

products and were delighted with the substitute. The shortage of candies was a source of irritation to many families, and many orders were sent outside to friends for these. Those who could not eat all of the food served in the messhall and who did not like to drink milk, felt that they were becoming under-nourished. Many mothers shared this feeling because they feared that their children were not getting the right type and sufficient quantity of nourishment.

The feeling of insecurity was probably greatest at the time of the farm strike when food was scarce and antagonism existed between the Japanese people and Mr. Pilcher. When the mess-slow-up strike went into effect, there did not seem to be so much feeling of insecurity on the part of the people that they would not be able to obtain food. Since then the insecure feeling, along with the dissatisfaction, has gradually diminished. Cold weather has arrived, but except for the scarcity of fresh vegetables, there has been no noticeable slow-down of the rate of flow of food into the Project.

D. Pilfering

Pilfering of food has been only one of the numerous causes of conflicts arising in the mess division, but it is worth mentioning at this point because such tendencies have been observed in other phases of camp life and seems to be a result of the new condition that people have had to face within the Project. Community control and planning of activities

within the Project, together with the lack of resources with which to buy goods freely through proper channels, seem to have increased the temptation among colonists to pilfer food which rightly belonged to the people in general. Food has been known to be taken from the box cars, from the warehouse, from the butcher shop, from the delivery truck, from the messhall pantry. This has meant unscrupulous workers all up and down the line of workers. In some messhalls cooks and workers have assumed that they were entitled to extra food and usually ate more than their share of choice food. Truck drivers demanded apples for their crew whenever they delivered supplies. Since some chief cooks could not avoid the temptation of taking food home from the messhall, they had to let the rest of the workers do the same. The surprising thing about pilfering is not that it is being practiced, but that people who formerly would not have stolen even a penny have come to accept the practice as being natural. Farmers have been in the habit of bringing home whatever vegetable they needed at home, even though they were asked not to do this. Authorities were more strict about wild geese being brought home, because it infringed on a State law, but farmers brought them home whenever they could. The same sort of thing has occurred with lumber being used for construction. While many people claim that such behavior is "natural," we should look for the environmental circumstances which facilitate such behavior.

Mr. Fagan, Mr. Conner and Mr. Fleming reporting on mess-hall conditions on October 2, noted in their general recommendations as follows:

"There is a question as to whether Japanese assistants in certain key positions are willing to take sufficient responsibility. The pressure from friends and relatives are tremendous.

"There have been many cases of favoritism to individuals or to groups, both in the food warehouse and the messhalls. The committee is not disposed itself to blame Japanese assistants for this condition. It seems to be inevitable in the circumstances of the Project. However, if this is true, it may be necessary to have additional Caucasian assistants in the food warehouse and in inspection of mess-halls."

E. Position of Woman

The centralization of mess activity has affected the woman the most because the making of meals constituted one of her most time-consuming and important activities. Because she has been deprived of this job her usefulness and consequently her status has been reduced correspondingly. It is true that she has more leisure and is able to attend classes in English, sewing, flower arrangement, artificial flower making and the like, but she has ceased to be as indispensable as she formerly has been. In preparing meals, not only was the woman fulfilling a necessary task, she was also in a position to please members of the family by making

special dishes to suit them. The family table was also a place where the parents could teach children good manners and give them advice on a great many things. This has not been easy to do in a community messhall when a great many strangers were around and everyone ate in a hurry and left the table as soon as they could. The lack of necessity of skill in cooking at the present time may serve to lower the value as wives of girls who have been trained to take interest in domestic arts, and proportionately increase the popularity of the girl who can be a good companion to the boy. We should at least expect some change to result from this shifting of the responsibility for the preparation of meals from the shoulders of women to that of community workers.

