groups. The S. family comes from an isolated farming area in the Northwest where they had little contact with Japanese. All indications are that they have never been wealthy and that they owned only a small farm, but they seem to be very keenly conscious of social status. Sakoda remarks of them in his journal:

> "Kiyo was telling Mike about a snooty family that she came across in her interviewing. All of the children except one seemed to be brilliant. She raved especially about the eldest daughter who was a Phi Bete...."[1]

At a block party where everyone had to introduce himself and tell his place of residence prior to evacuation, the S. sisters evaded the question of place of residence except for the youngest sister who, in her simple honesty, named a large city some distance from her father's farming community. A girl who knew the family in its previous locale complains that the eldest daughter goes about claiming her father's farm to have been much larger than it was.[2] One suspects that this is an extreme case of a general tendency which may be found in milder form among a large part of the rural people who are thrown closely in contact with the urban population.

It might have been hypothetically assumed that in relocation centers where farming is the major industry, the population with a farming background would gain the highest occupational status and therefore achieve the highest social status in the community.

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1 Sakoda Journal, August 3, 1942, p. 133.

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The basis of this assumption would be that the farmers, being the most productive group would get the highest wages in the community, and would also be recognized publicly as the most important unit of the work corps. As matters have turned out, the construction division has drawn the most workers (almost twice the number on the farm) although the farm was unquestionably recognized as the most productively significant department in the whole project. Wages have been no more for farmers than for anyone else; and under the circumstance, the preferred positions have been those in the offices and in the professions where not only are the wages frequently better, but one has the superiority of a white-collar position. Work on the farm has largely been taken by those who could get managerial positions there and hence get the highest wage rate, those who enjoy farm work and prefer it despite the hard labor involved, and those who could not qualify for any other work. The characteristic resentment of the practical farmer against those holding the cityfied "soft jobs" in the offices is prevalent among the farmers in Tule Lake, as witness the attitude of farmers toward the agricultural technical staff which is regarded as sitting around the office drawing high pay while the farmers do all the work for them.

Nor have women from farming areas gained any preferential status (over city women) by their greater capacity for work. In the first place, the policy of the WRA has been to use men rather than women on the farms, and women of farming experience find themselves ill-adapted to the idle social life of cityfied people. Those who preferred to work took positions as dishwashers, laundresses, and packing-shed workers, but none of these have added to the social prestige of the workers.

The only condition under which the farm workers would come to have superiority over city-trained people would be in the situation where their farm training would give the rural people economic advantages over others, but the wage policy of the WRA has prevented such a situation from arising within the centers. But in the relocation policy of sending out evacuees to outside employment in the sugar beet fields and the fruit orchards, farm-trained people have shown a considerable advantage by their greater endurance, ability to work faster, and the consequent ability to earn much more than the "greenhorns" from the city. If this policy continues, and farm work is made the chief outlet to outside employment, there may result a turnabout in the relative status of farm and city people.

In the division of labor in the Tule Lake Project, one finds that the city-trained people have tended to occupy administrative and professional positions, while the farm-trained population has tended to drift toward industrial employment, as on the farm and in

the construction crew. Social and political leadership in the community is clearly more in the hands of city people than the farm, and while no general hostility has been evoked from the rural population because of their relatively subordinate status, vague feelings of resentment may be noted among some of the people. If scales of social attitudes are drawn, such as:

inferior social status --- superior social status
traditionalism --- liberalism
Japanism --- Americanism

the hypothesis may be offered that rural people would probably appear more frequently to the left of urban people on the same scale. Such a generalization, however, is subject to the qualification that considerable sectional differences appear, and that it will hold only where large Japanese communities of farm and city people existed in adjacent areas.

Sectional Differences and Relationships

The Tule Lake Project is unique among the relocation centers in having large numbers of people from each of the three Pacific Coast States. Of the total 15,000 people (in round numbers) evacuated to Tule Lake, about 1,200 are from Oregon, about 4,200 from Washington, and the remaining 9,600 from California (latter figures estimated). Most of the Oregon and Washington people are from the rural areas in the outlying regions from Portland and Seattle. The California people are primarily from the city

of Sacramento and its surrounding rural area, and the rural and semi-rural areas around Marysville and Lincoln.

