

JOB ADJUSTMENTS OF SINGLE YOUNG MEN

Introduction:

The single young Nisei men in Chicago have arrived in the city over a period of two years, 1943-45. The majority migrated in 1943, so that their job experiences have varied widely. It is in the field of employment that the most complex types of problems have developed for these single young men as well as for the resettler group as a whole. Because of the critical labor status of Chicago during wartime, jobs have been relatively plentiful for the newcomer. However, the great difficulty for the Nisei is in finding a suitable range of jobs available to them. Many of them came directly from the centers and they had limited work experiences prior to the war, so that they were not qualified. In other instances, the jobs were just not opened to them. There is no question that the types of jobs have been broadened widely for the Nisei group, but not the range.

The initial hesitation of the employer in hiring Nisei workers during 1943 has largely been broken down, but the limitation on economic opportunities continues to be a big problem. This section will deal with the patterns of job adjustments and an attempt will be made to indicate the wide dissatisfactions which prevail among the single Nisei workers. The high educational achievement of this group has contributed to the corresponding high job expectations, and the failure to fully realize these goals has directly contributed to the occupational restlessness.

It must be borne in mind that the limited field of employment for the young Nisei worker is not a new experience for them. Many

of those in the labor market prior to the war went through frustrating occupational adjustments, but a still larger number are entering the labor market for the first time so that their expectations run high and they tend to become disorganized when these goals are not met. For those who have had previous work experience, the resettlement has succeeded in emancipating them from a complete dependence upon the Japanese community which prevented the possibilities of getting a broad experience in occupational fields. The one advancement that the Nisei workers have made is in the severance of these ties with the pre-war Japanese community economic system, but adjustments into a stable economic life have not taken place yet. The wages of the Nisei workers have increased tremendously as a result of getting into Caucasian companies, but they have not achieved the economic security which they desire. This is part of the explanation for the frequent job changes which have taken place in the group. This section will trace in detail the job adjustment process of the single Nisei men.

THE SINGLE MAN

Introduction

The adjustments of the single Nisei men into the Chicago life area ^{are} individual in nature; but there are also certain common problems which appear in this group which will be analyzed on the basis of the 18 complete life histories obtained over a period of two years. The emphasis of this section will be upon these patterns of adjustments which appear to be common in the group. It must be borne in mind that the bulk of the resettlers into the Chicago life have been young people. Many of these individuals have had only limited work experience prior to the outbreak of the war. Even yet, the group does not have complete stability in the Chicago area due to the complicated nature of the problems with which they are faced. This section will attempt to indicate the complex nature of some of these problems.

The group under study consists primarily of young men who were living in the limited pre-war Japanese communities on the Coast at the outbreak of the war. Many of them had not entered the labor market at that time. The age range of this group of 18 single men was from 16 to 30 on December 1, 1941. Of these, six were under 18 years of age and five were 25 years of age or over. The average age of the group was 21.3 years.

These single men were, at the outbreak of the war, in various localities on the West Coast. A breakdown of their

various places of residence indicates some mobility even before the war. Although twelve of them had been born in California and were still residing there on December 1, 1941, and three had a similar history in Washington State, one Washingtonian had migrated to California, another young man had moved from the Midwest into California with his family after completing his elementary education, and a third had been born in Japan, moved to Hawaii at the age of 5 and migrated to California after his high school education was completed.

The completed educational level was high, a characteristic of the whole pre-war Nisei group. (see DS chart). Four of the 18 had university work or were college graduates, while 9 had completed Junior college or some university work. Three completed high school, while the remaining 2 did some high school work. The Japanese language school education of this group was also relatively high, though perhaps not as high as commonly assumed. Classes for these language schools were usually held after the regular public school hours, so that they were not received enthusiastically by the young people. Some conflict with the Japan-educated language teacher also resulted when the teaching ran counter to the subjects taught in the regular public schools. This factor was emphasized in the majority of the case histories, although they did not specifically mention that it was political indoctrination to which they objected. The young men with a Buddhist family background, on the whole, had a great^{er} amount

of Japanese language school education since the Buddhist Church was more aggressive in establishing these schools in the Japanese communities on the coast. Three of the Buddhist young men attended language school over five years, while 3 went for 10 years or more. Of the young men with Christian backgrounds, 3 never attended language school, one went less than five years, six went five years or over, and one went ten years.