Mess activity, then, has contributed to two large processes: first, the leveling of the people through uniform meals and uniform eating place; second, community planning and control of activities, which is characterized by central meal planning, buying and mass feeding. These processes have caused a great deal of dissatisfaction and sense of insecurity in general, especially during the initial period of adjustment. There are indications that people are making better and better adjustment to the new set-up, even if it is only a matter of getting used to new conditions. Pilfering has cropped up as a by-product of this new system and seems to persist. While this new arrangement has affected the woman the most, it is not known yet what affects have actually taken place.

V. ANALYSIS OF WORKERS

The analysis of messhall workers can be conveniently divided into the analysis of cooks and other workers. Both the nature of the job, their status, and the type of people accepting these jobs serve to make this division a natural one. In general, cooks are more likely to be Isseis, while diswashers and waiters are more likely to be Niseis.

A. Cooks

Cooks, in general, have tended to be Isseis or older Niseis. In almost all cases they are men. The requirements of the job of a cook have been rather strenuous, being required to put in long hours in front of a hot stove and being responsible for the food of hundreds of people. In general this has made the job of a cook rather unattractive. On the other hand, cooks have usually not been willing to quit even when a great many complaints have been forwarded to them from various sources. The position of cook has offered a certain amount of prestige. To some it has also meant an opportunity to pilfer food. Interest in the work probably has attracted many cooks to the job. It was also an indoor job and a clean one and a warm one during the winter time are factors which made it attractive to many people.

The status of the cooks brings to light interesting points. On the outside world the status of a cook is not very high or very low. It is one of those positions which

are filled by Japanese without attracting many comments, good or bad. This is especially true of restaurant cooks. Domestic cooks were more likely to be looked upon as in a slightly servile job. During the early months of adjustment when the weather was exceedingly warm, cooks complained of being overworked. They had to work long hours in front of a hot stove. Sufficient food was not delivered from the warehouse, especially during July and August. At such a time when complaints came to the cooks they were infuriated because of the strain under which they were working. This hard work, however, earned them a reputation for hard work and a status that would not have been accorded them if their work had been easier. Only the chief cook was receiving \$19.00 at first, but when the wage scale was changed in August (?), all cooks were uniformly raised to \$19.00. Outside workers had been induced to work with shorter hours, extra clothing, better food, but to the cooks higher status was extended. This rise in status has generally served to keep the cooks satisfied. In some messhalls they overstepped their bounds and tried to order other workers about, but these were probably exceptions.

B. Other Mess Workers

Of the other mess workers besides the cooks, the majority are usually young Niseis or Kibeis. There are some exceptions, such as the janitors who are usually old

Isseis, and laundresses who are usually Issei women. Some of the waitresses and kitchen helpers are sometimes Issei women. On the whole the kitchen crew is dominated by Niseis who are relatively young--from about 17 to 25. The dishwashers are usually boys, while the job of waiting on table is taken over largely by girls, but not wholly. Since high school children have started to go to school the position formerly filled by young people working in the messhall has been filled in many cases by Isseis. A ruling has been made by the Administration that all new mess workers must be women, as there was a shortage of men to work on the farm.

Messhall work has been relatively easy work, with short working hours and no hard work or skill or brain-work required. Since the mess workers worked only about two hours during meal time, they had the rest of the time free to attend classes or do whatever they pleased. This made the work desirable for girls who desired to attend classes in sewing, flower arrangement, flower making or other Adult Education classes which were held during the day and at night.

Despite the attractiveness of the job in terms of hours and work, it did not attract people with ability or ambition. In the first place, the job was of the unskilled sort which had always been considered a relatively low type of job. The term, waitress, especially, carried an

unrespectable connotation among Japanese. The concern for status which is a strong characteristic of Niseis, as it is the characteristic of all second generation groups in general, took the traditional form of seeking "white collar" work whenever they could. For this reason most Niseis with ambition preferred to work in the Ad Building as clerk or typists, in the hospital as Nurses' Aides, in the canteen as sales clerks. They considered their type of work and the way they dressed and the things they did more respectable than those of the messhall worker. While this attitude seems to be more common with girls, it holds true generally for both sexes.

