

A SURVEY OF EVACUEE ADJUSTMENT  
IN THE ST. LOUIS AREA

Committee on Research  
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Washington University 'Y'  
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## I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The evacuation of all persons of Japanese ancestry, of whom approximately 70,000 of the 110,000 were American citizens, from the three West Coast states and the western half of Arizona meant the placement of these people in ten relocation centers throughout the country and a consequent breakdown in the societal structures common to any people. But because these are marginal folk, in varying degrees affected by two cultures, which in themselves are widely divergent; innumerable conflicts exist that are intrapersonal and interpersonal, intragroup and intergroup, intraclass and interclass, intrastratum and interstratum--further enhanced by their contacts with the larger American society which has these same conflicts in their relationship with the problem of the evacuees. Responsible officials of the government public declare that there has yet been no evidence of sabotage among residents of Japanese ancestry in the United States or Hawaii. With a recognition, too, of the tremendous expense of the relocation centers and the War Relocation Authority staff; of the demoralizing and disintegrating effects of confinement in a limited area for persons accused of no crime; of the varied skills available among the evacuees to alleviate the manpower shortage; and of the public's understanding of the place of these evacuees in the war program--a project of relocation into communities throughout the country after an investigation of loyalty is being pushed vigorously upon these people who are still fearful of public attitude.

Though the program of readjustment into communities strange to



these people appear, on the whole, to have been successful, there have been incipient suggestions of trouble, which might be magnified by the increase in the speed of the release program and the presence of a growing number of persons of Japanese ancestry in communities which heretofore have not known Orientals.

First of all, an effort was made to take a simple census of the general nature of the evacuee population in St. Louis, schooling, employment, living conditions, recreation and general community acceptance. Since at the time the study was conceived, only about 150 people of Japanese ancestry were in the St. Louis Metropolitan Area; it was the original desire of the group of students at Washington University making the survey to reach each one of these persons in order to discover their attitudes toward resettlement in St. Louis.

These students were all nisei who had been evacuated from the coastal states; inasmuch as they were so directly affected by the evacuation or resettlement, the reader is forewarned if possible bids undetected by the group.

It was believed that this survey would be of value in getting systematic information from a relatively large group of resettled evacuees, though it was realized that the subjects would be heavily weighted on the side of the students. The group had hoped to make this information available to the War Relocation Authority because, at the time, it was thought that the agency had not taken into sufficient account the subjective attitudes of the people to be relocated, though it seemed to have been almost overly cautious in handling the relocation from the point of view of the "outside" public to be affected. In an earlier report of progress of the research, the following was stated in the introductory remarks:



"For example, the dissatisfaction of the resettlers in feeling lost in a new community unless there is already a considerable number of evacuees there leads to what is happening in Chicago and Denver, where new little slant-eyed ghettos are gradually forming. It is rather apparent that the agency must put some emphasis on this aspect of successful relocation, for no matter how well the community may be prepared to accept a 'fine American who happens to be of Japanese parentage,' the community will undoubtedly be resentful to find the newcomer petty in his thinking, bitter, and unable to think further than the problem of his particular ethnic group, particularly when the whole nation is engaged in a vast war and the more alert minds are studying means for the best world organization of peace." Secondly, the research group wished to make this information available to the center residents who might thereby more concretely evaluate their possibilities for successful resettlement. It was thought that such information would indirectly aid in building morale among the evacuees and discourage certain elements in the centers from abandoning themselves to becoming public wards.

With those general purposes outlined in the spring of the year, a questionnaire was framed with the suggestions of a group of students, most of whom were nisei. However, this questionnaire was not used in the final report--it was too long; the answers were of the essay type and difficult to compare; and too many people objected to signing their names. Realizing the problems encountered in the first questionnaire, a second questionnaire was mailed in August to a list of people of Japanese ancestry compiled from the War Relocation Authority in St. Louis, the Washington University "Y", the International Club of the Christ Church Cathedral, supplemented by individuals among the nisei in St. Louis. No attempt was



made to reach the rural workers, about 100 in the county inasmuch as their environmental setting for resettlement differed so clearly from that of the resettling population in Metropolitan St. Louis.

The statements contained in this report are in no way the responsibility of Washington University, St. Louis, or the "Y" organization of the university. Any communication concerning this document may be addressed to Miss Setsuko Matsunaga, 235 East Washington, Kirkwood 22, Missouri.

The criticisms and suggestions of Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas, University of California, and Dr. Stuart Queen, Washington University, are gratefully acknowledged.



## II. THE GENERAL NATURE OF THE RESETTLED POPULATION IN ST. LOUIS

Of the 132 questionnaires which were mailed, 51 were returned completed, 3 were returned blank, 30 were estimated to have failed to reach the addressees; which left approximately 48 which were received but not returned. According to the admittedly rough estimates of Mr. Arno Haack (Secretary of the Campus "Y" of Washington University, who has been closely allied as a layman to the resettlement program in the St. Louis area and is the executive secretary of the Metropolitan Church Federation Committee on Resettlement in St. Louis) and Mr. Emory Kennedy (relocation officer of the War Relocation Authority in St. Louis since February 25, 1942) there were from 225 to 250 persons of Japanese ancestry in the St. Louis area, excluding the rural workers, on August 1, 1943. Of this number, it is estimated that 85 were students--60 at Washington University and the others in the various medical, dental, pharmaceutical and nursing schools. Mr. Kennedy estimates that from 165 to 170 were non-student, employed individuals.

19 (37.3%) of the responses to the questionnaire were female and 32 (62.7%) male. Of the former group, all were nisei; of the latter group, 5 (15.6%) were issei, and 27 (84.4%) nisei, though there was included among the nisei a person who had left Japan at the age of one. Of the total population responding to the questionnaire, 46 (90.8%) were nisei and 5 (9.8%) were issei. The sex distribution of the sample seems to be representative when compared with the most comprehensive list of evacuees in the area available, which was compiled from the War Relocation Authority, the Washington University Campus "Y", the Inter-American Club of the Christ Church Cathedral, supplemented by individuals, as of August 1, 1943. It is to be



doubted, however, that the actual number of issei men who were re-settled here was as high as the sample indicated.

The occupational distribution of the sample coincides in general with the impressionistic observations of the writer and seems to check well with the data as of August 1, 1943, furnished by the local War Relocation Authority Office at the request of the investigator. This included all persons of Japanese ancestry who had contact with the War Relocation Authority Office in St. Louis.

Table 1<sup>1</sup>

A COMPARISON OF THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS OF THE STUDY WITH RECORDS OF THE WRA OF ST. LOUIS

SEX:

Total	Males	Females
177	107 (60.5%)	70 (39.5%)
51	32 (62.7%)	19 (37.3%)

GENERATION:

Nisei	Issei	Male Nisei	Male Issei	Male Total	Fem. Nisei	Fem. Issei	Fem. Total
169 (95.4%)	8 (4.6%)	103 (96.3%)	4 (3.7%)	107	66 (94.3%)	4 (5.7%)	70
46 (90.2%)	5 (9.8%)	27 (84.4%)	5 (15.6%)	32	19 (100%)	0	19

OCCUPATION: Total

Professional	Business; clerical	Labor: skilled	Labor: unskilled	Domestics	Students	Housewives	Unreported
22 (12.4%)	0	13 (12.6%)	7 (6.8%)	10 (9.7%)	61 (59.2%)	4 (6.1%)	0
6 (11.8%)	0	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.7%)	0	19 (59.4%)	2 (10.5%)	1 (2.0%)
19 (10.7%)	0	13 (13.1%)	7 (6.5%)	2 (50%)	61 (57%)	1 (25%)	0
3 (5.9%)	0	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	4 (80%)	19 (59.4%)	0	1 (3.1%)
13 (7.3%)	0	1 (1.5%)	1 (5.3%)	12 (11.3%)	14 (21.1%)	5 (7.1%)	0
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1 (2.0%)	0	1 (5.3%)	1 (3.1%)	3 (75%)	5 (26.3%)	2 (10.5%)	1 (3.1%)
35 (19.8%)	0	13 (12.6%)	7 (6.8%)	10 (9.7%)	61 (59.2%)	4 (6.1%)	0
12 (23.5%)	0	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.7%)	0	19 (59.4%)	2 (10.5%)	1 (2.0%)
75 (42.1%)	0	13 (13.1%)	7 (6.5%)	2 (50%)	61 (57%)	1 (25%)	0
24 (47.1%)	0	1 (3.1%)	1 (3.1%)	4 (80%)	19 (59.4%)	0	1 (3.1%)
5 (2.9%)	0	1 (1.5%)	1 (5.3%)	12 (11.3%)	14 (21.1%)	5 (7.1%)	0
2 (3.9%)	0	1 (5.3%)	1 (3.1%)	8 (42.1%)	5 (26.3%)	2 (10.5%)	1 (3.1%)
19 (10.7%)	0	1 (1.4%)	1 (3.1%)	20 (33.3%)	14 (20%)	5 (7.1%)	0
3 (5.9%)	0	1 (5.3%)	1 (3.1%)	3 (75%)	5 (26.3%)	2 (10.5%)	1 (3.1%)
13 (7.3%)	0	1 (1.5%)	1 (5.3%)	12 (11.3%)	14 (21.1%)	5 (7.1%)	0
2 (3.9%)	0						



The comparison<sup>1</sup> of the sex, generation, and occupational distribution of the sample and the records of the War Relocation Authority seem to indicate that the study reached a representative group of the resettled population in St. Louis though it is readily admitted that the figures provided by the War Relocation Authority are not complete, inasmuch as some people of Japanese ancestry have had not contact with the local office.

