined to mission schools. The slow progress has been due to intense and narrow nationalism towards anything foreign. The materialism of modern Japan also opposes such a doctrine. The Japanese have religions of their own and do not feel the necessity of being converted to the Christian Theology.

Folklore.

As many of the Japanese came from the rural areas, they brought much of their folklore with them. Most of it has been discarded, but

there are yet many examples of such folklore which have been passed down to the children.

Many Japanese still believe that short fingernails weaken one; drinking milk produces some forms of skin disease; washing the head on certain days will make the hair red. If the left ear itches, someone is talking evil of him; right ear itching means someone is talking well of him.

A funeral procession seen in certain hours is a favorable sign. In passing a corpse, the thumb should be put inside the fist to keep off the evil spirits. A shooting star denotes that someone has just died. The Japanese never drink tea that has been kept overnight for the simple reason that a condemned criminal in Japan is usually served with such tea before his execution. Drinking fresh tea in the morning is a safeguard against meeting with an accident during the day. Many Japanese are also quite adept at reading one's fortune by the tea leaves left in the cup.

In the United States, little boys often whistle while walking in the dark in order to keep up their courage. A Japanese boy is warned never to whistle at night, for a whistle is a sign of burglary.

The Japanese equivalent of Gesundheit after sneezing is "Kaze wo huta." The equivalent of a four leaf clover is a sparrow walking instead of hopping. In order to see one's future mate in life, one should look intently in a mirror at two in the morning. In etiquette only criminals have their hashi (chopsticks) placed to the left of them. To any other person this is a sign of insult. The critical years of life are the 7th, 25th, 42nd, and 61st. Medical

advice should never be sought on New Years Day or the person will have a whole year of illness. The symbol for a long life is a red boiled lobster placed on a platter during the festivities of the week following New Year Day.

Many of these beliefs have died out among the immigrants, but many of the more subtle superstitions remain in Americanized form among the children. The origins of some of these beliefs may be American.

PART LL

MANIFESTATIONS OF AMERICAN INFLUENCES IN
THE CULTURAL, POLITICAL, AND, PARTICULARLY ECONOMIC
LIVES OF THE SECOND GENERATION JAPANESE YOUTH IN
SAN FRANCISCO WITH SOME OF THE RESULTING
PROBLEMS ARISING THEREOF.

The Nisei: Social Adjustments.

The American born Japanese, commonly known as the Nisei (Nee-say), have been influenced by some of the forces of cultural heritage of their parents and their present social environment. They have experienced both the Oriental and Occidental patterns of life in their daily contacts. The multiple problems of adjustment which they have to make is the present "Japanese Problem." We are seeking in this section to determine what influence their background social environment may have upon them. What is the nature of their problems? How are they adjusting themselves economically? What conflicts do they have? These and other questions are all a part of this process adjustment.

Every immigrant group that has come into America has encountered the problem of cultural conflict. The Japanese are no exception. Each group brings its customs, traditions, institutions. Naturally it has to modify its old culture in order to conform with American conditions. Parts of all these cultures fit into the American pattern of life and gradually have become a part of it. The American culture, therefore, may be called a mosaic of parts of all these diverse cultures which have added to the betterment of the American way of life.

Individuals reared in one culture who migrate to another are usually not totally assimilated into the new culture. The old culture gradually fades as time goes on; but there is always a residue of habits, ideas, points of view, and ways of doing things which remain. Many of the adjustments made by immigrants are compromises which serve to prevent open conflict between the two cultures. Outward changes such as dress, tools, social rituals may be adopted rapidly, but it is a much more difficult task to take on inward points of views.

There are cultural conflicts in varying degrees of bitterness between the first generation Japanese and the Nisei. The first generation are desperately trying to hold on to their children, who on the other hand rebel

against the old-fashioned autocratic family control traditional in the Oriental pattern of life.

The Nisei have made contacts with several types of family life. There has been no standardized Oriental pattern to follow. Thus we find some Japanese homes which follow the Japanese pattern with slight variations, while in others there is total disorganization. Between these extremes are the homes where reorganization has slowly taken place. As the Oriental pattern itself is in the process of change, the children naturally have broken with it and adopted the more stable American culture, just as most immigrants' children have done.

The writer has observed this process of americanization among the Nisei for several years. Through study, interviews, and personal contacts with many of these young people, a fairly accurate picture of this group is drawn.

Nearly all the young Nisei speak the Japanese language when in their homes, but many English expressions are used in their speech. In most ways they are Americans--products of the democratic atmosphere of our educational system. It is not surprising that they have rebelled against the old-fashioned autocratic family control, and resent the imposition of the old world system upon them.

The Nisei girls without exception resent male domination, and are not backward in showing that resentment. The male youth also advocates greater freedom for the woman, but of course, he still holds the idea of male superiority, as most males tend to do in any group. However, he does not believe in the theory of male superiority as applied in the first generation family. The girls also resent the Japanese tradition of mother-in-law control over their married life. They wish to live as any American couple would, but only the more economically independent are able to break away from this old-country control.

The Nisei are violently opposed to forced marriages as arranged by go-betweens. Negotiations are usually carried on secretly. Evidence that the practice still exists in modified form is occasionally encountered. The pair involved usually are given an opportunity to pass judgment on the suitability of the other. In other cases, no choice is given. One youth related his experience as follows:

"I was sitting in a Japanese restaurant one day with an older friend when an elderly Japanese gentleman came up and asked my friend if he were married. He asked all about my friend's past life and he told him that he knew of a nice girl who was a Nisei, but almost as good as a Japan-born girl. The elderly gentleman was a go-between who was no doubt trying to make a little money by marrying off some Japanese girls. He had the pictures of about five of them and he told my friend that he could have his pick. Naturally my friend was embarrassed and he told the man that he would look for his own wife, if he did not mind. I guess that the elderly Japanese gentleman doesn't understand the fact that the Nisei do not believe in getting married sight unseen!"

Sometimes a girl born in America, but reared in Japan, desires to return to America. Friends and relatives then try to find a suitable mate for her in this country so that she will have a home to come to. As the Nisei do not care for Japan reared girls, a single first generation man is sought. These single men, usually established farmers, also prefer Japan reared girls as they think Nisei girls are too forward and don't know their place. So the match is made, the girl is married by proxy in Japan, the man meets her on the incoming boat in San Francisco, a half day is spent in sightseeing in the city, and the next morning the girl is on the farm to begin her duties as a farmer's wife. These so-called "picture brides" do not occur very frequently now as Japanese women are not allowed to enter the United States unless they happen to have been born in this country.

An example of another case was recently publicized in the Japanese language papers concerning a young Nisei girl near Sacramento who was forced by her parents to marry a first generation Japanese many years her senior. Because of loyalty to her family, she endured it for one month, but after that she deserted her husband because his ideas were too old-fashioned. Occasionally, a case is reported by the local paper in which a young girl has committed suicide rather than be forced into an undesirable marriage.

Such instances occur less and less often now. Attempts on the part of parents to force or arrange marriages for their children are becoming rarer because of the terrific struggle which the Nisei have put up against them. Many Nisei girls, especially the attractive ones, are independent. They set high standards for their future husbands and often postpone marriage if they cannot find a male who measures up to their standards.

The Male Nisei's ideas of women are no different from those of the general young male population of the United States. Their criteria of feminine pulchritude are western. They like girls of medium height, straight nose, straight and slim ankles, and a pleasing personality. They may talk loudly of blondes and redheads, an old American custom; but they are quite willing to accept a Japanese brunette with the above named qualities. The girls are also western in their tastes. They get permanent waves, and their cosmetic makeup is along occidental standards. Much of their information on beauty culture is obtained from the movies and magazines, as well as the radio. They also are swept along in the latest fads of hair styles, clothes, and cosmetics.

As many Nisei girls work in "American" homes as housekeepers, they tend to bring "American family ideas" and methods into their own homes. This fact often intensifies the cultural conflict, but the children usually

win out. The fact that many of these girls supplement the meager family income with their earnings gives them a larger voice in the family and greater independence.

Although there has been much family disorganization, a marked family solidarity seems to exist yet among the Nisei children. Many of these American born youths deny themselves rather than disappoint their parents. The elder son is definitely handicapped as it is up to him to support his parents in their old age. This family sentiment is especially hard on the youth who gives up preparation for a career in order to support his parents. If there are a number of children in the family, they all take turns helping each other and the family.

Where there is a Japanese business worth taking over, there is usually a Nisei son to take it over. The oldest son inherits most of the property of the parents; the younger sons have a smaller share and have to shift for themselves after the parents die. The Nisei on Grant Avenue speak excellent English, as well as Japanese as most of their contacts are with the American public.

In other phases of life, the tendency of the great majority of the young Nisei is towards "American" practices, patterns, and ideals. This they reflect from their environment--school, books, movies, radio, newspapers, and friends. They like American music, dancing and sports. They sing the latest song hits; and the younger Nisei become polished "jitterbuggers." In both of the Japanese language papers, social items and the space devoted to sports in the English section of the paper reveal this growing western tendency among the young people.

One of the great difficulties that the Nisei youth has to face is the matter of courtship. If the girl's parents are strict, he dare not call on her at home as that would indicate to the parents that he has

intentions of marrying the girl soon. Also some parents hold the idea that an automobile ride out of the city has to end in marriage, especially if the young people were not chaperoned. Some of the parents even go so far as to chaperon the young people on "dates." However, in such an urban area as San Francisco these old ideas change much more rapidly than they would in the smaller rural areas.

Until five or six years ago, when the Nisei sponsored a dance they always had to invite a few older couples in the community who acted as chaperons. This practice is still carried on in the Buddhist circles and some of the smaller Japanese communities in the state. Today the young people of San Francisco are given much more freedom than formerly in their social affairs, without any disastrous effects.

In regard to intermarriage, most of the Nisei oppose it on sociological and economic lines, but not on biological lines. They are proud of their ancestry and do not consider themselves as products of an inferior race. The few cases of the children resulting from intermarriage are as a rule decidedly striking in appearance. It is often hard to differentiate them from Occidentals. They seem to combine the best aspects of the East and the West in physical appearance. As to their social adjustment, they may have serious personality complexes. Some make easy adjustments while others have a hard time. Adjustments are easier for the female Eurasian than for males.

One youth interviewed stated that he was having a very difficult time because he had a Japanese name. In appearance he was occidental. He thought the only solution might be to change his name, but he hesitated to do this as he was quite proud of his Japanese ancestry. He was married to a white girl, but now he is divorced. A similar case was the young Eurasian girl who associated with caucasian youths all her life up to the time she finished high school. She came into San Francisco to seek a job.

Gradually she began to mix more and more in the Japanese community and this year she is marrying a Nisei engaged in farming in Central California. On the whole, these children of mixed parentage are more decidedly marginal people than the Nisei and they have many unique difficulties. The tendency is for them to remain in the Japanese group, although there are some who have "passed" over into the Caucasian element of the population.

The question of intermarriage is largely social as there are numerous cases of successful racial mixtures in the Hawaiian Islands for example where there is less social prejudice. Here in San Francisco it would not seem to be advisable for an individual to cross racial barriers unless he were high up on the economic ladder. Nine Western states, California included, still legally forbid the marriage of an Oriental with a Caucasian. Such unions, if contracted in these states, are regarded as null and void according to the marriage laws of the state Legal Code.

Another manifestation of westernization is that a considerable number of the Nisei anglicize their first names both for convenience and to show that they are "Americanized." Long Japanese first names may be shortened into nicknames by playmates of other racial extraction. "American" first names given to them by their companions are often adopted permanently.

Athletics play a large part in the recreational life of the young Nisei. The Japanese Athletic Union of Northern California has organized leagues for baseball, track, and basketball. This year a bowling league will be added. The Japanese Athletic League at the end of each season sends the champion team from this area to play the championship team of Southern California for the state title. The young Buddhists also hold a Statewide tournament for their group.

Last June at the state track meet for Nisei athletes, held in Kezar Stadium in San Francisco, there were over 600 entrants from all over the state. The marks established were quite excellent, due no doubt to the

fact that many of the athletes were members of the track teams in their respective high schools and colleges. In the San Francisco high schools, Nise youths play a prominent part in the track and basketball activities. Bowling, golf, and tennis are popular with the older Nisei.

In the social activities of the clubs and also of the individuals of the Nisei group, there are the usual round of parties, dinner dances, dances, and week-end gatherings. All these activities are markedly different from the social life of the first generation. Where the older group attend Japanese moving pictures occasionally shown, only about ten percent or even less of the younger group of Nisei show much interest in these pictures. Most of them cannot understand them.

The great majority of Nisei youth attend American movies about once weekly. Among them there is no decided preference for any single type of picture. They want to be entertained with a "good show". Comedies, biographies, historical romances, and adventure pictures are the favorite type of movies for a large group of the Nisei. The rest prefer musicals, scientific, romantic, and philosophical pictures. Only a few of the Nisei prefer western, gangster, and war pictures.

Language is an important factor pointing to the manifestations of American influences on the cultural life of the Nisei. The English language is mostly used in club meetings, in play, and in social activities. A large percentage of the Nisei would find it difficult to give a talk in Japanese without including many English words; even in spite of the fact that they have attended Japanese language schools for a number of years. They do not appear to take much interest in their parents' language, although many of them later regret not having done so. Publications issued by the various second generation clubs are always written in English. Only a few Nisei read Japanese books and periodicals.

The most common club memberships for the Nisei are those connected with the Church and the "Y" groups. The Nisei still in school generally belong to one or more student clubs. The older Nisei limit most of their activity to the Japanese American Citizen's League and various social and political clubs. The social value of clubs was indicated by one girl^s who commented: "Oh gosh, you have to belong to clubs or you will never meet any interesting people--boys, I mean!"

Manifestations of American influences in the lives of the Nisei have penetrated even to their religions. In connection with the Nisei economic survey (see later section on the Nisei: Economic Adjustments), a questionnaire was also filled out at the same time. From the data gathered on the religious views, it was quite evident that the Nisei youth vary markedly from the first generation in their choice of religions.

The parents of the 133 youths interviewed were predominantly Buddhists. Of the parents of these Nisei youths, seventy-three percent were Buddhists, seventeen percent were Christians, seven percent were Shintoists, and three percent had no church affiliations.

The Nisei youths did not follow the religions of their parents, but tended to accept western faiths to a greater degree. Many of the youths stated that their Buddhist parents often approved of Christianity as being more suitable for them. A few Nisei had to put up a bitter struggle to break away from their parent's faith.

Almost half of the Nisei had adopted Christianity. (44%) Only seventeen percent had retained the Buddhist faith, and three percent of the group were Shintoists.

Although facilities for worship are quite numerous in the San Francisco Japanese community, it was not possible to determine exactly to what extent these young Nisei participated in church life. Some of the youths claimed church membership on the basis of church attendance during childhood, although they had not been to church for months. One

Buddhist youth stated that he was active in both the Buddhist and Christian Church by attending each on alternate Sundays. Another Buddhist youth stated that he went to church just to keep his parents happy although he no longer believed in that faith. A third attended the Buddhist church occasionally so that he would be eligible to play on the basketball team for the Church.

Sometimes there was a wide difference in beliefs within one family. One girl interviewed stated that she was a Catholic, her father a Buddhist, her mother a Shintoist, one brother a Protestant, another sister a Methodist, and two brothers who had no church affiliations and were generally agnostic. In spite of their religious differences, she stated that her family got along without dissension. The family diet was disrupted sometimes on Fridays when she wanted fish, her father wanted a vegetable menu in accordance with his belief, and the skeptic brothers demanded meat to appease their hunger! Another young woman stated that she was formerly a Christian, but she gave up Christianity and became a Buddhist when she got married.

The girls, on the whole, attended church more frequently than the boys. Many of the youths stated that they attended church only when the sermons dealt with subjects of social significance. In general, the Nisei did not care to hear talks on simple scriptural subjects. They desired to hear of things relating to this life rather than the next. Many stated that they kept away from regular attendance because the minister's sermons were too naive for their intellectual level. Some of the Buddhists were irregular church goers because they could not understand the Japanese priests very well or read the Japanese scriptures.

In the minds of sixty percent of the church going Nisei, however, the church still retains its original character, namely, a place of worship. Material advantages as the use of the church as a social and recreational center was of secondary importance according to the Church goers.

Thirty-six percent of the Nisei interviewed had not yet found a suitable set of beliefs to replace their parents' religion, which they had discarded. They were generally irreligious. They could not accept Christianity because life was not consistent to the doctrine of brotherly love in their thinking. This made the Christian creed unacceptable. The majority of this group just did not think of religion and did not care to discuss it.

In such a congested area as in the Japanese community of San Francisco where the environment appears not to be of the best, there would be reason to assume that the delinquency rate would be quite high. Such is not the case among the Nisei of San Francisco.

The Supervisor of the Boy's Department of the Juvenile Court of San Francisco, Mr. Clervi, released the following information concerning Nisei delinquency:

The delinquency rate per year for San Francisco school children, ages six to twenty-one, is 1,000 cases out of the total of 100,000 youths or 1%. For the Nisei, out of approximately 2500 students, the delinquency rate is negligible. In 1940 there were only five cases of Nisei delinquency brought into his department. Based upon these figures, the delinquency rate for the Nisei in 1940 would only be .20%. None of these cases of Nisei delinquency was a criminal violation of the law.

In the past five years, the chief offenses of the Nisei brought to the Juvenile Court were malicious mischief, destroying property, and petty theft committed by children under twelve years of age. The chief offenses of the few older Nisei brought to the Juvenile Court were speeding and theft. At present there are no Nisei commitments in the State reform schools. In 1940 there were less than fifty Japanese, both first generation and the Nisei, in the State penitentiaries or a rate of crime of about 1.05%.

The Supervisor of the Girl's Department of the Juvenile Court, Miss Hengere, revealed that there was even less delinquency among the Nisei

girls: "In my three years in this office, I only remember of one case of delinquency among the Japanese girls. For this year (1941) we have no Japanese girls in our case loads. In the past five years there have been less than five cases of delinquency among the young Japanese girls which have been brought to my attention."

The chief factor contributing to this low rate of delinquency may be due to the Japanese family structure. One of the strong characteristics of the Japanese is the stressing of filial piety, which is taught to the children from an early age. As the Japanese are very much conscious of their long cultural tradition, the children are constantly reminded to respect the family name highly. This responsibility of moral discipline is usually taken over by the oldest child and taught to the younger children. The Japanese language schools also stress law abidness, while the Japanese social community is strong enough to enforce good behaviour. Frequently, the less serious offenses are dealt with by the local Japanese groups and the whole community cooperates in "hushing" the case up.