As a result of the lower status of the messhall work, it has tended to draw certain types of Niseis. In the first place, Niseis with any amount of intellectual interest usually are not found in the messhall. For the boys who do not like "white collar" work, there are jobs on the farm, in the construction division, in the motor pool, Fire Department and the warden force. For the girls who do not like "white collar" work, the messhall is about the only other work they can turn to. Many of the girls are from the country and have done no other type of work except work around the home and in the fields, and consequently find themselves able to accept only work in the messhall. The general characteristics of these people are the lack of refined ways which Niseis seeking

"white collar" work attempt to maintain and a narrow range of interest especially in the intellectual sphere. To a large extent the latter is true of a large number of Niseis, but especially true of messhall workers.

The boys are likely to be at an awkward age when they are most interested in girls and dances, but have not learned the refined ways which make it possible to approach girls without frightening them away. Awkward manners and dirty jeans often characterize these boys. The boys may crack jokes among themselves and consider it funny, but Niseis usually will not do this in front of a girl. The Isseis and Kibeis working in the messhall are likely to talk in vague but erotic terms, irritating the girls or making them laugh. The interest of the Niseis is centered around sports, popular music, dances and the opposite sex. To a large degree they have taken up American ways. Most of the girls, for instance, wear their hair cut short and with a permanent wave. When the people dance they are likely to prefer jitter-bug to smooth dancing or dance only awkwardly. The girls tend to giggle too much and secretly crave attention from boys, which is probably natural of a group of adolescents. These people usually talk a great deal and claim that they have a great deal of fun working in the messhall.

Another type of Nisei which the messhall tends to attract is the quiet type who has attempted to adjust himself to the ways of his parents. This is especially true of girls who have accepted the parent's conception of the role of a girl as one interested in sewing, cooking, and other domestic arts. For one thing, many girls of this

sort have not been ambitious enough to strive for white collar work, to develop intellectual interests, or attempt to maintain refined social ways. Many of them probably had no qualification or desire to do other than messhall work. The fact that this work gave them an opportunity to attend sewing and other classes which their parents wanted them to attend, made this work more attractive. Some girls who were enjoying their work in the hospital were forced by their parents to accept messhall work so that they could attend classes.

These people were usually more reserved, less open with the opposite sex, and talked less. They were much more likely to be Buddhists than Christians. Their mannerisms tended to be more Japanese than those of other Niseis. They usually spoke better Japanese and poorer English than the others.

Another category which the messhall attracted was the Kibei. They are not a type, but a culturally isolated group of second generation Japanese. The fact that a large proportion of them are working in the messhall is probably due to the fact that they find it difficult to find suitable employment elsewhere. Positions requiring the use of the English tongue are usually closed to them. Many boys probably found employment on the farm. A handful of Kibei were on the warden force but after finding themselves unable to get along with the Niseis, many of them left for the beetfield. Some kitchen crews have been made up entirely of Kibei, such as the one involved in the Imaseki Battery Case. At best their relation with other Niseis is only tolerable. They often find much in common with the extremely quiet type of Nisei who also find themselves out of stride with other Niseis. Some Niseis even find it easier to get along with Kibei than with Niseis.

Thus we find that the type of job and the relative low status of the job have tended to draw workers of a certain sort to the mess-hall. In terms of social stratification they can be placed on a relatively low level. They do not maintain the status ways which give prestige to the group. In terms of acculturation most of them are likely to be conservative or backward. In terms of adjustment they tend to be submissive to parent ways. The large proportion of Kibeis is also another characteristic of the workers in the messhall.

V. CONFLICTS

Some indication has been made of the frequency and type conflicts that have occurred in the mess division. In this section the conflicts will be analyzed a little more thoroughly to bring out some of the factors which caused the conflicts. First an analysis will be made of the possible causes of conflicts and their relative importance. This will be followed by an account of the activities of Kintaro Takeda in his work to settle messhall conflicts. Finally, a detailed account of the ousting of Pilcher, including the mess slow-up strike, will be given, bringing out the relationship between Japanese and Caucasians.