In most cases, the type of jobsheld by the single young men prior to the war gave little scope for their high educational attainment. Lack of economic opportunities was especially apparent in the cases of the young college educated Nisei. The past history of the anti-Japanese movement on the Coast had resulted in a limited field of employment for these young men upon completion of their formal education. The chief opportunities were in the Japanese community, where wages tended to be extremely low. Only a very few of the young men were able to find employment in Caucasian companies. For the others, there was no other choice but to compete for the available jobs in the Japanese communities in the cities and in rural areas.

By a liberal definition of job classifications, it appears from the work histories of the 18 cases, that they have improved their status to some extent since the evacuation. The professional people have stayed in that field although one has entered service work. Two persons in business and clerical types of employment have continued in this field

during the resettlement period, but one has changed over to the labor classification. One pre-war laborer has entered the professional field, one into business and clerical, while four have remained at the same level. Two pre-war students are now in the professional field, suggesting that opportunities may have opened up for this group. Three young men who were unemployed before the war are now working profitably as laborers in defense plants.

It has indeed been in wage increases that the greatest progress has been made. Although the wage level has increased tremendously throughout the country as a result of wartime prosperity, the single Nisei men's wages have unquestionably risen even more than average. The gross monthly income of 12 of the single employed men before the war was \$1115, while the gross monthly income of the 16 employed in 1943-44 was \$3,652.

The single men under study came from eight of the ten relocation centers, namely, Manzanar, Poston, Heart Mountain, Topaz, and Gila. One was a voluntary evacuee. Two-thirds of the group arrived in Chicago during the first half of 1943. The rest came during the early half of 1944. Some indication that this was not a permanent resettlement is indicated by the fact that half of the single young men had left Chicago by March, 1945, due to the draft, voluntary migration, and other factors.

In order to understand the patterns of adjustments in Chicago, some summary of the personalities of these 18 young

single men is necessary. There are wide individual differences and the process of adjustments have not been the same in all cases, although the types of problems they faced had a certain similarity these cases may not be representative of the universe of single male Nisei resettlers, these individuals do reflect in some measure the general types of problems met by the newcomer into Chicago.

Brief description of the 18 single Nisei men studied.

Ch-32 Blackie

Blackie probably represents the extreme of personal disorganization among our cases. The boy was a delinquent before the war and neither family nor community controls seemed to have any influence/. His ambition was to be a gangster. The only effects of the war and evacuation seemed to be an intensification of disorganization through greater mobility, the development of 'keto' hatred and the tendency to blame his troubles on persecution by the whites. Along with all this, however, there is no tendency towards identification with Japan.

Blackie, aged 20, is from San Francisco. He is a "zoot suiter" of prominent sort. He is the youngest of four children, the others being apparently fairly stable. His father committed suicide some years ago. His mother is still in the relocation center. Blackie finished the 10th grade, and since his initial seasonal leave from camp in (date), he has been moving around the country in agricultural work. He is extremely restless and his interests are limited to pre-occupations with sex, gambling, and a desire to evade personal responsibility.

The background of this individual is characterized by an extreme contempt for his father, who had a hotel in S.F. His father was a drunkard and gambler and never close to the other members of the family. His mother led a difficult life

as a result. Blackie's friends in his childhood were with delinquent Mexican and Negro boys. It was in camp that Blackie first began to hate "keto," but he also disliked the Kibel for their pro-Japan attitudes. He doesn't care who wins the war, but he has tended to identify himself more and more with the Japanese people on a racial basis. His whole camp experience was characterized by extreme personal disorganization. Since leaving camp he has been very conscious of discrimination and his dislike of Caucasians has been intensified. He has few plans for the future since he feels most pessimistic about impending Army service.

Ch-47 Buster.

Buster, aged 19, was born in Seattle and moved to Los Angeles at the age of 8. He was evacuated to the SA assembly center in May, 1942, and in October, 1942, he went to Rohwer; first resettled in February 1943, and came to Chicago in January 1944.

