

A PROPOSED STUDY OF SOCIAL REINTEGRATION AMONG THE EVACUATED JAPANESE

This study will involve the examination of the factors of social change which have arisen as the result of the mass evacuation of all the Japanese residents of the Pacific coastal areas. As a result of evacuation, a number of new social communities, the participants of which are solely the relocated Japanese, have been created. From the socio-anthropological point of view it is obvious that a number of startling social developments will have taken place. The problem of this study will concern itself not only with these developments as they apply to the new community, but also with the new patterns of behavior which have been forced upon the evacuated individual. The keynote of the survey will be that of social reintegration; descriptive material of every social aspect must be gathered in order to present as complete a picture as possible of the newly evolving community. Non-material items will be a primary consideration, the material aspects being delineated as they reflect behavior pattern, motor habit, etc. Briefly, this study will entail acculturation.

The method concerned will involve the intensive study of a single relocation center, implying a protracted visit and the employment of competent "native" informants. In order to present as complete a study as possible, detailed information of the new social order, house groups, the family, group leadership, economy, religion, and possibly of language and physical type must be obtained. Such information must be interpreted in a twofold light: 1. as viewed from the present day culture of the United States, particularly of the Pacific coast, 2. as viewed from the background of Japanese culture. The latter category will provide the greater wealth of data, inasmuch as the anthropologist finds his interest in the clash of cultures and in the survival of culture patterns. A proposed method will involve the survival of Japanese culture traits and their application against an "American" background. The alien group, the Issei, will be particularly observed to determine their assimilation of American culture traits.

Of particular interest is the fact that a virtually new culture is being created in the relocation centers. To observe this, to record hitherto unprocurable data, will be the task confronting anyone undertaking an investigation of this kind. Given the social picture in one relocation center, observations pertinent to others may be made on less protracted stays. An idea of comparative development may be obtained from visits to all the centers in the Pacific region.

Notes on Interview with Colonel Evans. DST, May 20, 1942

Shibutani was evacuated to Tanforan during DST's absence in New York. VG went down to see him soon after he arrived in Tanforan and had considerable difficulty in locating him. He was found just ten minutes before the visiting hour ended, therefore she had little chance to discuss the study with him. DST thereupon telephoned Mr. Bates and asked that he arrange a pass to Tanforan which would make contact with Shibutani and the others on the study easier to manage. DST also telephoned Mr. Lawson and asked whether it would be all right to come and see the students. Mr. Lawson asked that the matter be cleared through Mr. Nicholson's office. Mr. Nicholson was, however, out of town and the case was referred via Mr. Bates to Mr. Fryer. Mr. Fryer wrote a letter to Colonel Evans, indicating DST's connection with the project and telling of the approval of WRA of what she was doing. Bates suggested to DST that she see Major Durbin in Colonel Evans' office. On the assumption that the letter had gone through, DST went to San Francisco and telephoned Major Durbin. He was cordial but expressed total ignorance of what it was all about and said that no letter had arrived in his office. He made an appointment, however, for DST to see Colonel Evans at 1:15 pm of the same day. DST arrived at Mr. Bates' office at 1 pm and a search was instituted for the letter. It could not be found, but Mr. Bates telephoned Major Durbin and told him of the contents of the letter. The interview with Colonel Evans (Major Durbin was also present) was highly gratifying. DST explained the nature of her research project, and Colonel Evans showed an intelligent interest in the whole thing. He asked whether the data collected would be made available to WRA and DST assured him that she was in every way at the service of WRA. She described her students and their qualifications for work of this sort and told of the type of records they were collecting. Colonel Evans then asked exactly what she wanted. DST indicated that she was not interested in an "official" visit to Tanforan but merely in

the possibility of talking to her students and instructing them from time to time in research techniques. Colonel Evans thereupon suggested that he facilitate the work by getting the observers moved to a relocation center as soon as possible. It had never occurred to DST that cooperation of this sort could be expected and she immediately formulated a tentative plan to take up with WRA in this connection. To facilitate contact with the observers while they were still at Tanforan, however, Colonel Evans gave DST a pass to the Center, valid however only in the visitors' room, which seems quite satisfactory for contact with the student-observers. DST will immediately go to Tanforan to talk to the observers and will also take up the matter of early removal to a relocation center with WRA.

