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when a critical situation arises in the relationship of workers and the management. But when the resentments and hostilities of the evacuees come to the surface, the awareness of all the discrepancies in position between the two groups becomes acute. The Caucasian administrators are then persons who live in one part of the project separate from the evacuees, their houses are favored with porches (for which the Japanese have been crying in their own barracks), they have adequate rooms and furnishings in the eyes of evacuees, and they are served by Japanese labor that is hardly adequately compensated for the work they do.

Because of the inability to communicate in the same language with the administrators, and the difference of their experiential background which sets them off in another world from Americans, it is the Issei group which is most sensitive to the semi-caste relationship that now exists between them and the administration. If this social distance exists between these two groups, it is less the fault of the system than of the difference of language and experience. But the Issei do not define this situation as one in which the differences are to be lessened and better understanding developed through closer inter-personal contact with the Caucasian staff. Rather, they assume an air of belligerent resentment against the keto who have caused the degradation of their status<sup>1</sup>, and their immediate reaction to almost everyone of the Caucasian administrators is one of mistrust. The typical attitude is:

"Kendall Smith? He's smart, too smart. But he can't

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1. The common phrases "the inferiority feelings in the Japanese" and "saving their face" hint at a truth about the Japanese, but actually tell nothing because of their superficiality. A thorough analysis of Japanese sensitivity to status is wanted.

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put anything over on us. We're just as smart as they are. <sup>1</sup>

Since Mr. Smith is a sharp business man, and admits it, he is perhaps to be distrusted; but the mistrust extends even to Mr. Shirrell, the project director, who has given abundant evidence of his sincerity in working for the evacuees. For instance, a Messhall Committee investigated the shortage of food in the warehouse and ostensibly discovered graft on the part of Mr. Pilcher, assistant project steward. The findings were then taken to Mr. Shirrell, and because he became angry at this meeting (which was perhaps an explosion on Mr. Shirrell's part following persistent and somewhat unreasonable demands about the messhall situation) the conclusion was drawn that Mr. Shirrell, too, must have been a part of the graft. The Issei's distrust of the Caucasian staff is so deep-seated that any proposition suggested from the administration is looked upon with skepticism. If the proposition is favorable to the evacuees, it is thought of as the natural privilege of the Japanese or as just another promise which probably will not be fulfilled. If the proposition is unfavorable to the Japanese, it is because of the malicious intent of the administration which desires to keep the Japanese down. Almost any statement from the administration is thus likely to be viewed in the worst way, and the motivation

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1. Miyamoto Notes, Oct. 19, 1942

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of the Caucasians is generally thought to be ulterior and detrimental to the Japanese. To be sure, the ground for this distrust was laid in large part by the series of promises made by the WRA which were ultimately broken.

With increased pressure from the Japanese population, there has tended to develop among the administrative staff a stronger in-group feeling. Even some of the most liberal minded /and understanding members of the administration are sensitive to attack upon their own group and are quick to reply in defence. Although it was quite clear that the community was violently opposed to Mr. Pilcher, the Asst. Project Steward, Mr. Shirrell was loathe to terminate him or to accept his resignation because of his fear that the Japanese could follow this single precedent and demand other resignations. The increasing dominance of the view in the administration that they are necessarily a group set off from the evacuees has tended to strengthen the position of those who entered the project with rather conservative ideas of racial differences, but who had been forced to subordinate such ideas because of the strong liberal democratic point of view that characterized the administration policy at the outset. An extreme example of the conservative caste tendency which exists among some of the Caucasian staff may be cited;