The average age of the resettled population, according to the sample, is 25; the average age of the women is 23, while that of the men is 27, though excluding the issei it is 22. This may be accounted for by the fact that the greater proportion of the men in the sample are students, which is not the case with the women; this proportion appears to correspond, however, with the actual population. Eight of the 51 are married, and two families with children and two couples without children are included.

Of the 46 nisei in the study, only 8 had ever been in Japan, their average period of residence was 11 1/2 months, but five had resided in Japan for 6 months or less, 3 for one year, and one for 3 years. The 5 issei in the study, of course, once resided in Japan, their average period of residence having been reported as 15 years.

41 responses were received for indications of religious preference, of which 34 were Protestants, 1 was Catholic, 2 were Buddhists, and 5 had no religious preferences. The denominational distribution was as follows: 11 Congregational, 6 Presbyterian, 4 Episcopal, 3 Methodist, 3 Baptist, 1 Mormon, and 5 no denominational preference.

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1. The figures above the line indicate the information provided by the St. Louis War Relocation Authority office. The figures below the line were derived from the sample in the study.



It appears from this that the resettlers belong to many different denominations; that the Buddhists are either few in number or are reluctant in stating their affiliations since Buddhism, being an Oriental religion, has no formal expression in the area; that there is a relatively large number of Congregationalists in St. Louis, probably because the Congregational National Committee for Work with Japanese American Evacuees centers in St. Louis.

The occupation of the father before the war was reported thus: 6 professionals (doctor, professor, pastor, lawyer, broker, etc.), 20 business managers or owners (grocer, merchant, florist, hotel, laundry, produce market, photographer, etc.), 4 business clerks, etc. (clerk, salesman, etc.), 3 skilled laborers (labor-contractor, landscaper, etc.), 8 farm owners and operators, 2 retired. The large proportion of students in St. Louis may account for the relatively high occupational level of the parents of the resettlers, since it appears that those who are still able to attend school above the high school level are those whose parents were on a relatively high economic plane. (See III. Students.)

There appears to be a disproportionate representation in St. Louis of people from certain regions of residence before the war as compared to the figures provided by the Bureau of Census for the Tolan Report.<sup>2</sup> 13 were from Central California, 11 from Washington State, 11 from the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Region, 8 from Southern California, 3 from Honolulu, and 5 from the Middlewestern states; these data correspond to the impressionistic generalizations that the resettlers have expressed about the regions from which the resettlers have come. The relatively few from the Southern California area, for

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2. United States Government Printing Office. House Report 2124. pp. 96-100.



example, may be an indication of a type of selective migration to St. Louis and the importance of the proximity of the Arkansas centers which consist primarily of people from Central California. This may be checked in complete detail with the War Relocation Authority and Census reports.

The period of stay in the centers ranged from 0 to 16 months. 9 people reported that they were in a center for 4 or 5 months, and 16 people reported living in a center for 11 or 12 months; before and after these reported periods of residence there is a regular decline in the number reported which tendency generally coincides with the semester divisions of the universities. Those who reported a period of residence in the center of 4 or 5 months were mostly students; whereas those who reported a period of residence of 11 or 12 months were primarily employed non-students.

According to the sample of 50 who answered this question, the average educational level is the completion of almost 2 years in college (13.8 years). For the 32 males, the average was 2 1/2 years in college (14.5); the students having a level of 14.4, the non-student employed males 14.7, the nisei employed 16.2, and the issei employed 12.2. For the 18 females, the average level is 12.7; the students with a level of 13.7 and the non-students 12.3. If the sample is at all representative of the resettling population in St. Louis, resettlement seems to be somewhat selective on the educational background level; this, again, is deeply influenced by the large proportion of students and professional workers in the area, and their age-level.

Of the 50 resettled people sampled in the question of Caucasian contacts before the war, 18 reported "Quite a few,"; 16 1/2 "As many as with Orientals"; 10 1/2 "Almost All"; 5 "Few"; 0 "None", "Almost



none", or "All". Though the question does not delve into the nature of the contacts,<sup>3</sup> the results seem to indicate that most of the subjects thought that their Caucasian contacts were fairly wide. (The presence of the faction needs explanation; in a few cases, there were more than one checked, in which instances the weight of 1 was divided.)

25 of the 50 answered that their language use before the war was "Mostly English", 14 "Almost exclusively English", 9 Japanese and English equally", 2 "Mostly Japanese", and 9 "Almost exclusively Japanese". All of those who reported their residence prior to the war outside of the coastal military area were included in the 14 answering "Mostly English"; both of those who responded "Mostly Japanese" were issei. Again, the question does not disclose the circumstances of the use of either language<sup>4</sup> and therefore is subject to criticism, though the results indicate that those included in the sample judged that their language use was decidedly more English than Japanese.

### III. STUDENTS

The original resettlers in the St. Louis area were students, approximately 40 of them attending Washington University, St. Louis University and their professional-technical schools, and the St. Louis College of Pharmacy in the fall of 1942. In February, 1943, there were approximately 60 nisei at Washington University, a number which has been arbitrarily maintained as the quota since that time, and approximately 20 students in other schools. The proportion of the resettled population that consisted of students steadily decreased, inasmuch as the non-student working population increased and the number of students was limited by the various institutions. The St. Louis population's

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3. A criticism of the questionnaire by Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas.

4. A criticism of the questionnaire by Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas.



initial contacts with people of Japanese ancestry were with students, since there were few such people in the area before the evacuation, though there was an estimated population of 200 Chinese (Check census) in the downtown district for whom the evacuees were taken to be until publicity was given their arrival by the metropolitan paper. At the beginning of the resettlement program in St. Louis, the Washington University Campus 'Y' secretary became the unofficial consultant for the university, the nisei students, and the lay public in most matters that concerned the evacuees because the evacuees were almost entirely students, by far the largest number of whom were at Washington University.

The average age of the nisei student in St. Louis was 21, according to the sample, though the female student averaged 22 years; the latter figure may be accounted for by the fact that the sample for women students was very small, corresponding to the actual small number of women students, the majority of whom are graduate professional students in nursing, pharmacy, etc., though there is one 16 year old high school student included. The majors of the men students were reported as follows: 4 pre-medical or medical, 4 architecture, 3 pre-dentistry or dentistry, 2 pharmacy, 2 engineering, 1 pre-legal, 1 commerce, 1 high school, and 1 in a vocational training school. These data may indicate the nisei students' aspirations for professional status, particularly in the absence of liberal arts courses reported; but it is more likely that the academic interest displayed in this sample represent the array of opportunities in professional training offered in St. Louis.

7 of the students indicated delays of 6 months to 1 year in the date of their graduation because of the evacuation, though the 2 medical students will graduate a year earlier, as is now the expected



procedure in all institutions on the wartime speed basis.

The responses seem to indicate that the students are fairly well satisfied with the suitability of their respective schools for the training they desire; only 1 out of the 17 that reported on this question said that his school was "inadequate", 8 reported "satisfactory", 5 reported "same standing as previous school", 1 reported "better than previous school" and 2 reported "one of the best in the country".

Of the 21 who answered the question concerning their expectations after graduation, 5 were going to "volunteer for the army", including a woman, 2 were expecting to "be drafted soon" and the rest were expecting to "get a job for which they were then preparing". It is interesting to note that no one reported either "Get married and keep house" or "Accept any kind of job that's available"; whereas 5 indicated volunteering for military service as alternative to getting a job for which they were preparing.

22 students answered the question on school and living expenses, 7 of whom reported complete support from their family, 2 reported supplementing the family provision by summer earnings which amounted to 10% of the total expenses, 10 were using personal savings from before the war for from 10 to 100% of their expenses, but 17 reported more than 75% of expenses from their family. Each one of the 5 students receiving scholarship aid had jobs during school, and 12 of the 22 were holding part-time jobs. Only one student was entirely without support from the family or personal savings but was equipped with several scholarships covering 50% of the expenses and three jobs during school for the other expenses. The largest scholarship grant was 60% of expenses, supplemented by personal savings for 25% and a summer job for 15%. 2 of the 5 had scholarships amounting to only



5% of expenses, both supplemented by aid from their families, personal savings, and jobs. These data seem to indicate that except for a negligible few (in this sample, one) the nisei who have been able to continue with their education above the high school level are those whose parents had enough savings or who had savings in their own names from before the evacuation to allow for such expenses. It is to be remembered that the workers in a relocation center get \$12.00 to \$19.00 a month for full-time work and that the few families already resettled live on an extremely narrow margin, which factors would eliminate the possibility of sufficient current earnings to finance or to aid in the financing of higher education among the evacuees. Though it is the impressionistic observation of the investigator that the nisei who would be in college if it were not for the war and the evacuation are indecisive about school either because of the impending draft and volunteer program for the army or because they would rather take a job with relatively good pay during the manpower shortage--the economic lack remains a primary deterrent to the continuation of education. Therefore, it may be expected that the proportion of those of college age who will attend college will decline progressively at the period when the largest number of nisei will be of college age. And, inasmuch as education may be considered an important asset in assimilation on a high level, this problem is worthy of serious consideration.

It has been pointed out that the "Attitude of fellow Caucasian students" cannot be handled in a questionnaire, because the attitudes will vary from one student to another.<sup>5</sup> Despite the realization of this serious limitation, the answers to this question concentrated so

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5. Comments by Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas on the St. Louis questionnaire.



heavily on one answer that the value of the individual generalizations taken collectively cannot altogether be discounted. Of the 23 who responded, 19 said "As toward any other student", 3 said "With special courtesy", and 1 said "Indifference"; no one said either "Resentment" or "Forced toleration", which were the two other alternatives. It would be of interest to get a comparable sample of Caucasian students' attitudes toward nisei students to see how they correspond. However, the element of importance in the results of this particular question is that the nisei students feel that they subjected to the same kind of attitudes as any other student, that they are not discriminated against, and that they are as acceptable as any other students.