DST, May 21, 1942

Telephoned Mr. Lawson at Tanforan in the morning. He said that it was perfectly all right to come down at any time during visiting hours. He took the names of my students and offered to send a messenger to inform them of my proposed visit.

Upon arriving at Tanforan, I found that the military pass was not necessary, or at least not accepted. One simply signed up as a visitor to see a specific person and received a pass at the gate. Found the students working busily and relatively happily. Discussed their problems with them, and approached them about the possibility of moving to a relocation center shortly if WRA could arrange it. Shibutani and Najima were willing to move as soon as it could be arranged. Promised to come down every week to continue discussion of research techniques and to guide them in their observations until they are relocated.

TANFORAN - JULY 14, 1942

On Tuesday, July 14, 1942, accompanied by Professor Taylor and the wife of Professor Knight, I had occasion to visit the Tanforan Assembly Center. Here I spoke with Doris Hayashi, Ben Iijima, Fred Hoshiyama, Earle Yusa, and Charles Kikuchi. The latter two were most concerned over their proposed evacuation to the Gila Relocation Center, the former being afraid that he would be evacuated elsewhere before the order from Coverley came through. Kikuchi was worried because the illness of his mother might prevent his going at this time. She has been in bed for ten days.

Since I was alone with these informants, I had some opportunity to speak about my plans for them in the new centers. I mentioned that I was particularly interested in the Issei inasmuch as the customs of old Japan might best be drawn from this source and here too, is to be found the most pertinent anthropological information. In respect to this question, I asked each informant to outline for me the town or village, the prefecture and the district in Japan which was the provenience of his family; also I expressed my interest in knowing the profession or trade of the family, the social caste, etc.

In respect to the social castes, these have been being built up in the Tanforan center. There are distinct lines of demarcation between urban and rural peoples and the informants disagreed about whether this was the result of the social castes of Japan or the natural contempt of the city dweller for the town dweller and the farmer. Yusa thought the latter was the case. Kikuchi and the other boys and Doris believed that there was a definite survival in the social castes here and in Japan. They were familiar with the class ETA and Fred said that these were the "murderers". There are some recognized ETA here in Tanforan. On the way home Mrs. Knight remarked that there were friends of hers from Berkeley who altho now friendly in the camp, refused to be so in Berkeley because one of the ladies in question had married a samurai and was stuck-up. This will be a matter for further investigation.

Also at Tanforan, now that conditions have allowed for some moving about and the trading and changing of households, there are definite classes or groups which live apart and the various communities which have grown up are referred to variously as the apt. house area, the slums, the farmhouses, etc. There is the suggestion of rivalry between these various groups. Yusa is going to map out Tanforan and to delimit these districts.

Kay Uchida told me that she could not understand small Japanese children. She has taught Caucasian Kindergarten. She said that the little children of this age are at a loss to know how to play,

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most unlike Caucasian children. She told me that when given a picture book and when told to look at the pictures they were at a loss and didn't look at the pictures at all. This may be in accord with Lowie's recommendation of the study of motor habits. Sc. motor habits in children.

Mrs. Knight remarked to Miss Uchida that she was too Americanized and did not understand the Japanese psychology. Miss U. agreed.