The American environment has broken down family control in many of its functions, but so far there has been little evidence presented showing that delinquency among the Nisei is of major proportions. From the few number of cases it is difficult to conclude whether or not the delinquency rate among the Nisei is increasing at a faster rate than the increase in the population.

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Because of the cultural conflicts the Nisei are going through a struggle in personality adjustment. On one extreme a large number of the Nisei are trying to be intensely "American." They have completely adopted "American" conventions; but this does not seem to be a solution to their problems. They are not accepted by the dominant Caucasian Americans as Americans. A few of the Nisei are ashamed of their parents' culture. Others are attempting to adjust themselves to both types of culture with which they have contacts. The majority in this group have given up their elders' Buddhism and Shintoism and have become Christians. Some have embraced Christianity strongly and turned into strict puritans and rigid moralists in the western sense. Many in this category seem perfectly adjusted young people, especially if their economic status is more or less secure.

On the other extreme, in much smaller numbers, are the second generation Japanese who tend or pretend to accept their Japanese parents' traditions. Many do not differ noticeably from their elders in beliefs. They are what is known as being "Japanesque." They accept the practice of arranged marriages and other customs of Japan. Some are unhappy, but they remain submissive and Oriental in their outlook on life.

Although technically they are of the second generation group, most of the above are not Nisei, but the so-called Kibei. (Kee-bay) These people are American born, but they were raised and educated in Japan. There are thousands of these young people in Japan. Due to the Japan-China War, a great many of them are returning to the United States in order to avoid conscription in the Japanese Army. They are not technically fit for any specialized fields of work, so they have turned in large numbers to the domestic and personal service fields. A few are well educated, and it is from this group that the Japanese firms select men for the higher positions in the branch offices in San Francisco. Some of the Kibei attend Americanization classes on Buchanan and O'Farrell Street.

Outwardly the Kibei, or American born and Japan educated, are in many cases typically western and "Americanized." They speak fair English, like American foods, and enjoy western types of recreations. Inwardly and intellectually, most of them are "Japanese," and they do not get on well with the Nisei group. They are much closer to the first generation in thought and actions. They believe in the "destiny of Japan" and the present Japanese form of government; but often they admit that the American way of life may be superior, especially if the Japanese conscription system touches their personal life. This is one of the reasons why so many of this group are dropping their dual citizenship status and becoming "Americanized." This group composes less than ten percent of the second generation Japanese.

The majority of the Nisei belong to neither of these two extremes, but move more or less confusedly between them. They are what is sociologically known as "marginal men." They are torn between two cultures; they find no place or satisfaction in either. In most cases they are unable because of appearances to adjust themselves fully to the Occidental group. Their economic predicament is serious. Some become bitter and develop a defeatist philosophy, a few are fatalistically content to drift along in their limited circles.

However, many in this marginal group turn back partly to the Oriental background and start to study its better points. A considerable number organize to protect their rights as Americans. They find partial expression in such organizations as the Japanese American Citizen's League or in various political and college clubs, and they are beginning to realize their duties as citizens and are starting to vote intelligently.

Japanese people of course do not all look alike. There are wide variations among them just as there are among any large racial group. The first generation on the average are shorter and lighter in weight than Caucasians, the average height being about 5'3" for males and 5'1" for females. In general the trunk of the body of the Japanese is well

proportioned. The legs frequently are short and squat, but this is not a general characteristic. The length of the head in relation to the trunk may be a little greater than for Caucasians, although Alpinic people also fall in this same classification. The socket of the eye is small and shallow, and frequently deeply set. The fissure of the eye may seem oblique because of the higher level of the upper corner and the overlap of the upper lid on to the lower lid.

The hair is usually black and straight, although Japanese with natural wavy hair is by no means uncommon. The hands are rather small, but the fingers are usually long and delicate. The pigmentation of the skin is typically light brown with a slight tinge of yellow, but no one color can be definitely named as there are great variations in skin color. The shape of the nose differs widely among individuals and all do not have flat noses as commonly believed.

The Nisei differ noticeably from their parents. The American born Japanese are taller and heavier than the Japan born. It is very rare to find an adult Nisei shorter than his parents. Among the Nisei the color of hair is tending to be brownish, and the skin complexion is lighter. The greatest difference, however, is in facial expression. The older people have immobile features or the so-called "dead pans", whereas the Nisei are capable of and do display a great variety of emotions facially. Their sense of humor is better developed and frequently they are capable of great spontaneity in public which is shocking to the first generation who have been trained to control their emotions. The older generation are much more stolid, and Oriental characteristic.

The Nisei also differ in different geographical sections due to climatic conditions. The San Francisco Nisei in general have a lighter skin

pigmentation than that of the Nisei in Los Angeles. The Japanese of Mexico look like Indians. This of course is chiefly environmental as many of the San Francisco Nisei are quite dark when they return from working in the valleys of Central California; they look like Los Angless Nisei.

Another difference between the Nisei and the first generation is in the way they walk and dress. The older generation have a tendency to shuffle along, a practice developed no doubt by the type of slippers they wore in the old country. The Nisei walk like the average American; he looks natural in western clothes, but the first generation give the impression that they are ill-fitted. Being less "clothes conscious", they are not aware of the latest styles as are the younger Nisei.

Conclusion

With all the American influences in the lives of the Nisei many problems arise--social and economic. The customary gulf between the first and second generation in America is greater in the case of the Japanese, primarily because of the vast differences between the customs of Japan and the West. In this gulf lies a great problem for the Nisei. It is not so much a problem of not enough American influences, these are evident, but more a problem of helping the Nisei to retain the better parts of the Japanese heritage while they are in the process of acquiring western ideals and culture. They need to appreciate the culture of their parents and to cultivate this appreciation in order to make their lives as Americans richer by this heritage. A slow and sure growth with the retention of the best of the old and addition to this foundation with the best of the new is more healthy, and better for America, than an indiscriminate discarding of old things and the unthinking appropriation of new things.

Political Activities of the Nisei

The Nisei Votes.

In the political life of the Nisei, American influences are evident. In the matter of citizenship the vote in this community is restricted to those born in this country. A large proportion of the Nisei do vote. There is very little indication that they have any political adherence to Japan. To many the country of their parents is a foreign country. To the majority, this is their country and here they expect to remain.

The second generation Japanese in the past few years have begun to take a very active interest in political affairs. Although the number of eligible Japanese voters is comparatively small, some of the Nisei leaders have constantly urged this group to assume their civic responsibilities. In San Francisco there are about 800 Nisei of voting age, although only about 500 of them were registered at the time of the last elections in November 1940. It has been estimated by the New World Sun, the Japanese language paper, that the number of eligible Nisei voters is rapidly increasing. Between 1906 and 1918 inclusive 25,151 Nisei were born in California. Approximately 30% of these have either gone to Japan or have died leaving a residue of 17,600 California born Nisei of voting age. This number of voting citizens, plus 7,000 Hawaiian born Nisei who have immigrated to the mainland in that time, raised the total number of eligible Nisei voters to 25,000 in 1940. For the next seven years about 3,500 Nisei will be added annually to the number of those eligible to vote in this state.

This small number of voters is not enough to form any significant pressure group. There has been no evidence advanced that they do vote as a racial bloc. However, during the last elections, many of the candidates for local, state, and Federal offices did speak before Nisei groups in order to win their votes. In the future the Nisei will become a fairly large group of voters. Since the average age of the Nisei is yet under twenty-one years, the greater number of the 70,000 American born Japanese in this state will not have attained real voting strength for a few more years.

In the economic survey of the Nisei (see the Nisei: Economic Adjustments), one of the questions asked in the supplementary questionnaire stated: "What was your main reason for voting or not voting at the last elections?" In response to the question 34% of the 133 Nisei interviewed stated that they were still ineligible to vote because they were under age. One girl was born in Japan and therefore not a citizen.

Only 18% of the eligible voters did not register and vote at the last elections. Most of these were indifferent to politics:

"I think it's all a lot of political corruption."

"They lie too much."

"Don't know much about politics and I don't want to vote unless I know what I am voting for."

"No interest in politics."

"Wasn't in town, but will vote the next time."

Eighty-two percent of the eligible Nisei voters stated that they voted at the last elections. Most of them voted because it "was their duty as a citizen". The large proportion which does vote is an indication that the Nisei are eager to participate in the political life of the nation.

Comments:

- "It seems to be the thing to do for American citizens."
- "To try to get the right kind of laws to be made and to have the proper persons for the office."
- "I believe in the New Deal and its policies."
- "I like to vote. It makes me feel more like an American."
- "It was the first time and it gave me a thrill."
- "It's the only right we have as an American citizen, so I make the most of it."
- "It saves me the trouble of re-registering."
- "I think its our duty as American citizens to boost up the Nisei in the eyes of white Americans."
- "My vote don't make much difference one way or another."
- "Iknew a judge who was running for office."
- "I think my vote is very necessary. What if all the people did not vote!"
- "It's a privilege and a duty which gives me pleasure."
- "A lot of times I vote for personality, but I try to find out their principles first."
- "I want to have a say in the government."
- "After all I'm a citizen, and I'm thinking of the welfare of our society. It's and obligation which we must fulfill."
- "To safeguard my interests as a citizen."

How the Nisei feel about War.

There has recently been much questioning of the loyalty of the second generation Japanese in event of war. Although this evidence is not put forth as any proof of their American loyalty, it does indicate what the Nisei themselves think about war and what they think they would do in case war were declared.

One-third of the 133 Nisei interviewed thought war was unnecessary and preventable; 30% thought it was a necessary evil; 21% thought it was never justifiable; 3% thought it was justifiable, and 12% had no opinion.

Those who disliked war greatly and thought it needless: (33 1/3)

- "It's no good for anybody. It causes depressions afterwards and many human beings are sacrificed."
- "Innocent people are needlessly destroyed as well as civilization."
- "It's a helluva means towards personal achievement. Nothing is gained by it."
- "It keeps on making resentment among nations and it never ends."
- "I don't believe in people getting killed off like flies for a useless motive."
- "I'm a pacifist."

"I hate war because it kills off all the young men and and it spoils our chances for marriage. I don't want to be an old maid!"

"Its awful!. I think the world is coming to an end. Look at Europe."

A few comments of those who thought war was a necessary evil: (30%)

"It's just one of those things."

"It might be necessary for Europe, but not for America."

"It is the periodic, natural result of too many people, in the world, and that's inevitable."

"It's necessary for the advancement of civilization rapidly."

"If governments don't agree, war can't be helped."

"Hitlers gotta live too."

"I feel that war is wrong, but sometimes I feel that it can't be helped. The world setup is all wrong, i.e. attitude of nations. There is too much greed and selfishness. The only solution is to apply the principles of Moral Re Armament."

"As long as there is greed in the world, there will be war."

"At times I think it is necessary. It's a fight between the 'Have and have not' nations. Force is the only way to equalize the balance. It's in human nature to fight."

Remarks of some of the 21% of the Nisei who thought war was never justifiable:

"There must be another way to settle problems."

"It can be preventable through Christianity, but it has to be supported by the Real Faith (Brotherhood of Man)."

"If people were less materialistic, there would not be so much war. People should strive to be more idealistic."

"It's a sorry mess; there is a need for mutual trust to be developed between men and between nations."

"War is against the Christian principles."

"War accomplishes nothing and is never justifiable. If you want to kill off people so badly, just put poison in their coffee. It's not so brutal a murder as war."

Only 3% of the youths thought war was justifiable.

"It's justifiable because every war leads to the next war. If one country takes rights away and leaves nothing, the other nation has a right to recover their losses by war or otherwise."

"War is all right if it comes out the right way. Its one way of curing a 'beef' between two countries. The war that is going on now is terrific!"

In response to the question: "In case war were declared, what do you think you would do?", the Nisei youth were fairly definite in their attitudes.

Among the seventy male youths 17% would volunteer at once,

40% would wait for the draft, 17% would fight in case of invasion only, 14% did not know, and 5% would not go under any circumstances.

Those who would volunteer: (17%)

"Oh sure, I would volunteer."
 "You gotta volunteer; but if you have to fight for the Capitolists abroad, I think I would wait for the draft."
 "I'd naturally fight for this country. If there is a war with Japan, I'd fight for the U.S.--I'm an American."
 "If it's between the U.S. and any other country but Japan, I would enlist. But if it's against Japan, I'd stay neutral. I can't fight against my parent's country."

Four out of ten would wait for the draft. (40%)

"I won't go until I'm drafted. What's the use?"
 "I'd wait for the draft. In case of war with Japan I'd be interned."
 "The need for dental students is so great that I'd be exempt from drafts so I'd have nothing to worry about. I would serve in my field if drafted."
 "I'd fight for America, but only if drafted."
 "I'd be drafted. It's our duty to defend our country."
 "We have to prepare ourselves for the worst. I'd be conscripted."
 "War is a racket. I'd probably be drafted."
 "If we are conscripted, we have to go as a citizen. No two ways about it. I'd rather go as it's a duty. But as long as there is a chance for Peace, I will fight for it. When War comes, however, I will go willingly."

17% would fight in case of invasion only:

"Only in case of invasion. I've got a family to support."
 "I'd go providing it was in defense of this country."
 "Only in case of invasion would I fight. In case of war against Japan, I would morally support the U.S."

13% did not know what they would do in case war were declared.

"I would follow the crowd, I guess. If Japan declared war, I'd probably fight for the U.S. I would try to be Neutral."
 "I guess we'd have to go for our country or else they would throw us in jail."
 "I couldn't say now."

And 5% would refuse to go to war under any circumstances.

"Why should I get killed for somebody's ego?"
 "I would go up into the mountains and be a hermit."
 "I'm physically handicapped."

Among the sixty-three Nisei girls interviewed, 69% stated that they would actively and morally support the United States in case of war.

"If we are real citizens, we should morally support the U.S."

"I would support the U.S. if war were against Russia. I'm against Communism as its spread would ruin the world."

"It's my country so I'd support the U.S. even if I don't believe in war."

"I would support the U.S. since I have been reared as an American."

"We are American citizens so we must be loyal."

"War is getting closer everyday. It sort of frightens me. I don't know what I'd do, although I suppose I would support this country when the time came. I hate wars."

9% of the Nisei girls were indefinite as to what they thought they would do in event of war.

"It all depends upon the principles involved."

"I would actively support the U.S., but if the war were against Japan I am not sure what I would do."

8% of the girls preferred to remain neutral in case of war.

14% of the girls had no opinions to express.

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE NISEI.

The Japanese American Citizens' League.

At present although the number of eligible Nisei voters are small, Nisei leaders are carefully laying the groundwork for responsible political activity, and every indication points to the fact that the Nisei will become increasingly active politically.

As the Japanese was one of the last immigrant groups to enter the United States, it was only natural for their American born children to organize in order to deal more efficiently with the special problems with which they are faced. The Japanese American Citizen's League was first organized in 1922 under the name of American Loyalty League here in San Francisco. In Seattle a group at the same time organized under the name of the Seattle Progressive League. Both of these bodies at that time were independent of each other. Branches of the American Loyalty League were established throughout California in the following few months, but this initial movement failed due to the extreme youth and small number of eligible members. There was also a lack of leadership. By 1925 only the Fresno Chapter remained active. (1)

Impetus was again given to the movement in 1928 under more able leadership. This time it was decided to organize a unified national body. The following year the framework for the national organization was presented to a general meeting of delegates in San Francisco. Among the larger Japanese centers represented were San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Stockton, Fresno, and Brawley. At the first biennial national convention

(1) Interview with the National President of the J.A.C.L., Mr. Saburo Kido.

of the League held in 1930 in Seattle, a national constitution was adopted and the national program was formally launched. In 1932 the National Convention met at Los Angeles. San Francisco was the host city in 1934.

Since this time the membership of this organization has increased enormously with many thousands of Nisei reaching majority each year. Throughout California every important Japanese community has a chapter. At the San Francisco national convention in 1934 about 40 chapters from the states of California, Washington, and Oregon were represented. The growth of this organization probably will continue with the present coming of age of the Nisei, and it will no doubt ^{reach} its peak in 1944 after which the increase in membership will be slower. In August 1940, the National Convention was held in Portland, Oregon. Over 1,000 delegates representing 25,000 Niseis from over seventy communities in the states of California, Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah attended the four day Conference to discuss mutual problems and formulate new policies.

Although the Japanese American Citizen's League is called a national body, it is composed chiefly of chapters on the Pacific Coast where the greater body of Japanese reside. Intermountain chapters represented in the League are Salt Lake City and Ogden, Utah; Denver, Colorado; and a group from Idaho. In the near future chapters may be organized in Texas, Illinois, New York, and Washington, D.C.

The national organization is divided into four district councils: Northwest, Northern California, Southern California, and Intermountain. Chapters outside of the territory outlined for these districts have the option of joining the nearest council. District Councils are held in the odd years in their respective territories. The Northern California will hold its next district meeting in San Francisco this year. (1941) With its thirty affiliated chapters, the Northern California District is the most important district council. The San Francisco chapter has over four

hundred and fifty members. The total figures for the national membership are not available, but an estimate given by the general secretary of the organization placed the membership between 8,000 and 15,000.

The fundamental basis of the Japanese American Citizen's League as stated in its National Constitution are:

- (1) Dedicate ourselves to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States.
- (2) Foster and spread the real sense and spirit of Americanism.
- (3) Build the character of our people morally and spiritually on American ideals in the realm of social, economic and political activities.
- (4) Strive for the security of our welfare through unity.
- (5) Sponsor projects to aid in the development and welfare of the American citizens of Japanese ancestry.

What does the J.A.C.L. stand for in the community, the state and the nation in a practical way? This is the question most often asked by those not familiar with the aims and functions of the organization. The purpose of this group is demonstrated along several different lines.

The League represents an intelligent voting citizenry. It attempts to guide its members with an impartial, fair, and just analysis of political issues and candidates. Although it is active in legislative matters at the State Capitol--it fights certain discriminatory bills that arise--it is non-partisan in politics and it is interested in encouraging the exercise of the franchise rights by all citizens of Japanese ancestry. It urges its members to join the two great parties and participate in political campaigns. It does not approve of Communism or Fascism. At the same time, it is natural that those who believe in discrimination on racial grounds will not be endorsed even if the League itself does not oppose any candidate for office.

Constant year-round good citizenship is furthered along a systematic pattern, in which progress can be definitely measured through such mediums as educational, cultural, social, and political meetings.