A. Causes of Mess Conflicts

An analysis of mess conflicts reported in the block manager's reports reveal the following main causes:

1. Food shortage
2. Trouble among the mess workers
3. Complaints from block people
4. Poor distribution of food
5. Desire to put in own block workers
6. Misunderstanding over employment policy
7. Relation with Caucasians

The relative importance of these factors in causing conflicts is difficult to determine, but they seem to follow in the above order of importance, except for the relation with Caucasians, which is probably among the more important reasons for conflict. This seems to be true when it is considered that the attitude of Caucasian heads figured largely in the farm strike and was the main basis for the slow-up strike. Each of these causes will be discussed in order.

1. Food Shortage

Food shortage has been the chief source of complaints and the main cause for the farm strike on August 15 and was also listed as one of the complaints made at the time of the slow-up strike on October 12. From the very beginning there has been complaints of food shortage. The Block Manager of Block 4 reports on June 15 that the cook is having difficulty preparing meals. On July 2 the Block Manager of Block 28 writes: "Our chief cook complains that food supply is very low. We went after food in order to have something to eat for the mess meal." Complaints of the shortage of food, however, became acute and general beginning early in August and extending into the middle of August when the farm strike resulted in the securing of an emergency purchase order, and purchasing of more food locally to relieve the situation. Since then the complaint of food shortage decreased in intensity. The complaint at the time of the slow-up strike that only thirty-nine cents was being spent for food when forty-five cents was promised indicates that dissatisfaction on this score still existed at the time. During November complaints against food shortage seem to have been reduced to a minimum.

At the time of the food shortage, chief cooks complained that

they were unable to cook decent meals. In many cases they were required to cook meat and vegetables together because the supply, especially of meat, was limited. This in turn caused complaints from the clock people. Some of the mess crew were suspected of taking food home from the kitchen, although it was not actually true. In one block where this was true (block 26), an effort was made to take out the chief cook and his crew. When in some blocks the people formed a committee to present complaints to the cooking staff, the crew threatened to resign as they did not feel responsible for the shortage of food.

2. Trouble Among Mess Workers

In many organizations there is usually some bickering going on among the workers. This is especially true when the head or those in responsible positions are not able to handle their job and men below them adequately. Such poor relationship among workers has been one of the major causes of a small irritating trouble within the mess-hall and occasionally these have ended up in an open split among the workers and situations where one side was forced to quit their jobs.

When the choice of the chief cook was poor there was most likely to be internal trouble. One crew complained that the chief cook was too young--32 years old, but since kitchens have been running smoothly with younger chief cooks than that, it is a sign of poor management on the part of the chief cook. In another mess-hall the waitress crew threatened to quit because the chief cook "overstepped his bounds," but in this case everything was settled. In another block the chief cook tried not only to control the kitchen, but also the whole block. In another

the block manager suggested that the chief cook not be given full control over the messhall because some of them were not good managers. In one block the cause for trouble between cooks and waiters was the fact that no one seemed to know who was the head of the messhall--the senior steward or the chief cook.

A comparison of Block 26 and Block 25 messhalls shows the important part played by the chief cook in maintaining order. Both of the cooks of these messhalls had been working with a kitchen crew in Walerga, and they had been selected as cooks before they arrived in Tule Lake. The chief cook of mess 26 was a Hawaiian second generation (?) in his 30's. From the reports that were circulated about him, he seems to have lacked integrity of character. In the first place, he allowed his crew to consume more than their share of food. When there was not enough of a certain food delivered to the messhall to serve to the people, he allowed the crew to consume it all. This was true of fruits, for instance, which arrived at one time in quantity sufficient for only half of the people. It was also difficult to find a way in which a leg or two of ham could be served to 200 people, and it was reported that such food never appeared on the table. The chief cook showed special favors to his crew, such as by making lemon pies for them.¹ Stories were circulated that some worker was caught taking home a piece of meat under his apron. During the farm strike, just as everything seemed to be settled a few cooks complained that they did not have enough food for the next morning. The leader asked which of the messhalls did not have sufficient food. He promised that he would go and get the food for them even if it was necessary to make the Administration Officials