Buster is the fourth child in a family of six children. His father was a produce businessman prior to the war. Because of the bitterness of the father, the parents and two youngest children went to Tule Lake in connection with the segregation program, but Buster decided to relocate. Buster may be technically described as a "zoot suiter." In personality, he is rather quiet except under the influence of liquor. He has a deep feeling of inferiority and is extremely race conscious. He has no immediate ambitions for the future because he feels that he will never come back from Army service. His primary interest appears to be in having as much money as possible, gambling, and sex activity. Some tendency in this direction was manifested prior to the war, but it was intensified by the evacuation experiences.

The process of personal disorganization started with conflicts in the family before the war. At an early age, Buster had to help his father in business in order to supplement the family income. Parental controls were very strict and the Japanese cultural pattern was followed to some extent. In the assembly centers, Buster associated with Los Angeles boy gangs for the first time. He began to develop an extreme

hatred of Caucasians after he was discriminated against in a Montana town while on seasonal leave from camp. This was further intensified after he was jailed in Arkansas and after many conflicts with the WRA administration in the center.

Since coming to Chicago, Buster's racial consciousness has become even more apparent. He is bitter about discrimination, imagined and real. He has little hope that conditions will be much improved in the post-war period. He is living with two other individuals of similar temperament. At the time of the interviews, they were living by winnings from poker and horse-racing bets, but they returned to work subsequently and in early 1945 Buster was inducted into the Army. At no time during his stay in Chicago was he completely adjusted. His activities were characterized by extreme restlessness and erratic behavior.

Ch-6 Mas Wakai.

Mas, 28, is a "technical" Issei. He was taken to Hawaii at the age of 5 and he came to the mainland a few years before the war. Mas was ordained into the ministry after evacuation. He is a well-adjusted individual with a clear-cut and realistic goal in life. Since the date of the interview, Mas has married a California Nisei girl who was a graduate student in the field of social welfare. Some insecurity has been manifested in this individual due to his non-citizenship status. During his camp experiences and for the first year in Chicago, Mas made frantic attempts to get into the Army as a chaplain, motivated in part at least by the hopes of thus obtaining citizenship.

Mas is the oldest of seven children. All of his other brothers have been named after former U.S. presidents. The family is in Hawaii at the present time. Mas's strong Christian ideology was derived from his father who is a minister in Hawaii, and who had had an early contact with missionaries.

This individual had not felt racial discrimination until relatively late, since there was a greater acceptance of all minority groups in Hawaii. Mas worked his way through the University of Hawaii and he had many social contacts on an interracial basis during this period. In his home life, there was a considerable mixture of the Japanese and American culture.

After coming to California, Mas faced discrimination

for the first time, and became more racially conscious. The impact of the war was a terrific shock to him and he developed a hatred of Japan. There was some development of bitterness after the evacuation, as he could not accept the military necessity dictum. However, he began to develop the attitude that Democracy and true Christianity has to be developed in this country and he has dedicated his life to this wider goal. He volunteered into the Army to show his Americanism, but was rejected because of his non-citizen status. Since coming to Chicago, he has taught in the Army language school at the University of Chicago and attended the University seminary. He has managed to make good adjustments throughout.

Ch-1

George Y, aged 32, was born in Santa Monica, California. He is not an evacuee, since he "escaped" the camp experience through voluntary evacuation to the midwest in the early months of 1942. His father was a successful business man. George is the third oldest of four children (two by a subsequent marriage of the father). One of his sisters is married to a Caucasian in New York. George received his education in civil engineering at U.C., but he was never able to practice his profession due to job limitations for the Nisei on the Pacific Coast prior to the evacuation. He became conscious of his racial identity at the time of the war, and he felt great shame at being Japanese so that he made plans to avoid all contacts with the group when general evacuation was threatened.

Failing to obtain an engineering job, George became a chick sexer, and has followed this work in the midwest for a number of years. At the time of his voluntary evacuation, he was put in jail, but he did not develop any bitterness over this treatment. In the course of his experience, George had made good social adjustments. However, he is somewhat pessimistic in attitude about the future. He believes that the war is a matter of economic rivalries and he feels sorry for the Japanese people caught in a military regime. George is quite willing to serve in the U.S. Army when called.