"B. mentioned a clash he had with P. today. The B's. had invited the Watanabe's to dine at the personnel messhall last night. There were five in their party and no tables



were open to take that many. Miss Smith and her father, who were sitting at an otherwise vacant table, offered to move, but B. consulted the head waitress first to see if other arrangements could be made. The head waitress herself asked the Smiths if it would be all right to change tables, and the latter complied willingly. P., who was seated at the next table with a group of teachers kept glaring at B. all through this discussion. Later, when B. went to P's table to speak to one of the teachers, P. burst forth with some very rude comments about B's rude exhibition in forcing the Smiths to move to accommodate evacuees. B. kept his temper and pointed out that the Smiths themselves had offered to move, and that he otherwise saw nothing wrong about bringing evacuees to dine there since there was no other room available to entertain in the project. P. went on to indicate that he himself had come of a poor family, that he had always felt thankful when others did things for him and showed his gratitude, but that the evacuees were the most ungrateful lot of people imaginable. B. interpreted all this to mean that P. "saw red whenever he saw 'Japs' coming into the messhall, to eat on the same level with the Caucasian staff. In P's mind the Japanese were apparently all right as long as they kept their place.<sup>1</sup>

Many Japanese in the community feel rather bitterly about the condescending attitude of the Caucasian personnel toward the Japanese<sup>2</sup>, and particularly is this the case among those who have been trained to think highly of their personal self-respect and whose equal status with any other racial group has been emphasized. It is difficult to know how extensive the attitude of superiority is among the Caucasians, but there is no question of its existence among some of them. A girl relates an incident that occurred at the beauty shop when a Caucasian woman tried to get her hair dressed after the closing hour.

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<sup>1</sup> Miyamoto Notes, Nov. 17, 1942

<sup>2</sup> Sakoda Journal, See pp. 191, 204, 210.



"While I was sitting under the hair dryer, a Caucasian woman walked into the shop this evening and, in an overbearing manner, asked that she have her hair done. The girls pointed out that it was almost closing time and that it would be impossible to start the work at that late hour. (The shop closes at 8:00 p.m.) The Caucasian thereupon demanded that a special case be made in her instance since she had to leave for Washington, D. C. the next day, and she wouldn't have time to have her hair fixed at any other time. (It was assumed that she was the wife of one of the administrative staff.) I think the girls would have done it for her if she had made her request in a civil manner, but it was the way she demanded that the work be done which got their 'goat.' The girls absolutely refused to do anything that evening, and they even gave her a rather awkward hour the next day just out of spite. The other woman was red in the face, and you could see she was quite angry, but she couldn't do anything about it so she went out with the appointment she'd had to accept. I'm surprised they did it for her at all. The girls were mad. They said she had no business trying to get her hair done there anyhow at the reduced rate the shop offers for the sake of the evacuees. Why didn't she go to Tulelake, or Klamath Falls?"<sup>1</sup>

The differential between the Caucasian administrators and the evacuees is likely to be further emphasized by the construction of a barbed-wire fence around the evacuee housing area separating it off from the warehouses, lumber yards, personnel buildings and quarters, an Army order presumably to safeguard against theft. When the fence is constructed, the evacuees will not be permitted passage to the administration building area except by a special pass.

Under the circumstance, there is a feeling among a large part of the Issei that anyone who associates too closely with the Caucasians is suspect in the same degree that the Caucasians are mistrusted. Such persons are known as "keto no ketsu wo neburu mono," (Those who lick the rear of the keto). By virtue

<sup>1</sup> Miyamoto Journal, Nov. 10, 1942

of their daily contacts in the administration building with the administrative personnel, white-collar workers in the office are generally spoken of in this way. Anyone who takes the view of the administration, or agrees with anything they say, is likely to be labelled in this manner. For this reason, many who have friendly relations with members of the personnel are even likely to avoid the administration building and contact with Caucasians to escape condemnation from their own group. The motivation implied to persons who associate closely with the Caucasians is that they are trying to simulate the Caucasians to make themselves appear superior to the Japanese, that they are trying to gain individual advantages, and that they are trying to break into Caucasian circles since they think the Japanese are not good enough for them.

#### Social Stratification Among Evacuees<sup>1</sup>

By social classes we mean those groupings of people which are determined by attitudes of superordination and subordination-- that is, attitudes of superiority or inferiority in relation toward others-- and it is assumed that social classes exist only where vertical mobility is possible. Furthermore, there is clearly no value in class analysis unless it is assumed that the class position of a group of people is a significant factor in determining their behavior. In this section, what we are seeking is a definition

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<sup>1</sup> Note: Material on this section is very inadequate and a much more careful study of the subject is required.

of those groupings in the Tule Lake community that are associated with attitudes of superiority or inferiority among people, and are "social forces" that shape the life of the community.