The sectional groupings of evacuees have been preserved by the allotment of housing according to the time at which the evacuees arrived, and an ecological distribution map might be drawn to show the segregation of people roughly according to their place of origin. Dividing the population according to wards, the distribution would be:

Ward 1	Washington and Oregon mixed with Clarksburg and Sacramento, California.
Ward 2	Sacramento and rural hinterland
Ward 3	Sacramento and rural hinterland
Ward 4	Sacramento and rural hinterland
Ward 5	Marysville
Ward 6	White River Valley, Washington, and Tacoma, Washington
Ward 7	White River Valley, Wash., and Tacoma, Wash., plus Hood River and Salem, Oregon.

Although social relationships are not determined strictly or even principally by sectional groupings, since occupational and other special interest associations cause the relationships to cut across sectional lines, the fact that a large part of the population lives in blocks that are relatively unmixed sectional groups (except in Ward 1) tends to preserve the structure of social relationships developed in former communities.

The distinction between sectional groups was, of course, most commonly noted in the early history of the community, but these distinctions have tended to disappear with time. In the

early period when there was considerable anonymity among people, efforts at identification frequently selected out overt characteristics of people to determine their place of origin. Skin color was thought to be a rough criterion, for there was a general assumption that northern people were lighter than those from California. Sacramento youngsters frequently called each other "kurombo" (Negro) because of the deep sunburnt complexion of many of them. The mother of a family from California living in the same block with several families from Washington and Oregon inquired of a Washington girl how girls from the north kept their complexions light and clear, and expressed anxieties about her daughter's appearance. Certain language differences were identified, such as the frequent use among California youths of exclamations like "getcha down" and "waste time." Such differences have tended to disappear during the months that all groups have lived under the same climatic conditions and in constant communication with each other.

Intangible factors of sentiment, attitudes, and modes of thought that distinguish one sectional group from another, however, seem much more persistent, though they offer no insuperable barriers to social relationships. Evacuees from the Portland and Puyallup assembly centers who came here as an advance crew and were the first to settle here, came with the understanding (so

they say) that the others in these centers would follow. Throughout June and July, they watched with misgivings the continuous flow of Californians into Tule Lake, and no little resentment was felt among them when it was finally announced that Puyallup and Portland would not be relocated to this center. Even now one occasionally hears disgruntlement among these people because they had been separated from others of their group on the basis of a false promise. Several petitions were received by the social welfare office for relocation of some of these families to Minidoka, where the others of the Puyallup and Portland evacuees went. Nor is the case different for people from any other region of the Pacific Coast, for when they are separated from the bulk of those who had been their friends in pre-evacuation days, there are frequent expressions of desire to join their friends in other relocation centers.

No doubt these nostaligic tendencies are in large part due to the difficulties of establishing new congenial associations and of gaining recognition among strangers. Football and baseball teams are frequently organized by sectional groups, and one finds such names among them as: "Sacramento Miks," "White River Bruins," "Tacoma Busseis," "Marysville," "Sacramento Christians," "Hood River," "Bellevue," "Florin," "Auburn" "Riverside," and "Isleton." Clubs are sometimes organized according to the section from which people come,[1] and dances are

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[1] Sakoda Journal, September 11, 1942, p. 208.

frequently held among those from a certain locale. Likewise, among the Issei, social relationships are principally along sectional lines, though it is less apparent than in the case of Nisei because of the absence of formal organizations, but with the Issei it is more frequently due to the fact that their friends have been located as neighbors.

The relationships based on sectional feelings are not unmixed with those arising from more recent associations formed since arrival at this center, but sectionalism is a significant form of relationship in that it is an easy channel for people to fall into. A patient whose long-time family doctor is in this center feels justified in asking for this doctor instead of any other at the clinic, and in making greater claims upon him than ordinarily might be the case. When any favor is to be asked of someone in a responsible position, intimate acquaintanceship in the past with such an individual simplifies the approach to him. But obligations incurred in the past must likewise be repaid even though the situation has been changed by evacuation, and in the gift exchanges at births, weddings, and funerals, community feelings formed in past associations frequently gain expression. In these situations, where interpersonal relationships developed in previous association must necessarily play an important part, the community recognizes the naturalness of the relationship and condones the sectional

feelings that appear. But where community-wide activities are involved, as in the functions of the recreation department or the city council, conscious effort is made to minimize sectional feelings and to promote unified action in the whole community.