The League serves as the bureau of information and office of contact between the Japanese community and the larger American public of which the Nisei citizenry is a part. An ambitious second generation development program has been launched. It is its aim to make studies of such problems as juvenile delinquency, vocational guidance, and occupational adjustment. At present only a modest start has been made to study and deal with the ever present problem of occupational adjustment. Its chief programs are outlined to lead the growing generation to become better American citizens.

The national body also strives to protect the Nisei and the first generation against discriminatory legislation, anti-Japanese agitation, and political jingoism by exerting the group influence against un-American persecution, which, unfortunately, still prevails among a small minority of unthinking Californians. Even yet there are occasional stories spread about the threat of the "Japanese" in this state. Alarmists unfortunately believe stories about how 150,000 Japanese are ready to take arms in California against the United States without realizing that the entire Japanese population in the United States does not come up to that figure. Stories of the spy menace among the Japanese fishing boats are greatly exaggerated by some newspapers and national publications.

One Caucasian American interviewed, he owns a large business in San Francisco, stated that he would never hire "Japs" because they could not be trusted. He believed that the Japanese community of San Francisco actually had a plan whereby the two Bridges would be destroyed and vital centers mined at the outbreak of the war which he felt was bound to begin this year.

All of these things show that a real educational campaign to introduce the Nisei citizens to the American public is necessary. This is backed up by disclosing how the Nisei are taking part in American life and to what extent they are supporting the National Defense Program. Thus far almost as many Nisei have volunteered for military service as has been called. The

League naturally would like to present the Nisei as 100% Americans, which they feel they are. In order to combat some of the wild rumors about the Japanese in the United States, the League has taken the initiative and aggressively presented its cause in order to win recognition as loyal Americans in these troubled times.

Much favorable publicity was given to the League movement by the larger newspapers in Oregon and the Associated press during the last convention at Portland in August 1940. For example, the visit of five Nisei to the Farm of Senator Charles L. McNary, the defeated Republican vice-presidential candidate, was widely reported by the press. Pictures showing the Senator showing the group around his famous rose gardens was shown in some newsreels.

The Oregon Daily Journal in an editorial (August 28, 1940) entitled: "They, too, Love this America" had this to say about the Nisei:

".....Able, industrious, law-abiding, and patriotic, some of them American veterans of the first World War, these Nisei have no ties with Nippon save those of history. Their interests are here, their loyalties are here. They are the products of American schools and churches. They have absorbed American culture, have learned to love American freedom. Few of them have ever seen Japan, yet they must face the dual test of Americanism at a time when every American must prove as well as declare his loyalty. The League has done this at their present convention. Such an attitude, such a program, engages understanding cooperation in advance and insures ultimate success for these, our fellow Americans. "

The Portland Oregonian also carried articles and pictures of the convention and the Nisei were welcomed as fellow Americans in an editorial. The radio stations of the northwest also gave time to the convention by interviewing the leaders and broadcasting the special events. A national magazine also publicized the convention. Thus the American public is gradually becoming aware of these new Americans.

Some of the more important resolutions passed by these citizens dealt with their stand on such issues as loyalty to the United States, national defense, alien registration, racial discrimination, and dual citizenship.

In no uncertain words this group reaffirmed without reservation their allegiance to the Constitution of the United States and to American ideals and institutions. They asked for the elimination by Congress of certain restrictive rules so that the Nisei could participate in the armed forces of the United States in the interest of National Defense. The League also favored the Alien Registration Act and offered its facilities to locate the alien Japanese. In regards to racial discrimination, the body favored legislation making it illegal for any labor organization to bar American citizens of Japanese ancestry from membership because of color. Such a bill is now before the state legislature. The League felt that any form of racial discrimination was detrimental to national unity.

check language proposed by is.

For the past few years this organization has been actively seeking to eliminate the dual citizenship status of many Nisei. It has asked them to drop their Japanese citizenship on the basis that they ^{cannot} serve two masters at one time. Since they are Americans, they should be unqualifiedly so. The fact that some Nisei do hold dual status would also create in the mind of the general public doubts as to the loyalty of the Nisei to America.

In the years following 1868, the Japanese government in its westernization movement adopted the European system of claiming the citizenship of all those born of Japanese parentage on foreign soil. "Once a Japanese, always a Japanese, no matter where born" was the Japanese law. This was at variance with the American law that all persons born in this country automatically became citizens of the United States. It is not so commonly known that thousands of children of European immigrants also hold dual citizenship.

Japan made no important concessions in regard to dual citizenship until 1924 when she granted expatriation privileges to Japanese born abroad if they so desired it. The law also provided that all those Japanese children born

in the United States after 1924 would not have Japanese citizenship.

The Japanese American Citizen's League has constantly urged expatriation ; and it now claims that over 80% of the Nisei no longer have dual citizenship. The Japanese Consulates Office gave the information that 55,000 out of 75,000 Nisei no longer had Japanese citizenship. In a few more years the question of dual citizenship will no longer be an issue. Thus, the claims of some publications that all Nisei still retain dual citizenship is misleading.

Other Nisei Political Clubs.

Other political organizations established by the Nisei are the Nisei Democratic Club and the Young Democrats Club. They hold irregular meetings during the non-election years, but are quite active during election years. At these meetings speakers are invited, group discussions are held, and socials and other inducements are given to get the Nisei politically active. There is no Republican party club officially among the Nisei. However, many of the older Nisei and those with businesses tend to be conservative and support the Republican cause. Some of the Nisei organized a "Wilkie for President" Club last year. In the last mayoralty contest Mayor Rossi, the incumbent, spoke before several Nisei groups. Every New Year's he extends a message of greetings by the medium of the Japanese papers to the Nisei. This is part of his message last New Years: (1)

".....We have, in the bay region, many thousands of your people and I am most happy to note that an increasing number of those who are eligible for citizenship have been availing themselves of that privilege..... From my experience as a city official and as Mayor, covering a period of over twenty years, I can say that my contacts and dealing with Americans of Japanese extraction have been most satisfactory.....I trust ever that we shall ever strive to understand one another's point of view, being

sure we cannot go far astray, by being considerate....." It is through such contacts as these that the Nisei will be fairly presented to the public.

Conclusions.

One of the weaknesses of the J.A.C.L according to the leaders and many of the members is that, in its anxiety to prove its loyalty to this country, it tends to overemphasize patriotism with loud fourth of July orations and demonstrations. This, in a way, reveals that it feels insecure and has not yet found adjustment in American society. The demand to be unqualifiedly recognized as an American citizen is fundamentally a defensive measure. The recent convention at Portland, from reports of several of the delegates, is a clear example of this noisy patriotism. Admittedly the Nisei must be aggressive, but in the final analysis loyalty must be demonstrated by more concrete action rather than wordy resolutions. The League, although deeply conscious of the serious economic plight of the Nisei, tend to neglect this phase of its problems. Political activity is the dominant interest.

The Nisei and the J.A.C.L. must realize that their situation, while difficult, is perfectly natural and inevitable. The Japanese are of the most recent immigration and are still in the acute state of adjustment to this country. This country, in turn, is in the same stage of adjustment to the Japanese here. The Nisei have many serious problems, they are marginal people; but more important than this fact is the need for them to see that they are that naturally. To cease being marginal they must proceed from this realization. They must closely analyze themselves for their good and weak points. Then they must start working against their disadvantages. The fact that they exist does not mean that they should resign themselves. They must fight and actively attempt to overcome their basic difficulties.

If the Nisei try to solve their problems through mutual cooperation, something will be done. They must prove themselves first. This is what all

immigrant groups and their children have had to do. The Nisei must face the situation and not seek to dodge the issue and withdraw into an impenetrable "shell", or direct all their energies into mere works--a surface effort at the best.

The Nisei and Racial Discrimination.

Instances of discrimination of racial grounds practiced against young Americans of Japanese ancestry were frequently reported or observed by those interviewed on this subject. Other cases were obtained from the newspapers and special reports of Nisei organizations.

The basis for these discriminatory acts are complex and not inherent in an individual. Children of diverse racial inheritance mingle freely and know no race distinctions. Here in San Francisco as in most cities occidental children play happily with children of oriental ancestry. This is especially true at the Raphael Weil Elementary School on Buchanan Street which has an enrollment of some three hundred Nisei pupils out of a total of nine hundred students. Some of these children of Oriental parentage become so completely fused into the Caucasian group that they are not even conscious of any differences. At any noon hour near the above school, one may observe a mingling of Japanese, Negro, Jewish, Filipino, and other American children at play on terms of equality. Instances of close friendships between Occidental and Oriental children are common and obvious.

The existence of discrimination may be realized gradually or it may come as a sudden shock to a member of a minority group. Many of the young Nisei have had unfortunate experiences which made them aware of the fact that they were "different." Bars were raised against them, and they observed the treatment their Caucasian friends received, which they were denied. In the face of these experiences, many of the second generation Japanese have become over sensitive. They felt that they were being persecuted. Frequently a defense mechanism was developed whereby the individual's personal faults were overlooked and all unfair treatment was construed to be a racial matter. The Caucasian children, on the other hand, were made conscious of the racial difference through environmental influences of various sorts.

The rift between the two groups widen as the 'teen age is entered and the young Nisei accordingly mingle less freely with white children when they come to the realization that they are no longer to be wholly accepted. Caucasian children, on the other hand, develop more prejudice as their contacts with the Nisei becomes less frequent.

One young Nisei youth related that his awakening to racial discrimination was a rude shock which filled him with bitterness and bewilderment at the time. The specific incident in his own words occurred not so long ago in this city:

"I have been going around with the Italian boys so much that I am one of them. I go to their homes, eat with them, go on trips with them, and take part freely in all their activities. In fact, this close association with these boys caused me a great disappointment at one time. The Italian boys and I decided to go to a public swimming pool to have a good time in the plunge and to see who was the best swimmer in our group. We lined up at the ticket office and when I came to the window the girl said she wouldn't sell me a ticket. When I asked her why not, she snapped out that she had orders not to let any 'Japs' into the pool. That made me indignant. I told the boys to go into the plunge and have a good time while I stood by and watched them. I felt this keenly, but concluded it was best to say nothing and act in a courteous manner. I didn't have the slightest idea that I would be treated in this manner; I was perfectly innocent; I was with the boys and never even gave a thought to any such possibilities."

Just prior to the conversion of another pool into an ice skating rink, the ban against swimming in this pool by Orientals was lifted after suit for damages was collected by several Oriental youths. In the use of recreational facilities, cases of discrimination do arise although the better establishments do not seem to draw any racial line.

Several youths related that a particular bowling alley denied them its facilities. One youth said: "A group of us boys entered the bowling

alley and the operator of the place told us to get out as there weren't any pin-boys to set the pins up for us. We told the operator that we would wait until the party that was bowling had finished so that we would then be able to bowl right after them and he would have a pin-boy for us. The operator then said that he did not cater to the Orientals. We started to get very angry, but calmed down and walked out. I was so mad that I could have broken his windows for him! But it would not have done us any good to make a 'fuss' as we would not have enjoyed bowling after that."

In most of the other bowling alleys in San Francisco, the Nisei have equal privileges with the Caucasian American, even in places where Negroes and Filipinos are barred. There is one establishment, however, which restricts the Nisei to its poorest alley, and those desiring to bowl have to wait their turn in this lane even if other lanes are available. If they become insistent and demand one of the available lanes, the operator would charge them thirty cents per game instead of the usual twenty-five cents. The Nisei cannot do anything about this because there is a sign on the wall which states: "Prices subject to change without notice." Certain bar-rooms in San Francisco make this a practice also in order to discourage Orientals--they charge them about fifteen percent higher for the usual drinks served to the public. Some of the barber shops in the downtown district refuse to cut an Oriental's hair, or else they such a sloppy jbb that the customer does not patronize the establishment again.

In such a large city as San Francisco, the opportunity for forming new friendships with Caucasian students are limited due to the departmentalized system in the high schools. The pupils go from one group to another group right through school and there is little opportunity to become well acquainted. Thus, among the Nisei there is a tendency to form friendships within the group. This is evident in all secondary schools and colleges. Those students

who take part in school affairs and in athletics find it much easier to establish new friendships among the Caucasian group. Club activities is another means to create new acquaintenships.

In those schools where the Nisei do not take part in the school activities and do not mix with Caucasian students, there is a tendency for slight discrimination to develop. A case of this sort was that of a high school in San Francisco which arranged the graduated Senior pictures in racial groups last term. The caucasian students were all placed on top, while the Negro and Oriental students occupied the bottom of the picture. This created a delicate situation in the school and aroused the ire of the Japanese parents and students. This term only the Negro students were placed on the bottom of the picture while the rest of the seniors were alphabetically arranged.

In an investigation conducted by the twenty-five chapters of the Northern California Japanese Citizen's League, many instances of racial bias were reported. This study covered theatres, public places, and schools and the committee^{was} headed by Mr. K. Yamada of Oakland.

Eight chapters of the JACL reported the fact of residential restrictions on Orientals. The eight chapters are all in cities of 25,000 or more population and the restrictions seem to have been put into effect twenty or thirty years ago, but have never been lifted. The Committee Report had the following to say in regard to housing restrictions: "In smaller communities there seems to exist a more amiable spirit which in turn fosters better understanding and friendship. Residential restrictions are thus confined to larger cities. Those who are responsible for the restrictions always claim that they are to protect the value of property. In certain sections of San Francisco and Oakland some of those (Nisei) with sufficient financial means have been able to establish their residence in restricted

areas. Real estate brokers in certain cases have unwritten understanding among themselves not to help Orientals locate in certain areas."

This is the case in Berkeley. A year or so ago some excitement was aroused when a Japanese professor at the University of California was refused living quarters near the campus. The matter was not settled until a group of his colleagues put pressure on the property owners to lift the ban in his case. (1) A similar case occurred at Stanford several years ago. Students at the University of California also find it hard to secure suitable living quarters at times. One of the platforms in the recent University elections was on this issue--to lift discriminatory bans against Oriental students in regard to housing.

Seven cases of discrimination practised by the owners of swimming pools in Northern California and a few cases of discrimination in regard to movie theatres and public places was reported by the J.A.C.L. Pressure brought to bear by some of the chapters has succeeded in some cases in averting discriminatory acts.

In some cases outside force was necessary to eliminate discriminatory acts. Such was the case of two Nisei couples who were asked to leave a night club for no definite reason. The matter was reported to the Racial Relations Committee of the Associated Students of the University of California, who brought pressure to bear and finally had the ban lifted. This was only after one of the larger campus fraternities had cancelled a dinner-dance affair at the establishment to show its disapproval. In such a case as this the cooperation and united efforts of a large group was necessary. (2)

(1) Interview with a University of California professor.

(2) Interview with a member of the Racial Relations Committee of the University of California.

Several Nisei stated that in San Francisco there were several hotels which refuse accommodations to Orientals. They are all second rate places. The Nisei have no difficulty in registering at any of the larger first class hotels.

Segregation of Nisei students from white students was reported by some of the students interviewed. One student stated that most of the trouble arose from the fact that in his school over fifty percent of the students were Nisei and some of the caucasian parents resented the success of the Nisei in making sport teams, and in being elected to class offices. He added that as far as the Caucasian students were concerned, there was little difficulty along racial grounds.

The American Automobile Association and the State Farm Mutual Automobile Insurance Company have made it a practice to refuse policies to Japanese. One of the young men who was interviewed stated that he had a policy with the A.A.A., but he believed that he was one of the very few Nisei who had one. The reason he obtained it was because he is the owner of a large garage here in the Japanese community of San Francisco. The reason for this policy of the company was not that the Nisei were such bad drivers, but because the company feared that they would lose any case involving Orientals. Since most of the Nisei are native born and speak good English, there is reason to believe that this ban will be lifted in the next few years. It is understandable that the first generation Japanese would have a little difficulty in making themselves understood in court.

Several other insurance companies make it a practice to charge the Japanese a higher rate of interest for his policy. The reason for this is that the companies fear that if the holder of the policy returns to Japan, it will be difficult and expensive to establish the cause of death.

Some of the larger industrial companies of the Pacific Coast engaged

in National Defense work will not hire a Nisei. In the United States military service, the Nisei are either barred or else restricted to a limited choice-- such as mess boys, cooks, and stewards. Recently a Nisei was asked to resign from the California National Guards because of his race. In the most recent Army Air Corps announcement (March 1941) the following notice was posted: "Openings for Colored or Oriental races are not yet available." This in spite of the fact that the Nisei have supported the present military training program in the Army in great numbers. Over 1,000 Nisei have been drafted up to April of 1941, of which almost fifty percent are volunteers. Thus, about 4% of the Japanese in the United States are now in military training compared to only 1% for the general population. No discriminatory measures have been reported as yet. The Nisei in the Army do not appear to be segregated.

Cases of discrimination in relation to vocational opportunities will be discussed more fully in another section.

How to eliminate discrimination? What is being done to prevent it? Answers to these and other questions are being sought by Nisei and Caucasian organizations interested in the rights of our New Americans. An educational program for the general public is definitely needed, particularly at this time when relations between the United States and Japan are a bit strained.

Mr. John Aiso a Nisei Lawyer in Los Angeles, who led the fight in that city against the discriminatory action of the city council in refusing to approve a residential tract for Nisei home owners, had the following to say in regard to the stand which the the Nisei are taking towards American life: (1)

"It must be remembered that we Nisei are Americans. Educated in

(1) New World Sun, August 7, 1940.

American schools and inculcated with American ideals, we are extroverts with no element of cunning or perfidy erroneously believed to be an Oriental trait. When we go to Japan we are not treated as Japanese. We are looked upon as foreigners and are kept under strict surveillance. In the midst of the new order rising in the Orient, there are no greater staunch defenders of America and her policies than the Nisei.....Our problems are America's problems. For whether you like it or not, we are here to stay. We cannot be deported to other lands so long as the Constitution stands, for we bear allegiance to no foreign sovereign. Asset or liability, we are part and parcel of the population of this country....."

A policy of statesmanship and enlightened principles of social control would seem to point towards treating the Nisei as full-fledged children of America rather than as a burden child.

The Nisei: Economic Adjustments.

Introduction:

The most acute of all the Japanese-American youth problems is that of getting and keeping a job. Two important factors make the economic plight very serious. (1) The Nisei, in common with all youth, face an economic world that has been disrupted from its normal process by the depression and its aftermath. (2) The Nisei are in a position where they are trying to make a group advancement from the lower economic status of the first immigrant generation.