Although George has been extremely successful financially, he is not entirely satisfied with the life of a

migratory chick sexer. At the time he entered the field, it was becoming a specialized and lucrative occupation for Nisei workers. At the end of the 1942 season, George enrolled in a trade school in Indiana in the hope of continuing in civil engineering. At the present time he is in New York seeking further work opportunities.

This is a case of a superior social adjustment. There is no bitterness evident in his present attitudes. Although George has been unable to utilize his training in civil engineering, he has been economically successful even though he does not like the life of a chick sexer. He is rather at loose ends because of the periods of season unemployment. If economic opportunities open up, he plans to make better economic adjustments.

Ch-33 Jack Satow.

Jack, aged 20, moved from Michigan to Los Angeles when he was six years old. He is a high school graduate. His father traveled extensively over the U.S. and was at one time employed in one of the big automobile companies in Michigan. The family were the only Japanese in the area in which Jack grew up during his early childhood. After the father's business failure, the family moved to Los Angeles and the mother helped to support the family. She was the dominating influence in the family life of four children, of whom Jack was the youngest. She insisted upon his children learning Japanese and certain Japanese customs. At the same time, she also introduced into the home a good deal of American culture which she had acquired from her many Caucasian contacts in Michigan.

Jack developed a certain amount of racial consciousness after he started high school. He felt more Americanized than most Nisei, but he still maintained an awareness of difference from Caucasians. He played considerably with Caucasian children and resented being sent to a Japanese school. He disliked "Japanesy" things. In his social life before the war Jack associated a great deal with Mexican boys and became a zoot suiter. He felt racial discrimination in his job adjustments which covered a wide range of occupations. In the pre-war period, Jack was drifting along and only vaguely concerned about the future. He felt that he was enjoying life, but one of his ambitions was to develop some skill so that he could work for a Caucasian company eventually.

After the outbreak of war, he developed a sort of bitterness against Caucasians for a while, but at no time did he feel drawn towards Japan. In the centers, he felt lonely and isolated, but he got in with a rowdy group. He became dismayed at the pro-Japanese sentiments in the center, and finally decided to get out even though he was timid about facing the outside world. He continued to be sensitive about Caucasians during work experiences in Colorado and Nebraska, so he finally came on to Chicago to join family members in (date). He was able to make a good home adjustment in Chicago and some of his restlessness was eliminated. In (date) he went to Minnesota and volunteered into the Army, under the influence of an older brother.

Jack definitely is a very Americanized boy, and his re-settlement problems were faced in a realistic and intelligent way. He has remained rather independent in thought so that good social adjustments were made after coming to Chicago to join a family group. At no time was he entirely satisfied with his job adjustments. The restlessness due to impending draft (as are most American boys) was the factor which caused him to go to ^{Minneapolis} Minnesota to volunteer into the intelligence service. In culture and ideology Jack is definitely American and consistent in his actions throughout the period spent in Chicago.

Ch-31 Endo

Endo, aged 23, comes from a rather disorganized San Francisco family. He is a stockily-built Nisei youth and does not use very good English. Endo did not have a happy home life. He disliked his father, and he was in constant rebellion against the enforcement of Japanese language school attendance and other rigid Japanese cultural practices. He tended to be a "bad boy" in a typically adolescent way. It was only after the evacuation that manifestations of severe personal disorganization came out into the open.

Endo is a high school graduate and he did part of a year at the J.C. level. He has held a great variety of jobs, both before and after evacuation, all of them on the unskilled level. His primary interests have been limited to work, sex and gambling. He has developed some identification with evacuees in general since the war. In his limited interracial contacts, he has associated well with other fellows.

The war apparently didn't mean a thing to him at any time, although he felt resentful at being "pushed" around. He has had some experiences with discrimination but they did not make him particularly bitter. A large part of his disorganizing experiences started during his work as a seasonal laborer in the beet fields. He did not react bitterly to the camp experiences, except for the personal discomforts of the center. He is rather pessimistic about the future of the Nisei and he is not particularly concerned about where he finally settles down as long as he can get a decent job. He

worries a great deal about the future, but he rarely discusses it with his friends.