We mentioned ghost stories which are most prevalent in the camp at this time. The fireball soul visible before death, has been mentioned as appearing in this country. Yusa said that he had heard of it as a child. Ben told me that the other night after the lights were out, a group got together and told ghost stories in English. He said that a girl, age 21, had had nervous prostration from it and required medical care. Others refused to go home alone or even in couples after these stories. I wondered what the ghost stories were about, whether English or Japanese in origin, but the boys were unable to say. I suggested possession by the fox and cat spirits but they couldn't say. Ben shivered slightly when I mentioned these and when I pinned him down he refused to commit himself, saying that he heard of fox possession but no more. They are apparently frightened by ghosts. After a moment, Fred drew me aside and wanted to know about this type of possession; he is a devout Methodist and wanted to be a minister. I explained to him how the spirit inhabits the bodies of people and may cause harm if not controlled. He was interested and promised to find out what he could.

Fred then bought me an Eskimo pie with his script. They have \$32.00 worth of script which they don't know how to spend. They are limited in what they can buy. They all laugh heartily at the script and bet with it. Cokes and candy, cigarettes, are the usual remuneration for any favor. These are all purchased with scrip. Each person is allotted 2.00 in scrip ~~XX~~ I don't know how long this is to last it must accumulate. They all agreed that it was silly. They all had to return to work after an hour or so. I left them and promised to do what I could for Earle and Charlie at Gila. The others are in doubt as to where they will go.

I was introduced by Taylor to Henry Kanda, a self-styled dirt farmer and a lousy one. I spoke to a very suave boy standing near and he was terribly concerned about the lack of contraceptives. The pregnancy at Manzanar, his brother writes, is terrible. The boys and girls at Tanforan are not such a problem, coming as they do from the cities and being more or less under parental control. There is apparently less supervision at the Relocation Centers. The boy was worried because of the contraceptive problem and was afraid of the Catholic Church' influence in blocking any M. Sanger representative. He stated that there were prostitutes in the camp but that they were the regular joro from San Francisco; all older women. I remarked that I had heard that the prostitutes were all younger girls, (Sc. Shibutani) but he said that this could not be

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inasmuch as there was no place to go to do the business. The professionals, being versed in their craft, lacked modesty and were willing to lie on the ground for a pack of cigarettes or more particularly a drink if one could be had.

This boy, unfortunately I missed his name, ^{Kinutani} also remarked that to be a Christian was considered tantamount to being a good American. He said that he had heard that all the ministers said that they would stamp out Buddhism among the California Japanese. The church groups are being definitely emphasized, he declared. Catholic, Protestant, and Buddhist, have all gathered their members together and are doing their best to proselyte. The Catholics, he said, are getting the best break because the head of the welfare council is a Catholic. Taylor stated that he thought that this was rumor. He thinks that every ^{one} thinks that the other has more advantages. The suave boy agreed. He did not express his own religious views.

I went to see Dah Lyons but he wasn't there, saw Edith Peaden instead. She likes her work and thinks the Japanese are swell. I had to explain to my informants my original WPA connections ~~XXX~~ or else they might become suspicious if I were shown to know the administration.

Returned to Berkeley at 1:00 PM

Tanforan Field Trip - Friday afternoon, July 24, 1942

On the above date I went to Tanforan Assembly Center alone. I met Earle Yusa who was wondering when the matters concerning his and my removal to Gila in Arizona would be settled. I explained to him the various problems confronting us which had thus far prevented our being moved. He had quit his job because of the supposed imminence of evacuation. Earle and I conversed for a time regarding the general situation then he left to get C. Kikuchi, Doris, and Ben. Fred did not appear.

I didn't get a great deal done because of our discussion of when we would be moved. Ben was little help; he was interested in the catalog of badminton racquets which I brought him. Doris left to return to work after only a moment. I spent most of the time talking to Earle and Charlie. Charlie's mother's illness worries us and may seriously affect the planned movement. In spite of the fact that Earle may ~~XXXXXX~~ have to go alone without Charlie, he stated that they had friends and relatives in Gila now and were anxious to go. Ben seems better adjusted to the situation now than before while Charlie is less so. He complains that he has a social service certificate and that knowing no Japanese he is unable to utilize his training in the Japanese field. He is afraid that he has chosen the wrong profession and has felt so for some time. Physically, he is better off than when living as a student on \$20.00 per month, he states. Nevertheless, the indecisive condition of his future is a vexing problem to him so he says. He is rather bitter about evacuation and hates the Japanese. In our ensuing talk about the religious aspects of center life he condemned the Japanese beliefs.