As yet they have had little experience in the labor market. They have had little guidance to direct them into lines of work which are reasonably well paid and adapted to their interests and abilities. It is the object of this section of the study to find out just what the Japanese-American youth are doing in this period of economic adjustment, and whether they are among the more fortunate ones who find employment at the level of their education and technical training, or in what manner they are attempting to solve the problem of our present economic difficulties. It is also our purpose to determine in what occupations the Nisei as a group are employed, and what the employers' attitudes towards this group are. Various attitudes of the Nisei towards work and their community will also be included.

The material for this section of the study has been compiled from personal interviews with a large group of Nisei youths. The form, methods, and techniques used are largely based upon the survey made by the Research Division of the Works Progress Administration. The Maryland Youth survey conducted by the American Youth Commission of 1938 also was quite helpful.

The Works Progress Administration survey of Urban Youth in 1938-39 was prepared by the Urban Survey Section of the Division of Research. It approached the youth problem with a new theory of methodology. Its prime purpose

was to find out the seriousness of the so-called "Youth Problem". However, it felt that a more important purpose was to attempt to record the dynamic process of youth's transition from school to the job. With this purpose in mind, the study was made at the request of the National Youth Administration, which was then confronted with the practical task of assisting young Americans through this difficult period of transition from student to worker. It desired data that would cast new light on this phase of the problem.

The Research Division of the W.P.A., therefore, composed their schedule forms in such a way that the complete experiences of the youth in the labor market would be recorded. In technical aspects, the W.P.A. Survey differed from other youth studies. Instead of taking a sample of all youth between the age groups of 16 and 25, it selected a sample of urban grade school graduates from the schools years of 1928-29, 1930-31, and 1932-33. In this way it obtained an accurate cross-section of the youth who have grown up in the communities studied. The field work of the survey covered eight representative urban sections of the United States, San Francisco being one of the cities included. Data were gathered on the youths' complete series of jobs, periods of unemployment, periods of withdrawals from the labor market, extent of youth education, and other relevant material in order to get a clear picture of this social process of transition. Preliminary results of the study showed that some youths made the transition from school to industry with little difficulty; some, after years of effort, were in dead-end jobs; some were still unemployed. Many were dissatisfied with conditions and constituted a great problem in adequate adjustment.

In studying the Nisei, an effort was made to compare the two groups and to find out in what respects they differed. Identical blanks of the W.P.A. Survey were used with only slight changes in some of the items. Instead of selecting a sample from the school years chosen by the W.P.A., however, a com-

plete (non-sampling) technique was used. In other words, all of the Nisei graduating in the years 1928-29, 1930-31, 1932-33 from the elementary schools of San Francisco, were to be interviewed, if located. Thus any comparison of the two groups will be similar in most respects, except that an allowance must be made for a difference in age of one in each eighth grade class of the Nisei as this group was studied one year later.

The youngest group selected was an Eighth Grade class of 1933. At the time of interview, these boys and girls averaged 20 years of age. These Nisei had had time to finish high school; and if they had entered the labor market, time enough to have spent a year or two seeking work or working. The oldest group of Nisei included in this survey, averaged about 25 years of age at the date of interview. The experiences of this group in the labor market threw much light upon the Nisei problem. The 1931 group averaged close to 22 years of age.

The subjects were obtained from the files of the San Francisco Board of Education and from the graduation lists of the various elementary and Junior High Schools in this city. Out of the thousands of names in the files at the Board of Education, only 260 were of Japanese-American ancestry for the years studied. This reveals the extreme youth of the second generation Japanese. 133 of those graduating in the sample years were interviewed, 38 were definitely found to have left for Japan, and 45 have left San Francisco. 44 were not located. Information from relatives, friends, and acquaintances indicated that those who have left San Francisco did not differ as a group markedly from those who were interviewed. The results, therefore, may be considered a fairly good indication of the problems of the Nisei.

Table

(next page)

Table

	No.	%
Total Nisei sampling	260	100
Nisei interviewed (68 male and 65 female)	133	51.2
Left for Japan	38	14.6
Left San Francisco	45	17
Not located	39	15.2
Deceased	5	2

By year of graduation from the eighth grade, the numbers were as follows:

- 1929 19 out of 40 were interviewed.
- 1931 49 out of 95 were interviewed.
- 1933 65 out of 117 were interviewed.

The 260 total sampling of Nisei students were distributed among 19 elementary schools in San Francisco.

On the schedule forms for the Nisei, complete information was gathered for each individual on extent of education, total series of jobs held, periods of unemployment, hours of work and rate of pay, periods of withdrawals from the labor market, how the jobs were obtained, special difficulties in securing jobs, and plans for the future. On a supplementary sheet attitudes of the Nisei towards their jobs, recreation, church, war, the vote, Japan, and the Nisie youth problem were obtained.

The whole body of data in this survey was gathered during the late summer and early fall of 1940. As the total number to be interviewed was comparatively small, the field work was performed by one interviewer, a Nisei college graduate, in Social Science. This interviewer did not speak Japanese, but this did not constitute a handicap as all interviewing was done in English. The use of a single field worker was of great advantage as the records were thus standardized. Furthermore, the Nisei youths interviewed talked more freely to this interviewer as he was one of their group. Instead of a feeling of suspicion, in most cases, there was a mutual understanding between the interviewer and the youth interviewed. Of the general accuracy of the factual data that was recorded, there can be little

reasonable doubt as there seldom existed any inclination on the part of the Nisei to give false information as they were all assured of strictest confidence in the handling of the material. When points of view were expressed, the interviewer attempted to record it as closely as possible word for word in an objective manner.

The only reward that could be offered the Nisei youths for their voluntary contributions and their time was the hope that perhaps this information would be of help to bring the Nisei problem out to light and some program devised to give adequate counsel to other Nisei like them.

Out of the total number interviewed, there were only a fractional percentage of youth who refused to cooperate. In most cases, the Nisei were vastly interested, not only in their own problems, but also in the problems of their whole group. Often when they started talking, they revealed a surprising knowledge of all phases of the economic status of the second generation Japanese.

The majority of these youths were interviewed in their homes in the evening hours. A few were contacted at their place of work. The rest were found in the neighborhood--Y.M.C.A., Recreation Centers, on the street, and other places where they congregated. Every effort was made to conduct the interview ~~in~~ in privacy in order to get the youth interviewed to talk freely. Each interview lasted about one hour.

Thus, this survey not only found out the present economic status of the Nisei and their problems of transition from school to industry, but also what the Nisei themselves think about their situation.

Proportionally, the number of unemployed Nisei was found to be about the same as for Caucasian youths; but since there were only 14 cases among the 133 interviewed, further study of the unemployed Japanese was undertaken in order to obtain sound information on the unemployment situation among this group.

Two other important circumstances made this necessary. (1) Many of the youths

who were ~~inter~~ included in the survey group could not be interviewed since they had left San Francisco. Relatives and friends of these youths stated that they had left the city chiefly for economic reasons. In most other respects, except employment, they were similar to the rest of the group studied. (2) The number of unemployed youths is greatly increased by the presence in this city of many youths from small towns and the rural districts who are actively seeking work. The trend for the Japanese is for increasing urbanization, with over 60% of the State's Japanese population now centered in the Los Angeles and San Francisco bay area.

Therefore, in order to augment knowledge of the unemployed Japanese a separate study was made of those applying at the California State Department of Employment in San Francisco. There was little duplication in the figures, as only nine of the entire group of 133 interviewed had ever applied at the Employment Service. Most of the Nisei had never heard of the Oriental Department connected with this service. Those who had shrugged it off with a: "Oh, that! The only job they give is domestic work, what's the use?"

The establishment of a separate Oriental Department in the employment service would seem to indicate that the State recognizes that Oriental workers have special ~~px~~ problems. If it were merely for convenience, the state would have also established departments for the Negroes, the Italians, the Mexicans, and all of the other minority groups.

In order to obtain some indication of the status of the unemployed Nisei in relation to the first generation, the first generation unemployed were also included in this section. The study of the Unemployed Japanese will follow the section comparing the W.P.A. survey with the Nisei study.

EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF THE NISEI.

Amount of education.

Of the 133 youths, only 2.3% failed to finish high school; while 60.1% of those finishing high school continued on to college. Ten and one-half percent of this ^{group} were already college graduates. At the time of interview, many Nisei listed as in college will ultimately finish higher as they were still attending classes.

Table Educational level of 133 Nisei.

Last grade completed	No.	%	% completing this or higher grade.
Eighth Grade	0	0	
Ninth Grade	0	0	
Tenth Grade	1	.8	
Eleventh Grade	2	1.5	99.2%
Twelfth Grade	50	37.6	97.7%
13th through 15th Grades	66	49.6	60.1%
16th Grade and over	14	10.5	10.5%
Totals	133	100 %	10.5%

Many of the above group had to quit school after high school graduation or after a year or two in college chiefly for economic reasons. Because of the lower occupational status of their parents, many of these youths had to forego their schooling before they felt that their education was completed. Financially, their parents were unable to support them beyond the high school level. With the development of the San Francisco Junior College in the past few years, the financial load has been lightened a bit as the expense is not so great as at the University of California. Consequently, a greater percentage of youths were enabled to continue by their own efforts.

According to the Nisei themselves, the following were the chief reasons for leaving school for the 103 youths who were not in school when interviewed:

- 49 left because they had to go to work, or look for jobs.
- 11 left because they had to help at home.
- 9 left because of lack of finances.
- 9 left because they had no desire for further education.

- 8 left because jobs were offered to them.
- 5 left because of illness.
- 14 left because they had finished college.
- 7 left because they went to Japan, later to return.
- 1 left to get married.

Six, not included above, left school after high school graduation on account of financial reasons, but subsequently entered college and they are now in the full time school group.

The above indicates, in a very small way, (that inequalities in educational opportunities do exist for all youths as over 70% of the Nisei stated that they would have gone further in school if they had the chance. A few no doubt gave this reason as excuses to themselves for not continuing. Although the rest saw the advantages of continued education, they preferred to get it through work experience rather than from books.

*Racial?
Proportion wanting
college would
seem to be
very large.*

Comparison between Father's Occupation and Child's education

A peculiarity among Orientals was that there was little difference as to the educational level of the group in relation to the occupational status of the fathers. No matter to which occupational group they belonged, the Nisei youth succeeded in obtaining a fairly good education. Personal effort was of greater importance as the children of domestic and unskilled worker parents were proportionately about as well educated as the children of professional people.

Table Occupation of Father and Education of Child.

	No.	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13-15th	16+
Professional and Officials	10				1	3	4	2
Proprietors and Managers	55			1		18	32	4
Clerks	2						1	1
Skilled Workers.	16					5	8	3
Unskilled Workers	11				1	6	3	1
Domestic workers.	32					15	15	2
Not Reported	7			1		3	3	1
Totals	133			1	2	50	66	14

The foregoing table also indicates that parents' occupations for the Japanese are a matter of chance, not natural selection as in the case where opportunities are equal.

Attitude of the Nisei Youth towards School.

To a great many Americans the accumulation of money is the highest mark of social position and success. To Japanese, in general, education is the highest sign of achievement. This value of education was one of the characteristics of the Japanese immigrants passed on to their children here in America.

This emphasis on education is one of the reasons why the Nisei have become so rapidly "Americanized." On the other hand, the resulting cultural gap between the first generation and the Nisei makes adjustments more difficult; breaks from the Oriental culture pattern become more intense. In their democratic education, the Nisei closely ally themselves with American history; similarly, their affinity to Japanese tradition becomes more foreign. George Washington and Abraham Lincoln are much more real to them than Emperor Jimmu or Emperor Meiji. Most Nisei can explain the background of the Civil War in the United States fairly well; but very few of those asked could give an account of the Restoration of the Emperor and the subsequent modernization of Japan.

Because of this strong desire for education, the Japanese have a very high proportion of youths in the age group between 16 and 24 in school attendance. Beyond high school, the interest still continues.

Many Japanese parents make great sacrifices so that their children may graduate from college. If help is not forthcoming, the youth will do it by himself. Another reason for the great desire for an education is that these immigrant parents want their children to be great successes, seeing

that they did not have much chance themselves.

The Nisei, under constant parental urging, have succeeded in making excellent scholastic marks. It is reflected in the general lack of truancy problems among the young Nisei students. Sometimes the temptation for truancy is too great to overcome, especially if the parents are unable to read English. One of the cases related by a college student reveals the ingenuity that his brother used in cutting classes undetected: "My little brother, age twelve, gets away with the darndest tricks. When I was away at college last term, he pulled a 'fast' one on my mother. For one week straight he cut classes because he didn't like the teacher. When the school sent a notice home about his truancy, my brother was asked to read it. He interpreted it for my mother; only he told her that it was just an advertisement for some kind of new soap. Then he carefully wrote a note for the teacher from his mother explaining that he had been kept home on that particular week because it was a Buddhist religious holiday."

In general, however, the Nisei make good records. At the John Swett Junior High School in San Francisco, the Principal stated that 25% of the honor students were Nisei children last term. The Nisei enrollment constitutes only 17% of the total enrollment in this school. At Commerce High School for the last semester, thirty percent of the Nisei in the Sophomore class made the honor roll. Among the Junior and Senior High Schools in Northern California, there were thirty Nisei who were the valedictorian of their respective classes at the commencement exercises on June of 1940. (1)

In the present survey 133 Nisei were asked the question: "Do you feel that your education helped or will help you earn a living?"

Of these:

- 88 considered education of great value.
- 20 considered education of some value.
- 14 considered it of no value.
- 11 were undecided.

(1) New World Sun, June 20, 1940

A few of the favorable comments for education are listed below:

- "You need education to get along."
- "It helps to get a job."
- "Education teaches you to act properly."
- "It helps you to comprehend things and understand problems more."
- "It gives me contact; friends help you in business."
- "You absolutely need at least a high school education nowadays."
- "Education helps me because I took specialized training."
- "Certainly, I can read and write, can't I?"
- "Education will help, especially for Civil Service."
- "Of course, don't be silly!"

Those who considered education of no value gave the following reasons:

- "Common sense will do everything."
- "No, because I only took the required subjects."
- "No, I know everything practical already."
- "Anybody can do domestic work."
- "Dumb college guys don't get jobs now. Waste time going."
- "Education doesn't help much. All my classmates were real smart, but they are still working down on Grant Avenue."

Educational Training of the Nisei.

In high school, the Nisei took or received little training of specific vocational value according to their own statements. Of the fifty Nisei who finished only high school,

- 33 took a general or academic course.
- 11 took a commercial course
- 3 took a mechanical training course.
- 1 took a music course.
- 1 took a domestic science course.
- 1 took a natural science course.

After high school, those interviewed began to specialize more. The group spread out over twenty-three different fields. Including those who have yet to complete their training, there were eighty-one Nisei in this group. They were distributed as follows:

Commerce	30	Hotel management	1
Engineering	12	Bacteriologist	1
Liberal Arts	9	Jeweler	1
Designing	5	Dental Technician	1
Political Science.	3	Music Teaching	1
Pharmacy	3	Psychology	1
Social Work	2	Art Picture Mounting	1
Pre-Dental	2	Natural Science	1
Landscape architecture	2	Beauty Operator	1
Electrical engineer	1	Commercial Art	1
Paint Production	1	P.E. Director	1

THE NISEI ENTERS THE LABOR MARKET.

Age of entry into the labor market.

Most of the Nisei interviewed were fully conscious of the difficulties encountered or to be encountered in securing steady work. However, those who finished only high school did not give much thought to the actual preparation for work. The fault may lie in the educational system inasmuch as most of the high schools in San Francisco only give general and academic courses.

The average age of the Nisei who entered the labor market for the first time was 19.2 years for both sexes. This included all those who had at one time or another worked for a period of one month or more. The youngest to start working regularly was fourteen years old; while the oldest to enter the labor market for the first time was twenty-five. Twenty-six of those interviewed have never worked. These are mostly college students. When they finally do enter the labor market, the average age of entry into the labor market will be raised slightly.

The Nisei have entered the labor market at an older age than the average white youth because a greater percentage of them have remained in full time school. Another factor was that jobs were more scarce and difficult to obtain for the untrained and inexperienced Nisei youth. Eleven of the youths entered the labor market under seventeen years of age, chiefly in domestic work.

Initial period of Unemployment after leaving school.

About one-half of the Nisei youth who had entered the labor market received a private job of some sort within one month after leaving school. Many continued on a full time basis with part time jobs held while in school. This was particularly true of many of the young Nisei girls in domestic work. Youths who had parents owning a small store went to work for their fathers while looking around for another job; many of these remained permanently in

these positions. A few already had jobs promised by their old employer for whom they had formerly worked on a part time basis.

Due to the lack of experience, plus other factors, twenty-six percent of the group interviewed had to wait much over six months after leaving school to find work. The jobs they finally did obtain, as will be revealed later, were more or less of a temporary nature. They still hoped to get a better job. They shift from job to job with periods of unemployment in between. There was also considerable movement in and out of the labor market, broken by intervals in full time school.

Table Average period of initial unemployment after leaving school.

	No.	Percent
Less than one month	47	47%
1 to 3 months	16	16%
4 to six months.	11	11%
7 to 11 months.	10	10%
One year and over.	16	16%
Total	100	100%

How the Nisei Youth Learned of Jobs.

According to the experiences of those interviewed, the best way to get a job was through "pull." This was especially true of the Japanese where family connections were of great importance in finding work, mediocre as the job might be. Almost all of the available jobs in this community were obtained by this method. Of the combined 267 jobs held at one time or another by this group, 169 or 63.3% were through the sources of family, friends or relatives!

The greatest single source was through friends. This method accounted for 40% of all jobs. Because of the scarcity of work, even "dead end" jobs were highly competed for and those who got the "tip" from friends first were able to make the first applications. Thirteen percent of the jobs were obtained through personal effort. Four percent of the youths obtained work because they knew the "boss" through previous work experience with him.

Nine and one-half percent of the jobs were in the small establishments of the youth's father or relative. The family and relatives directed the Nisei to nine and one-half percent of the jobs. Japanese private employment agencies found work for 13%, chiefly in the domestic field. Three percent were self employed. Japanese newspaper advertisements, school placement bureaus, and promotions accounted for eight percent of the jobs.

Table How Nisei learned of jobs.

Source	Male	Female	Both
Friend	57	50	107
Personal application	29	6	35
Employed in father's business.	18	2	20
Private Japanese agencies.	9	26	35
Japanese newspaper ads.	4	9	13
Self employed.	7	1	8
Through father	3	2	5
Through other relatives.	10	11	21
In relatives business	5	1	6
Knew the boss	8	2	10
Placed by school	2	4	6
Through promotion.	1	0	1
Total jobs.	153	114	267

Special Difficulties faced by the Nisei in Finding Jobs.

