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S U M M A R Y

THE PROBLEM...

How do people in the United States appraise the loyalty of the men and women of Japanese birth or Japanese ancestry living in this country? What are the attitudes of the public toward granting citizenship to non-citizens of Japanese birth? What does the future hold for the Japanese in the United States?

THE ANSWER IN ONE SENTENCE...

Even though the war is over and NORC surveys on the people living in Japan have demonstrated less American antagonism toward the former enemy people...

substantial minorities question the loyalty of the people of that race who live in America, a majority believe they spied during the war, and attitudes of the public suggest a difficult future for Japanese in this country, since a considerable feeling exists that Caucasians should have first chance at all jobs.

MORE SPECIFICALLY...

The NORC survey results show that:

50% of the people of the United States think the AVERAGE person of Japanese nativity or ancestry living in this country is loyal to the American government... with half that many -- 25% -- answering "Disloyal";

- AND -

43% believe that the AVERAGE Japanese alien living in this country should be allowed to become a citizen.

YET...

31% of the American public mistakenly believe that Japanese living in the United States during the war destroyed war materials;

- AND -

66% believe that Japanese living in this country spied for the Japanese government during the war.

MOREOVER...

40% of the public would deny an equal chance for jobs in the United States to people of Japanese ancestry who are American citizens;

- AND -

89% would deny employment equality to people of Japanese birth who are not American citizens.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION...

Both the Office of War Information and the Federal Bureau of Investigation have gone on record that not one single person of Japanese ancestry -- whether alien or citizen -- living in the United States or Hawaii was convicted of either spying or sabotage during the wars.

\*\*\*\*\*

Of the 127,000 persons of Japanese birth or ancestry now living in the United States, roughly two-thirds are American citizens, almost all of whom are under 40 years of age; the remainder are aliens, most of whom have been in the United States since 1924, when the Exclusion Act went into effect. The population includes about 19,000 citizen men between the ages of 18 and 37. These men who were not already in uniform were made eligible for military service by the War Department on January 28, 1943.

Evacuation of persons of Japanese birth or ancestry began following the President's executive order, issued February 19, 1942, authorizing the Secretary of War or military commanders to designate military areas and to exclude any or all persons from such areas. Ten relocation centers were set up under the supervision of the War Relocation Authority. From April until August, 1942, approximately 107,000 Nisei and Issei were moved from their former residences in the Pacific Coast areas to the relocation centers. The evacuated area included the entire state of California, the western half of Washington and Oregon, and the southern third of Arizona.

Early in 1942, however, the need for manpower resulted in demands to release evacuees for work. In July, 1942, the War Relocation Authority permitted qualified American citizens -- Nisei -- to leave the centers to accept jobs. On October 1, 1942, this policy was applied to aliens -- Issei -- as well. Later, indefinite leaves were granted. In December, 1942, permission to take up residence elsewhere was then granted both Nisei and Issei, if they could meet certain requirements set up by the WRA. By March, 1943, thousands had had their applications to leave approved, and the return of these persons to other residences was well begun.

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Several years ago the Colorado Council of Churches published an excellent factual pamphlet entitled The Japanese in Our Midst. NORC likes the title so well that it seemed fitting to use it as part of the title of the present report which shows information and attitudes as related to facts.

Part I

ARE THE JAPANESE IN THIS COUNTRY LOYAL AMERICANS?

During the war, rumors and misinformation sharpened attitudes of distrust and suspicion toward people of Japanese birth or ancestry living within the borders of the United States. The status of public sentiment both before and after V-J Day is indicated by results of NORC questions regarding the loyalty of Nisei and Issei residents.

Nisei, born in the United States, are American citizens of Japanese ancestry. Issei, born in Japan, cannot, according to present laws, become American citizens.

Before the end of the war about half the public were reasonably sure of the loyalty of American citizens of Japanese ancestry. The following year about the same proportion of people judged the average Issei or Nisei to be loyal to the United States.