It is doubtful whether social classes, taken in this meaning, can be identified within the Tule Lake community; they cannot be identified even in very general categories. There is no elite to whom a society page might be devoted in the TULEAN DISPATCH; there is not even a clearly defined group of the poverty-stricken. Even in the Japanese communities of pre-evacuation day, it was difficult to define class lines though vague distinctions of people did exist. In the cities, to be sure, there were the treaty merchants (kaisha people) and the consular group who formed an elite among Japanese in America, but these people were frequently entirely distinct from the immigrant community. Among the immigrants themselves, there were so few who were wealthy or had any tradition of upper-class status that it was impossible for them to form groups entirely apart from others. In the large cities where the kaisha group were, the self-styled elite of the immigrant communities sometimes vied for favors from the kaisha people, and this constituted the main form of social climbing. There were also conceptions of "uptown" Japanese and "downtown" Japanese, but in the closely knit Japanese communities social relationships tended to cut across this line of division. There were also those families which claimed samurai ancestry, awareness of which made a difference in family ideals



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that were emphasized, but there was no grouping of such families into a special class in the immigrant communities, and it is certain that no important organization of such people existed. The one group set off from all others is, of course, the eta, but since their position, sociologically viewed, is more like that of a caste than of a class, the discussion of the eta is reserved for the latter part of this section. Whatever distinctions of wealth, manner, tradition, and sentiment, which existed in the immigrant communities have hitherto been relatively indefinite, and there were only hints of the beginning of a class society.

The conditions in the relocation centers have been entirely unfavorable to the development of class differences. The material culture of the wealthy, the "conspicuous consumption" of Veblen's leisure class, which is the external symbol of upper-class status, cannot get expression under the uniformity of housing, meals, wages, privileges, and purchaseable artifacts, such as, cars, furnitures, and even clothing, that has been imposed by the life conditions of the centers. There is no choice of residences superior to others, and even if there were, the better homes are not to be had by one's privileged status in the community. There are no special shops or places of entertainment the patronage of which gives "class" to one's name. The uniformity of wages imposes a considerable restriction upon the development of class differences, but more important still is the fact that everyone in the relocation centers is an "employee" of the WRA and cannot

hope to become an "employer." The result is <sup>a</sup>tendency toward the levelling or standardizing of all evacuee social status, and of bringing to the evacuees' consciousness the contrast of class position with those outside the relocation centers rather than among themselves.

We observe, however, that the class aspirations and class definitions formed in the past have some carry-over value in the Tule Lake community. The bulk of people in this center came from the assembly centers at Walerga (Sacramento people), Pinedale (Pacific Northwest people), and Arboga (Marysville section people). People from these assembly centers seem to know a great deal about others from their respective group, and out of this knowledge frequently speak of the relative merits of different families. "That family puts on airs here, but, really, they were nothing back home," is the kind of attitude frequently expressed. In regard to the recognition of superior station, one gets remarks like the following:

"See that well-dressed woman standing with a child? She's from the 'afternoon tea group' in San Francisco, but was sent here after she evacuated to the 'white zone'." <sup>1</sup>

Group associations formed in the past among people of similar class interest seem to persist here. Walter Tsukamoto, lawyer, Dr. George Iki, physician and surgeon, and Sumio Miyamoto, accountant, are a few persons who apparently formed the upper crust of Nisei society in Sacramento and continue their

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<sup>1</sup> Miyamoto Notes, Oct. 31, 1942.

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associations here. One of their chief interests is in small gambling over contract bridge games, and they frequently get together in lieu of golf, clubbing, and other activities of the upper class which are restricted in this project.

It is difficult to know, however, what it is that determines class status among these people, for a variety of factors apparently enter into its determination. Families are frequently pointed out as probably having a large amount of wealth, and there is unquestionably envy in the minds of those who are not equally well off, but there is as often a tone of disdain in the discussions about families especially when they have nothing beside their wealth to indicate status. Particularly is this true in the view of city people toward farmers' families, for while mention is made that this family or another from the farm has amassed a fortune through the tilling of the soil, there is also an attitude of pity toward them because they have never learned anything other than to work and save.