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go buy it because the people had been promised sufficient food. The chief cook from block 26 came forward and said that he did not have enough food, such as eggs for instance. The leader said that he would go and check up on the stock. The chief cook seemed embarrassed and faltering said that there will be some eggs on hand, but he's had to save up that supply for days in order to be able to serve it at all. Clearly he was out to grab as much food as he could get. It was later rumored by some people in his block that he had sent someone back to the messhall, probably in order to conceal what surplus food he had.

Only two or three other blocks said that they did not have sufficient food for the next day.

The block people did not try to conceal their antagonism toward the chief cook and openly admitted that their block was probably one of the worst in camp. On July 7, the hostility became quite open. The kitchen crew threatened to walk out just to show the people that a trained crew was necessary to run a kitchen. The incident ended up in a fight, however, and it was necessary to call the wardens in to settle the dispute. Evidently the block people had asked that the cooks stick to the menu in order to insure that they were not being cheated out of food. The cooks said that this could not be done because the warehouse did not send sufficient food. But the basic trouble seems to be the poor character of the chief cook, who, because of lack of integrity could not satisfy the block people. Since this incident trouble has occurred in Block 26 again and the people are still not satisfied. This will probably continue as long as the root of the trouble is not removed.

In comparison Mess 25 has never had any trouble, even during the food shortage period. The cooking has not always been superbly good, but it has been tolerable. The block people have been assured that the chief cook is doing all he can to give the best service he can manage. The chief cook is an Issei in his 40's very strict, but with a sense of fair play. He does not allow the mess workers to take any food home or eat more than their share of food. Realising that if the mess workers ate before the block workers they would eat more than their share of the food, he has made it a rule for them to eat after the block people.

While he has been very strict even to the crew, he has had no trouble among them. It is his ability to manage the messhall honestly and to manage it well that has kept trouble out of his messhall.

Thus we see the important role played by the chief cook in keeping order among the workers and also good relations with the block people. This applies to other departments as well--the harmony and the efficiency of a department depends on the ability of the men in key positions.

There have been many sorts of internal troubles. In one messhall there was trouble between the dishwashers and waiters and waitresses, which was settled by the block people. In another the cooks were in disagreement, and the matter settled by having to differ cooking crews. In another a petition was circulated to remove certain workers. The petition was stopped and the block leaders attempted to solve the problem. The chief cook and his assistants were asked to resign and the situation was settled. In another the ward supervisor was

blamed for causing trouble. In Block 6 a fight broke out when an inspector attempted to confiscate some excess food in the pantry. Sectionalism entered into the picture as the block was populated largely with people from Clarksburg and the inspector happened to be someone from the northwest.

Some insight into the nature of internal conflicts in the messhall is presented by Mr. Taketa, who has been handling messhall complaints as a member of the Fair Practice Committee. He lists several situations which have led to internal conflict. The first situation is where farmers and construction workers are desirous of finding an opening in the messhall because they know that they will not be able to work much longer outside. The scarcity of outdoor work together with the increasing intensity of the cold make them desire an indoor job close to home. The second situation is where women within the block who have no employment but desire it are also seeking openings in the messhall. In both of these cases the dissatisfied person goes around telling other block people that so and so working in the messhall is very incompetent. In this way they created commotion, and are sometimes successful in removing a worker. The third situation is one in which a mess worker does not like a certain party in the block. As a result, the worker does not give this person as good service as he does to others. This infuriates the resident, and he goes around complaining to people in general about the unfair mess worker. The fourth situation is one in which the truck drivers and delivery boys demand extra food, such as apples, from the kitchen. Since very few extra apples are delivered to the messhall the kitchen can not afford

to be giving such hand-outs to every delivery crew. The delivery crew, in order to retaliate, goes to the block people, telling them that this morning so much of such and such a product was delivered, whereas actually one-half that amount was delivered by him. The block people are likely to believe the delivery boy and begin to suspect that the kitchen crew is pilfering food which rightly belongs to them.