#### IV. NON-STUDENT EMPLOYEES

12(73.6%) of the women in the study who reported were non-student employees and 2(10.5%) were housewives. Of this number 3(23.6%) were employed in business, 1(8.3%) was employed as a skilled worker, and 8(66.7%) were employed as domestics. Excluding the one skilled worker who was employed as a seamstress in the household for which her husband worked and who lived with her 2 sons who were attending school, the average age of the working women was 23.3 years; all were single and lived away from their families except for this one person who lived and worked with her family.

13(40.6%) of the men who reported were non-student employees; of the working male population, 6(46.1%) were engaged in professional pursuits (though if the 2 internes are classified as students, the percentage of non-student workers is 34.4%, and the professional men among them is 35.5%), 1(7.7%) was a skilled worker, 1(7.7%) was an unskilled worker, and 4(30.7%) were domestics, and 1(7.7%) did not



report his occupation. The average age of the total working male population of this sample is 35 years, though of the nisei it is 24 years and of the issei it is 52 years. 5 of the 13 men were reported married, 3 of whom among the 5 issei included in the employed population. Only 2 of the married men were not living with their entire immediate families, and 2 of the families consisted only of man and wife.

30 reported on the source of their original job (included in this number are students, many of whom had part-time jobs); 14(46.7%) reported "WRA", 6(20%) reported "Self" or "Own initiative", 3(10%) reported "Caucasian friends in the area", 3(10%) "Evacuees already in the area", 2(6.7%) "personal friends" (presumably not in the area), 1(3.3%) "school", and 1(3.3%) the National Student Relocation Council. Of the 26 who answered whether their job had been arranged before leaving the center, 14 answered "yes", and 12 "no"; but if the students are excluded, 13 answered "yes" and 5 "no". It may be inferred that the students, having been here longer and having made more contacts, have relied less on the WRA for employment than have the full-time working resettlers, though more than half of the students are employed part-time; on the other hand, persons going out for employment from the Center are forced to rely heavily on the WRA unless a short-term leave is granted to seek employment in person--which procedure incurs a larger initial expense upon the resettler, who may not have such resources.

The reports on the monthly earnings were few, but the highest reported by the men was \$150.00 a month for 48 hours of work a week, and the lowest reported was \$75.00 a month for 95 hours a week; it was assumed that in both of these cases most of board and room was provided, inasmuch as the former was a professional worker in a



hospital and the latter a domestic worker. For the women, \$100.00 a month for 40 hours a week was reported by a general office secretary, and the lowest was \$45.00 for an indefinite number of hours a week by a domestic, though board and room was provided. There was one domestic who reported \$40.00 a month plus board and room for an indefinite number of hours, but who declared that she was treated like "one of the family" and that her employer was "very understanding". The 26 who evaluated their wage answered thus: 1 "Excellent", 3 "Very good", 16 "Fair", 5 "Not very good" and 1 "Bad". The one who answered "Excellent", was not an evacuee, having already been situated in this professional position through a civil service examination before the war; the one who answered "bad" was also not included in the evacuation program, but expressed the opinion of internes in hospitals. To the question, "For the type and amount of work you are doing, how much would a Caucasian receive?" 3 answered "Much more", 7 "Somewhat more", 15 "Same" and 2 "Somewhat less". The 3 who answered "Much more" were the boy who had temporary employment in a household while he went to a welding school, the issei man of 53 years who said he worked 95 hours a week for \$75.00 a month and who was the only one of the sample who marked that his employer treated him "like one greatly indebted to him", and the woman who worked as a seamstress for 40 cents an hour.

Of the 27 who answered the question on the treatment accorded by the employer, 26 answered "Like any other employee", and only 1 person, mentioned earlier, answered "Like one greatly indebted to him". 18 answered that the attitude of the fellow employees was "As toward any other employer"; and 5 answered "With special courtesy and interest", and their being invited to homes, social gatherings, lunch and church--each having been mentioned 4 times.



2 girls who worked in homes stated that they were treated as "one of the family"; a man who worked as a busboy said that he was treated a "little better than the rest of the busboys". In general, it may be inferred that the people are reasonably well satisfied with their jobs, though the reported earnings appear to be considered only fair.

Asked "With your actual training and experience, what kind of job would you have today if you were not of Japanese ancestry and not in the army?" the following were the replies if they differed from their present occupation, which is here indicated in the parentheses: draftsman (architectural student, part-time butler); truckdriver, woodworker in an aircraft factory, or an office clerk (part-time houseboy and student at a welding school); chemist or a laboratory technician (pre-medical student, part-time houseboy for board and room); pharmacist--owner of drugstore, or worker for a drug manufacturer or in a hospital (pharmacy student, drug clerk); defense plant physician (resident physician in a hospital); professor of art and fine art (commercial artist); ranch foreman (cook); grocer (caretaker); teaching or research in bacteriology (graduate student and assistant in the department of bacteriology); teaching or doing office work (typist); secretary, retail seller, or seamstress (domestic); defense plant worker (domestic); office clerk or typist (domestic). It appears that substantial number of this sample feel that their training and experience are not being fully utilized; though it is readily admitted that with this question it is extremely difficult to evoke reliable answers.

Responses came from 24 as to the reasons for which they would take a job in another part of the country. They were asked to number in order of importance the following list: Living conditions, Wage, Closeness to the family, Friends, Opportunities for advancement,



Public Attitude, Climate, Suitability of job to training, Others\_\_\_\_.

Each item from an individual was weighted in the same manner in which he numbered the items, and each individual had a total weight of 36; if all the items were not included in an array the remaining weight was divided equally among the items left blank. The total weights of each of the items gave the relative importance that was given ~~each number~~ listed item by the 24 persons who answered the question: in this way, the smaller the number indicated the greater the importance attached to a particular factor. The results in the order of importance were as follows: Opportunity for advancement 77.1, Wage 84.1, Living conditions 97.6, climate 112.4, closeness to family 112.6, Public attitude, 117.6, Suitability of job to training 118.9, and finally Friends 137.6. One person said "tood dead of town"; another said "social life". It is recognized that the sample was very small, but the results seem to substantiate the impressionistic observations of the investigator. This was an indirect attempt to discover the major factors of dissatisfaction among people of Japanese ancestry in the St. Louis area. That climate should assume such a place of relative importance may be explained by the fact that the survey was made at the beginning of August, when the heat and humidity were quite severe in St. Louis.

Occupational mobility seemed to be almost lacking in the sample with only two reporting more than one job held since coming to St. Louis among the non-student employed population, though residential mobility seemed high (according to the difficulty encountered in keeping an accurate list of addresses of people of Japanese ancestry in the area.) The students are not included in this because of the temporary nature of their part-time or seasonal work. A presser took a job as a busboy, because the hours were bad and because "it



was too hot"; a domestic took another domestic job because of a higher wage. However, the number of those who have held jobs in St. Louis and have moved to other cities is quite large; this generalization is based on the comments of Mr. Emory Kennedy of the WRA, who has reported difficulty in keeping his files up to date because people leave their jobs to go to other cities, particularly Chicago, and the investigator's own difficulty in keeping her own file clear of those who have moved out of the area.

#### V. LIVING CONDITIONS: HOUSING & MEALS

It was found that by far the greatest number of the sample resided in private homes. The mode of tabulation was as follows: each person responding had a weight of one; if he had lived in more than one of these since coming to St. Louis, that weight was distributed equally among the items he checked. (This device has been used in several questions in the study.)  $33 \frac{2}{3}$  of the 51 who responded answered thus:  $3 \frac{2}{3}$  lived in apartments,  $3 \frac{1}{3}$  in boarding houses, 3 in hotels, 3 in dormitories, 2 in hospital quarters and  $1 \frac{1}{3}$  in their own home. 12 had lived in more than one type of abode. That a conspicuously large number was living in private homes is not indicative of family residence, however, inasmuch as only 2 families were reported in the survey. Rather, the large number in private homes may be explained by the relatively large number of domestics, who earned their board and room in the home as part of their pay, the number of students as well as a few full-time employees in other capacities who work for their board and room, and the number who rent rooms in private homes with people who have become interested in the relocation program. The general shortage of housing for single persons in hotels and apartments has forced many to go to private



homes; the closing of the dormitories to civilian use at Washington University has accentuated this situation.

The great majority of the resettlers in the area are making their living quarters with Caucasians, which may be partially explained by the fact that they are living in private homes. Of the 44 who reported on this question, 27 were living with Caucasians, 5 with evacuees, 7 with their own families (members of 2 families reported), and 5 with both Caucasians and Orientals.

23 out of the 39 who reported on the item on rent said that they worked in exchange for housing; 16 indicated the amount of rent paid. The question was not framed to give a sufficiently uniform mode of answer on the actual rental cost, inasmuch as some reported a monthly rent that was shared with several others, whereas others stated only their share; for that reason no attempt to generalize on the amount of rentals will be made. But that the 23 out of the 39 who reported worked in exchange for their rent seems significant in the nature of housing for the resettlers.

The subjects were asked to compare the condition of their living quarters with that of before the war. 26 answered "Same", 8 "Somewhat worse", 7 "Somewhat better", and 6 "Much better", while no one answered "Much worse". Generally, then, the resettlers seem to think that their housing conditions have not become worse because of resettlement.

Asked to indicate the kind of neighborhood they thought they lived in, the following were the results: 26 1/2 "Middle-class residential", 13 1/2 "Wealthy-exclusive", 6 "Laboring class", 3 "Downtown industrial" and 1 "Rural". Thought it appears from the investigator's impressionistic observations that the judgments were fairly accurate because of the number of domestics, students, and those living in



private homes regardless of occupation--it may be expected that some checked "Middle-class residential" mistakenly, inasmuch as most people in general think of themselves as "Middle-class".