The Generational Structure: Issei - Kibei - Nisei.

No aspect of the social structure of Tule Lake is more definite than the division of the population along generational lines.

Something should be said of the traditional Japanese conception of generational differences, for it plays a significant part in the differences that have appeared between the Issei and Nisei. Age has a much greater importance in the determination of social roles in Japanese society than is the case in American society. One of the primary ideals inculcated in children is respect for elders, and ~~in~~ obedience to their wishes and views; but this respect for elders does not end with childhood or even adolescence; it presumably carries over to manhood. To be sure, men over sixty rapidly enter into the group known as the "inkyo" (leisure class), and they forego responsibilities of family, business, and other major decisions to a large extent, turning over these responsibilities to younger and newer heads of families. But even the inkyo-san must be respected, and when he decides in moments of family crisis to add his view to the discussion, his argument must be given considerable weight. If we assume each generation to cover about thirty years, it will be seen that

about the time the parental head passes into the inkyo class, the young new family head should be about thirty years of age. The intimacy to the family system of this age system of relationships and responsibilities must be noted, for the system apparently arose under the condition in which the tradition of primogeniture required that the chosen member of the younger generation be initiated by the parental generation into family responsibilities so as to perpetuate the family name. The passing of responsibilities to the younger generation is best facilitated in a stable situation, for the younger generation is presumably trained throughout his youth to assume the responsibilities and should be capable of doing so without external aid unless unpredicted events upset the routine.

The philosophy of education upon which this age structure is based may be expressed in the view, "Children are ignorant and irresponsible; they must be taught." The technique of teaching is generally understood to mean the technique of ordering and forbidding, for by impressing the malleable mind of the child with the right way, as against the wrong, he will learn to act with responsibility and self-discipline. Under such a mode of instruction, there is less opportunity for the development of independence and individual initiative than in the American method of training, but one gets assurance of conformance to family ideals and the perpetuation of a "good" family name. A further safeguad to the system of primogeniture is offered in the obedience to and respect for older children

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In Japan, properly bred children address their older brothers and sisters as "niisan" (older brother) and "neesan" (older sister) rather than by their Christian names, and these terms are symbolic of obedience and respect to the one to whom the terms are addressed. Ultimately, one of the older children, usually the eldest male, becomes the family head, and his brothers and sisters must accept him as the responsible head of the family.

The transition from the period of irresponsibility in early childhood to responsibility in adulthood seems to come rather suddenly, for about the time of early adolescence, the family begins to impress upon the child that he is now grown up and must assume adult ways. The child at this age is frequently showered with criticisms and invidious comparisons with others, but it is assumed that through this instruction the adolescents will prepare themselves to take their places in men's and women's society, at perhaps the age of twenty-five in the case of males, and about twenty in the case of females.

This system of age structure of social relationships has suffered considerable deterioration in the United States due to the failure of conformance of the offspring generation of immigrants. In the first place, when the family was uprooted from the hereditary soil in Japan and the significance of the

the family name and of primogeniture disappeared, the meaning of the Japanese age structure of society was lost to the American-born Japanese. Although the inkyo-san is not uncommon in Japan, he is an exception in the United States, and most men continue to work far beyond their sixtieth birthday. Although the terms "niisan" and "neesan" are frequently taught the American-born Japanese children, the importance of the terms is not stressed as much as in Japan. Moreover, the American-trained Nisei fail to conform to the ideals of family responsibility held by the Issei, and the independence and individualism of the Nisei has long been a source of concern to the Issei. Because the Nisei accept the traditional family sentiments and responsibilities held by the Issei, there is a tendency for the latter to think that the former have not matured properly and that they retain much of the child-like irresponsibility.

Added to the difference between the Issei and Nisei in interpretation of the age structure of society there is also the whole realm of cultural differences which have split the two apart. Of primary importance is the inability of the two generations to speak a common language, for without adequate means of communication, they are by and large unable to enter into common social events or discuss their differences of opinion. Moreover, because of the different experiential background of the two generations, their interests, sentiments, attitudes, customs, and habits, are quite varied, and these differences contribute barriers to unified action between the two groups.