Some information was forthcoming concerning the religion life. Earle, Ben and Charlie have all had Christian training and were not very helpful along that line. However, they were able to mention certain definite aspects of the Japanese Shinto and Buddhism which occur in the camp. They unfortunately lack any knowledge of Buddhism and I suggested that they contact Buddhists and talk to them about the aims and purposes of that philosophy. Also that they read up on Japanese religions. There are Buddhist priests at large in the camp who hold Sunday services. This is the only time that the use of the Japanese language is permitted on a formal basis. The Buddhist Sunday services and school is much in evidence and there is much proselyting from every side. Protestant and Catholic proselyting is also prominent. The boys all shook their heads at many of the questions that I put to them. Lack of training was so obvious. They have never been interested in the Buddhist faith.

* Ben mentioned that certain Issei get together every day and sing a chant. He does not know what this is. I have been unable to connect this with any familiar pattern. Ben is going to ask about it. Many people have gardens in Tanforan. They have begun dwarfing pine trees and have also placed torii in them. Some people have placed ofuta in these garden plots on sticks. No Jizo are present, no phallic symbols. The torii suggest Inari but the boys were ignorant of the Inari-fox complex, except that knew the fox from childhood legends. Some people have kamidana and butsudan in their houses. Some people also have made them for exhibits in the

* See July 28

hobby show. On Boys' Day a few families had fish banners flying above their apartments (C. May 30) Fish flags were also on exhibit at the hobby show. The boys did not know about Inari.

Fly and weight casting are done in the pool. Henry Fujita is the instructor. He is the national bobcasting champion. Golf is played on the miniature course.

Further information was not forthcoming. We discussed personal problems and are looking forward to the time when we will be able to move to a more permanent location.

Re: Bathing. Some Issei take the usual bath. Disking showers, they have brought corrugated iron washtubs in which they sit nightly and steam. Sometimes they do this at home but more frequently it is done in the showers. Some Nisei do this also.

Father:

Born in Niigata, Japan

Ooiyama Village,

His father operated a general merchandise store in ~~Niigata City~~ Niigata, Japan.

He helped in the store, went to high school, then came to United States.

Was a ship captain, crew foreman in Alaska Canneries, and then settled in Livingston, California as a farmer. Married and reared four boys, and died at age of 47 in 1922.

Mother:

Born in Niigata, Japan

Lived in Niigata, graduated high school, Midwifery school and practised in Tokyo, Japan, until her departure to United States in 1912 to marry Mr. Hoshiyama.

Her father was a large land owner and was the mayor of the village called Fukasawa, now called Shinsawa city. His father was also a landowner and had many people tilling the land. In Fukasawa, mother's family were considered in ~~the~~ the highest respect and were tops in the social world. Wherever she went, an attendant would always accompany her.

In Livingston, both mother and father worked on their farm which was 40 acres of vineyard and orchards. During the depression of 1929, we lost the land since mortgage payments couldn't be met and so mother and four of us boys moved to San Francisco where we started from scratch. Mother never gave up and we finally won our respective place in San Francisco's Japanese town as active YMCA and Christian church workers. All of us worked our way as paper route carriers, schoolboys, shoe shiners, odds and ends worker and finally, I was able to finish University of California after working four years after high school. Other brother worked 6 years before he started to go to school. He is sophomore now when the war broke out and he had to vacate. Other two brothers are not intending to continue school. They were grocery store owners doing very good business when the ~~warr~~ evacuation caused them to sell it at a loss.

VISIT TO TANFORAN - July 28, 1942

I went to Tanforan with Dr. Thomas and Mrs. Knight.