Yet, in this community where there is a large degree of anonymity among people from different sections of the Pacific Coast, there is an effort to impress others with the kind of background from which one came; and in this contest of "impressing others," the description of artifacts which were once possessed plays an important rôle. One hears such gossip as:

"Mieko was mad when she heard that S. had been going around speaking of her father's large dairy farm. Mieko said, 'If S. calls two cows, a dog, and two cats a large dairy farm,



I don't know what to call the farms of most Japanese.''  
Mieko's a very sincere girl, and I'd never seen her mad  
before.."<sup>1</sup>

Persons well trained in manners and conventions, especially among the Issei, sometimes speak critically of those who are more poorly bred in these matters, but the community as a whole does not single out those who are "to the manner born" and contrast them to those who are not so. Those who have had considerable contact with Caucasians in the past and know how to get along among them will sometimes be heard to say, "I don't know how to get along with Japanese because I've always associated with Caucasians," and it is said with an air of one who wishes to point out his difference and superiority. At least among the Nisei, one senses that, much as they may deny the superiority of the whites, there is a desire to be accepted by the better class of whites and to know how to get along among them. Education, previous occupational status, and social recognition of any kind received in the past are other factors contributing to one's status in the Tule Lake community. But there is little fundamental agreement about the criteria of high social status in the community or of who belong to the higher classes.

If any class differential exists in the community, the most definite of all the vague factors contributing to social

<sup>1</sup> Miyamoto Notes, Nov. 7, 1942

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distinction seems to be urbanization. It is perhaps natural that in modern society where city ways are considered more favorably than country ways, one should find even the Japanese evacuees in relocation centers holding to these ideals. Where there is a mixture of city people among country people in a given block, there is some awareness among city people that the habits of the country people are cruder. In one block, it has been observed that the leadership at meetings arises much more frequently among the city people than among the country people, and every important elected or appointed office among the Issei has gone to persons of urban background. In fact, at one election when a country person was nominated for an office, his reason for declining the nomination was:

"I and others of us are mostly from the farm and are inexperienced in matters of this kind. I think it would be better to elect persons from the city who have had experience in organizational work." <sup>1</sup>

The superior offices in the community's organization are likewise generally held by those of urban background although there is probably a larger percentage of rural than of urban people in the Tule Lake Project. Since the ideals of upper class status, such as, ability to express oneself, personal appearance, and manners, have not altered since the time of evacuation, and wealth plays a relatively smaller part than these other factors in determining status in the relocation center, ~~persons~~ of rural background show some reticence in

<sup>1</sup> Miyamoto Journal, August 21, 1942

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entering the competition for status. But they are perhaps critical of the extravagant mode of life which is somewhat more characteristic of the city people. One gets a hint of this in the remarks made by a girl from the country to a city girl who was washing some of her dishes in the washroom:

"Those are awfully pretty dishes. I suppose they were quite expensive. We use tin plates in our family, but we feel that in a place like this, there's no use keeping nice things around." <sup>1</sup>

There is also some feeling that there are sectional differences in the attitudes of superiority and inferiority, that the people of the Pacific Northwest are inclined to think themselves better than those from California. However, such feelings of superiority, if they exist, are based on vague feelings of difference, and does not offer solid ground for class differentiation.

Despite the vagueness of class structure in the Tule Lake community, even these hazy differences have some significance in the political life of the community. During the recent controversy over the question of building a theater with the profits of the community enterprises, some difference in ideology of those who have wealth and those who have not seemed to appear. After more than two weeks of discussion in the City Council concerning the desirability of building a theater with the people's money, and clarification of the proposal had been

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<sup>1</sup> Miyamoto Notes, August 7, 1942



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offered by Mr. Kendall Smith who had initiated the project, Walter Tsukamoto moved that the council recommend the building of the theater, and in so moving, also declared:

"I want to give my youngsters a chance to see a few movies, and possibly see one myself now and then. Mr. Smith tells us that the total cost of the theater won't be more than 58¢ per person. I don't think that's too much to ask of people for what they're getting in return.<sup>1</sup>