Besides these four situations he cited another case which he handled recently. The chief cook showed favoritism to a young widow in the kitchen help crew. The widow in turn played up to the chief cook, and some people suspected an affair between them. Another married woman in the crew was honest and felt that the people were being robbed of food which rightly belonged to them. The chief cook wanting to get rid of the married woman because she got in his way told block people false stories about her incompetence. Things became so unbearable for her that she appealed for help from Mr. Taketa. He was unable to patch up the situation and the woman was finally required to quit her job.

The nature of internal conflicts in the messhall is due generally not to the changed conditions within the Project but to personality factors which have always operated to cause disagreements, cliques, jealousies even on the outside.

3. Complaints from Block People.

As has already been indicated dissatisfaction with the messhall among the block people has been rather general. The food shortage has caused a great deal of grumbling among the people. Where the chief cook has taken pains to gain the confidence of the people, however, and where he has explained that there was a shortage of food, the complaints have not been so great. Poor preparation of food has been dif-

fiicult to excuse, and has been a major source of complaint from the block people. In one messhall it was necessary to call in the chief cook from another messhall as advisor in order to have the quality of the food improved. Mismanagement by the chief cook and pilfering on the part of the kitchen crew has been the cause for many complaints, and one which has resulted in attempts to remove the cooks or the entire crew. As was indicated in the previous section, some of the complaints circulated among the block people have been motivated by a desire for personal gain or by personal grudge, and have not always been justified.

4. Poor Distribution of Food

Some blocks have a larger population than others and at the time of the food shortage there was a general belief that food was being distributed equally to all messhalls, which was felt to be very unfair. While a rough scale was made for distributing such food as sugar, for instance, it seems to have been true that the distribution of food was not strictly in proportion to the population in that block. This was finally remedied in September, and since then this has not caused much trouble. The source of the trouble here lies with the lack of foresight on the part of the mess management heads. It speaks poorly for the adaptability of those in charge of the distribution of food that this source of complaint was not remedied earlier.

5. Desire to Put in Own Block Workers

In blocks where the kitchen crew came largely from some other block, unfavorably there were complaints that they should be replaced with people in the block. One block manager aptly sums up the reasons for such a change pointing out the reasons for not wanting to retain workers from other blocks:

Excessive mouths to feed.

Workers' friends brought to the messhall to eat.

Poor preparation of food.

Poor service by waitresses.

Two reasons seem to stand out above others: There are excessive mouths to feed and the quality of work is bound to be poorer than when people from the block are employed. The first complaint was especially important when there was a food shortage and distribution of food was thought to be equal to all blocks regardless of population. At the present time, however, this does not serve as an excuse because food is distributed accordingly to daily head counts. It is difficult to determine how true the second charge is. While it is plausible still it is not an imperative reason for firing one crew and putting in another. It is more likely that a feeling of sectionalism enters into the picture to a large extent. With outside workers hostile attitudes on the part of block people resulting from dissatisfaction of the preparation of the food or service given by the waitresses are likely to be intensified. It is possible that such outside workers will also take a similar attitude and not feel as responsible in giving the people better service. One other factor that should not be overlooked is the desire for jobs by people in the block. If Mr. Taketa's insights are correct, this is an underlying motive which plays a significant part in people in the block attempting to oust workers from the mess crew. That this should be directed in a wholesale manner against all outside workers is only natural. In some blocks a compromise solution has been worked out whereby new openings would be filled with block people only.

6. Employment Policy

A few of the conflicts have been considered by a lack of under-