WAR-TIME OPINION

In April, 1945 -- before either V-E or V-J Day became a reality, an NORC question found that only 53% of the American public believed that most Japanese-Americans would NOT try to do something against the United States if they had an opportunity. The question was asked in terms of Nisei only:

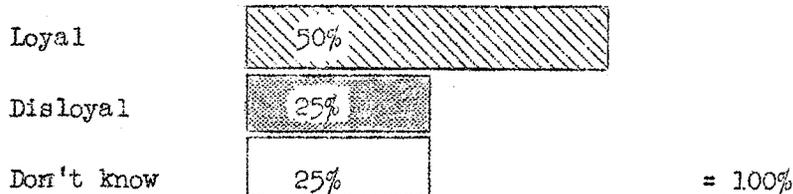
*"Of all the Japanese WHO ARE AMERICAN CITIZENS, about how many do you think would try to do something against the United States if they had a chance?"*

Practically none of them	19%	
A few of them	34	53%
About half of them	8	
Most of them	9	
Practically all of them	15	
Don't know	15	
	<u>100%</u>	

LOYAL OR DISLOYAL?

In 1946, with the war over, only half the public considered the average Japanese living in this country loyal, but the more recent question included both Issei and Nisei:

*"Do you think the AVERAGE Japanese person who lives in this country is loyal or disloyal?"*



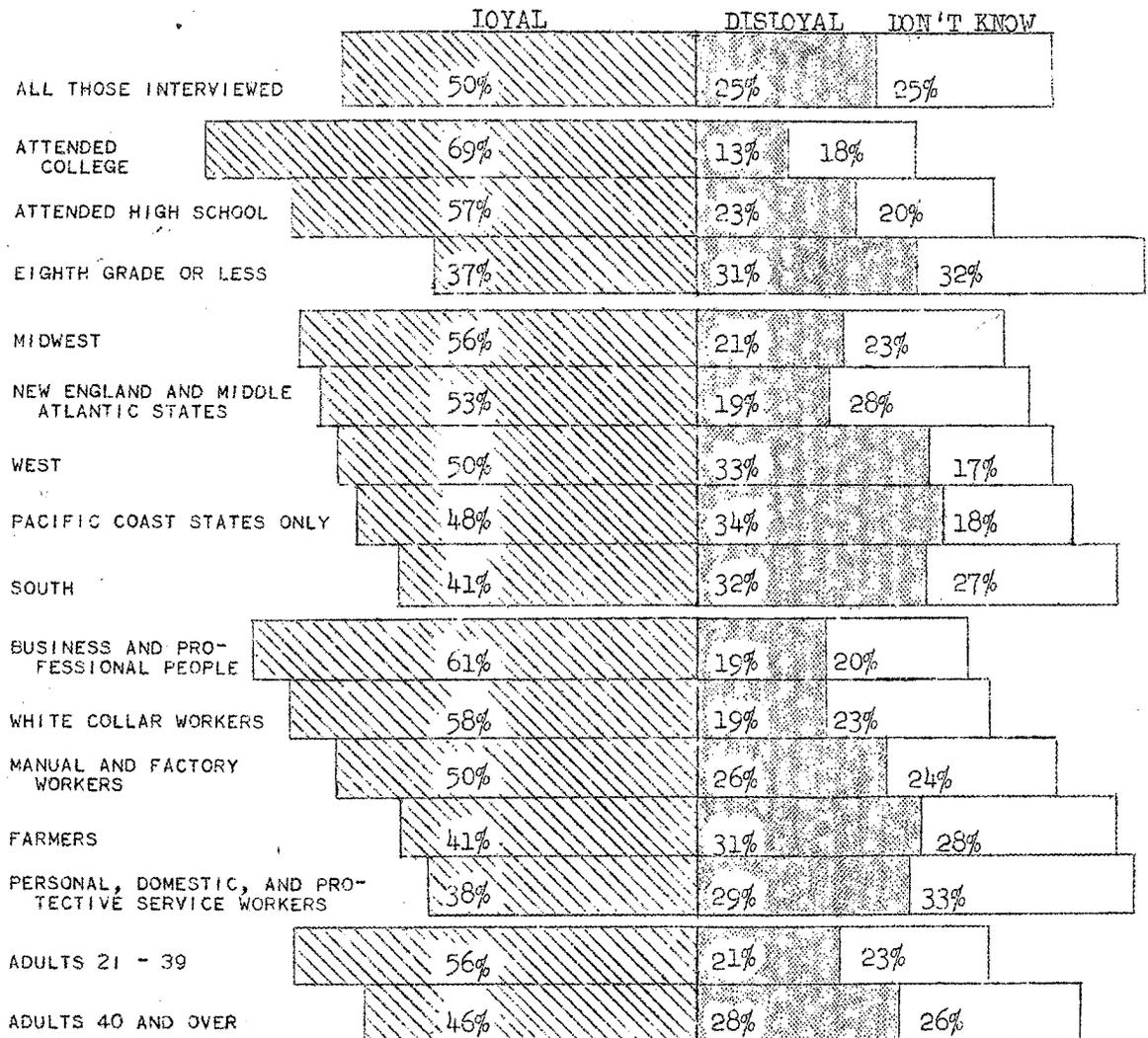
When only those persons with definite opinions were considered, NORC found 67% judging the average Japanese living in this country loyal and 33% judging him disloyal.