Twenty-seven percent of the Nisei youths reported that they had no special difficulty in finding work. This included many of those who were working in their father's or some relative's small business establishments. None, however, was satisfied with his job, as he felt that the work would lead him nowhere. The most common complaint was that although jobs of some sort were available, they did not pay enough. As one youth put it: "The place is filthy with jobs, but they don't pay you for working. They think the exercise is enough compensation." And: "Jobs just came to me but they were all just plain work."

The most important factor in the failure of the Nisei to find work was in their opinion: "I just didn't have any experience." This complaint is common to all American youths in the present labor market. Coming out of school, these youths have had to compete for jobs in an already overcrowded

Special Difficulties.

labor market against more experienced adults.

Some of the typical comments made by the Nisei youth reveal the importance of previous experience for obtaining work:

- "They don't take greenhorns; they like experienced men."
- "I can't take jobs where they make a sucher out of you."
- "There are such few openings for Nisei high school girls."
- "I'm still marking time. Just can't get experience for a decent job."
- "I guess I'm a misfit. No experience, no job; no job, no experience. So what?"
- "I can always get a Japanese slave job, but no decent work is available with my limited experience."
- "They want older men."

A significant factor was that 15.7% of the Nisei considered racial discrimination as the chief difficulty in not securing jobs. This reason may not be so important as it appears on the surface, as many of the youths admitted that the factors of experience and availability of jobs may have been more important. Psychologically, it is important, as the Nisei feel it is so, since many of them may become totally disillusioned with the failure to find work and not realize that economic factors are equally as important as discrimination. The growing tendency of the Nisei blaming discrimination as the cause of all their problems may eventually result in this group becoming useless members of our society. Some of the comments made were as follows:

- "Because I was a 'Jap', they wouldn't give me a job."
- "I got tired looking for work because they said 'no' too many times."
- "Americans only hire the Nisei if it is profitable to use a Japanese for the Japanese trade."
- "No use going. No jobs for Japanese."
- "I tried to get an office boy job downtown, but they wouldn't give it to me. They told me it was already taken. But the notice was still on their bulletin board two days later. I think it was discrimination."
- "Japanese secretaries are not employed except by Japanese firms."
- "I can't get a job in an American firm in my line (radio engineering) I know because I have tried."
- "The door of opportunity here is closed against me because they think I'm an 'Alien!'"
- "American places don't hire Nisei beauty operators."
- "I worked in an American place once and so many customers complained about that 'damned Jap' that the boss put me down in the basement. I couldn't take this, so I quit."
- "Guess I will have to go to Mexico to get a job. The peons won't mind a 'Jap' competing against them."

Special Difficulties.

Fourteen and eight-tenth percent desired further specialized training as an aid to finding a job. Many felt that the lack of training prevented them from working steadily. They realized that if their group had specialized training, they could make easier economic adjustments. Some were doubtful whether even training would make any difference and indicated that they might be forced to go to the Orient in order to use their specialized training, although they preferred to remain here.

Fourteen percent felt that there were just no jobs open, so that they had to take what they could get. The sentiment was expressed that the Nisei would eventually have to take the most mediocre jobs until economic conditions were more favorable.

The other twelve percent gave lack of education, lack of pull, physical handicaps, and "too much union" as their greatest handicaps in finding suitable work.

"Nisei haven't a chance to get into unions in such a union town as San Francisco."

"You need to have a 'pull' even to get work in Japanese firms."

"The only Nisei that will get ahead are those with rich parents and pull. The rest will just have to plug along in America. Probably one out of fifty will get ahead."

"I haven't got enough education. I guess I'll keep saving until I drop. I'm all tied up with my family."

Table Special difficulties reported by the Nisei in finding jobs.

	Male	Female	Both
No difficulties.	17	14	31
Inexperience.	9	9	18
Lack of training.	7	10	17
Discrimination	7	11	18
Lack of education.	5	0	5
"No jobs open."	13	3	16
Lack of pull.	3	4	7
Physical handicaps.	1	2	3
Totals	62	53	115

Present Employment Status of Nisei Youth.

At the time of interview, in the late summer and fall of 1940, sixty percent of all the Nisei were working at some sort of private employment. Reliable sources indicated that many of those not interviewed left this city because they could find no work, which might influence some of the other figures in this survey but not so much as to distort the facts. Those not working at private employment were chiefly in the school group. Since there are so many Nisei still in the student group (23%) and since so many of them have left this city for economic reasons, the unemployment figure is but 11%.

Table Status of the 133 Nisei Interviewed

	No. Male	No. Female	Both
Not working in private employment	29	24	53
Students	20	10	30
Unemployed	8	1	9
Helping at home	0	5	5
Housewife	0	6	6
Illness	1	1	2
Other reasons	0	1	1
Nisei in Private Employment	39	41	80

A comparison with other youth surveys would indicate that the Nisei were better off and becoming more easily adjusted economically than the average caucasian youth. The United States Educational Survey of 1935 found 41% of all youth in private employment; the Works Progress Administration Survey of Urban Youth of 1939 found 56%; the Maryland youth Survey of 1938 found 56% of all youth in private employment; and this present study for Nisei Youth found 60% of the total interviewed now in private employment. The National Defense program has considerably opened up the opportunities for work for Caucasian youths in the labor market, but it has not materially affected the Nisei youth yet.

THE EMPLOYED NISEI

Nisei Occupations.

Of the 80 Nisei now employed on full time jobs, 63.8% worked in two broad occupational groups, domestic and personal service workers and sales and clerical work. The salesman group was composed almost wholly of the Nisei youths employed by the small art goods stores in Chinatown. A few worked for the larger companies. The girls of this group did both sales and secretarial work. The domestic and personal service workers were chiefly houseworkers. There was only one professional person in the entire group. Twenty-five percent were working in the generally lower paid occupational fields of unskilled and semi-skilled work.

Table The Occupations of the Nisei Youth.

	Male	Female	Both
Professional persons.	1	0	1
Proprietors, managers, and officials	7	1	8
Office and sales workers	16	15	31
Semi-skilled and skilled workers	5	5	10
Unskilled workers	6	4	10
Domestic and personal service	4	16	20
Totals	39	41	80

Nisei working for American Employers.

Twenty-nine or 36.3% of the 80 Nisei in full time work were employed by American employers. However, 69% of the twenty-nine workers were engaged in domestic work. Only four out of the entire eight Nisei were members of an American labor union. They were one blueprint helper, two dressmakers, and one stockgirl. The highest weekly salary received any of these four was \$20.00. None of the fifty-one Nisei working for Japanese employers was in a union. Besides domestic work, the Nisei in American companies were engaged as truckdriver, dressmaker, seamstress, secretary, typist, stockgirl, blueprint helper, and boxer—one of each.

Comparison of the wages and hours of work.

Much of the discontent of the Nisei in relation to their jobs arose from the low wages they received for long hours of work.

The last full time employment previous to the date of being interviewed was included to obtain the following data. Those who held part-time jobs were not included. Those who worked for their parents, according to their statements, received no definite salary, but received an average of from ten to fifteen dollars weekly, plus room and board so they were placed in the full time working group. For those domestic workers who received board and room and other non-money items as part payments of their jobs, an arbitrary sum of twenty-five dollars a month was added to their cash earnings in order to take these items into consideration whenever obtained. The sum of twenty-five dollars is what the W.P.A. urban youth survey added for domestic workers in its study.

It was found that the average wage for full-time Nisei workers was \$14.50 per week. Seven out of ten youths received from \$10.00 to \$20.00 per week. The average hours of work for the Nisei youths was fifty per week. Three out of ten of those employed worked 60 or more hours per week.

The young Nisei men received an average weekly wage of \$16.81 for an average 53 hour week; while the young Nisei women earned an average of \$12.20 for an average 48 hour week.

Table Weekly wages of the Nisei who worked 25 or more hours per week.

Salary	Male	Female	Both	% of the total
\$0 to 5	0	1	1	.9%
6 to 10	3	10	13	12.
11-15	15	26	41	36.6%
16-20	24	12	36	33.3%
21-25	14	1	15	14.5%
Over \$25	3	0	3	2.7%
Totals	59	50	109	100. %

Some of the jobs reported were of a seasonal nature, but assuming that the employed Nisei youth received pay for fifty-two weeks a year, the highest yearly income would be but \$1500 and the lowest would be \$364 The average fulltime employed Nisei youth would get an yearly salary of \$750, or \$60.00 per month.

The employed Nisei youth were worked an excessive amount of hours, according to present standards, for the small weekly salaries which they received. Of those working in 1940 on a full time basis, 92% of the young men and 80% of the young women in the Japanese community worked more than 44 hours a week. In fact, 44% of all the Nisei men and 14% of all the Nisei women worked 60 or more hours per week. The average San Francisco white urban youth, according to the W.P.A. Survey, worked an average 43 hours per week for an average salary of \$20.06.

Table Average hours worked by the Nisei, per week.

hours	Male	Female	Both	% of the total.
Less than 30 hours	1	3	4	3.6%
30-34	2	5	7	6.3
35-39	2	2	4	3.6
40-44	2	7	9	8.2
45-49	11	15	26	23.8
50-54	13	6	19	17.6
55-59	8	5	7	6.3
60-64	8	5	13	12.
65-69	2	0	2	1.7
70 hours and over	16	2	18	16.5
Totals	59	50	109	99 ± %

NISEI NOT IN THE LABOR MARKET

Forty percent of the youths were not privately employed at the date of the interview. Many of them were out of the labor market entirely. The largest group not actively seeking work at present were those who were still in full time school. They constituted twenty-five percent of the youths interviewed. Some were working part time to earn their way, while others obtained financial aid from their parents. All of them were fairly certain that they would complete their college education even though some had to rely upon summer agricultural labor to pay part of their tuition expenses. This group was fortunate in living at home where there are so many excellent colleges in the Bay Area. Some of these students have worked several years between high school and college and have now returned to complete their

Nisei Not in the Labor Market.

education. Some of the other youths now in full time employment will undoubtedly rejoin the student group when they have accumulated sufficient funds.

Eleven percent of the group were unemployed or helping at home without any remuneration except their keep. Only a small percentage were ill, or for other reasons were out of the labor market. None was found on government relief or working on a government work project, such as the W.P.A. None interviewed was in Civil Service.

The Nisei youths were not getting married at an early age. Only seven women among the 133 interviewed were married. Among the men, there were only five married. The married women withdrew from the labor market, although some of them worked in their husbands's businesses. Because of the low wages received by the group, the Nisei youth under twenty-five could not get married. They were delaying marriage because economic circumstances would not permit them to set up a household of their own on their meager earnings. Most of the young women intended eventually to get married, but they realized that the young men in their age level could not afford to marry until they became better adjusted economically. Consequently, some of the young women were going ahead with plans for a career.

Comparison of the Caucasian Urban Youth with the Nisei Youth.

Similarities and differences among the Nisei youth and the youth of the seven survey cities of the W.P.A. study, and the white youth of San Francisco are shown in the following tables. As this study was made a year later than the W.P.A. studies, the Nisei as a group are a year older than the youths of the previous study.

The Nisei youth had the highest proportion of youths who finished high school, with the San Francisco caucasian youth second. The Nisei also had the lowest proportion of youths who entered the labor market on a full time basis at seventeen years of age or under. Although the Nisei youth had the greatest amount of education, they also left school more frequently because of financial reasons. It is hard to account for this inconsistency except that many of the Nisei youths went i to domestic work where they could continue school after saving a little capital. Another factor may be that the Nisei had fewer occupational opportunities than the Caucasian urban youths and consequently they preferred to continue with their schooling rather than remain idle.

The San Francisco urban youth left school for financial reasons less frequently than other urban youths. They were also paid higher wages than other urban youths in private employment. The Nisei youths, excluding the Birmingham Negro youths, were paid the lowest wages.

The unemployment proportion was about the same for all groups. There were no Nisei found on government relief or work programs compared to 3% for urban youths. Four out of ten Nisei youths were still in college or trade schools compared to one out of ten for the urban cities. Proportionately, three times as many urban youths were married as Nisei youths.

Table Comparison of Urban Youth Survey of W.P.A. (1939) with Nisei Youths (1940) of San Francisco.

	7 Urban cities	% of total S.F. Youth	Nisei Youth
Finished High School	62%	69%	97.7%
Left school because of financial reasons.	48%	38%	49 %
Currently employed on full time private jobs.	56	58	60
Unemployed.	10	10	11
Work relief Programs.	3	Not reported	0
In full time school.	11	Not reported	25
Not seeking work for other reasons.	20	Not reported	4
Average weekly earnings of employed youth.	\$17.19	\$20.06	\$14.50
Average hours of work weekly.	43	43	50
Average age of entry into labor market.	18	18	19.2
Entry into labor market at 17 years of age or under.	31%	24%	9%
Percentage of total married.	27	Not reported	9

The Nisei Youth had to wait longer for a job; and when they finally got a position, they had to work much longer and got paid much less than the Caucasian urban youth.

Table Comparison of initial period of unemployment after leaving school.

	White urban Youth	Nisei Youth
Less than one month	55%	47%
One to six months.	25%	27%
Over six months.	20%	26%

All youths experienced similar special difficulties in finding employment. Racial discrimination was more important to the Nisei as a reason for failure to find work than for the Caucasian youth. Many of the cases where the Nisei blamed race were no doubt largely due to the economic conditions. Even so, discrimination does exist and it was an element peculiar to the Nisei group, except, of course, for the Birmingham Negro youth.

About the same proportion of youths in all groups was currently working in private employment of some sort. Occupationally, the Nisei youth were in much greater proportion in the lower occupational level, one out of four being in the domestic and personal service class of workers. This may account partly for the lower wages received and the longer hours spent at work.

Table Comparison of the Present occupation of urban youth with the present occupations of Nisei youth. (Both Sex)

	Urban Youth	Nisei Youth
Professional	3.4%	1.2%
Proprietors, managers, and officials.	2.5%	10.
Clerical workers.	44.3%	38.8%
Semi and skilled workers.	32.7%	12.5%
Unskilled workers.	6.	12.5%
Service occupations.	11	25%
	-----	-----
	99.9%	100 %

The work histories showed that the transition from school to industry was more difficult for the Nisei than for the white urban youth. After years of effort, many were engaged in temporary work, dead end jobs, unemployed, or in work paying sub-standard wages. Most of the Nisei expressed dissatisfaction with their jobs, but were still hopeful of entering better employment. This problem of adjustment was typical of both groups compared.

Characteristics of the Unemployed Japanese Applicants at the Oriental Division of the California State Employment Service. (January 1938 To May 1941.)

The Oriental Division of the San Francisco branch of the California State Employment Service has only within the past two and one-half years been made use of by the Japanese. The data for the group studied were taken from the files of the applicants over this period from January 1938 until May 1941. The Oriental Department has not attempted to separate the cards into yearly files, although over 90% of the Japanese applicants have registered in 1940 and the first half of 1941.

Instead, the files are classified occupationally with no separation of the Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, or Hawaiian workers into racial groups. The practice has been to divide the cards into two separate sections, active and inactive files. The original application form is placed in what is known as the active files until a period of over ninety days without reapplication passes, after which the card is removed to the inactive lists. This card lists the applicant's marital status, nationality, former employment record, education, abilities, number of years in San Francisco, personality, comments by the interviewer, plus a few other bits of relevant data about the individual.

When the office receives a call for a worker, the staff goes through the active files to the section under which that type of work is classified e.g., salesmen, housekeeper, and so forth. The best qualified applicant is then sent to the prospective employer. If he obtains the position, his card is then placed in the inactive files. Later this card may be again placed in the active files if the individual applies again for a job or registers for unemployment compensation.

Data from both the active and inactive files has been included in this study. Of the total of 10,500 applications at the department, 654 or 6.3%

were Japanese. (327 of these were in the active lists and 327 were in the inactive files.)

Occupational Groups.

The following table shows the major occupational classifications by the employment service interviewer (based upon requests, skills, education, etc.) of the Japanese applicants in the present files of the oriental department.

Table

Division of the 654 Japanese applicants into Occupational Groups.

	No.	Percent.
Domestic and Personal Service	275	42%
Professional and Commercial	217	33.3%
Industrial	162	24.7%
Totals	654	100%

Age.

There was a wide difference in age between the American born and the foreign born Japanese applicants. The Nisei's mean age was between twenty and twenty-four years, the youngest being seventeen and the oldest thirty-two. The foreign born, on the other hand, had a mean age near fifty years, with the oldest being seventy-four and the youngest in this group thirty-two.

Sex.

Thus far, more male applicants have taken advantage of the employment service than females. There were 404 or 61.7% males to 250 or 38.3% female applicants.

Birthplace.

Three-fourths of the Japanese applicants to the employment service were American citizens. The large numbers of the Nisei indicates that the second generation is rapidly reaching its majority. It will not be very many more years until the first generation will become too old as an active working group. Each year larger numbers are passing into the retired ranks and a much larger number of Nisei are entering the labor market for the first time.

Table

Birthplace of 654 Japanese Applicants.

Birthplace	No.	Percent.
California	401	62/8%
Japan	164	25.1%
Hawaii	57	8.7%
All other states	32	3.4%
Total	654	100%

Birthplace and Occupational Level

The majority of the first generation Japanese have registered for the lower economic fields of work, while the Nisei are attempting to enter the "white collar" fields of work in increasing numbers.

Table Relation of Birthplace to Occupational Classification.

	American born		Japan born		Total	
	No.	Percent.	No.	Percent	No.	Pct.
Domestic workers	172	61.5%	103	37.5%	275	100%
Industrial workers	123	77.3%	39	22.7%	162	100%
"White Collar" workers	195	89.9%	22	10.1%	217	100%
Total	490		164		654	

Characteristics of Unemployed JapaneseNumber of Years in San Francisco.

One of the most surprising findings was newness of the entire group to San Francisco. Out of the 654 cases on the files, 443 or 67% of the applicants have been in this city less than 15 years. Of those in San Francisco more than fifteen years, 67 were born in Japan. Thus, only 144 or 22% of the applicants could possibly be considered as being born in this city. This is less than one-fourth of the entire group. It appears that the Japanese are tending towards urbanization in increasing numbers.

Table. Average Number of Years in S. F. of 654 Applicants.

Years	No.	Percent.
Less than 5 years.	333	50.9%
5 to 9 years.	54	8.3%
10 to 15 years.	211	32.3%
Total	654	100%

Marital Status.