People who had not been pinched in their economic circumstances by the evacuation seemed more inclined to view the problem in the same way as Tsukamoto, but there were loud reverberations against the Council's action, especially among those who count every penny earned on this project. There seems to exist a haunting fear among those without much savings that they will not have enough to sustain themselves and their families in the period of readjustment after the war, and they count their money in terms of its smallest fraction. Unfortunately, because of the complexity of reasons offered by the Issei for rejecting the theater, it is impossible to demonstrate the extent to which family savings influenced the final referendum vote; but one senses that some ideological differences based on the amount of wealth exist in the community on issues of this kind. People of wealth cannot understand the "pinch-penny" attitude of a great many in this community, and they will not understand it until they are confronted with the same problem of economic security for the future.

<sup>1</sup> Miyamoto Notes, City Council Meeting, Oct. 6, 1942

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From a broader point of view, the class system of Tule Lake must be seen from the standpoint of its relation to the class structure of the United States. On the whole, the Japanese in the United States have been profoundly middle class in their economic interests and social and political aims. The occupational census of Japanese in 1940 indicates the great extent to which they were involved in proprietorship or managership of their own shops and farms, in clerical services, and in personal services.<sup>1</sup> Most of the private enterprises were family-operated, and there was little room for a widespread development of the distinction between employers and employees. Hence, unlike the people of the United States as a whole, very little growth of a working-class consciousness has taken place among the Japanese, and the primary economic impulse seems to have been the development of private enterprises. The tendency of their ideology is clearly indicated in the fact that, up and down the Pacific Coast among Japanese, there seems to have existed a general opposition to labor unions, and when they were forced to accept the fact of unionization, they found greater acceptability in the A. F. of L. than in the C. I. O. Few were wealthy enough to have intellectual convictions about class divisions.

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<sup>1</sup> Tolan Committee Hearings, Fourth Interim Report, pp. 105-107.

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No fundamental change of ideology seems to have taken place among the Japanese because of their new conditions in the relocation center. The hope of most Issei is that, after the war, they may return to their former position in the economy as farm operators or as small entrepreneurs in the city. The Nisei, although less sure of their future, mainly picture their future in terms of professions or the operation of farms and shops following their parents. Among an immigrant group who have always asked only that they be left alone to pursue their economic ends, and even now think that is all they ask of the Government, it is not surprising to find that their deepest political convictions are aligned with those of the dying middle class. One of the justifications offered in the "Fascist" propaganda from Japan for the rising power of the military clique was that theirs was a resurgence of the small people of Japan against the dominance of the capitalist class, such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi. There is no indication that the immigrants in this country have ever objected to or rejected this view, and it may be that their agreeableness to the new organization resulted from their un-  
verbalized feeling of identity with the "oppressed" farmers and entrepreneurs in Japan who constituted a large part of the population.



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The middle class attitudes of the people have been a significant factor contributing to the difficulties of the WRA in administering the project. Some of the leaders of the opposition to the establishment of a co-op came from those who had been prosperous enterprisers in pre-evacuation days<sup>1</sup>, and there has even been the suggestion that their opposition was based on their fear that the acceptance of the cooperative idea by the Japanese would spell the doom of individual enterprise among them in the future. Again, since the Japanese have never experienced the tradition of labor organization among themselves, the formal organization of the project which requires that every Japanese be an employee of the Government is unfamiliar and ill-suited to them. On the whole, the evacuees seem unwilling to accept wholly the status of employees, and there exists a tendency in the work corps for each member to desire to handle his job in his own way. Because of their inability to work independently under the circumstances, on the part of the worker the resulting attitude/is one of indifference to his job and to do only enough to prevent himself from being terminated. If there is distrust of the WRA and the Caucasians, there is also distrust of workers in their own group that arises from the interpretation that every other person is out for his individual gain. One minister declares:

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<sup>1</sup> Miyamoto Journal, July 21, 1942, p. 8.