GROUP OPINIONS ON ISSEI AND NISEI LOYALTY

On the recent survey, NORC found education the factor responsible for the greatest differences of opinion. Almost twice as many of the college-educated as of persons having no more than an eighth grade education answered "Loyal." Also a smaller percentage of those in the upper education group replied "I don't know." Even when the "Don't know" responses are removed, a significantly higher proportion of the college-educated are found replying that the average Japanese living in this country is loyal. Paralleling differences in opinion among the educational groups are differences among the standard-of-living groups and among people of various occupations.

Persons in the younger age group were more likely to say "Loyal" than were those in the 40-and-over group. There were only slight variations of opinion between Democrats and Republicans, but greater differences appeared between those who voted and those who did not vote.

Some of the most interesting comparisons are shown in the chart below:



## IN THEIR OWN WORDS

### Why Loyal?

Some of the 50% who said the average Japanese living in this country is loyal added comments explaining or amplifying their reasons for answering "Loyal." The fighting record of Japanese-American troops in World War II convinced a number of respondents of the fidelity of the Nisei. A Cleveland groceryman, for example, says: "I happened to be in an outfit in Italy with some of them and they were super." Other comments typical of this attitude included: "Some of the best troops we had were Japanese." "Those who were in the Army proved their loyalty to us." "I made many good friends with the 100th regiment (Japanese-American) and I wouldn't ask for better soldiers," remarked a garage mechanic in Massachusetts.

Other people feel that living in a country that offers as many advantages as does the United States would naturally instill loyalty in the hearts of Japanese-Americans. For example:

"I think anyone that gets a chance to live in this country can't help being loyal." (Housewife, West Orange, New Jersey)

"Anyone that is in a country where they have and can get what they want is loyal to that country." (Negro waitress, Minneapolis)

"Most of the Japanese have come to this country for advantages and they are loyal." (Housewife, Lamotte, Iowa)

"Most of them appreciate what they've got here." (Mechanic, Minneapolis)

Some of the 50% answering "Loyal" have worked with Japanese-Americans and base their opinion on this experience: "I've worked with them and I know they are loyal." "We've got a few Japs working in our place, and some of them are better than whites -- that is they pay more attention to business and are more efficient." "I've worked with them here, and when I lost them it was like losing my right arm -- they are dependable, very honest, and very sincere. I'd say they are very loyal!"

A steel mill worker in Youngstown, Ohio, made this searching observation: "If there was less discrimination against them, they would be more loyal." Similarly a doctor's assistant in Reading, Pennsylvania, commented: "Nisei are more loyal than Issei. It was a crime to place them in the concentration camps."

Why Disloyal? Many of the 25% who think the AVERAGE Japanese person living in America is disloyal seem to base their opinions primarily on prejudice. Some answers suggest a strong emotional feeling on the subject:

"If he's a Jap, he's disloyal." (Stenographer, Detroit)

"I never will believe they're loyal! If they're a Jap they're a Jap -- that's all." (Housewife, Beaumont, Texas)

"I don't think there is such a thing as a loyal Jap." (Grocery clerk, Antioch, Tennessee)

"I wouldn't trust a Jap as far as I could throw him."  
(Machinist, Lorain, Ohio)

"They are sly people; you can't trust them." (Negro maid,  
Washington, D. C.)