Table Marital Status of 654 Japanese Applicants.

	No.	Percent.
Single	499	78%
Married	155	22%
	---	---
Total	654	100%

The data for the marital status of the Nisei alone showed that only 49 or 11% of this group were married, while 386 or 89% of their total were single. Among the Hawaii born Nisei there was a greater proportion of married applicants since they were a little older than the U. S. born Nisei as a group. Of the 57 Hawaii born Nisei, fourteen or 26% were married, with the rest being single.

The largest group of married Japanese, therefore, were the foreign born Japanese applicants. This group was the only one to have less single individuals, 70, than married, 94. Of the 57.4% married foreign born Japanese, there were many that stated that they were now widowed or separated.

Technical abilities.

In most cases, training of some sort was considered as evidence of technical ability by the applicants and the interviewer. Most of the 250 applicants who professed skills were listed in the "white collar" group. However, there were a number of others who had received technical training of some sort, but they were unable to find work in that line and consequently had received classification where more openings were available. The majority of those with training of some sort were Nisei applicants. It follows, therefore, that the problem of finding suitable work to utilize the technical abilities concerns chiefly the large numbers of the second generation applicants.

Education

The data on the educational attainment of the applicants was not completely available. Numberless answers received were, for example: "received some education," "schooling in Japan," "Elementary education," "High school," "College," and "College graduate." In many cases there was no way of determining the exact grade completed. A large number of the applicants were still in school at the date of the application.

Most of the group who failed to get beyond the elementary school consisted of the foreign born applicants, who had left their native land at an early age and presumably did not have a chance to complete their formal education. Some of the Nisei domestic workers had applied for work in order to further complete their schooling. One out of every ten applicants was a college graduate. Four of the applicants had done university graduate work. Eliminating the Japan born applicants, the figures revealed that five out of every ten Nisei applicants had completed one or more years of college work.

Table Educational Attainment of the 654 Japanese Applicants.
No. Percent.

	No.	Percent.
0 through 8th grade.	128	18%
9th through 12th grade.	259	39.3%
13th through 15th grade.	187	31.7%
College graduates and over.	80	12 %
Total	654	100%

Previous work experience.

One-hundred and thirty of the 654 applicants were entering the labor market for the first time. Most of these applied in the "white collar" fields upon the completion of their formal education. The field where the majority had had previous work experience was in service occupations where many had been employed during the course of their schooling. All of the 164 Japan born applicants had had previous work experience.

Analysis of the 275 Unemployed Applicants in Domestic and Personal Service Work.

These workers were spread out in eleven fields of work as shown in the table below.

Table Occupational Classification of 275 Applicants in Domestic and Personal Service Work.

	No.	Percent.
Housekeepers	75	27.1%
Houseboys	67	24 %
Cook	63	23 %
Janitor	24	9%
Chauffeur	12	4.5%
Kitchen Helper	10	3.3%
Waiter	8	2.7%
Gardener	8	2.7%
Dishwasher	6	2.1%
Butler	2	.8%
Maid	2	.8%
Total	275	100%

Over 90% of this entire group were eventually placed by the oriental employment department.

Almost all of the houseworkers were young Nisei girls. They have had no special training in any kind of work so they have gone into this field as the easiest means of making money. The majority of them have been in San Francisco less than five years. They have come into this city from small towns and country homes in order to help out with the family finances, or merely to be occupied until they get married, or else to search for prospects.

Not all of these girls were from out of town. There were a number who have lived in San Francisco all of their lives. They have gone into housework without premeditation. Many started as schoolgirls and worked part time in families. After graduation from high school, they found that they had no experience in any occupational work, except domestic work. Consequently, they just continued in this field on a full time basis. Many went on into Bus-

iness College after having done some housework and took a commercial course ; but as yet we have no definite data on how they have become adjusted into the business world. It is true that the Japanese community could absorb only a small number of these trained girls and usually the wage scale was lower than in the Domestic field. With no openings available, the rest drifted back into housework.

The educational level of this group was rather high. Most of the girls were fairly intelligent, neat and possessed a pleasing personality as noted on the application cards by the interviewer. A number still attended college or business schools. Of the 75 housekeeper applicants, eight were college graduates and eighteen had completed one or more years of college work. Three Japan born girls failed to get beyond elementary school. The rest were Nisei girls and these forty-six were all high school graduates.

Put in another way twelve out of twenty housekeeper applicants were high school graduates and the other seven were in college or college graduates.

Less than one girl in twenty failed to get beyond grammar school.

Houseboys.

Out of the 67 applicants in this work, only eleven of them were Japan born. This indicates in a small way that the second generation are entering this work in increasing numbers. A large number of the first generation houseboys have served in the same position for many years and have become a fixed part of certain households. It is only the newer arrivals into San Francisco who were making these applications. Many of these were Kibei, American born but Japan educated, returning from Japan because of the present Far Eastern difficulties. Only fourteen of the 67 applicants have lived in San Francisco more than 10 years. Most of the applicants were single, only seven out of the total stated that they were married, and two of these were widowed.

All of the ten Japanese born applicants failed to get through grammar

school. These men were working at full time jobs with an average wage of around \$35 a month previous to their registration. Of the 56 Nisei applicants, twenty-five were high school graduates, twenty-four were still in college and desired work in a home in order to help finance themselves, and five were college graduates. One of the college graduates, after being unemployed for months, was referred by the oriental department to a dishwasher job at \$12 per week, which he accepted. Another of the college graduated applicants for housework was an Hawaiian born Nisei, 28 years of age. He had been a reporter and editorial writer for a Japanese paper in Los Angeles at \$70 per month for a year previous to his application at the Oriental Department.

A University of Utah graduate came to San Francisco two years ago looking for an opportunity to do newspaper work. He became an editor of a new Japanese language paper, but it failed after several months. For the next year, this Nisei worker for another Japanese newspaper at a salary of \$60 per month. Since this job, up to the date of application at the oriental department, this youth did odd jobs and worked as a houseboy with a salary of \$9 a week. The other two college graduates, who had been out of school for two years, had never held a regular job.

On the whole, this group was young, the average being around 22. Therefore, they had had little experience in other lines of work.

Cooks

Eighteen of the 63 applicants were women. Almost all were of the first generation group; only eighteen were Nisei applicants. Forty-one of the applicants who had been in this city over 10 years were fairly well established in their own homes. They commuted to their place of employment. Twenty-nine were married and had children. Over half of the Japan born applicants in this group did not get beyond elementary school. The average age of the cook applicants was over 40.

The majority of these applicants had been working steadily for a number of years. One cook worked twenty-four years in the same private family.

He had to find a new position because of the death of his old employer. Another cook had forty years of experience. The average years of experience for cooks in this study was from ten to twenty-five years. The average wage was around \$65 per month. The chances of obtaining a position were good for one who had had little experience. The oriental department had little difficulty placing this group. One younger cook was placed on the W. P. A. at \$60 a month, but this was only temporary. The lowest paid placement was a cooking job in a family for \$30 a month. Most of the Nisei in this group were high school graduates. but their experience was limited to relatevely few months.

Others

Some of these workers had technical experience and abilities in other lines of work. For example, a Nisei chauffeur, 23 years old, and a college graduate in commerce worked in a Japanese office for \$50 a month for one year. The last two years previous to the application, he had been chauffeur at \$60 a month, plus room and board.

One of the more fortunate was a young 23 year old Nisei singer in a Chicago Night Club. The work was only temporary, so between engagements, she took a job as a houseworker in San Francisco.

Several of the dishwashers with college educations had had experience working as salesmen in Grant Avenue stores but the salaries had been small, less than \$55 a month. These are but a few examples of the poor occupational adjustments the Nisei must face.

Summary of the Domestic and Personal Service Group.

There were 163 male applicants and 112 female applicants in this classification.

There were 103 foreign born Japanese to 172 American born applicants in this group. Thus, the second generation are already displacing the Japan born in large numbers for this type of work. In a few more years, at the present rate, the Japan born will definitely be in the minority.

The group as a whole were comparative newcomers into San Francisco, the majority having been in this city less than ten years.

Only among the first generation workers do we find the majority married. (77 out of 103.) Their presence in this occupational division gives the domestic workers the greatest proportion of individuals in the whole application group enjoying matrimony.

Only the domestic workers, as a whole, listed few technical skills beyond formal education. Those who did possess ability had little chance to develop it because of the restrictions upon vocational choice.

The educational achievement of this group of workers was rather high. Only the foreign born Japanese failed to receive education beyond the elementary school.

The average age of the group was low with but few having much previous experience in any line of work.

This group had the largest percentage of placements. All of the placements made by the oriental department dealt solely with this occupational class. Over 90% of the domestic workers registered were eventually placed by the department. The native born were more easily placed than the foreign born. Houseworkers, houseboys, and cooks had the best chances for obtaining a position through the oriental employment service.

Analysis of 162 unemployed Industrial workers and laborers applying at the
Oriental Department.

The Industrial group is composed of those workers who are engaged in the trades, and production work. For the purposes of this study, unskilled laborers, general workers, and seamen were included in this group.

The industrial workers, on the basis of their application cards, were divided into the following work classifications:

Table Occupational Classification of 162 Japanese Industrial Workers

Classification	No.	Percent.
Dayworker	51	32.8%
Laborers	19	11.2%
Laundry workers	18	11%
Cannery workers	12	7.7%
Delivery men	9	5.4%
Beauty Parlor Operators	9	5.4%
Seamstress	9	5.4%
Truck drivers	8	4.8%
Mechanic	7	4.3%
Painter (house)	4	2.4%
Newspaper machine wks.	4	2.4%
Cooper	2	1.2%
Seamen	2	1.2%
Service Station Attendent	2	1.2%
Bartender	1	.6%
Longshoremen	1	.6%
Florist worker	1	.6%
Oiler	1	.6%
Shoe repairman	1	.6%
Butcher	1	.6%
Total	162	100%

A dayworker is an unskilled laborer who hires himself out by the hour to do any type of work. Theoretically, these workers should be listed in the domestic and personal service distribution as much of the work done by this class is housecleaning. However, these workers are also extensively engaged in gardening, store work, trucking, and any other kind of work that requires an extra worker for a temporary period. Many of the younger Nisei, including ten girls, were requesting this particular field because it was not a purely domestic type of work and much of the work was done under the individuals own supervision.

Of the dayworker applicants, eleven were Japan born. They had little education and averaged almost fifty years of age. Twenty Nisei finished high school, with nine being college graduates. Eleven Nisei were still in college or had completed one or more years of university work. All applicants receiving college education were inexperienced in work. Six of the college graduates were entering the labor market for the first time. The work experience of the other college youths was limited to N. Y. Av, sales, and housework. In no case was an individual income over \$70 a month.

Laborers.

The unskilled laborers composed 11.2% of the industrial group. There was little to distinguish them from the other workers. Seven were Japan born, six were Nisei, and six were Hawaiian born. Only three of this group were married. The educational level was low, with only six being high school graduates. Most of these workers had done seasonal labor in the country for wages of \$50 to \$100 per month. During the slack winter season they came into San Francisco to find some temporary job until the spring harvests. A labor applicant, who had been on the W. P. A. for two years, was one of the very few cases found among all the lists of a Japanese who was or ever had been on relief.

Other Industrial workers.

The nine delivery men were young Nisei. They were usually hired by a drug or other small firm to make deliveries for salaries varying from \$40 to \$70 per month.

Most of the cannery workers were first generation Napanese who were employed in the Alaska canneries during the summer salmon season. During the rest of the year these workers engaged in domestic or other types of work. All belonged to unions and received a minimum salary of \$100 a month during the three months salmon season.

The seven mechanics were all native born second generation Japanese. Four had had no previous experience, while the other three had had one year of experience each at \$70 a month.

A Japan born Laundry operator worked for 20 years in a Japanese laundry for \$85 a month. He was let out because of his age. On his salary he reared four children. When they were old enough, they began working in private families. Later investigation revealed that the father had invested all of his savings to open up a cleaning establishment. His children now assist him in this business.

A Nisei Youth was one of the few Japanese longshoremen to work for an American firm.

Several of the girls have gone into the beauty parlor operator field as owners of shops. A few work for American firms.

Most of the other applicants in this division were in-experienced and just beginning to enter the labor market or else they were of the first generation group temporarily out of work.

Summary of the Industrial workers.

The industrial workers with 162 applicants was the smallest of the three main occupational groups.

The males dominated this particular group with one-hundred and twenty-five applicants to thirty-seven female applicants. The ratio would thus be about three males for every female applicant.

Thirty- nine or 23% of the total were Japan born and one-hundred and twenty-three or 77% of them were American born. Of the American born, seventeen listed Hawaii as their birthplace.

Eighty-six of the applicants stated that they had been in San Francisco less than five years; forty-four applicants have been residents between five and fifteen years; and twentytwo have been in San Francisco over fifteen years.

Of this group, only thirty-two were married. The rest or one-hundred and thirty in number were still single at the date of application.

5 The industrial workers were equally well educated. The education of forty-eight of the applicants was limited to elementary school; seventy-six had attended high school or were high school graduates; thirty-seven had a partial college education; and nine were college graduates

Not many of these applicants were placed by the oriental department in industrial work. A few were given jobs in domestic work.

Analysis of 217 Japanese applicants for "white collar" positions.

Seventy-six individuals who applied for positions as clerks comprise the largest group in the "white collar" classification. The term "clerk" is indefinite and includes all these individuals who have engaged in or wished to engage in general clerical work—file clerk, shipping clerk, and so forth. The rest of the applicants were divided among the twenty-seven classifications as shown in the table below:

Table Occupational classifications for 217 Japanese Applicants in the

Professional and Commercial Group.

	No.	Percent.
Clerk	76	35 %
Salesman (store)	25	11.5%
Typist	22	10.1%
Stenographers	20	9.2%
Salesgirls	19	8.7%

	<u>No.</u>	<u>Percent.</u>
Engineer	7	3.2%
Reporter	6	2.7%
Teacher	5	2.3%
Compositor	5	2.3%
Bookkeeper	4	1.8%
Lab Technician	3	1.4%
Printer	3	1.4%
Artist	3	1.4%
Librarian	2	.9%
Bill Collector	2	.9%
Draftsman	2	.9%
Photographer	2	.9%
Linotypist	2	.9%
Statistician	1	.5%
Actor	1	.5%
Publicity Agent	1	.5%
Chemist	1	.5%
Private Secretary	1	.5%
Pharmacist	1	.5%
Physical Education Director	1	.5%
Bacteriologist	1	.5%
Optometrist	1	.5%
Total	217	100%

The sex ratio in this entire group was one male to one female. There were one-hundred and seven male applicants and one-hundred and sixteen female applicants listed. It may be noted that the greater majority of female applicants were prepared primarily in the commercial field.

This occupational division was monopolized by the Nisei group, as less than 11% of the applicants were foreign born. Over 90% of the applicants were between the ages of twenty and twenty-five. These youths had not had much work experience. Only a few had worked in the field for which they were applying. The majority were recently out of school without any practical experience at the time of application. If they had had any previous work experience, it was chiefly in domestic work. Even many of those who had been out of school for a year or more had not found a place in the field of their training.

About half of the total in this group had been in San Francisco less than ten years. These applicants were chiefly single as only forty-one

out of the total (217) were married. A few of the technical abilities listed by these applicants were office workers, interpreter, artist, teachers, licensed radio operator, statistical workers, chemist, engineer, actor, and so forth.

Of the 217 applicants in the "white collar" fields, sixty two were college graduates, one-hundred and five had received a partial college education, forty were high school graduates, and seven had not been educated beyond the eighth grade.

Combining those on the college level with the college graduates, one-hundred and sixty-seven or 77% of the 217 applicants had received an education beyond high school, while altogether 95.4% of the 217 were high school graduates. In spite of their training and educational achievement, there was little demand for these applicants.

Table Educational level of 217 Japanese applicants in the professional and commercial group.

Grade completed	No.	Percent.
0 through 8th grade	7	3.2%
9th through 12th grade	43	19.8%
13th through 15th grade	105	48.4%
16th grade plus	62	28.6%
Total	217	100%

Clerks.

The seventy-six clerk applicants were all Nisei, except five. Thirty-five of the group were women applicants. Educationally, eighteen finished high school, and the other fifty-five went on to college or were college graduates. Thus, almost eight out of every ten clerk applicants had some college education.

Fifty of the clerk applicants stated that they had received business training in such schools as Heald's, Munson's, Armstrong Business College

and the University of California. Twenty had no technical training or previous work experience. The others listed training as teachers, statistical workers, and interpreters.

Few of these Nisei had had experience in work. Twenty had done a little clerical work at an average wage of \$50 a month, twenty had been in domestic work, fifteen had done odd commercial jobs, and the rest were entering the labor market for the first time.

No record was found of any of these prospective clerks being placed by the oriental department. One girl who was a college graduate (1940) in statistical methods had worked one month as a salesgirl for a Japanese Art Goods store for \$55, but she had then quit. The Oriental department referred her to another Japanese firm, but she was rejected because she was "too young and lacked experience." A male college graduate was referred to the W. P. A., but he did not report for the interview. He has recently been drafted for a year of training in the United States Army. Another recent college graduate was placed on a \$34 a month job as a housekeeper for a private family.

The highest paid clerical job listed as previously held by these applicants was for \$80 a month. One college graduate stated that he had worked for six years in a Japanese firm for \$55 a month. Ten shipping clerk applicants had worked a combined twelve years for an average salary of \$55 a month. These youths expressed a desire to find better jobs with some chance for advancement. The girls who had had experience as typists, salesgirls, and clerks also received low salaries, ranging from \$40 to \$60 per month. The majority of the above worked for Japanese firms, but they desired to get into American firms.

Salesmen.

Twenty-five of the applicants were listed as salesmen. One was born in Japan. These youths were recent arrivals into San Francisco, averaging about 23 years of age. Four of the applicants were married. Eighteen of the salesmen had had previous work experience with Japanese firms, but the salaries had been low, \$45 to \$65 a month. These youths were well educated with some having training in technical fields of work. One applicant had had two years of training in a medical school. Another was a licensed radio operator, and two had formerly been auto mechanics.

Other "white collar" workers.

The women dominated the classifications of typists, stenographers, and salesgirls. Their record of employment and education was similar to the above. They were young, mostly single, native born, and if they had had any previous work experience, it had been with Japanese employers. A few had done housework, while a considerable number had never held a fulltime job. Those that had received previous work experience received low salaries, about \$50 a month.