An attempt was made to discover the effectiveness of communication among people of Japanese ancestry living in the same neighborhood according to their own judgments. Asked about other persons of Japanese ancestry in the neighborhood, 16 reported "None present", 12 1/2 "Have seen but do few things together", 7 1/2 "Have seen but have not become acquainted", 7 1/2 "Have become friends and do things together often", and 5 "Present but have never seen". (The distribution of weight in tabulation in case more than one were marked by an individual has been explained in the first paragraph in this section,) 15 people reported that there were from 2 to 8 other persons of Japanese ancestry living in their area. 1 person reported 20 other people of Japanese ancestry in the neighborhood, which was due to the closeness of residence to the medical and dental schools' center. It seems that most of the evacuees are well-scattered throughout the area, and that communication is not well-established merely because of the proximity of residence of some.

26 answered that housing had not been arranged before leaving the center, though 14 answered that it had been arranged. Almost all of those who answered that it had been arranged were domestics who lived at the place of their employer; in such cases, an arrangement for employment accomplished the arrangement for housing. Of the 43 who answered the question of the source of their finding housing, 9 reported Campus 'Y', 6 Employer (all domestics), 6 evacuees in the area, 6 University Employment office (part-time board and room jobs), 4 Self, 3 War Relocation Authority, 2 National Student Relocation Council, 2 Downtown 'Y', 2 Want Ads, 2 Church groups, and 1 Fellow



employees. The relatively large number which found housing through the Campus 'Y' and the University employment office occurred with the closing of the Washington University dormitories to civilian use; furthermore, the Campus 'Y' was accustomed to keeping a housing list for all out-of-town students, a function which was enlarged and refined for adaptation to the need of the nisei students and their evacuee friends.

27 answered the question on the attitude of the landlords; 22 answered that they had been "Treated as any other potential renter"; 2 "Asked if you were Japanese or Chinese"; 2 "Told that vacancy was filled, though it was actually still open"; 1 "Told that housing was only for 'whites'"; none for either "Told that the neighbors and the rest of the family would be consulted first", or "Subjected to insulting remarks". Of the 2 who reported being asked if they were Chinese or Japanese, 1 said that it occurred to him 10 times; the other 4 times. One of these who reported being told "That the vacancy was filled, though it was actually still open", said it occurred to him "many times". The 1 person who reported being told that the housing was only for whites said that it happened twice. It appears from this that except for a few, the experiences in finding housing have not involved conflict; in fact, that 22 out of 27 should report that they had been treated as any other potential renter is quite significant. However, the large number living in private homes in an exchange-for-work basis may be indicative of an abnormal relationship between the usual landlord and renter.

The subjects were asked to list the reasons for their changes of residence since coming to St. Louis. The reasons in the order of their frequency were as follows: 9 closing of the dormitory, 4 Change of employment, 4 Transportation inconvenience, 3 Hostility of neigh-



bors, 2 Excess rent, 2 Join relocated family, 1 Hostility of landlord, 1 disliked landlady, 1 "Poor family relation of landlady", 1 lack of time to study, 1 "lack of social life with people of own age". The reasons given appear to indicate nothing peculiar in the mobility of the resettlers, except for the 3 who reported hostility from their neighbors and 1 from his landlord.

Suggestions to aid in the housing problem were asked for the evacuees leaving the centers, relocated evacuees, the War Relocation Authority, Church groups, and the employer. The following were the suggestions:

M-N-Stud-18: "Don't get too many evacuees in any one residential district".

M-N-Stud-19: "Establish hostel for temporary stay-overs".

M-N-Stud-20: "Evacuees leaving centers: "Have a definite place place to go".  
Relocated evacuees: "Let evacuees know how things are 'outside'".

M-N-Stud-21: "To investigate thoroughly the attitude of people with whom he would have to adapt himself. Also to have housing scattered throughout the city. Out toward the suburbs. Near a church (It may sound funny but have found this to be very advantageous in getting acquainted.)".

M-N-Stud-21: Evacuees leaving centers and Relocated evacuees: "Keep waiting and be patient until something good comes up."  
War Relocation Authority and Church groups: "Make a list of homes, apartments and other housing units that are willing to take in Nisei and other Japanese."

M-N-Stud-22: Evacuees leaving centers: "Avoid congregating in one place with other relocatees. Don't over-emphasize problem".  
WRA: "Assume more responsibility".

M-N-Stud-22: Evacuees leaving centers: "Assurance of acceptance into community". Relocated evacuees: "Sacrifice to some extent in being liked by the people in the new community". WRA: "Doing good work". Church groups: "Can do a lot to help evacuees". Employer: "Should hire, regardless of race. If he has nisei employee should praise his or her work and tell



his other friends".

- M-N-Prof-25: Evacuees leaving centers: "Contact friends already here". Relocated evacuees: "Don't congregate in one locality too much--scatter--live in a good residential section". WRA and Church groups: "These are doing a pretty good job, I think." Employer: "Perhaps the employer has friends who might take in an evacuee worker."
- M-N-Sk-19: Evacuees leaving centers: "Hostel until settled". Relocated evacuees: "Housing committee". Employer: "Should secure housing".
- M-N-Unsk-23: "You have yourself to please so find it yourself".
- M-N-Unre-26: "Wra should find out what neighborhood Japanese is more readily accepted than others".
- M-I-Prof-57: "Make Caucasian contacts; more workers needed like the Campus 'Y'".
- F-N-Stud-25: Evacuees leaving centers: "Have housing (temp.) arranged". Relocated evacuees: "Try and stay away from slum areas and don't congregate". WRA: "Feel out neighbors, etc.".
- F-N-Stud-21: Evacuees leaving centers: "Inquire of conditions and demand information". Relocated evacuees: "If working for organization--report openings". WRA: "Keep up-to-date rental list". Church groups: "General attitude of acceptance by an educational program". Employer: "See that new employee will have place to stay".
- F-N-Bus-25: WRA: "That the WRA help to find a place for the person to stay before he leaves the center as housing is just important as a job". Church groups: "Could help by looking for possible housing among their members and surrounding community".
- F-N-Dom-28: Evacuees leaving centers: "Other than domestic, bring whatever equipment on hand. Also have some sort of housing idea". Church groups: "Contact people who may have an extra room".
- F-N-Dom-26: "Really to me I have no suggestions for any community we go, housing is the biggest problem--especially where there are many defense plants. But church group has been helping a lot I hear".

As was to be expected, since most of the resettlers live in private homes, most of the meals are prepared in private homes. 25 1/2 reported the preparation of breakfast in a private home presumably in



a family organization, 7 by themselves, 2 1/2 with their roommates, 4 by a restaurant, 4 by a boarding-house-keeper, 3 by the hospital where they are employed; for lunch, 19 reported preparation in a private home, 5 by themselves in a family kitchen, 8 by a restaurant, 4 by a boarding housekeeper, and 4 by the hospital. This seems to indicate that there is some semblance of family-prepared food for the majority, though there was no indication as to whether or not they eat with a family group.

The report on the costs of food were quite inadequate, inasmuch as costs varied greatly with the number in the family, the circumstances of preparation, and mode of payment (may be in exchange for work); however, the following were reported: food prepared in private homes ranged from \$7.00 to \$15.00 a week per person; in a restaurant the cost was \$8.00 to \$8.75 per week per person; in a boarding house \$8.50 to \$10.00 per week per person. Asked as to their judgment of the wholesomeness of the food as compared to before the war, 28 said Same, 10 Somewhat worse, 6 Somewhat better, 1 Much better and 1 Much worse. The condition of food does not seem to be a major cause of complaint.

Several questions were asked concerning the use of Japanese food and to what degree it would contribute to their happiness. 14 said "Prepare it for myself and friends occasionally", 12 "Have no longing for it", 7 "Long for it but cannot get it", 5 "Prepare it regularly", 1 "Prepare it for entertaining". Those who prepared Japanese food regularly served it once a week, once a month, "quite often". As to how much Japanese food would contribute to their happiness, 7 said "Very much", 13 "Somewhat", 5 "Very little", 2 "Not at all" and 11 "Indifferent". Though it has been pointed out that the questions were very general, that the responses showed much variation is perhaps



significant inasmuch as the differences among the evacuees in the degree of separation from the culture of their parents are suggested. One man said, "Chinese food is about the same. You can't have everything, but I don't care".

## VI. GENERAL COMMUNITY ADJUSTMENT

The success of adjustment of the already resettled evacuees was thought to be a primary factor in determining the attitude of the center residents toward resettlement. Therefore, the research group was particularly eager to discover the kind of social relationships (in the narrower sense) there existed between the resettled population of St. Louis.

The question of the amount of social relationships with Caucasians was answered by 44 people. 3 answered "Exclusively", 9 "Almost exclusively", 12 "Mostly", 13 "As much as with Orientals", 5 "Seldom", 1 "Almost never", and 1 "Never". This seems to indicate that there are more social relationships with Caucasians than with Orientals; though in view of the extremely small proportion of the resettled people in the general population social life is spent to a relatively large degree with people of Japanese ancestry. It was interesting to note that only 3 out of the 13 who answered "As much as with Orientals" were not students. Communication on the campus among the nisei appears to be better than among the employed population; too, the students have been in St. Louis longer and are more apt to live closer together near the campus.

Of the 42 who answered the question pertaining to the nature of their social contacts with Caucasians, 20 answered as their most frequent type of contact, "Fellow students", 9 "Fellow employees", 4 "'Y' associates", 3 "Church associates", 3 "Friends of the employer",



2 "Old friends" and 1 "Neighbors". Without being arrayed in the order of frequency of the type of contacts in the individual answers, the following would be the findings: "Fellow students" mentioned 21 times; "'Y' associates", 16; "Church associates", 15; "Fellow employees", 12; "Friends of the employer", 11; "Old friends", 9; "Friends of employees", 3; and "Neighbors", 2. It appears that the students and employees have established the social relationships that would arise naturally from their contacts at work or at school. The church and 'Y' organizations are indicated to have been important in the establishment of social contacts. That only 2 marked "Neighbors", is not necessarily indicative of the lack of neighborhood contacts; it is rather because "Neighbors" was not included in the list for ranking.