An indication that prejudice rather than knowledge forms the basis of many of the respondents' answers is found when the number of persons of Japanese ancestry or nativity living in a certain state is compared with responses from individuals living in that state. As an example, according to the 1940 census, only 12 people of Japanese origin were living in Tennessee. Answers from people of this state then are probably based on general attitudes rather than on actual specific knowledge based on contact with Japanese persons.

Some people think that loyalty to Japan has been instilled in the Japanese to such a high degree as to preclude loyalty to the United States. Comments from four widely separated states suggest that this viewpoint has a number of adherents. An Oregon salesman thinks: "In their own hearts I think they're more loyal to Japan than to our own country." "They have been educated to be disloyal," a nurse in Altus, Oklahoma, believes. Similarly, a lithographer in Belleville, New Jersey, added: "They were trained that way; they can't help themselves." "They will never forget their emperor," said a Holmes, Iowa, housewife.

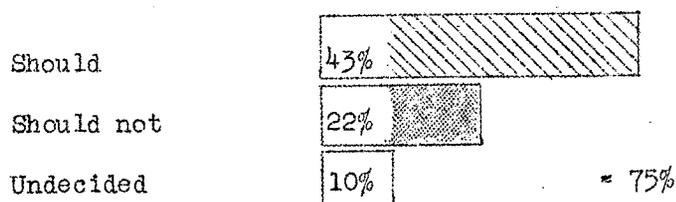
Rather unusual are comments such as that of a farmer near Bunker Hill, Indiana: "I was in service with them, and I wouldn't trust them any farther than I could see them." A Van Buren, Arkansas, housewife remarked: "I have a son who was a Jap prisoner for three and one-half years, and from what he said, they're all sneaky and I wouldn't trust any of them."

#### CITIZENSHIP FOR ISSEI?

Persons of Japanese ancestry born in this country-- Nisei-- are, of course, American citizens. Japanese born in Japan who have come to the United States -- Issei -- are barred by our present laws from ever becoming citizens.

To further determine attitudes toward the Japanese living in this country, NORC asked the 50% who thought the average Nisei or Issei "Loyal" and the 25% who were undecided another question:

*"Do you think the AVERAGE Japanese person now living in this country who is not a citizen should or should not be allowed to become a citizen?"*



Naturally, the same groups who were most inclined to consider the Japanese in this country loyal were also most inclined to advocate citizenship for the Issei. Among persons with a college background, for instance, 58% thought all Japanese should be allowed to become citizens; this view was held by 46% of those with high school training and by only 34% of those with grade school or less.

## IN THEIR OWN WORDS

### Let Them Become Citizens

Some of the 43% who say the average Japanese should be allowed to become a citizen think so because democracy is synonymous with the American way of life. Representative of this viewpoint is the remark of an office worker in Park Ridge, Illinois: "There should be no bar between race, color, or creed in this country if we are a true democracy." A Hammond, Indiana, housewife suggested: "We can't expect the Japanese to become part of the web and the woof of this country unless they do become citizens."

Others commented in a similar run: "That's one way to make a more harmonious feeling -- to let them become citizens." "They shouldn't be excluded on a nationality basis any more than any others." "They should have the same chance as others. The Japanese are more intelligent than lots of Europeans." "I don't know why they should be discriminated against."

A few of those who favored granting citizenship to the AVERAGE Japanese living in this country suggested limitations and qualifications, such as: "...if they are qualified by their past activity." "...if they can pass the same qualifications for citizenship as other races." "Let those who are here become citizens, but let no more come in." "I think he should be allowed to be one, but I'd give him a certain length of time to become naturalized."