Ch-58 George Akahoshi

George, aged 26, is a well-balanced single man. He has made satisfactory work adjustments in Chicago and tends to be rather optimistic about the future. George's father went to Hawaii from Japan at the age of 12, and thence to the mainland. He graduated from Stanford University. The father had been fairly successful in business during his younger days but he became extremely race conscious when business reverses set in, and with the outbreak of the war became vociferous in his expressions of pro-Japan nationalism and bitterness against this country. After evacuation to Manzanar he was involved in the riot, jailed, and eventually removed to the Granada center.

George had many contacts with the Japanese community in Santa Maria until his sister contacted TB, and the family was more or less ostracized. The family kept up many Japanese customs and two of his sisters were educated in Japan. In school, however, George had various interracial contacts. He decided to go on to college, but quit after the second year.

From 1939 to 1942 George lived in Los Angeles and he held various jobs with Japanese business firms. At that time, his goal was to enter into import and export work. Most of his energies were devoted to the elite Nisei society. He became highly disorganized at the outbreak of the war and felt drawn towards the Nisei. At the center, George was able to handle a high administrative position without any difficulty. He took part in many of the camp political activities and he gradually determined that his chief goal in life should be the integration

of the Nisei into American life. His whole resettlement life has been devoted to this end. He feels that the evacuation and resettlement experiences have definitely developed his personality.

Ch-45 Sugio

Sugio, aged 24, was attending the College of Agriculture at Davis, California, at the time the war broke out. He arrived in Chicago in March, 1943. Sugio is the younger of two brothers. Prior to the outbreak of the war, Sugio's father was occupied as a farmer. Sugio has broken away from his family group since the evacuation, as the family ties were never too strong.

Sugio received all of his education in the Sacramento Valley area. He has made determined efforts to break away from the Japanese influences of the past. Sugio had a considerable amount of contact with the Japanese community prior to the war. It was not until he went to college that he began to have any amount of interracial contacts. He reacted to the news of Pearl Harbor with great fear and he became extremely sensitive. He was quite resentful of the way the Nisei were handled during the evacuation period. He lost all interest in school and associated exclusively with the rowdy boys during his stay in the center.

Relocated to Chicago, he became highly restless and disorganized. He associated himself with a "zoot suit" element and he began to follow their practices, even though he had guilty feelings about it. He worried about his future and impending marriage constantly. Since his marriage, Sugio has made more satisfactory social adjustments, but he is still greatly dissatisfied with his economic adjustments. He has been waiting to be called into the Army since January, 1945.

Ch-46 Buddy

Buddy, aged 21, is an example of an even more extreme personal disorganization. He has gone through a period of great restlessness and he had not solved his personal problems by the time he was inducted into the Army in January, 1945. Prior to the war, Buddy worked on a farm in the Stockton area and he had a record of being an extremely hard worker. Buddy has one younger brother and two older brothers and an older sister, all of them of the centers but not living together as a family unit.

Buddy had had considerable Japanese influences in his home. His father was employed for a number of years as a gardener and he was not able to provide for the family during the depression years so that the oldest son had to quit school in order to go to work. Buddy worked as a laborer in the country from the time of high school graduation until the evacuation. For a short time, he was very disorganized, but he had settled down to a more stable life by the outbreak of the war.

Buddy lived in the midst of the Stockton Japanese community and he did not have well developed interracial contacts throughout his school career. There seems to be a rather drastic breaking away from former influences in the resettlement period. He is a fairly intelligent young man, and he was just beginning to get over the crisis of personal maladjustments when he was inducted into the service. He is very racially conscious and resentful about discrimination. He developed "zoot suit" tendencies while in the center, and his social adjustments in

Chicago, where he is a member of an aimless group of young men, have been most unsatisfactory. He is most pessimistic about the future, and fatalistic about his chances of ever coming back from the Army.

Ch-13 Bob K.

Bob K., age 23, is a badly maladjusted resettler. Manifestations of maladjustment had been expressed before the war, and they have continued throughout his camp and resettlement experiences. Bob is the youngest son in a family of three boys and one girl. His father came from an average farm family in Japan and he migrated extensively around the Pacific Coast before settling down (date) in one of the suburbs of Los Angeles. He never did get along well with his father, who was extremely strict. From an early age, Bob rebelled against this parental control, and he developed deep inferiority feelings. His aggressiveness did not develop until a much later period in his life. The home life was further disrupted by conflicts between the stern father and gentle, sensitive mother. The whole family were consolidated in resentful feelings against the father.