To discover the specific nature of their recreational activities, the subjects were asked to state the number of times that they had engaged in each of a specified list of activities during the preceding month. After this number, they were asked to place one of the following symbols: E Evacuees, C Caucasians, M Both Caucasians and evacuees, or A Alone--to indicate the usual composition of the immediate party. There were 46 responses. The activities will be explained in the order of their order of frequency.

MOVIES. 44 out of 46 who answered the question at all had been to the movies at least once in the preceding month, the average having been 2.8 times. 23 reported having been with evacuees an average of 2.2 times; 7 reported having attended with both Caucasians and evacuees an average of 4.7 times; 10 reported having gone with Caucasians an average of 3.9 times; and 9 reported having gone alone an average of 2.9 times.

MUNICIPAL OPERA. 31 reported having attended the Municipal Opera presentations, which are light, popular musicals conducted in



an outdoor amphitheatre in Forest Park; each had attended an average of 2.1 times in the preceding month. 15 said that the composition of the immediate party was evacuees, with an average attendance of 1.6 times; 9 with Caucasians--an average of 2.1 times; 9 with a mixed group--an average of 2.6 times; and 2 had gone alone once.

CHURCH SERVICES. 23 reported having attended church services an average of 3.0 times in the preceding month. 8 had attended with Caucasians an average of 3.4 times; 7 with both evacuees and Caucasians an average of 3.6 times; 6 Alone an average of 2.2 times; and 5 with evacuees an average of 2.6 times.

SWIMMING. 19 reported having gone swimming on an average of 2.5 times in the month preceding. 8 had gone in mixed company 2.2 times; 7 with Caucasians 2.9 times; and 6 with evacuees 1.8 times. No one reported having gone swimming alone.

BULL SESSIONS. 17 had participated in bull sessions an average of 5.1 times. 8 reported bull sessions with Caucasians an average of 5 times; 6 with a mixed group 5.8 times; and 4 with evacuees 3 times.

DINNER PARTIES. 16 had attended dinner parties within the month an average of 1.9 times. 7 reported the composition of immediate party as consisting of Caucasians and evacuees with an average of 2.4 dinner parties; 6 reported with Caucasians 1.5 times; and 4 reported with an evacuee an average of 1.0 times.

The complete table of activities engaged in by the 46 who reported were as follows: (the table includes, also, the number who reported the composition of the immediate party in each activity and the average number of times such an activity was engaged in with the specified nature of the immediate party.)



TABLE II

PARTICIPATION IN SOCIAL ACTIVITIES BY THE EVACUEE POPULATION  
IN THE ST. LOUIS AREA DURING ONE MONTH (Approx. July)

ACTIVITY	TOTAL PART.	AV. FRE.	REPORTED BY COMPOSITION OF IMMEDIATE PARTY:							
			E^	FRE.	C.	FRE.	M.	FRE.	A.	FRE.
1. Movies	46	2.8	23	2.2	10	3.9	7	4.7	9	2.9
2. Mun. Opera	31	2.1	15	1.6	7	2.1	9	2.6	2	1.0
3. Church Ser.	23	3.0	5	2.6	8	3.4	7	3.6	6	2.2
4. Swimming	19	2.5	6	1.8	7	2.9	8	2.2	0	0.0
5. Bull Sess.	17	5.1	4	3.0	8	5.0	6	5.8	0	0.0
6. Dinners	16	1.9	4	1.0	6	1.5	7	2.4	0	0.0
7. Home Gath.	15	1.7	4	1.8	6	1.5	5	3.2	0	0.0
8. Picnics	15	1.6	0	0.0	7	1.7	7	1.4	0	0.0
9. Cards	10	6.1	3	1.7	5	2.6	4	10.8	0	0.0
10. "Admiral"	9	1.7	2	1.5	4	1.2	2	2.3	0	0.0
11. 'Y' Affairs	9	3.8	0	0.0	0	0.0	9	3.8	0	0.0
12. Art Museum	8	1.5	2	1.5	3	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
13. Nite Clubs	6	3.0	2	3.0	3	3.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
14. Y.P. Meets	5	2.6	0	0.0	2	3.0	3	2.3	0	0.0
15. Bowling	5	1.0	2	1.0	1	1.0	2	1.0	0	0.0
16. Int'l Club^	3	2.7	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	2.7	0	0.0
17. Ball Game^	3	1.2	2	1.0	0	0.0	1	2.0	2	1.0
18. Symphony	3	1.0	2	1.0	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
19. Tennis	2	1.5	0	0.0	1	1.0	1	2.0	0	0.0
20. Zoo^	1	4.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	4.0
21. Jewel Box^	1	2.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	2.0
22. Amuse. Park	1	1.0	1	1.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
			77	25.7	78	35.8	83	54.8	25	14.6

^E. Evacuees, C. Caucasians, M. Both Caucasians and evacuees, and A. Alone.



Activities not listed for checking, but written in blanks; consequently, probably more actually engaged in such activities than have been reported.

The sum of those who engaged in various social activities in the company of both Caucasians and evacuees was 83; of Caucasians 78, of evacuees 77 and alone 25. The sums of the averages of the various activities rank in the same order: with Caucasians and evacuees, 54.8; with Caucasians, 35.8; with evacuees, 25.7; and alone, 14.6. These more objective data seem to substantiate the results of the more subjective evaluation of the amount of Caucasian contacts by the individuals in the sample. (See paragraph under General Community Adjustment.) That is, the social life of the resettled population is with people of Japanese ancestry to a proportionately high degree in view of the extremely small number of resettlers but activities with Caucasians seem to exceed those that are exclusively evacuee relationships. But, it is evident from the data in the table that most people engage in social activities when the immediate party consists of both evacuees and Caucasians; also, the average frequencies of participation in such company is larger than with either exclusively evacuee or Caucasian company.

Of the 44 who answered the question on the evaluation of community acceptance,  $44 \frac{1}{3}$  said "Indifference",  $13 \frac{5}{6}$  "Understanding helpfulness", 12 "Curiosity", 1 "Pity",  $\frac{1}{3}$  "Subtle antagonism" and 0 "Open antagonism". (The presence of the fraction is due to the division of the weight of 1 if more than one item were checked by an individual.) This seems to indicate that the relocatees are not aware of any resentment against them from the general public; in fact, that nearly, a third of the subjects felt that the general public attitude was that of "Understanding helpfulness" may be quite



significant.

Only 5 of the entire 51 included in the survey reported having been subjected to discrimination. 3 of these reported discriminations occurred at swimming pools, 2 at dance halls, and 1 at hotels. One of the discriminatory occurrences at swimming pools was described as follows: F-N-Stud-21: "The proprietor sent a message to me while I was dressing that she wanted to know my 'nationality' and talk to me. She said I could go in, but that she would ask her brother in the meantime. She later invited me to come again, saying she wanted people like me". (This particular swimming pool ~~was~~ very rigidly excludes Jews.) A report of discrimination at a public dancing place is described thus: M-N-Prof-26: "In 1939, was subtly told that there wasn't much of a crowd at Highland's dance hall and advised not to go in. (The investigator has in recent months attended the particular dancing place described and received treatment accorded to any other person.) The 3 other instances of discrimination were not described, but merely checked from a list of 16 places most likely to have discriminatory practices. (See the questionnaire form.)

Asked as to what they thought they should be called, 18 out of 39 marked "American of Japanese ancestry", 11 1/2 "American Japanese", 2 "Japanese American", 2 "Japanese" (both subjects were aliens), and others, which were written in the blanks, were as follows: "American citizen", "Nisei", "Americanese", "American", "Call me what they please", and "Anything, just so they put a period after it, also with a smile". It is quite a striking bit of information that only 2, who were both aliens, of the 39 thought they should be called "Japanese"; and that 11 1/2 should prefer being called "American Japanese", as against 2 who would prefer "Japanese American".

There were 44 who responded to the question on the matters of



greatest concern. The following list of possible concerns and a space for "others" \_\_\_\_\_ was to be numbered in the order of importance: Family in the center, Finances, Employment, Army, Acceptance in the community, Social life, Future economic status, Others \_\_\_\_\_.

Each item from an individual was weighted in the same manner in which he numbered the items, and each individual had a total weight of 28; if all the items were not included in an array, the remaining weight was divided equally among the items left blank. The total weights of each of the items gave the relative importance that was given each listed item by the 44 persons who answered the question: in this way the smaller number indicated the greatest importance attached to a particular concern. A second method was used in which the advantages were the ease of recognizing the actual number who expressed an opinion about any particular concern and the less manipulation of numbers involved; however, the second method has the disadvantage of giving to those who ranked all the concerns 7 times more weight of opinion in the final scoring than the ones who marked only one concern. The two tables are placed side by side for comparative purposes; the results are almost the same except in a few instances when the differences in rank were numerically insignificant.