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In the pre-evacuation Japanese community, some kind of workable structure of relationships between the two generations was developed in each community, though conflicts were not absent within this structure. Because of the economic dependence of the Nisei upon the Issei, the political views of the communities were generally shaped more by the Issei than by the Nisei. In fact, authority in general rested more in the hands of the Issei than the Nisei. But because of the Issei's inability to speak English adequately and their lack of American citizenship, the superiority of the Nisei in any relations with Caucasians was recognized. The area of greatest difficulty in social adjustment was in harmonizing the customs of the two groups, but these difficulties were generally alleviated by accommodation and a series of compromises between the two groups. Accommodation was possible, for the adjustments were usually made within the family unit, and questions of community-wide scope seldom disturbed the relationship between the Issei and Nisei. To be sure, issues such as pro-Japanism vs. pro-Americanism tended to arouse community-wide interest, but they were never acute enough to solidify one group against the other.

The position of the Kibei in this structure of relationship was not exactly between the Issei and Nisei, as might be assumed, but they were a group apart, never wholly identified with the Japanese communities of America. Spencer has described their position

diagrammatically in the following manner:

Japanism Issei Nisei Americanism

Kibei

The Kibei were seldom readily accepted into the Nisei group, with whom they had a natural affinity from the standpoint of age, but from whom they differed considerably in personality characteristics and cultural background. On the other hand, age differences generally separated the Kibei from the Issei with whom they had a natural cultural affinity. Moreover, because the Kibei were frequently brought up in isolation from families of Issei and Nisei though they were born into the same families, problems of personal relations often set barriers to harmonious relations between the Kibei and Issei, and Kibei and Nisei.

From the foregoing, it is possible to give a rough definition of each generational group. The definitions should be based on the natural tendency of members each generational group to identify themselves with others of their generation because of common cultural background and personality characteristics. The definitions are necessarily of the ideal type since there is considerable variation among members of each generation. The Issei (first generation) are those who were born in Japan, lived there throughout their formative years (at least, up to or through adolescence), and came as immigrants to the United States. The Nisei (second generation) are those who have lived their formative years in the United States,

usually possess American citizenship, and whose contacts with Japan have not fundamentally altered their characteristics. The Kibei (returned to America) are those who were born in the United States, spent several years of childhood or early adolescence in Japan before returning to the United States, and are unable to identify themselves with the Nisei.[1] From the standpoint of identity with a group, most persons belong to one generational group or another, and they from different areas of experience, which must somehow be interrelated.

Following December 7, 1941, Issei freedom was considerably curtailed by the sudden restrictions upon Japanese nationals. Licenses of all kinds were withheld from the Japanese, funds were frozen, and economic activity among the Issei all but came to a standstill. From the outbreak of war, the FBI opened its dragnet upon all suspected Japanese aliens, Issei leaders of the communities were detained, Issei clubs and associations folded up, and political life among the Issei rapidly degenerated. The strong pro-Japanese leaning that had generally characterized Issei political views was hushed, and many Issei expressed loyalty to the United States in

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[1] Inability to identify themselves with the Nisei is crucial in defining the Kibei. Those Kibei who do not seek identification with the Nisei naturally remain unassimilated. But in most instances the Kibei seek to make some kind of favorable adjustment to Nisei society, and failing in that, seek out association among themselves. The impulse to seek identification with the Nisei group is strong for the reason that the Kibei has more opportunities for self-realization in the larger group of Nisei than in the small group of Kibei, if he can gain acceptance in the former group. Some individuals are able to identify themselves at one time with the Nisei, and at another with the Kibei.

open discussions. With this curtailment of Issei activity, the Nisei took over the leadership of the Japanese communities, while the Issei accepted the reversal of authority without too much comment. There were, to be sure, some criticisms of Nisei leadership even from this time, but no general movement to control this leadership appeared among the Issei.