I had an opportunity to speak with Ernest Takahashi, who is active in the educational circles of the camp. He stated that considerable difficulties arose in the matter of education since too much attention was being paid to the matters of recreation to the detriment of education. The recreation program has been planned for several months in advance while education is suffering. I remarked that inasmuch as education does not affect all the people it seemed more fitting that this should be so, especially now when schools as such were not formally in session. Admitting that this was true, he stated that nevertheless more progress should be made in the course of the education of the older students and the adults. He deplored the fact that many were left out in the matter of education since they were unable to complete their college courses. He further stated that the lack of capable high school teachers made the problems difficult. Kilpatrick has made some effort to bring in high school teachers and educators who might train prospective teachers with adequate education. The army, so Dr. Thomas tells me, is against such formal training. Kilpatrick has made some suggestions to prospective teaching guides to the effect that they merely visit Tanforan and discuss the problems of teaching to the prospective group. Takahashi remarked that they had adequate help in the kindergarten, and the primary grades. More important, he stated, was the business of getting adequate facilities for the high school, also Jr. Hi. Here there is a lack of active teachers and competently trained people. I remarked that I thought that inasmuch as school was not now in session and that the Tanforan center was merely temporary ~~XXXXX~~ more adequate facilities would be available in the relocation centers. The answer came back that unless teachers were found here there would be a dearth of them in the relocation centers. Takahashi is interested primarily in adult education and is angry because the college students are prevented from completing their courses. Takahashi is clearly impressed with his own importance and has no interests other than primarily his own. His manner of speaking is very pedantic and dull. I was glad when Dr. Thomas rejoined us after speaking with Mr. Kilpatrick.

I left to speak with Ben Iijima. Ben, very sensitive, was terribly concerned with certain rumors that he had heard. He was worried because he had heard that a leper's ear was found in the showers and that fingers had been showing up in the food. I told him to dismiss all this as a regular camp rumor likely to appear anywhere where there is a concentrated group of people. He seemed somewhat reassured. He heard that there were daily deaths among the old people because of the heat in the Arizona centers. He was quite worried about this. When we were alone we had quite an argument over ideals and idealism. He stated that because he had been raised in a democratic environment and was filled with concepts of a democratic nature his feeling should be that of righteous indignation at the treatment his people were receiving. He stated that he has become amazed at his own passivity. I told him that there was no point in chaffing at the bit; the situation had reached a status quo and nothing could now be done. He remarked

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that he was now adjusted far better than he was at first. He liked camp life but he was afraid that he was becoming too passive. He thought that he ought to be up in arms against the treatment of the Japanese. The feeling that he is a Japanese is now strong in him and he is amazed to see Caucasian faces as though they were an entirely foreign element. As a feeler, I remarked that he was now better off than before. He stated that this was so and certainly that his family felt so. His mother for example, is concerned with many activities which were impossible for her before and she loves the life at Tanforan. She is 49, a native of Shizuoka, and knows very little English. Formerly, she and his father had to work in their nursery in Redwood City and she had no freedom. Now she is able to visit and have the leisure time she always desired. On Mondays she goes to an Americanization class, Tuesdays she has piano lessons, Wednesdays and Thursdays she has an English language class. On other days she is concerned with visiting and sewing and doing just what she wants to do, taking part in numerous recreational activities. Ben further stated that now she was able to do exactly what she wanted with no thought for the future. Ben's father, on the other hand, while he enjoys the activities of the camp life, is afraid that the Japanese will forget how to work and always be dependent on the federal government. He is worried over the fate of the Japanese after the war. Ben somewhat shares his X attitudes. Ben's father is from central Japan also. He was sickly as young man and was not conscripted. He came over in 1903 and was in the San Francisco fire in 1906. He married Mrs. Iijima after sending for her as a picture bride. They have always been happy. Ben remarked that he was better off but would it not be better if he could help this country in its war effort. I remarked that he was helping it by acceding to evacuation but he wants a more active participation. He states that the Issei have lost a great deal of faith in this country because of the enforced concentration of the Nisei who are citizens. They as aliens realize that they should be concentrated but that the Nisei as citizens have been dealt badly with. The value of American citizenship has depreciated. This last from Takahashi. Ben said that he was now sure to survive but he wonders if survival is sufficient. He thinks that he should give more for an ideal. I remarked that I thought that survival was everything for the individual and that the individual could give much to others and still defend an ideal if alive. In fact, it was better to be alive. One could do so much more. But it is obvious that Ben has become more adjusted and acclimated to camp life in this past month since I have known him.