The feminine nisei student showed the following order of concern: Family in the center, Future economic status, Finances, Social life, Employment, Acceptance in the community, and Army. (This may be compared with the second method in the table; though the order differs slightly, the fine differences seem unimportant.) The feminine nisei employed showed the following: Family in the center, Employment, Future Economic status, Finances, Army, Acceptance in the community, Social life. For the total feminine population the following were the order of concerns: Family in the center, Future Economic status



and Employment were tied, Finances, Acceptance in the community, Social life, and the Army. The masculine nisei student--Family in the center, Future economic status, Employment, Army, Acceptance in the community, and Social ~~an~~ life and Finances tied as matters of least concern. The total nisei students--Family in the center, Future **economic** status, Employment, Finances, Acceptance in the community, Social life, and Army. The masculine employed--Employment, Finances, Future economic status, Social life, Acceptance in the community, and Army. The total masculine population--Future economic status, Family in the center, Employment, Finances, Acceptance in the community, Social life, and Army. For the total population of the sample--Family in the center, Future economic status, Employment, Finances, Acceptance in the community, Social life, and the Army.



## I

A-18½  
G-20½  
B-21  
F-25½  
C-26  
E-26½  
D-29

1	3	4	6	6	6	2
1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
4	5	1	2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	3
1	5	2	5	5	5	5
1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	2
3	4	1	7	5	6	2
1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1	4	3	7	5	6	2
4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
2	1	5	5	5	5	5
19 $\frac{1}{2}$	41	29	51	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	53 $\frac{1}{2}$	34 $\frac{1}{2}$ ACGDEFF
38	62	55	80	78	79	55 $\frac{1}{2}$ ABEFD

A-19½  
C-29  
G-34½  
B-41  
D-51  
E-51½  
F-53½

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
						1
	1	2				
1	3				2	4
1½						1½
				1	3	2 (4)
2	3	4		5	6	7 (1)
4½	7	6		6	11	15½
3	3	2		2	3	5
2½	2½	3		3	3½	3½

ABCGFD  
E

1	3	4				2
1						
4	5	1	2			3
1		2				
1	3					2
3	4	1	7	5	6	2
1						
1	4	3	7	5	6	2
		1				
2	1					

---

$\frac{15}{9}$	$\frac{17}{5}$	$\frac{15}{7}$	$\frac{16}{3}$	$\frac{10}{2}$	$\frac{12}{2}$	$\frac{11}{5}$ ACGBEDF
$\frac{19}{12}$	$\frac{24}{8}$	$\frac{21}{9}$	$\frac{16}{3}$	$\frac{16}{4}$	$\frac{23}{5}$	$\frac{26}{10}$

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1.7	3	2.3	5.3	4	4.6	2.6ACGBEFFI
-----	---	-----	-----	---	-----	-------------

A-1  $\frac{2}{3}$   
C-2  $\frac{1}{4}$   
G-2  $\frac{5}{8}$   
B-3  $\frac{7}{8}$   
E-5  
D-5  $\frac{1}{8}$   
F-6



M-N-Stud

2	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	3 (1)
2	2	6	7	4	5	2
4	7	2	3	5	6	1
1	5%	5%	2	5%	3	5%
(4)	7	6	2	3	4	5 (1)
4%	4%	1	4%	4%	4%	4%
5	5	1	5	2	5	5
2	1	5	4	6	7	3
5	5	5	5	5	1	2
1	3	2	5	4	6	7
1	5	5	2	5	5	5
4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	4%	1
1	6	5	7	3	4	2
1	6%	4	6%	3	5	2
5	5	1	5	5	5	2
4%	4%	4%	1	4%	4%	4%
6	1	2	6	6	3	4AGCDEB
53%	76%	68%	73%	74%	76%	58%
67	97%	89%	102%	100%	102%	79

A-53  
G-58  
C-68  
D-73  
E-74  
F-76  
B-76

A-Family in the Center

B-Finances

C-Employment

D-Army

E-Acceptance in Community

F-Social Life

G-Future economic status

M-N-Stud

2						3 (1)
2	2	6	7	4	5	2
4	8	2	3	5	6	1
1			2		3	
	7	6	2	3	4	5 (1)
		1				
		1		2		
2	1	5	4	6	7	3
					1	2
1	3	2	5	4	6	7
1			2			
						1
1	6	5	7	3	4	2
1		4		3	5	2
	1	2			3	4
	1		1			2
15	28	34	33	30	44	34
9	9	10	9	8	10	12
1.7	3.2	3.3	3.7	3.8	4.4	2.8AGCBDEF
20%	35	40	33	36	55	49%
12	11	12	9	10	13	17
1.7	3.2	3.3	3.7	3.6	4.2	2.9AGBCEDF

A-1.7  
G-2.8  
C-3.4  
B-3.5  
D-3.6  
E-3.8  
F-4.4



M-Emp							M-Emp						
A	B	C	D	E	F	G	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
5	1	2	5	5	5	5		1	2				
5	5	5	1	5	5	2				1			2
7	6	1	5	3	4	2	7	6	1	5	3	4	2
3	2	1	7	5	4	6	3	2	1	7	5	4	6
5	1 1/2	5	5	5	1 1/2	5		1 1/2				1 1/2	
4 1/2	4 1/2	4 1/2	4 1/2	4 1/2	4 1/2	1							1
4 1/2	4 1/2	4 1/2	4 1/2	2	4 1/2	4 1/2 (1)						2	(1)
6	4	2	6	6	1	3		4	2			1	3
4 1/2	1	4 1/2	4 1/2	4 1/2	4 1/2	4 1/2			1				
4	6	1	7	2	5	3	4	6	1	7	2	5	3
5 1/2	1	5 1/2	5 1/2	2	3	5 1/2		1			2	3	
53 1/2	36	35 1/2	54 1/2	44	41 1/2	41 1/2 CBGFEAD	14	22 1/2	7	20	12	20 1/2	17
							3	8	5	4	4	7	6
							4.7	2.8	1.4	5	3.1	3.1	2.8 CBGFEAD
106 1/2	113 1/2	104 1/2	128 1/2	118 1/2	118 1/2	99 1/2 GACBEFD	29	50	41	53	42	64	51
							12	16	15	13	12	17	18
							2.4	3.2	2.7	4.1	3.5	3.8	2.8 ACGBEFD
144 1/2	175 1/2	159 1/2	208 1/2	196 1/2	197 1/2	154 1/2 AGCBEFD	48	74	62	69	58	87	77
							24	24	24	16	16	22	28
							2.0	3.1	2.5	4.3	3.6	4.0	2.9 ACGBEFD

C-35 1/2  
B-36  
G-41 1/2  
F-41 1/2  
E-44  
A-53 1/2  
D-54 1/2

SUMMARY OF TABLE III  
MATTERS OF CONCERN IN THE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE

FEM. NISEI STUDENT		FEM. NISEI EMPLOYED		FEM. NISEI TOTAL	
I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.
A-18.5	A-1.5	A-19.5	A-1.7	A-38	A-1.7
G-20.5	B-2.3	C-29.0	C-2.1	G-55	C-2.3
B-21.0	C-3.0	G-34.5	G-2.2	C-55	G-2.6
F-25.5	E-3.0	B-41.0	B-3.4	B-62	B-3.0
C-26.0	G-3.1	D-51.0	E-5.0	E-78	E-4.0
E-26.5	F-3.7	E-51.5	D-5.3	F-79	F-4.6
D-29.0	D----	F-53.5	F-6.0	D-80	D-5.3
MAS. NISEI STUDENT				MASCULINE TOTAL	
A-53.5	A-1.7	C-35.7	C-1.4	G-99.7	A-2.4
G-58.5	G-2.8	B-35.2	B-2.8	A-106.2	C-2.7
C-68.9	C-3.4	G-41.2	G-2.8	C-104.6	G-2.8
D-73.9	B-3.5	F-41.7	E-3.0	B-113.1	B-3.2
E-74.4	D-3.6	E-44.0	F-3.1	E-118.4	E-3.5
F-76.9	E-3.8	A-53.7	A-4.7	F-118.6	F-3.8
B-76.9	F-4.4	D-54.7	D-5.0	D-128.6	D-4.1



TOTAL NISEI STUD.

I.	II.
A-67.0	A-1.7
G-79.0	G-2.9
C-89.9	B-3.2
B-97.9	C-3.3
E-100.9	E-3.6
F-102.4	D-3.7
D-102.9	F-4.2

TOTAL EMPLOYED

I.	II.
C-64.7	G-1.8
A-73.2	A-2.4
G-75.7	G-2.5
B-77.2	B-3.0
F-95.2	F-3.6
E-95.5	E-3.7
D-105.7	D-5.1

GRAND TOTAL

I.	II.
A-144.2	A-2.0
G-154.7	C-2.5
C-159.8	G-2.9
B-175.1	B-3.1
E-196.4	E-3.6
F-197.8	F-4.0
D-208.8	D-4.3



36 answered the question regarding the effect of the execution of the American flyers in Tokyo upon the public's attitude toward people of Japanese ancestry. 27 reported, "No change", 3 "tenseness on the part of daily associates", 2 "Antagonism from strangers", 1 "Reassurances from friends", 0 "Subjected to insulting remarks". Other effects were reported as follows: M-N-Prof-25: "It certainly did not help feelings any"; M-N-Unsk-23: "They don't know I'm Japanese"; M-N-Stud-21: "Actually no change. Just a mental stress on our part or was it?"; M-N-Unrep: "Bad"; and F-N-Dom-23: "Indifference". This question was intended to sample to what degree the anger against the Japanese enemy transferred to the relocatees, as observable by the relocatees themselves. It was thought that this may give a clew to what will happen to the general public's attitude toward the people of Japanese ancestry in the United States when the Far East becomes the major theatre of war.

Asked what they thought of the execution, 18 of the 42 who answered checked, "Just part of any war", 8 1/2 "Shocking", 6 1/2 "Worried about public's attitude toward you", and 3 "No effect". Other opinions noted were: F-N-Dom-23: "Anxious as to how it would affect those in the center (Treatment); F-N-Dom-25: "I didn't think normal human beings could commit such executions"; M-N-Stud-17: "Wondered if true or propaganda"; M-N-Stud-18: "Curious of public attitude"; M-N-Stud-21: "Same effect as one hears the shooting of helpless people across the Atlantic--at least it should be taken as such. I didn't"; M-N-Unsk-23: "Pretty dirty, 'ne?" ("Ne" is a Japanese colloquialism equivalent to "wasn't it?")