The newly formed Nisei leadership was carried over into the assembly centers after evacuation. There were relatively few jobs open to the Issei, for they could not use English well enough to fit into administrative positions, and were not flexible enough in their occupational habits to fit into the types of jobs offered in the assembly centers. Because of Army regulations, Issei could not enter into the political life of the community, but they accepted the Nisei leadership without much open hostility. Perhaps the chief reasons for Issei docility under this subordinated condition was the recency of their experience with the extreme restrictions placed upon all enemy aliens by the Government following the outbreak of war, and the temporary nature of their stay in the assembly center.

The structure of Issei-Kibei-Nisei relationships in Tule Lake has undergone a series of minute changes since the initial period of community settlement, and it would perhaps be more correct to say that no clear-cut structure of relationships exists. Throughout June and July there was a re-establishment of roughly the same

structural relation developed in the assembly centers, of economic and political dominance of the Nisei over the Issei, a separation of Issei and Nisei interests in activities, and the Issei acceptance of this relationship. The Kibei were generally regarded as a difficult trouble-making group, and neither the Issei nor the Nisei gave them much support. But by the beginning of August, there were developing signs of unrest among the Issei against the dominance of both the administration and the Nisei, until by September, a showdown struggle between the Issei and Nisei developed for the political control of the community. It was in the political power relationship between the two groups that changes occurred, while in other forms of relationships, as in the family or in recreation, changes took place more slowly or were less noticeable.

Separation of association between the Issei and the Nisei, the Nisei and the Kibei, and even the Issei and Kibei, is clearly apparent in the community. One seldom observes Issei and Nisei associating with one another in social groups or in activity groups. Groups walking home from work, groups talking at leisure on some family porch, and groups attending the various functions of the community, are invariably divided on the generational line between the Issei and Nisei. The Kibei fluctuate in their associations more than do the other two groups, relating themselves at one time to the Issei, at another time to the Nisei, and perhaps most frequently going amont themselves. The acute

consciousness of these differences of association is brought out in such a comment as, "Mr. Tanaka seems to be a pretty good fellow. He seems to have as much fun playing around with the Nisei as he does with the Issei." As if it were strange that anyone should be able to associate with either group with equal facility! The separation of interests is expressed formally in the establishment of an Issei entertainment section under the recreation department, with a separate office from the Nisei. Church services are either in Japanese or in English according to whether the audience is Issei or Nisei. Even in the shower-rooms, where an equal number of Issei and Nisei are present, the generational groups define themselves, though the noise of the showers may make it difficult to talk across the room, and it would be easier to address one's neighboring bather. The difference in age is, of course, an important factor contributing to this split, but even more significant are the barriers of language and cultural differences. The necessity of having a Japanese section in the newspapers, and translators at mass meetings, indicates the gravity of the language barrier. Where association and conversation does take place between the Issei and Nisei, there is usually a decided formalism in the interchanges, or a tendency to vulgarism in the unnatural effort at intimacy. In deference to the Issei, such conversations are usually in Japanese, although one sometimes finds rapid shifts from broken

Japanese to broken English, and back again, in the effort to find some common medium of communication; but these associations are usually rapidly terminated by the limitations of vocabulary and of a common ground of discussion. The pertinent fact about association among the Issei, Kibei, and Nisei, is their separation; and as between the Issei and Nisei there is very little effort to impose one's association upon the other. The Kibei, however, frequently attempt to find a place in Nisei activities, and failing in that, may join the Issei or their own group.

The one activity in which generational lines break down to a considerable extent is in baseball. Issei, Kibei, and Nisei, all join in this activity with equal enthusiasm, and the subject of baseball furnishes one of the few common bases of conversation among the different groups. But even here, the structure is not completely removed, for the Nisei and some Kibei are the active participants while the Issei are without exception audience participants. Among the younger Issei, one sometimes hears complaints that they cannot join in the games with the Nisei.

> "Softball is another game the Issei could play, but as things are now, the Nisei monopolize the game and the Issei can't play. At Walerga there were a number of fellows like myself who like baseball and played the game. But here, if the older folks want to play, they can't get into the leagues so they have to play with little children, and play easy and lose so that the children won't be unhappy. Or they have to play among themselves, but that's not interesting. There should be a place in the league for an Issei or Kibei team where these men could play with their equals." [1]

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[1] Miyamoto Journal, July 21, 1942, p. 4