We spoke of Japan. He was under the erroneous impression that modern Japan has made an effort to stamp out many of the old time customs. I impressed him with the fact that Japan in its nationalism, has emphasized more and more the Japanese ways and has encouraged the adoption of things Japanese in a definite reaction against western civilization. He was unaware of this. He described for me certain games and sports which are pure Japanese. He remarked when I last saw him that certain people get together every afternoon and chant. They sing in long syllables and sit around a table as they do so. This he had been asked to describe for me and to find out what he could about it. He was unfamiliar with it but he asked his father. A description follows:

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As a means of amusement and possibly for certain esoteric or religio-ceremonial purposes, certain people have taken up the Japanese custom of UTAI. It is simply this: A member of the group sings one of the old Japanese epic ballads. He chants this out and the other people join in on the long syllables. It is simply a poem recited from memory. The other people take turns at telling their stories. The result is a chanting, sing-song, much attention being given to the long syllables. The effect is quite pleasing, so Ben says.

Another similar amusement is KARUTAKAI. This is a card game, the name of which is drawn from the hundred ballads (more information on this necessary) The ballads follow one another in order and are numbered from one to 100. A deck is used with 100 cards on each of which is written a verse or ballad. The cards are divided between the players and a reader is chosen. He reads a verse and verse No. 2 is supposed to follow. Each player frantically searches through his file of cards to find verse No. 2 which he knows from memory as following verse no. 1. He may look through his cards and also through those of his opponents. If he sees the verse card among those of his opponents he may take it out and get credit for it by giving his opponent two cards. The game is one of speed and the one who can most quickly dispose of his pile cards wins.

The above two pursuits are followed by the Issei.

Ben mentioned also a man with a Japanese flute (Shakohachi). This is played with a reed and makes a queer wailing sound. This was the first Ben had seen at the center although there are many people with samisen.

Ben will try to recrod the translations of some of the epic ballads and folk songs for me.

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Ben also stated that his father had married his mother when he was forty years old. I remarked that this was somewhat unusual but Ben said that in this country people marry older than in Japan. He did not know about social status from marriage. When his father was here it was harder for him to marry because of the lack of available women. This is true of many of the Japanese here. The Nisei, now that women are available here, are more likely to marry younger. The Issei had more difficulty.

Ben has heard no stories of differences in complexion in regard to social status. He mentioned that the people from southern Japan are considered darker. He said that his family came from the Tokyo area and for this reason were probably lighter in skin coloring. There was a conscious air of pride in his saying that his people came from Tokyo.

Sc. Sakoda, whose diary mentions both the importance of skin color and of early marriage for social prestige.

Note: Hiyashi's Diary

The families of those from rural areas seem larger.

These families have a tendency to name their children in Japanese rather than with American names. This, however, is true also of the San Francisco Japanese who feel a definite community solidarity and tend more to preserve Japanese ways. Those people with a sense of community solidarity also tend to have large extended family groups as much as possible. This is borne out in Tanforan where these Japanese are inclined to live in a large family group.