The the question, "Considering the present view of your future possibilities in the Middlewest and East, what do you think about returning to the coast if restrictions were lifted?" 39 replied in



the following manner: 20 "Would not return immediately but would hope to return eventually", 7 "Would return immediately if there were reasonable assurance of economic security and community acceptance", 7 "Would not return at all", 3 "Would return immediately to look for a job regardless of social pressure". Comments were as follows:

Would not return immediately but would hope to return eventually:

F-N-Stud-21--"For study and public relations".

F-N-Dom-21--"Depends on fiance in Army. Have home to return to".

M-N-Stud-22--"Dpends on postwar".

M-N-Stud-21--"Got a farm there".

M-N-Stud-21--"Before I would have jumped at the chance to return--reasons--Friends and business property. However, such ideas are fading rapidly. This place has some advantages over S.P. and also disadvantages. I prefer to stay here for a long time to come".

Would return immediately only if there were reasonable assurance of economic security and acommunity acceptance:

F-N-Stud-25--"Return at least once but probably not stay".

Would not return at all:

M-N-Stud-18--"Probably".

M-N-Prof-25--"My opinion is that evacuees should not be returned at all if it can be helped".

Would return immeidately to look for a job regardless of social pressure:

F-N-Stud-27--"Desire to return to Hawaii".

Other opinions:

M-N-Unsk-23--"I can't read the future".

M-N-Stud-22--"Have not thought about it".

F-N-Dom-25--"Not return if suitably located".

The following replies were received on the question, "Under what



conditions would your family resettle here?"

M-N-Stud-17: "Better climate. More evacuee friends".

M-N-Stud-18--"Good respectable job with security. Good housing. Friends in the city would help--not in the immediate community but closely enough for occasional visits".

M-N-Stud-19: "If a good job is found".

M-N-Stud-19: "Good permanent job. Good housing. Good public attitude."

M-N-Stud-20: "None".

M-N-Stud-21: "(Just for my parents.) Job with prevailing wages. Treated half-way decently".

M-N-Stud-21: "Obtain a job. Find a home in a pleasant neighborhood".

M-N-Stud-21: "Find a place".

M-N-Stud-22: "Good living conditions. Something to do. Presence of other relocatees to prevent loneliness".

M-N-Stud-22: "Forced resettlement. Economic security".

M-N-Stud-22: "Assurance of a business to make a living".

M-N-Prof-23: "With job and housing".

M-N-Sk-19: "Would not risk the chance to relocate here".

M-N-Unsk-23: "Only have a father and he's happier in camp".

F-N-Stud-20: "Adequate living quarters. Means of maintenance".

F-N-Stud-25: "None".

F-N-Stud-21: "Economic security. Social adjustment through normal outlets".

F-N-Dom-21: "Employment. Favorable living conditions".

F-N-Dom-27: "If the majority were here but we are too scattered, and considering all, would rather resettle them elsewhere".

F-N-Dom-28: "Employment. Housing. Friendly attitude. Colder summers".

F-N-Dom-25: "None. My parents are quite elderly and I would prefer a pleasanter climate for them".

F-N-Dom-26: "Haven't asked this question to my folks".



F-N-Hswf-19: "With job. Housing".

In the space provided for "Additional remarks", the following were noted:

M-N-Unrep-26: "There should be people with better understanding of the evacuee problem other than Mr. Kennedy of the WRA who I think has no right in such a responsible position".

F-N-Dom-27: "Would advise potential resettlers to look into jobs personally, if possible. It is good to become self-supporting again, but it is as much a duty for every worker to maintain a relatively high standard of living and this hopping from one job to another is hardly beneficial to the nisei as a whole".

F-N-Dom-21: "We have a home to go back to".

F-N-Dom-25: "It cannot be stressed too much to the evacuees that they should not come out with a 'chip on the shoulder' attitude, nor should they feel that the world owes them a living. I believe we all should realize that everyone in America today is having his own share of difficulties--and we must--if we are true Americans come out with the desire to help share the country's burdens and work together with everyone in the present war effort".

F-N-Dom-26: "At present, I do not like my work as a domestic and it makes me very unhappy at times. But when it comes to other positions such as office work I have noticed quite a racial prejudice".

F-N-Hswf-19: "There should be a change in the WRA head here".

It is regretted that the sample was small, though relatively speaking, the survey reached a sizeable portion of the resettled population in St. Louis; further, the survey checked against the best data available from the WRA and various lists compiled by different groups seemed to indicate the representativeness of the sample.

It is believed that St. Louis is fairly representative of a middlewestern city, though the presence of a large number of Negroes may be a basic difference in the kind of adjustments a new racial group will make in the city. This small census of miscellaneous information and opinion from a group of resettled persons may aid in the framing of



more comprehensive studies for a long range program and also be of immediate use to various volunteer groups and individual officials of the government, who are now planning important programs and setting policies based on information of a purely speculative nature. If, after the critical appraisal of these finding, the survey is judged to be valid and reliable--these data might be made available for popular presentation to the many lay groups literally clamoring for information. Broader interpretations from the data have not been attempted, nor has there been presented the practical significance of the results of the survey; such is not the function of this document which merely reported the direct findings of the limited census.



A SURVEY OF EVACUEE ADJUSTMENT IN THE SAINT LOUIS AREA

Committee on Research  
Box 152, Washington University  
Saint Louis, Missouri

Dear Friend:

You are well aware of the policy of the War Relocation Authority to locate as many of the evacuees back into normal living as soon as possible; we realize, however, that a happy adjustment, as these people come out into the new communities, is necessary if the program is to be of permanent value. The center residents have repeatedly asked us on the "outside" about the general public attitude, the actual costs of living, and the kind of social life we lead. In other words, they want to know, "What are our chances for happiness on the outside?" It is for these reasons that we are asking for a few minutes of your time in order to learn more about the human aspects of the relocation program; that is, what the evacuees themselves think and feel about their experiences in relocation.

In contrast to a previous questionnaire, which you might have been good enough to return to us, we are asking for completely anonymous answers; there will be no means for us to find out who filled out any particular questionnaire. It would be helpful if you did not discuss the questionnaire with others until you have mailed yours in. If there are questions you do not wish to answer, please feel free to leave them blank. We should be happy to have any additional comments or suggestions on any of the questions or on the questionnaire as a whole; they may be mailed attached to the questionnaire or sent separately to the above address.

A great deal of the usefulness of this survey will depend upon the accuracy of each of your answers in expressing your own thinking, also upon its being returned by every person of Japanese ancestry in this area. If for any reason you are unable or unwilling to participate in this study, kindly return the questionnaire unanswered. If you know of persons who did not receive this questionnaire, drop us a card with their names and addresses.

We know that this is much to ask of you who are busy at work or school; however, you may be contributing in an important way to the solution of a problem which affects all of us.

WE SHOULD BE VERY GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD RETURN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE NOT LATER THAN FRIDAY, AUGUST 6, 1943. No postage is required.

Sincerely yours,

COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH



*Resettlement*

A SURVEY OF EVACUEE ADJUSTMENT IN THE SAINT LOUIS AREA

DIRECTIONS: WRITE the answers in the BLANKS. CHECK the answers in the PARENTHESES.  
REMEMBER THAT THE QUESTIONNAIRE IS ENTIRELY ANONYMOUS.

- A.
1. Date of arrival in Saint Louis \_\_\_\_\_ 2. Age \_\_\_\_\_ 3. Sex \_\_\_\_\_
  4. a. Single( ) Married( ) b. Number in family \_\_\_\_\_ c. Number relocated \_\_\_\_\_, Here \_\_\_\_\_
  5. Citizenship: Nisei( ) Number of years in Japan \_\_\_\_\_ 6. Church preference:  
Issei( ) Number of years in U.S. \_\_\_\_\_  
Other \_\_\_\_\_
  7. Occupation of father before the war \_\_\_\_\_ 8. Annual family income \_\_\_\_\_
  9. Residence: Before the war \_\_\_\_\_  
City/County, State \_\_\_\_\_ Number of years \_\_\_\_\_  
Name of assembly center \_\_\_\_\_ months  
Name of relocation center \_\_\_\_\_ months
  10. Education: Number of years completed in: Grade school in U.S. \_\_\_\_\_ Grade school in Japan \_\_\_\_\_ High school in U.S. \_\_\_\_\_ High school in Japan \_\_\_\_\_ College \_\_\_\_\_ Name of college \_\_\_\_\_ Major \_\_\_\_\_ Other training \_\_\_\_\_
  11. Occupational experiences before the war: a. \_\_\_\_\_  
b. \_\_\_\_\_ c. \_\_\_\_\_ d. \_\_\_\_\_
  12. Caucasian contacts before the war: None( ) Almost none( ) Few( ) Quite a few( )  
As many as with Orientals( ) Almost all( ) All( )
  13. Language use before the war: Almost exclusively English( ) Mostly English( )  
Japanese and English equally( ) Mostly Japanese( ) Almost exclusively Japanese( )