The Oriental department referred one girl to the N. Y. A. and another was placed on the W. P. A. art program at \$85 a month. Two college graduates in the typist classification were referred to housekeeper jobs at \$40 a month. There were no other placements listed.

The rest of the applicants were scattered over twenty-two classifications in this division. A few cases will illustrate that they were having a difficult adjustment period.

Five young women had received training for the teaching profession. They were all college graduates, but the Oriental department and their respective colleges were unable to place them in the teaching field. Subsequently, it was learned that one of the girls had finally been placed

by her college in a rural elementary school with an enrollment consisting mostly of Nisei children, Another was placed by her college in an elementary school in the Hawaiian Islands which had a large Japanese population. No record was found of the activities of the other three, who presumably were still unemployed or in some other line of work.

A twenty-four year old youth graduated from the Engineering School at the University of California three years ago. Since then until the time of his application, he has been a salesman on Grant Avenue at a salary of \$60 a month. Another mechanical engineer graduate of the University of California has worked on Grant Avenue for four years at \$65 a month salary. Two electrical engineer graduates for the past two years have been doing seasonal work in the Alaska canneries, and in the off season they are employed in domestic work. One of these youths has been inducted into the Army recently.

Still another electrical engineer applicant, age 27, graduated from Heald's Electrical and Engineering College several years ago. He worked two years as a salesman on Grant Avenue at \$55 a month. Later he became a bartender, then a fruit picker in the country. At the time of his application he was a waiter in a Japanese restaurant and attending night school. Since his application, it was learned that he went to Japan where he thought there were more opportunities. He got a clerical job in Tokyo at 90 yen (\$25 American money) per month. Now (1941) he is faced with the problem of serving in the Japanese army for 20 yen a month or returning to America.

A Nisei girl graduated from the University of California trained as a Librarian. She worked for three months in the Campus Library at \$125 per month as a temporary worker. When she applied at the Oriental

the only thing they could offer her was a domestic job, but the card does not state whether she accepted the \$30 a month position or not.

A Nisei youth graduated from the California School of Fine Arts as a commercial artist. The only work he had done in the past three years was a houseboy at \$20 per month, plus room and board.

A Social Welfare graduate of the University of California worked six months doing social case work for the S. R. A. at a salary of \$120 a month, but she is now unemployed. A Bacteriologist with a M. S. degree worked two years doing research work for a salary of \$100 a month, but he is now looking for any kind of work.

There exists only a remote possibility that the Oriental department will place any of these "white collar" applicants in an American firm or in the field of their request. An indication that the problem of the Japanese unemployed is a part of the national problem of unemployment is found in the fact that only 35% of the applicants in this division indicated any previous experience in the field of their application. The majority applied on the basis of their recently completed education. It is too early to determine what the exact possibilities are for these youths in National Defense work. Mr. Lee, the manager of the department, stated that several of the larger firms on the Pacific Coast engaged in producing vital defense orders have a set policy against hiring Orientals in their firms. Thus, there may be a racial element to consider as the comment most frequently made on the individual cards by the interviewer was a short notation: "Intelligent, clean cut, and a nice personality; will fit in where there is no racial discrimination."

Call Orders for Japanese Workers received by the Oriental Dept. (1938-1941)

The two and one-half year period, January 1938 to May 1941, is covered by a file of more than 5,000 order cards in the Oriental department, cards on which, among other things, are listed the calls made by prospective employers of Oriental labor. Out of the 5,000 total, 482 were for Japanese only, 60 were for either Japanese or Chinese, while the rest called specifically for Chinese, Filipinos, or Hawaiians.

The comparatively smaller number of requests for Japanese employees is due primarily to the fact that the Oriental department is new, and that until two years ago its services were devoted exclusively to Chinese unemployed. Most employers have been obtaining Japanese workers chiefly through the Japanese employment agencies in San Francisco. There are eight of these agencies in the Japanese community. These employment services are primarily engaged in finding work for applicants in the domestic field. However, Mr. Sam Lee, the manager of the Oriental division of the California State Employment Service, stated that the number of Japanese applicants in his office has been increasing greatly and an effort has been made to suggest Japanese also to employers who have asked for Chinese help.

Every one of these calls on file, with but six exceptions, was a request for some form of domestic or personal service work. These exceptions were: a call for three stenographers at a Japanese establishment who offered a ten dollar a week job for 25 hours of work; and a call from a Japanese firm which needed several male salesmen for an art goods store, salary to be \$55 a month for experienced men. There were no calls for Japanese by American employers in the industrial, professional, or commercial fields. When the domestic category is broken down into various types there is revealed the type of work for which Japanese were in greatest demand.

Table Types of calls for Japanese workers received by the Oriental department. (January 1938-May 1941)

	No. of calls	Percent.
Cooks	146	26.9%
Housekeepers	145	26.8%
Houseboys	63	11.8%
School boy	48	9 %
School girl	46	8.4%
Dayworker	20	3.6%
Waiter	10	1.8%
Kitchen helper	10	1.8%
Dishwasher	7	1.3%
Maid	7	1.3%
Chauffeur	6	1.1%
Janitor	6	1.1%
Gardener	6	1.1%
Salesmen	3	.6%
Stenographer	3	.6%
Nurse	2	.4%
All others	14	2.5%
Total	542	99.9%

Of the above total, 242 or 44.6% were for male employees, and 300 or 55.4% were female employees. Thus, the ratio of calls would be eleven women to nine men.

The field in which the Japanese were the most requested, as compared to other calls for Japanese was that of cook. Although the number of calls on file was comparatively small, it was a fairly true index of the actual situation since most of the private Japanese employment agencies agreed upon questioning that all of their calls were for domestic work about in the same ratio as that received by the Oriental department. The only exception was that the private agencies received more calls for day workers and other temporary jobs or part time work, such as schoolboys and schoolgirls.

On the whole, cooking jobs are the best paid of the domestic work since cooks must command a certain amount of technical skill. Among the better positions, references were desired. There were no particular requests for character references so that, on the whole, the employers seemed to assume that Japanese workers were trustworthy. Their interest in recommendations was

for ability and skill more than for character.

The majority of the calls for cooks were for males. This phase of domestic work has become a specialty of many of the first generation male Japanese. The wages offered according to the order cards on file ranged from \$30 to \$50 a month, plus room and board in many cases. Some of the calls were for couples, the wife to do the housekeeping. A good proportion of the cooking jobs were for small Japanese restaurants or camp cooks out of the city. The hours ranged from a required 30 to the maximum by law of 48 hours per week. For the salary given, this was very reasonable providing it represented the actual situation. The wage scale was definitely higher than that of many other kinds of industrial work. The average wage for cooks was between \$50 to \$80 a month.

Housekeepers.

If school-girls are included in this classification, the total number of calls for this type of work would be increased to one-hundred and ninety-one or 35.2% of the total calls. The lowest salary offered was \$10 a month for forty-eight hours of work per week. Most of the salaries offered was between \$25 and \$40 a month for forty-eight hours of work a week for the regular housekeepers, while school-girls were offered from \$5 to \$20 a month for about twenty-five hours of work a week. Many of the call cards did not state a definite salary. A glance at the files of several employment agencies in the Japanese community showed that these agencies offered a lower average wage than did the Oriental department. This may mean that only the more generous employer placed his call at the Oriental department.

Houseboy.

A houseboy technically is one who holds a full time make housekeeping job. The call cards usually requested experience as a qualification for houseboys, but rarely was any education required. The salaries offered

varied from \$20 to \$55 a month. The hours of work were stated as the maximum 48 hours per week. However, in many cases this ruling by the department is not strictly adhered to inasmuch as it is very difficult to check up on the actual situations. The average wage offered was around \$35 per month for work which required the employee to be on duty during most of the day.

School-boys were requested by forty-nine or 9% of the employers. School-boys work an average of 25 hours a week for an average salary of around \$15 a month, plus room and board.

Summary of the Call Orders for Japanese employees.

Mr. Samm Lee, the manager of the Oriental department stated that as far as the call orders were concerned, the majority were easily filled; but in many cases they were not recorded on the individual cards of the applicants. Furthermore, the number of applicants greatly exceeded the number of calls received so that there was no difficulty in placing these Japanese applicants. Many of the Nisei applicants in other classifications, such as "white collar" workers, were thus placed in domestic work.

The greatest and most serious problem of the department at the present time is in determining just what to do for these numerous applicants who are qualified in some other line of work. The department cannot place them as less than 2% of the total calls were for prospective Japanese industrial, commercial, or professional employees.

Recently an organized attempt has been made by the department in doing field work to get jobs for some of the applicants, but progress has been slow. Many of the Japanese firms have been sent information about the work of the employment service. An effort was then made to persuade these firms to use the Oriental department when they were in need of employees. A Nisei girl is employed by this department to handle the increasing number of Japanese applicants and to contact the Japanese firms. At best, this method even if

successful, can only absorb a limited number of the Nisei applicants.

The problem of placing Chinese applicants in lines of work other than domestic and personal service is equally as difficult, although the larger Chinese community can absorb a greater number of the young native born Chinese. However, hours of work are long and salaries limited.

WHAT DO THE NISEI THINK ABOUT THEIR ECONOMIC PLIGHT?

Introduction.

One of the purposes of this survey was to gather some information on what the Nisei themselves thought about their many problems, and whether they had any solutions to offer. In addition to the schedule forms filled out by the complete Nisei sampling, a supplementary questionnaire sheet was also answered in order to obtain an objective record of their opinions towards the Nisei Youth Problem. The following pages are based upon the data collected from the 133 Nisei interviewed in the survey, and the material may be considered as fairly indicative of the opinions of the Nisei Youth in the San Francisco Japanese community.

Attitude towards their wages.

In the question; "Do you feel that you are paid what you are worth in your present job?," sixty-three percent of the youths now working considered themselves slightly or greatly underpaid. Domestic workers and salesworkers were the most emphatic in voicing their discontent at the prevailing wage scale set for them. Twelve percent considered themselves as being fairly paid by their employers. Twenty-five percent would express no opinion for fear that it might react harmfully upon them. The sentiment most expressed by the Nisei youths was: "It's no use working for a Japanese business; they just don't pay enough. But what else can we do??" Many of the Nisei seem rather discouraged over this situation.

One of the opinions voiced by the Nisei working in art stores was that working for a Japanese boss demanded too many obligations. Frequently, they were asked to work overtime, for which they received no additional pay. This was especially true during the busy holiday seasons. Several of the young men stated that they were obliged to work from twelve to sixteen hours per day during the Christmas season; and even though they were paid extra,

Attitude towards wages.

the amount was small. Sometimes the employer gave them a bonus at the end of the year. The young sales people who worked in their parents' business have a brighter outlook for the future as they will eventually take over their parents' business. For the rest there is no future.

There were few active labor complaints among this group of workers as the employers held the upper hand. With so many young people now coming into the labor market and looking for work, the employer has a comparatively easy time finding suitable salesmen to work for them at the prevailing standards. One youth interviewed estimated that over seventy percent of the male salesmen on Grant Avenue had had some college training.

The employer's side of the question also has to be considered before any hasty conclusions are drawn. In the first place, the art goods stores in Chinatown are all highly competitive. Located mostly in the first few blocks of Grant Avenue in Chinatown, the Japanese merchants have largely created and developed this business through their own efforts. The competition for the tourist business is often bitter and always keen. As many of these patrons stroll through the district in the evening hours, the merchants have to remain open until late evening.

Although much of the goods is imported cheaply from the Orient, the articles are also sold cheaply so that the margin of profits is often small and depends upon the quantity of goods sold rather than the quality. This generalization does not apply to the larger quality firms.

In addition, these small owners have to face the competition of the Chinese art goods stores which are also quite numerous in Chinatown. Because of the prevailing sentiment over the Far Eastern situation, a sort of unofficial boycott has been placed upon the Japanese stores. The majority of the stores display signs which read: "This is a Chinese store."

Attitudes towards wages.

Naturally, this has hurt the small Japanese merchant to quite an extent, even though he has nothing to do with the governmental policies of Japan.

Since San Francisco is a strong union city, the label "Made in Japan" is also unpopular, as the advocates of the American standard of living fear that they cannot compete with the cheaper Japanese-made goods. Thus, the "Buy American" movement has also hurt many of the smaller Japanese firms.

Under such hazardous conditions, the Japanese employers cannot afford to pay salaries on a much higher scale than they do. The young Nisei salesmen consequently have to suffer and accept the small salaries since other jobs are so scarce for members of this group. Many of these workers have volunteered for Army training.

The domestic workers, being in one of the poorer paid occupational groups, also voiced dissatisfaction with their wage standards. Among the Nisei domestic workers, there was no organization to protect them and look after their interests. Most of the Nisei stated that they considered their work as temporary and expected to get into another field soon. Some were ashamed of their positions and hesitated to speak about them. Some were better adjusted and explained that this was one of the few fields in which they could accumulate a little capital, even though they felt they were greatly underpaid for the hours spent in work.

The few who were working for American businesses outside of domestic work were more or less satisfied with their salaries. They were chiefly engaged in unskilled and small clerical work, as previously listed.

Opportunities for advancement.

In addition to finding out the attitude of the Nisei towards their wages, the question was also asked: "Do you think your present job offers opportunities for further advancement?" The results revealed that the Nisei youth were still groping around in the labor market seeking an adequate economic adjustment.

Since the majority of the Nisei were fairly well educated, it was expected that the majority would be discontented with their work, conditions being as they were. Of the eighty employed Nisei at the time of the interview, sixty-one considered their work as being "dead end" jobs, thirteen thought their work offered opportunities, and six gave no opinion. The seven youths that were self employed naturally considered their work as having opportunities for future advancement.

Job Security.

The majority of the Nisei did not feel secure in their jobs. There were some, however, who stated that even if they had dead-end jobs, they felt fairly contented as it was a job. They realized that they could keep the job as long as they were able to stand the working conditions. Even then they still had hopes of getting into some other line of work.

What work the Nisei would like to do.

All of the Nisei were asked the question: "Regardless of available opportunities, what kind of work would you like to do?" The answers would clearly indicate that they do not like their jobs. The entire group, including those not in the labor market at present, showed a decided preference for the higher "white collar" occupational levels.

Of the 133 asked, 20% wanted an "office job," 18.5% wanted to be their "own boss" in some small business, 16.5% did not know what vocation they preferred, 9% wanted to enter the engineering field, and the rest were scattered in the "white collar" field.

Many of those who desired office work or did not know what field they would like to enter implied that they preferred to be housewives above allelse.

Only a small group preferred to remain in the work in which they were employed at the date of interview. Among the student group, many actually were preparing for the fields for which they showed a preference, but there is no way of determining to what extent they will have success until they actually come into the labor market. However, it is certain that the path will be hard for these young people if this study of the employed Nisei is any indication of the future trend. It may be possible that many of the Nisei will eventually be their own bosses by taking over their parents' establishments and by opening new businesses. Following are a few of the comments made by the Nisei in regard to what work they would like to do:

- "I am not sure; I need vocational guidance."
- "I want to be a specialist in some technical line."
- "I'd like to be an engineer, but I don't know if I will get a chance."
- "I'd like to open up my own jewelry shop."
- "I am going to take over my father's art goods store when he retires."
- "It's no use dreaming. I might as well take a mediocre job and be satisfied."
- "Someday I am going to be a commercial artist."
- "There is plenty of room at the top for another boss."
- "I am studying pharmacy so that I can open up my own drug store."
- "Radio is an untried field for Nisei. If I don't get a job here, I will have to go to Japan or China."

Table Work the Nisei would like to do.

"Office job"	27	Musician	2
Own Boss	24	Aviation	1
Don't know	22	Nurse	1
Engineer	11	Interior Decorator	1
Social Worker	7	Public Speaker	1
Designer	6	Journalist	1
Draftsman	4	Bateriolôgist	1
Radio Technician	3	Photographer	1
Dentist	3	Doctor	1
Teacher	3	Pharmacist	1
Sewing Instructor	3	Beauty Operator	1
andscape Architect	2	Fisherman	1
Commercial Artist		Truckdriver	1
		Boxer	1

Attitudes towards Japanese And American firms.

The entire group interviewed was asked: "Would you prefer to work for a Japanese or an American firm?"

Seventy-four percent of the 133 Nisei were quite positive in their opinion that they would prefer to work for an American firm. The chief reasons given were that the hours of work were shorter and the wage higher in American firms. Many stated that one of the advantages would be that their hours of work would be definite and relations with their employer would be impersonal. Aside from these points, the chief reason was that there would be more chance for a future in working for an American business.

Comments:

- "Well, I'd like to work for an American business because they pay more dough. You have to sweat yourself to death for a Japanese employer."
- "American firms appreciate personal skill, and there is more opportunity for advancement."
- "I'd rather work among the Americans than among the Japanese."
- "Among Americans you don't have to feel obligated like when you work for a Japanese."
- "American firms treat you strictly on a business basis. There is a chance for advancement, and, best of all, they pay on time and you quit work on the hour."
- "Japanese bosses are too cheap."
- "Japanese bosses are too difficult to work for. They get the 'big shot' complex and you can't get 'close' to them."
- "You can tell when progress is being made when you work for an American!"
- "There is not much interesting work among the Japanese."
- "It will be hard to get into an American firm; but, after all, aren't we Americans too?"
- "I work in an American dressmaking shop and lots of time customers come in and stare at us, but so far conditions have been satisfactory, even if it is a dead end job. It's much better than the Japanese place I used to work for."
- "American employers are easier to work for."

A considerable number (19%) were undecided/^{as to}whom they would prefer to work for. Some of this group had never had any experience in work; some preferred to work only for themselves; and some were undecided because of social reasons. Comments:

"If it weren't for race prejudice, I'd rather work for an American firm as conditions are better."

Attitudes towards Japanese and American firms. (cont'd.)

Comments:

- "All I want is a job. I don't care what color of skin the boss has."
- "How in the hell can I answer this when I have never worked for an American before!"
- "There is less than a fifty-fifty chance to get into an American firm."
- "It depends upon the employer. Some Japanese employers are 'ok' too."
- "It is best to specialize and work for yourself. Then try to develop an American trade."
- "I don't know. They might treat you as a low class person in an American firm, and that wouldn't compensate for the higher pay, would it? I'd rather keep my self respect."
- "I doubt if American firms will take on Nisei girls in business as long as so many white girls are being trained in this same field."

Only 7% of the total preferred to work for a Japanese employer. Some of the reasons given were:

- "I feel more at home in a Japanese firm, although you can get more pay in an American firm."
- "I prefer to work for a Japanese firm where I can learn more of the Japanese culture."
- "Japanese firm, as I am a Japanese."
- "Size for size, I'd rather work in a Japanese firm."
- "American places don't hire Japanese in my line of work. Salaries in the Japanese shops are rather low, but it's not a matter of preference. In my case, only a Japanese employer will hire me."