Bob early became disorganized and he plunged into an active and promiscuous sex life from an early age, a pattern of which he has followed consistently through his resettlement period. Part of this disorganization was a result of the conflict with his father about what he should study in college. Bob left school late in 1941 to start a career as a nightclub singer. It was at this time that he began to feel very racially conscious. He took a Chinese name in order to facilitate his occupational chances. He was working in a Chinese nightclub in Chinatown (S.F.) at the outbreak of the war.

The evacuation was a great emotional experience for him

and intensified his feeling of racial identity. At the same time, he made desperate efforts to break away from the Japanese group. This erratic behavior was further increased during his camp experiences, so that he had few friends. During a period of work on a seasonal pass, he decided to come to Chicago with the intention of furthering his musical ambitions. He moved to New York from there, but returned after six months or so because he was not able to adjust himself. In December, 1944, he moved on to New York again.

Ch-17 George Taki

George T., 28, from the Seattle area, is 5'8" in height and he weighs about 150 pounds. He does not have any physical disabilities. In appearance he is rather occidental, although he does not have any other racial mixtures as far as he knows. His family did not live in the Japanese community, but carried on many Japanese customs in the home. His father came to the U.S. as a student and eventually established a dry-cleaning establishment. The mother is the dominating figure in the family. The parents and a younger brother are now in Chicago, but they do not live together. There is a close family solidarity which existed prior to the war. The mother's control is still strong, as evidenced by a struggle recently carried on to have George conform to the Japanese customs in his marriage plans. George has a great pride in his family. He feels that his parents are much better educated and liberal than most of the Issei immigrants. George broke away from many of these Japanese influences, in connection with his activities as a seaman and a cannery worker up in Alaska. He was very active in the labor unions prior to the war. George is a graduate of the University of Washington.

George continues to have a strong interest in the labor movement and it has influenced his personal philosophy to a great extent, even though he appears to be opportunistic. Although he has voted in every state and national election since 1936 as a Democrat, he has a rather cynical and skeptical

attitude towards politics.

George has had frustrating economic experiences, and is pessimistic about the future of the Nisei group. He is greatly interested in becoming an independent businessman in a Japanese community, and he has also thought of going to South America after the war to escape discrimination. He is restless in his economic adjustments and dissatisfied with his present position.

Ch-30 Roy

Roy, 20, was in the first year at U.C. at the time of evacuation. His father has been a gardener throughout his residence of _____ years in this country. Roy was brought up to be racially proud and had many contacts with the Buddhist and Japanese culture. His grandfather originally came to the U.S. in 1904, and he had maintained his hold over the whole family up to the time of evacuation. His father was quite nationalistic in attitude and very strict about Roy's upbringing. The break with family traditions came when Roy joined the Boy Scouts. At that time, he became very ~~aware of~~ race consciousness. He was taken to Japan at the age of 16, and rebelled against this experience.

At the outbreak of the war, Roy felt sympathetic with the Japanese people, but at the same time maintained a fondness for America. The impact of the war temporarily brought him closer to his parents, and the whole family voluntarily evacuated to Central California. Roy had not mixed with Caucasians much up to the time of evacuation and felt no great bitterness about discriminating aspect of this situation. His attitude was one of passive loyalty to America and passive sympathy towards Japan. Experiences in the Free Zone with a group of highly Americanized Nisei began to raise doubts in his mind. After going to camp, Roy veered away from the Issei and Kibei point of view. When registration occurred, he went all out for America and volunteered into the Army. After his ~~registration~~ rejection, on physical grounds, from the Army, Roy resettled to

Chicago.

Roy developed in his political and social consciousness after resettlement, and he was rapidly making satisfactory adjustments to the Chicago life at the time of the interviews. He is intensely interested in all minority problems of this country and he has planned his life with the goal of living in this country permanently.