B. HOUSING SINCE COMING TO SAINT LOUIS

1. Living in: (Number them in the order of residence.) Private home( ) Apartment( )  
Hotel( ) Boarding house( ) Rooming house( ) Others \_\_\_\_\_
2. Living with: (Number them in the order of residence.) Persons of Japanese ancestry( ) Caucasians( ) Both( ) Family( )
3. Rent per month \_\_\_\_\_ (If in exchange for work, state the number of hours.)  
Number of persons in the rental unit \_\_\_\_\_ Number of rooms \_\_\_\_\_ Number of beds \_\_\_\_\_
4. Condition of living quarters compared to before the war: Much better( )  
Somewhat better( ) Same( ) Somewhat worse( ) Much worse( )
5. Neighborhood: Wealthy-exclusive( ) Middle-class residential( ) Laboring class( )  
Downtown industrial( ) Rural( ) Other \_\_\_\_\_
6. Other persons of Japanese ancestry in the neighborhood: None present( ) Present but have never seen( ) Have seen but have not become acquainted( ) Have become acquainted but do few things together( ) Have become friends and do things together often( ) Other \_\_\_\_\_ Approximate number \_\_\_\_\_
7. Finding housing: a. Was housing arranged before leaving the center? Yes( ) No( )  
b. Housing found through: Campus Y( ) Want ads( ) Employer( ) Fellow employees( )  
Downtown Y( ) Church organization( ) WRA( ) Student Relocation Council( )  
Other evacuees( ) Others \_\_\_\_\_  
c. Attitude of the landlords: (State the number of times the following occurred to you.) Treated as any other potential renter \_\_\_\_\_ Asked if you were Japanese or Chinese \_\_\_\_\_ Told that vacancy was filled, though it was actually still open \_\_\_\_\_ Told that the neighbors and the rest of the family would be consulted first \_\_\_\_\_ Told that housing was only for "whites" \_\_\_\_\_ Subjected to insulting remarks \_\_\_\_\_ Please quote \_\_\_\_\_
8. List reasons for each change of residence since coming to Saint Louis: For example: excessive rent, lack of social life, hostility of neighbors, transportation difficulties, poor living conditions, closing of dormitory, etc.  
First change \_\_\_\_\_ Second \_\_\_\_\_  
Third \_\_\_\_\_ etc. th \_\_\_\_\_
9. What would you suggest to the following to aid in the housing problem?  
a. Evacuees leaving centers b. Relocated evacuees c. WRA d. Church groups  
d. Employer \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_



## C. MEALS

1. Preparation: Breakfast--Private home( ) Self( ) With roommate( ) Restaurant( )  
Boarding House( ) Delicatessen( ) Other \_\_\_\_\_ Lunch(Specify from above)  
\_\_\_\_\_ Supper \_\_\_\_\_
2. Approximate cost per week \_\_\_\_\_ (The center residents often request this information)
3. Wholesomeness of meals compared to before war: Much better( ) Somewhat better( )  
Same( ) Somewhat worse( ) Much worse( )
4. Japanese food: Prepare it for myself and friends occasionally( ) Have no longing  
for it( ) Long for it but cannot get it( ) Prepare it for entertaining( )  
Prepare it regularly( ) How often? \_\_\_\_\_  
Would it contribute to your happiness? Very much( ) Somewhat( ) Very little( )  
Not at all( ) Indifferent( )

## D. EMPLOYMENT

1. Original job acquired through: WRA( ) Evacuees already in area( ) American  
Friends Service Committee( ) Caucasian friends in area( ) Others \_\_\_\_\_
2. Was this job arranged before you left the center? Yes( ) No( )
3. Title and duties of position \_\_\_\_\_
4. Number of other persons of Japanese ancestry working here \_\_\_\_\_ Caucasians \_\_\_\_\_  
How many more evacuees could be employed here? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Treatment accorded by employer: Like any other employee( ) Like one greatly  
indebted to him( ) Like a specially privileged employee( ) Other \_\_\_\_\_
6. Attitude of fellow employees: Antagonism( ) Patronizing( ) Avoidance except  
purely for business( ) As toward any other employee( ) With special courtesy  
and interest( ) Invited to: lunch( ) Home( ) social gatherings( ) church( )
7. a. Pay per month \_\_\_\_\_ b. Number of hours per week \_\_\_\_\_ c. Evaluation of wage:  
Excellent( ) Very good( ) Fair( ) Not very good( ) Bad( )
8. For the type and amount of work you are now doing, how much would a Caucasian  
receive? Much more( ) Somewhat more( ) Same( ) Somewhat less( ) Much less( )
9. With your actual training and experience, what kind of job would you have today  
if you were not of Japanese ancestry and not in the army? (List in the order of  
probability.) 1. \_\_\_\_\_ 2. \_\_\_\_\_ 3. \_\_\_\_\_
10. Number in the order of importance(1,2,3, etc.) the reasons for which you would  
take a job in another part of the country: Living conditions \_\_\_\_\_ Wage \_\_\_\_\_ Closeness  
to the family \_\_\_\_\_ Friends \_\_\_\_\_ Opportunities for advancement \_\_\_\_\_ Public attitude \_\_\_\_\_  
Climate \_\_\_\_\_ Suitability of job to training \_\_\_\_\_ Others \_\_\_\_\_
11. Jobs held since leaving the center:  

Nature of work	Duration of employment	Reasons for leaving(See question 10)
a. _____	_____	_____
b. _____	_____	_____
c. _____	_____	_____
etc. _____	_____	_____

## E. SCHOOLING

1. a. Class standing \_\_\_\_\_ b. Major \_\_\_\_\_ c. Degree \_\_\_\_\_ d. Graduation date \_\_\_\_\_  
(1,2,3,grad. etc.)
2. Suitability of school for the training desired: One of the best in the country( )  
Better than previous school( ) Same standing as previous school( ) Satisfactory( )  
Inadequate( ) Changed major because of the school's limitations( )
3. Date of graduation if it had not been for the war \_\_\_\_\_
4. Expectations after graduation: Get a job for which you are preparing (State the  
nature of employment) \_\_\_\_\_ Volunteer for the army( ) Probably  
will be drafted soon( ) Get married and keep house( ) Accept any kind of job  
that's available (State the probable kind of job.) \_\_\_\_\_
5. Percentage of total school and living expenses from: Family \_\_\_\_\_ Personal savings  
from before the war \_\_\_\_\_ Summer earnings \_\_\_\_\_ Job during school \_\_\_\_\_ (State type of  
job or jobs.) \_\_\_\_\_ Scholarship \_\_\_\_\_ (State source) \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Loan \_\_\_\_\_ from: Friend( ) Company( ) Other \_\_\_\_\_
6. Attitude of fellow Caucasian students: Resentment( ) Forced toleration( )  
Indifference( ) As toward any other student( ) With special courtesy( )



## F. GENERAL COMMUNITY ADJUSTMENT

## 1. Social life: since relocation.

a. With Caucasians: Exclusively( ) Almost exclusively( ) Mostly( ) As much as with Orientals( ) Seldom( ) Almost never( ) Never( )

b. Caucasian associations: (Number in the order of frequency.) Fellow students\_\_\_\_  
Fellow employees\_\_\_\_ Old friends\_\_\_\_ Friends of the employer\_\_\_\_ Friends of employees\_\_\_\_ Y associates\_\_\_\_ Church associates\_\_\_\_ Others\_\_\_\_

c. State the number of times that you have engaged in the following activities during the month preceding today. After this number, place one of the following symbols: E Evacuees, C Caucasians, M Both Caucasians & evacuees, or A Alone--to indicate the usual composition of the immediate party.

Movies	_____	Tennis	_____	Y affairs	_____
Municipal Opera	_____	Cards	_____	'Admiral'	_____
Little symphony	_____	Dinner parties	_____	Night-clubbing	_____
Swimming	_____	Church services	_____	Picnics	_____
Bowling	_____	Y.P. meetings	_____	Art Museum	_____
Bull sessions	_____	Home gatherings	_____	Etc.	_____
Etc.	_____	Etc.	_____	Etc.	_____

## 2. Community acceptance:

a. General public attitude: Open antagonism( ) Subtle antagonism( ) Indifference( ) Curiosity( ) Pity( ) Understanding helpfulness( ) Other\_\_\_\_\_

b. Subjected to discrimination in: (If more than once, state the number of times.)

Restaurants( )	Nightclubs( )	Welfare organizations( )
Barber or beauty shops( )	Theatres( )	Churches( )
Bars, Cocktail lounges( )	Concerts( )	Schools( )
Public Dance halls( )	Hotels( )	Department stores( )
Picnic grounds( )	Amusement parks( )	Swimming pools( )
Busses, streetcars( )	Other_____	Other_____

c. Describe the discriminatory incidents checked above, stating how you think they might be avoided in the future either by individual action or a larger public relations program. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

3. What do you think you ought to be called? American of Japanese ancestry( ) Japanese American( ) American Japanese( ) Japanese( ) Others\_\_\_\_\_

4. What concerns you the most? ( Number them in the order of importance to you.)  
Family in the center\_\_\_\_ Finances\_\_\_\_ Employment\_\_\_\_ Army\_\_\_\_ Acceptance in the community\_\_\_\_ Social life\_\_\_\_ Future economic status\_\_\_\_ Others\_\_\_\_\_

5. What was the effect of the announcement of the execution of the American flyers to Tokyo several months ago upon the public's attitude toward people of Japanese ancestry? No change( ) Antagonism from strangers( ) Tension on the part of daily associates( ) Reassurances from friends( ) Subjected to insulting remarks( ) Other effects\_\_\_\_\_

What did you think of the announcement? Shocking( ) Just part of any war( ) Worried about public's attitude toward you( ) No effect( ) Other reaction\_\_\_\_\_

6. Considering the present view of your future possibilities in the Midwest and East, what do you think about returning to the coast if restrictions were lifted? Would return immediately to look for a job regardless of social pressure( ) Would return immediately only if there were reasonable assurance of economic security and community acceptance( ) Would not return immediately but would hope to return eventually( ) Would not return at all( ) Other opinions\_\_\_\_\_

7. Under what conditions would your family resettle here? (List.) a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

## G. ADDITIONAL REMARKS:

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Committee on Research  
Box 152  
Washington University  
St. Louis, Missouri