"Don't you think there are a lot of people here who have atomistic interests? They can't see themselves as a part of a community. Each individual wants to go his own way without regard for the other fellow. This society seems very atomistic to me. There's no cohesion." <sup>1</sup>

Of course, the hypothesis that these individualistic tendencies of the evacuees result from their middle-class background is difficult to prove. It is not unlikely that a community of working class Japanese might respond in the same way, if not in an even more individualistic manner. But it seems certain that the tradition of workers' organization is lacking, and one may offer proof of this in the difficulty which Mr. Shirrell has had in getting the Japanese to submit their complaints about their work through definite procedures, if they are to complain. In the strikes and slow-downs that have taken place among the work corps of this project, few if any of them were organized. Rather were they more like mass responses to the suggestions of a few leaders, and strikes would follow without any clear definition of demands, and without the establishment first of a negotiating committee. The meetings of strikers were characterized by an ignorance of organizational procedure; there seemed only the desire to give vent to basic dissatisfactions without any common understanding of how to establish the machinery for the removal of the dissatisfactions. One might say of Mr. Shirrell's exasperation

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<sup>1</sup> Miyamoto Journal, July 21, 1942, p. 8.

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at the strikes, that he complained less of the fact of the strike than of his inability to cope with them because of their lack of organization. Of course, organized strikes would have been much more difficult to combat, but the bargaining between parties would have been much more rational.

To be sure, the universal employee status of the evacuees is giving rise to ~~a~~workers' ideology, even among those who formerly were the most outspoken opponents of labor organizations. During the farm strike of mid-August, a farmer was heard to say that friends of his were trying to organize a CIO union in the community, and the listeners nodded their heads in approval. Considering the general opposition to unionization which has characterized Japanese farmers in the past, it is ironical to hear them speak approvingly of labor unions. Moreover, the point of view of the evacuee workers toward the WRA is so characteristically like that of workers on the outside toward their employers that it amuses one to recall the diametrically opposite position held by the Japanese on the outside. But it seems doubtful that this newly gained perspective is very deeply seated among these people, for the persisting idea is that all the evacuees' demands is to be allowed individual freedom in pursuing his economic ends. Unless the war is of long duration, and unless the Japanese are more or less entirely dispossessed of their present holdings, it seems unlikely that there will be a fundamental revolution of ideology from their present middle class tendencies.



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### Rural-Urban Structure of Relationship

In the previous section, it was mentioned that the urban population tends to hold higher status in the community than does the rural population. The basis of the difference, however, is not easily determined for although people speak of these differences frequently in reference to each other, there are no clearly defined characteristics that distinguish one group from the other. An observer wandering about the project can frequently tell from a person's appearance whether he comes from the country or the city, but there are perhaps an equal number of cases in which he could not make the distinction. Even in the personal association of people in a block, relationships cut across rural-urban divisions and, externally, it is difficult to know who is who among them.

The main distinctions seem to arise from preconceptions which each has of the other, and the implications which people read into people's behavior on the basis of what they learn of their background. Roughly speaking, the attitude of the city people toward those from the country is that the latter are less socialized, less able to express themselves and join in social conversation, inexperienced in the city ways of the project, more conservative, and generally inferior to the city people. On the other hand, the country people seem to think

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of the city people as unduly extravagant, "keeping up appearances" without the need or the means to do so, "weak sisters" ill prepared for life under difficult circumstances, and "snooty" without having reason for being so. The distinctions are drawn upon relatively intangible factors which are determined by feelings of difference that arise in social contacts; and it seems that there is greater awareness of difference among women than among men.

During the first few weeks in a certain block when the women's toilet was more than once clogged and plumbers had to be called, one heard accusations among the city people that the "ignorant" country women had committed the unforgivable sin. There is a current belief among city people that the table manners of those from the country are unrefined, and one also hears the observation that conservative countrified people are not interested in eating at the messhalls in family units, but tend to scatter family members at several tables. Considering the critical observations of messhall workers about the diners' table conduct, which falls indiscriminately upon city and country people, it may be questioned whether the actual fact of difference in this regard exists. There are hints, however, that those from the country, especially those who are self-conscious about social status, are sensitive to these current beliefs about the differences in socialization between the two