Attitudes towards their personal future.

The most perplexing problem for these young people was chiefly economic--how to get a job and how to make more money. A few considered marital or health problems as their most important problem. A few were chiefly worried about their school progress. Social relation, problems of personality, and home difficulties were some of the others named as the "most perplexing personal problem." Over 80% of those asked responded that lack of economic security and opportunity worried them the most. About 10% reported that they had no personal problems.

In response to the question: "How do you feel about your personal future", 71% were still hopeful, 0% were enthusiastic, and 18% were indifferent or resigned. Length of time in the labor market did not influence this opinion inasmuch as the entire group felt that it was still in an

Attitudes towards their personal future. (cont'd)

economic adjustment period. A few statements of the more optimistic Nisei are shown below:

- "I'm all full of hopes and ambitions. Things have been sailing along smoothly until now." (a student)
- "I'm not overly optimistic, but I think I'll find a job in my field eventually."
- "Hopeful is about the closest you can get to it, although it is not quite accurate."
- "I'm enthusiastic; you gotta' enjoy life or it's no use living!"
- "I'm enthusiastic! If I had the cash, I would start a business right now."
- "I'm quite hopeful, although things look a little dark right now. I guess it's part of my growing stage."

While here and there there were a few of the more pessimistic who were discouraged and appeared to have been quite disillusioned:

- "I don't see nothing ahead."
- "I think it's hopeless."
- "I'm resigned to fate."
- "My future does not look so hot."
- "I'll take it as it comes."
- "If I die today I won't care, because I've had all the fun already."

An exceptional case was that of a young woman who graduated from college a year ago and has since been hunting for work. She was the only one among those interviewed who was not a citizen of this country. Her sentiments:

"It doesn't seem right to me. Just because I happened to be born in Japan, I'm denied all the privileges of an American. I can't vote and I can't get into the civil service. I never will be able to buy an property, assuming that I ever did get the money. It doesn't make any difference to Americans that I came into this country at the age of five and have been completely educated here. In thought and in actions, I really am an American. But I suppose I will have to go back to Japan to get a job. The door of opportunity here is closed against me because they think I am an 'alien'".

Personal Plans for the future.

In order to find out whether the Nisei youth were doing anything definite about their situation, a question was asked them about what were their personal plans for the future.

Thirty-six percent were more or less indefinite or had no plans. Some

Personal Plans for the future.

expected merely to continue working in their current jobs. Many of this group were young women.

"There doesn't seem much for us girls to do except domestic work. I doubt if we could get into American firms. Japanese firms can and will take only a few and these have to have a good knowledge of Japanese. This eliminates quite a few from consideration. So there is nothing else to do, but to become houseworkers. We get more pay than the Grant Avenue girls anyway."

"No plans; I live in the present."

"Nothing, except to plug on."

"I don't know what is going to happen. I've been in dead-end jobs so long that all I can plan for is to continue working or else get married. I guess I'll just keep slaving until I die. Poor me!"

"I'm satisfied with what I am doing."

"I don't know what I am going to do now that I am out of college. Probably will end up on Grant Avenue for a while if I can get a job."

"One thing sure is that I am not going to be a Grant Avenue salesman all mylife!"

Twenty percent planned to get married and establish their own homes, if possible.

"I suppose I'll eventually raise a family. Haven't got time now."

"We girls have ideals of marriage and it will come sooner or later."

"I'm going to get married and have two children. Aren't I lucky?"

"I dunno. Guess I'll just get married later and settle down to domesticity."

"If I find the right person, I intend to get married and start my own home."

"Get married, Nisei Girls, get married!"

Nineteen percent stated that they planned to get more specialized training in a multitude of fields, mostly in the higher occupational levels. Many were still in the school group and have not come face to face with some of the problems which the youths in the present labor market were facing. Many in the labor market also stated that they intended to get more specialized training.

Eleven percent of the Nisei intended eventually to open up their own business, while five percent stated that they were going to develop the business which they now owned, Three percent stated that they would eventually take over their parents' business.

Personal plans for the future.(cont'd)

Finally, five and one-half percent of the Nisei planned to go to the Orient for their future.

"I guess I'll have to go to the Orient."

"I'm going to try to get into a broadcasting station in Japan as a radio technician."

"I will stick around here a year or so and if things don't break, I might go to Japan and see what I can do."

"Guess I will go down to Mexico and see if I can get a job. After that, Japan maybe."

Attitudes towards Japan as a solution to the Nisei economic problem.

M Many Caucasian Americans have the impression that the Nisei can easily solve their economic plight by "going back to Japan." They forget that these young people have been born here and that their lives have been influenced by American traditions. Most of the Nisei realize that they would be utter strangers to the Japanese culture, and adjustment there would be difficult, if not impossible. The advantage of obtaining an American education would not outweigh the fact that they know little of the Japanese language, they cannot read Japanese books, they are ignorant of Japanese customs, history, and traditions, and they hold different ideals from those of the Japanese in Japan.

In response to the question: "do you intend to go to Japan to live and work?" only six percent answered in the affirmative. They had arrived at this choice largely through economic pressure.

"I think I would have a fighting chance there."

"The chances are greater to break into my field over there."

"My parents are going to retire in Japan and that means that I would have to go with them."

"I think that if one is specialized in training, there is a wider field there."

Ten percent of the Nisei were undecided as to whether they would go to Japan to live and work.

"I can't say now. I may have to go whether I like it or not."

"I might go. My mother lives there."

"I am undecided. That is the reason I am going there this summer-- to try it out."

"I am undecided. I might have to go to get work in my line."

Attitudes towards Japan as a solution to the Nisei economic problem. (cont'd.)

The majority or eighty-four percent of the Nisei intended to find the solutions to their problems right here in America, whether good or bad. The chief reason given was that they felt they were too Americanized to fit into the Japanese way of life. They felt that they would not like conditions there from all the reports that they have heard about Japan from others who have returned. They were quite emphatic in their view that they were going to stay here despite all difficulties. Most, however, expressed a desire to visit Japan at least once.

- "Why jump from the frying pan into the fire?"
- "I'm used to this country so damn much that I wouldn't go to Japan to live permanently for anything."
- "I'm an American and I love it here."
- "I don't know anything about Japan except what my mother tells me and she might be exaggerating."
- "I think Japan is crowded enough without us going there and horning in. We have a better chance here."
- "America is a better country."
- "I wouldn't like a place with their political system. I'm too Americanized, I guess."
- "Japan has too low a standard of living."
- "What for? It's their country, not mine. I'd be an outsider there."
- "I like the customs on this side of the Pacific better, and I'm a natural squatter!"
- "Not to live because it is opposed to the political teachings of this country, and I think differently from them."
- "Hell no! I feel that I belong here."
- "They don't like the Nisei."
- "I couldn't see good shows there."
- "America is the place for us."
- "Women have equal right here."
- "I would not like to go to a strange foreign country."

WHAT DO THE NISEI THINK OF THE GENERAL NISEI YOUTH PROBLEM?

At the end of each individual interview, the youth were asked: "What would you like to say about the Nisei youth problem?" Very few out of these interviewed thought that the future for the Nisei was bright and rosy. Seven percent of the Nisei professed to be ignorant of the existence of a youth problem or else they did not believe a problem existed.

- "Is there a Nisei Youth Problem?"
- "No different from the problems of any other nationality."
- "What Problem? I guess they'll live! It's up to the dumb b----- to find their own jobs. What can I do about it if they are stupid?"
- "It's more or less a personal problem!"
- "It is overemphasized. Largely the fault of the Nisei themselves. I doubt if they really go out and look for jobs."
- "The Nisei make it a problem by talking about it too much. It's over-exaggerated. As long as the relations between the U.S. and Japan remain peaceful, the Nisei will have a chance to get on."
- "Just because jobs are hard to get, it does not mean that it is a special Nisei problem. Anybody can get a job if they try."
- "There are some jobs offering opportunities to the Nisei. You just have to be there when they come up."

The rest of the Nisei or ninety-three percent of those interviewed though that the Nisei would have a terrific struggle on their hands for the next few years in order to make proper economic adjustment.

- "The Nisei are in for a very bitter struggle, especially at the present time."
- "If the rest of the Nisei are having such a hard time as I am, the future doesn't look so good."
- "The Nisei will have to get used to the idea that they are going to have a hard time. There just isn't any jobs for us."
- "The only Nisei that will get ahead are those with rich parents and those who have 'pull'. The rest will not get ahead in America."
- "The worst is yet to come, but we will find a way out."

The greatest difficulty, in the words of the Nisei themselves, was that there was a "general lack of opportunities" for their group.

- "Theyve got the stuff in them, but they don't get the opportunity.
- Racial prejudice still exists."
- "Not much opportunity to get jobs of advancement."
- "It's not so easy to get on as people say it is. Jobs are scarce and whites will not hire Nisei as freely as white youths unless they are talented. I guess the Nisei will have to do odds and ends unless they open up their own businesses. They are on a hell of a spot."

"If they remain in America, most of them will fizzle out."

"Nisei can get jobs, but they are all dead end. They have the ability for better things."

"They need guidance on what is the best field to enter."

"It's pretty hard getting off of Grant Avenue once you are stuck. Nothing else to do."

"We need a break."

When asked what did they consider as the best solution for their problems, they were not so sure. Some gave rather vague answers or they dealt largely in generalities. A few had constructive ideas to offer.

Fifteen percent of the Nisei thought that the best solution would be for them to spread out into the wider American community where opportunities would not be so limited.

"Socially they don't mix enough with whites. As a consequence, they have few contacts and are not accepted. The Americans naturally have the idea that the Nisei don't care for Americans as they stick among themselves too much in school and out."

"Many will be absorbed by the Japanese community. The more ambitious will go out into the wider American community and expand into new fields. It's a grave problem."

"The trouble is that you have to have the 'stuff' and not everyone has it. Most jobs come through contacts and the Nisei are limiting their contacts by staying within their own community."

We have to do a lot more. Provided that nothing happens between the US and Japan, I think the Nisei will make progress. Otherwise???"

"It is time to think seriously of the Nisei problem. Get over the mystical ideas of our American society! Unless we do so, we face a grave situation. The future is not too bright and Japan's present policy makes it harder for us. We should get into American life more and all should drop their dual citizenship. A lot of the Nisei are not even conscious of discriminating measures pending in the State Legislature. They should become more aggressive rather than passive in civic life."

8 "The Nisei should make American friends and contacts instead of talking about the problem. The racial situation is becoming a little better
8 now and eventually the Americans will realize that we are a part of this country. Once prejudice is eliminated, the economic position of the Nisei will be better. They have the ability to do great things if they would only consider all of their possibilities."

Twelve percent of the youths thought that the only solution was for the Nisei to open up their own businesses.

"I think it's mostly propaganda. They haven't much chance. The best thing for them is to open up their own businesses."

"It is best for the Nisei to go into their own businesses."

"The best field, I suppose, is for them to go into businesses where the competition and discrimination is lessened."

Twelve percent though the only thing to do was to make the most out of a bad situation as there wasn't much that they could do about it.

"The Nisei will have a hard time until the first generation passes on. Things look kind of dark. They'll have to take any job to get by for the next ten or fifteen years."

"The Nisei are in a tough spot because of the influences of the depression. They will be lucky if they can get their own business. Perhaps the third generation will have to make the most of what little we will be able to give them. They will have a better chance."

"They should develop what talents they have and then try for the best. Get what they can in the meantime. It's a tough life for all homo sapiens."

"Most Nisei will have to be contented with mediocre dead end jobs. We can't all reach the top. Happiness, not position, is what we should all seek."

Nine percent of the Nisei were confident that their group would eventually make successful adjustments as long as they kept trying. They realized that a realistic attitude would enable them to make more headway than a defeatist philosophy.

"I'm pretty sure the Nisei will adjust themselves successfully, depending upon the type of work they are trained for. Only a few want to or will go to Japan."

"Racial differences will make it pretty hard for them for a while. It seems that the present tendency is towards segregation. The Nisei want to spread out, but they can't because of restrictions. Progress necessarily will be slow, but it will come. The more able will lead the way."

"If they get a chance they can make progress. Progress, however, will depend upon the individual."

"They are slowly making headway."

"They are all right. They have to have patience."

"They can do anything if they set their mind to it."

"If Nazism does not dominate Europe, I feel that the U.S.-Japan relations will improve. This, in turn, will naturally help the Nisei as there will be more opportunities in trade. In the meantime the Nisei will have to go after opportunities."

"The Nisei should not be too proud to start with menial work. There is always a chance to advance if they work hard enough. It will be a long struggle, but they'll get places."

"They'll be real Americans in spite of all. Things will come out all right in the end."

Eight percent of the Nisei believed that the only solution was for them to seek specialized training in many fields.

"The vocational training of the Nisei is in the wrong direction."

They should specialize.....But you can't expect all the sons of the first generation house workers and farmers to make the jump from day laborer to an engineer. Were not that good!"

"The Nisei must know their limitations in expansion. Knowing these means that we must specialize and be better than the average whites in order to get a chance."

"The Japanese by nature are good in craftwork so the Nisei should try to develop themselves in fine arts work such as engraving. They should introduce Japanese fine arts to the American public by such things as dwarf plants and brush paintings, which reflect the true spirit of Japan. This will help the white Americans to appreciate the Japanese culture more. In this way the importing business will flourish and all will gain. The Nisei can use their differences to their advantage in business."

"The Nisei should go into skilled work as there is a need for them. A lot of guys going to college are wasting time. After graduation, what?"

Eight percent believed that they should strive to develop closer cooperation among the Nisei, the first generation, and the caucasian Americans.

"The first generation should help the Nisei more. They should have a few large department stores instead of cutthroating each other on Grant Avenue. Another thing, the Nisei should develop cooperatives for themselves."

Six percent believed that the Nisei should develop more personal initiative.

"I don't think the Nisei are ambitious enough. They take too general courses in school. Most go to college just to play anyway. At least the girls I know do."

"It's mostly a lack of initiative. Perhaps it is an inferiority complex." "They are content with just getting by. All they want is enough money for social pleasures. Most of them are too selfish and individualistic. They don't think of the Nisei problem as a whole. They complain too much and don't do anything about it. They should get together and help one another more."

Six percent believed that Civil Service was the best solution for their economic problems.

"It's easy enough to say that we should get out and have more initiative; but if one reasons about it practically, it's like butting one's head against a stone wall. Civil Service is one of the few fields where we have an equal chance so Nisei should go into it more." (A college graduate Grant Avenue salesman.)

Five and one-half percent believed that the only solution for the Nisei would be for them to go to the Orient.

"The Nisei couldn't be much worse off in Japan than here. At least they will have a chance at equal competition."

Four and one-half percent believed that if the Nisei learned Japanese better, they would have more opportunities among the Japanese firms.

"The Nisei are not on an equal footing with whites and their only advantage would be to learn the Japanese language, plus a good education." "They can't get into American firms and Japanese firms require a good knowledge of both languages, which only a few have."

Two and one-half percent offered agriculture as a solution to the Nisei problems.

"Many will be absorbed by agriculture, but this is only a living." "Get out on the farm and forget this complex city life." At least you will feel like a man."

Two and one-half percent of the Nisei had given up hope and believed that the Nisei were doomed to failure.

"The Nisei are behind the '8' ball." "It's fate. The Nisei are doomed."

One half percent believed that there was a "change needed in our economic system".

Six percent were still in a muddle and didn't know what to think or do.

"Sometimes I wonder if the Nisei will ever be assimilated." "I am overwhelmed by this economic problem." "You tell me! I don't know what to think or do." "I worry and worry, but I don't see nothing ahead for the Nisei."

Finally, three percent had no opinion to express upon the solution of the Nisei economic problem.

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JUNIOR COUNSELING SERVICE
 SURVEY OF OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR JAPANESE YOUTHS SAN FRANCISCO
 (ALL INFORMATION STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL)

Date Filled _____

Schedule No. _____

A. IDENTIFICATION AND CHARACTERISTICS

1. Name _____ 2. 8th Grade Class _____
 3. Name of School _____
 4. Present Address _____ 5. Sex _____
 6. Date of Birth _____ 7. Date Married _____
 8. Usual occupation and industry of father _____

B. TRAINING

1. Years of school completed _____ 2. Date first left school _____
 3. Reason left school _____
 4. Vocational training courses completed: _____
 a. Public or parochial high school _____ b. What type of training _____
 c. College or professional school _____ d. Principal course _____

C. HISTORY SINCE FIRST LEAVING SCHOOL

LINE NO.	ACTIVITY OR OCCUPATION	INDUSTRY	PROGRAM	HOURS WORKED PER WEEK	WEEKLY EARNINGS	DATES		IF LESS THAN 30 DAYS, HOW LONG DID IT LAST?	HOW LEARNED OF JOB OPENING
						BEGAN	ENDED		
						MONTH AND YEAR	MONTH AND YEAR		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1	In full time school	_____	_____	_____	8	_____	_____	_____	_____
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									

D. GENERAL

1. Have you registered at the C.S.E.S.? _____ When? _____	3. Plans for the future _____ _____ _____	4. Remarks _____ _____ _____
2. Special difficulties in securing jobs _____ _____		

1. Do you feel that your education helped or will help you earn a living?
2. Do you feel that your education helped or will help you enjoy life more?
3. Regardless of available opportunities, what kind of work would you like to do?
4. Do you feel that you are paid what you are worth in your present job?
5. Would you prefer to work for a Japanese or an American firm?
6. If you are employed, do you feel secure in your present job?
7. Does your present job offer opportunities for future advancement or is it a dead end job?
8. Do you belong to any clubs or organizations?
9. Favorite type of movies? (Eastern, Western, G-Men, Love, Comedy, no preference, etc.)
10. Church affiliation of parents? _____ Yours? _____
11. Attitude towards war. (A necessary evil, justifiable, glorious personal adventure, no opinion, etc.)
12. If war were declared, under what circumstances would you fight? (drafted, volunteer, invasion, refusal, etc.)
13. Main reason for voting or not voting at last opportunity?
14. What is your most perplexing personal problem? (getting a job, making money, social popularity, school progress, health, marital problems, etc.)
15. How do you feel about your personal future? (enthusiastic, hopeful, indifferent, resigned, etc.)
16. Do you intend to go to Japan to live and work?
17. What would you like to say about the Japanese youth problem?