Ch-27 Hideo

Hideo, 22, is the fourth child in a family of four boys and four girls. The family lived in great poverty in central California. The mother was dominant in family affairs, and she had a very strict attitude toward the upbringing of the children in conformity with Japanese standards. As a result, there were many family conflicts, and the children rebelled one after the other. Hideo developed a deep sense of inferiority and a racial awareness at an early age. The Japanese community in his town was not well accepted by the rest of the community, due to the strong farming competition which existed. The family was quite disorganized, but a deep sense of family loyalty prevented the children from completely breaking away. The social life of the family was completely Japanese, and considerable influence was exerted by the Buddhist church. The Nisei in this community were strictly dominated by the Issei in the period prior to the outbreak of the war.

Hideo broke away from this strict family and community control after he went away to college, but he tended to isolate himself and concentrate on his studies. His few interracial contacts were very casual. The outbreak of the war was a terrific shock, and Hideo made frantic efforts to identify himself with America completely. He was greatly disorganized right up to the period of evacuation. The evacuation was a further blow, and he was very badly maladjusted in the center. He went out on seasonal work almost immediately, and then

continued on to Denver. It was here that he began to make many interracial contacts and gradually evolved a philosophy that it was important to work for interracial harmony. He has continued this type of thinking after arriving in Chicago, where he has made many contacts with Caucasian pacifists, and has changed his major in college from landscape gardening to psychology and philosophy. Hideo is still a little vague about immediate goals.

Ch-21 Davy

Davy, 21, is a very intelligent, but badly disorganized young man. He lived in San Francisco all of his life until the time of evacuation. His father was a dentist in the Japanese community. His mother was born in Hawaii. Davy has a younger brother now playing in a Caucasian orchestra in the midwest, after getting an honorable discharge from the Army. Since evacuation, Davy has not found^a/vocational interest which is acceptable to his family, although he has some definite ideas that he would like to play in an orchestra.

Davy's whole life story is a series of rebellion, first against the family and then against the Japanese community. He is quite Americanized in his behavior, but he has become deeply race conscious since resettlement. He holds many racial prejudices, particularly against the Jews. Davy had great faith in Democracy before the war, but he was deeply disillusioned with the attacks against the Nisei in the period following the war up to the time of evacuation. This has caused him to adopt a "chip on the shoulder" attitude. His whole experiences since resettlement has been one of great restlessness.

Davy first rebelled against the Japanese influences in his home when he forced to attend the Japanese language school. He has been rather ambivalent in his attitudes since coming to Chicago as he does not particularly care for either Nisei or Caucasian groups. Much of his feelings of frustration has been taken out on the Kibei group, which he could not get along with. He has not faced his resettlement problems in a realistic and

intelligent way. Part of his restlessness is due to impending induction into the Army. In culture and ideology, Davy is definitely American in spite of his present mental conflicts and fears of insecurity. The war means very little to him, although he gets greatly aroused at discrimination. He has limited interests, so that he tends to seek other measures of satisfaction rather than face the issue at hand.

Ch-21 Daiki

Daiki, 27, was a restaurant worker before the war and a part-time student at the University of Washington. He has two sisters and two brothers. Due to economic conditions, Daiki had to postpone his college education. This experience has greatly influenced his present feelings of economic frustration and political thinking. His father was rather strict in his ideas about bringing up the children according to Japanese traditions, but the sons gradually broke away from this domination as they got older. The family restaurant was located in the poorest district in Seattle and catered to a wide variety of people. As a result of seeing all of the "economically deprived" Daiko lost his faith in the Christian religion. However, he came into contact with the labor movement and strongly supported it up until the time of the war.

Daiki developed a sensitive attitude during his childhood, and he has never been able to overcome it, although he is more rounded in personality since resettlement. He did not adjust himself too well in the center because of his great feeling that evacuation was all wrong, and because of his inability to get along well with less liberal Nisei. Originally, his awareness of social problems in this country arose out of his observations of the economic plight of the Nisei before the war; and it was intensified because of political differences with his father. Daiki has never identified himself with Japan, but he is a little pessimistic about the Nisei being able to obtain

their rightful place in this country as he feels that the racial discrimination aspect is something which will be almost impossible to eliminate. At the same time, he is most anxious that the Nisei not be pushed back into a segregated pattern of life in Chicago as he feels that this will be a direct threat to his own position. Some of his resettlement experiences have made him racially conscious, and his present social contacts are almost entirely among the Nisei.