Note the following as obtained from Sakoda's diary:

1. Unmarried men are not considered true "men" and so lack prestige within the group.
2. Differences in complexion which the Japanese themselves are aware of. Eg: the group from Sacramento is dark skinned, the people from the northwest are fair. This is also reflected in Japan. Dark skinned women are not able to make as good a marriage as those who are fair.
3. College trained people feel they are superior and some do not wish to participate in any manual labor.
4. Kibei maladjustment.
5. Se. go. between in arranging marriage
Mentioned in connection with *Baishakunin*
Female go-between and husband ^[go-between] in
Santa Fe arrange a marriage by letter consulting girl's parents and boy. The matter of social caste is brought out here.
6. Problems of divorce - Are Japanese divorces here socially or culturally determined or are they the result of maladjustment?
7. Dietary habits and food superstitions. Sc. Issei who believe canned foods cause constipation.

8. Services of Amida Buddhism in Japanese. Faith in Amida stressed and the "amen" of Namu Amida Butsu is observed regularly, which is.
9. Deference to the emperor.
10. Bon festival - in July to commemorate the ancestral souls. More a dance here for amusement. Dance pattern follows a circle; each piece of music is played three times. Held July 7.

Prospective headings for research:

The Seasons

Attitudes
Motor habits

Greetings

Clothing
Sexual behavior
Seasonal types of behavior

Use of American conveniences

Radio
Phonograph etc.

Calendar

Lunar, Gregorian, etc.

Professions

Attitudes

Dirt + filth

toward human excrement and its use
perhaps as fertilizer.

Monetary matters:

House + family, poll tax, etc.

Roles of family

Paterfamilias

Mother

Sons

Daughters

Older people

Amusements

Songs and dances, etc.

On May 7, the police department was informed that prostitution was being practiced in the dormitory. Apparently the women waited in the main mess hall below and as the men went downstairs to go to the latrine they met.

Sect.
deluging
Tanforan

Sex offences and sex difficulties would seem natural in an environment like Tanforan. When there is nothing to do, there is one recreation that is always available--sex. There are grave dangers, however, for no contraceptives of any kind are sold in Tanforan--not even at the hospital. As time goes on we can see how true the rumors are concerning the activities of young couples in the empty barracks after dances and dates.

Besides the prostitution that we have already mentioned, the sex problem that is most discussed is voyeurism. Young men peek in at the women who must go to the latrines and showers which are open to public view.

In the middle of May the administration took vain action by painting the bottoms of the shower windows of the women's shower rooms. They closed up some of the side holes in the latrines, but the complaints kept pouring in anyway. Tanforan is indeed a terrible environment for young adolescents to grow up in, for all the opportunities for delinquency are present.

Among the other problems that arose were those of intermarriages. There were several Japanese in camp who had married Caucasians or Filipinos. Some were separated from their families while others came to live with the Japanese. Some Caucasian women and Filipino men live in Tanforan. Filipinos are visitors almost daily--to visit their wives. The unfortunate individuals are ostracized by the Japanese and sometimes stay among them-

Misogynistic
Tanforan

selves or stayed isolated. They perhaps constituted one of the maladjusted groups in the camp; it is indeed unfortunate that the Japanese who claim to be champions of racial equality look askance at those who disregard their mores concerning intermarriage.

Petty theft was quite common in Tanforan for the first part of the month, especially while the facilities were inadequate. Clothes hung out on the laundry line was stolen; electrical appliances were stolen from the empty barracks, latrines, and laundry buildings. The major problem came with the stealing of toilet paper. This was the center of discussion in the house-managers' meetings for weeks. Paper was stolen because it usually ran out. Some one who had suffered from lack of toilet paper once probably stole some the next time if he found any in the latrines so that he would not be caught short again. The next person who came would then find no paper and would steal the following time to play safe. It was a vicious cycle and it went on until almost everyone had a roll; then toilet paper ceased to be a major problem.

Thief
Tanf

In the kitchen stealing went on as a matter of course. Since there was not enough food served, people had their friends send in or bring in food. However, salt and pepper and especially bread had to be had every day. Therefore, these items disappeared daily. No one even felt guilty about taking bread. It became so common that people did it as a part of their daily routine.