Ch-11 Sho

Sho, aged 26, is a case where the integration process into the wider community life before the war appears to be greater than that for the average Nisei. This process has continued in the resettlement period, although Sho was greatly disorganized for a while after Pearl Harbor because of the shock of suddenly discovering that he was classed with a suspected group. Sho comes from a family which was better off economically than most of the immigrant Issei. His mother came from a land-owning family in Japan and she was never able completely to adjust herself to life in America, for she felt that she had stepped down in social status. His father also came from a prominent Japanese family in Japan, and became active in a Japanese Import-Export company which had its head office in Japan. For this reason, the parents never completely lost a close identification with Japan. Sho was able to break away from this pattern and to establish wide interracial contacts in his community and in school. His sister was brought up in a much stricter atmosphere of Japanese parental control.

Sho never experienced any discrimination experiences in his school life and he developed a rather idealistic faith in democracy. Sho is quite proud of his former interracial contacts, and it disturbs him that his social adjustments have not been as satisfactory as his economic adjustments in the Chicago area. His camp experiences were most dissatisfying because of the consciousness of great restrictions being imposed upon him.

The fears of insecurity first began after the outbreak of the war when his father was interned. He is rather pessimistic about the future for the Nisei, and his attitude of lacking "roots" in Chicago stems largely from the fact that he feels the lack of adequate social contacts. He became engaged to a Nisei girl shortly before his induction into the Army at the end of 1944. She was fairly well adjusted by that time.

Ch-15 Lindy

Lindy, 25, lived in Glendale for five years prior to the war. His father was a barber in the Japanese community of San Francisco for a number of years. Lindy completed two years of work at the Glendale Junior college after returning from Japan, where he had some schooling. He is a Buddhist and he has taken an active part in church affairs for a number of years. In the relocation center, he was a youth leader in the church.

Lindy has a rather serious outlook on life. He considers himself a good American in spite of his Japanese upbringing before the war, and resentments ~~he~~ following the war. He has led a limited social life due to the necessity of earning a living. His main goal in life is to obtain economic security and he has some hope of getting established in a Japanese community because of greater opportunities. Lindy is keenly conscious of racial discrimination, but not particularly bitter about it. He identifies himself with the Japanese in this country, and he is most concerned about their future. He has not adjusted himself to a particular job status as he has been dissatisfied with all of the jobs held in the resettlement phase of his life, except for his first one in Chicago, from which he was forced out by the Army Hearing Board. He is concentrating upon saving money as he does not think that he can make much progress during the duration of the war. He does not think that California offers much of a future for him, although he misses the climate.

Ch-52 Bob Ichinaga

Bob, 19, grew up in Central California in a family where the parents were separated. While his father was still at home, the children were reared quite strictly. The standard of living was poor, due to the extreme poverty of the family. After the parental separation, the mother and oldest children went to work. Bob lived in a Japanese community, and he had a rather complete training in the Buddhist church. However, Bob has an idealized conception of his home town, as he was able to make fairly good interracial contacts at school and he never faced any discrimination himself. His social life was chiefly in Nisei clubs, but he also took part in some wider community activities. It was not until Pearl Harbor that he became closely identified with the Japanese community. His mother reflected most of the fear and she instructed the children to burn all tangible evidences of their Japanese cultural life. Bob became self-conscious at school, as he believed that the students had turned against him. He was not old enough to really understand the significance of the evacuation, so that the center life was a pleasure to him. It freed his mother of the necessity of struggling for a living and Bob was able to become very active in the high school classes.

Bob decided to resettle after all of his friends left camp. He had a strong desire for adventure after receiving letters from his friends on the outside, so that he finally persuaded his mother to allow him to come to Chicago. He was most restless in his job and social adjustments in the resettlement period that he finally decided to go back to camp

until he was called for the draft. His goal in life is to eventually own a restaurant of his own, but most of his future plans are extremely vague. He definitely feels that his future is in America, and he does not have much sympathy for Japan's political ideology although he feels sorry for the Japanese people. His identification with the evacuees became even stronger after his resettlement, as he heard of the unpleasant process of adjustments, mostly from his other single Nisei friends in the boarding house where he lived.