### Legal Aspects of Citizenship

Many answers from those who believed the Issei should be allowed to become citizens as well as from those taking a negative attitude suggested widespread misinformation as to the legal barriers to citizenship and as to the fact that Nisei born in the United States are citizens now. Examples of some of the many answers reflecting this lack of knowledge are:

"Those who were born and raised here should be allowed to become citizens, but we should definitely keep the rest out." (housewife, Lorain, Ohio)

"Congress ought to pass a law that if they stay here long they have to become citizens." (Pensioner, Wathena, Kansas)

"Every Japanese should be made to assume the responsibilities of a citizen if he wants our advantages." (Farmer, near Rockville, Indiana)

"If they had wanted to become citizens, they would have started earlier." (Housewife, Ottumwa, Iowa)

"They should not be allowed to become citizens-- they could have become citizens before the war if they had wished." (Nurse, Reading, Pennsylvania)

"The Jap wouldn't be allowed to stay here if he wasn't a citizen already. This question is misleading." (Housewife, Lamotte, Iowa)

Send Them Back  
to Japan

Many of the 22% who believed that the United States should continue to deny citizenship to the Issei further asserted that "they should be sent back to Japan -- all of them," or "We have too many foreigners here now." A Chicago housewife went as far as to say: "let the Japs go back to Japan and let the 'niggers' go back to Africa -- everyone will be better off."

CANADIAN OPINION

On four different surveys made before the end of the war the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion polled Canadians to determine their attitudes regarding repatriating the Nisei and Issei residents of the Dominion. When analysis distinguished between the two groups, it was found that the public favored permitting Japanese-Canadians born in the Dominion to remain but preferred to send those born in Japan back to their native land.

In December, 1943, the CIFO asked a general question on the subject, which tends to be confusing in that it apparently refers to both Nisei and Issei, yet those persons of Japanese ancestry born in Canada could not logically be sent "back" to Japan. The question read:

1943 "Do you think the Japanese living in Canada should be sent back to Japan after the war is over, or should they be allowed to remain in this country?"

Send back to Japan 54% Allow to remain 39% Undecided 7% =100%

As in the United States, persons along the Pacific Coast (British Columbia) were most in favor of repatriation. Opinion in large cities was almost evenly divided, but in the farm areas about 6 persons out of 10 would return the Japanese to the Orient.

Those Canadians who said they favored allowing the Japanese to stay in Canada after the war were almost unanimously in favor of allowing those moved away from their homes to return to them.

A few months later, in February '44, commonwealth opinion made a definite distinction between policy toward non-citizens and toward citizens of Japanese extraction. Only 33% favored sending Japanese of Canadian birth "back" to Japan. CIFO asked:

1944 "Do you think that Japanese who are not Canadian Citizens (who are Canadian citizens) should be sent back to Japan after the war is over, or should they be allowed to remain in this country?"

	<u>SEND BACK</u>	<u>ALLOW TO REMAIN</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>	
Non-citizens	80%	14%	6%	
Citizens	33	59	8	= 100%

This question found opinion in British Columbia very much the same as in other parts of Canada -- the demand for repatriation neither stronger nor weaker.

In January, 1945, a year later, a third of the Canadian public advocated repatriating all "Japanese" -- loyal and disloyal alike:

1945 "Do you think that Japanese who have been living in Canada, and have never done anything disloyal, should be allowed to remain in Canada after the war, or should they be sent back to Japan?"

All loyal Japanese remain	41%
Only Canadian-born remain (volunteered)	18
Send all back	33
Undecided	8
	<u>100%</u>

Again, attitudes in British Columbia did not differ significantly from attitudes in the rest of the country.

The 59% who would allow either all Japanese or the loyal Japanese to remain in Canada were further asked whether they thought "Japanese born in Canada should be allowed to vote in Dominion elections after the war." More than half -- 42% of all those interviewed -- thought the Japanese should retain full rights of citizenship.

The last CIPO survey before the end of the war was released in December, 1945. Analysis of replies to two verbatim-answer questions found Canadian opinion divided much the same as in 1944. The questions:

1945 "What do you think should be done with the Japanese living in Canada who are Canadian citizens?"

"What about Japanese who are not Canadian citizens but who were living in Canada before the war?"

	<u>CITIZENS</u>	<u>NON-CITIZENS</u>
Allow them to stay; treat them as Canadian citizens	49%	7%
Give them a choice of taking out citizenship or leaving	--	13
If they are loyal and good citizens, allow them to stay	4	4
Allow them to stay under close surveillance	9	3
TOTAL: ALLOW THEM TO STAY	<u>62%</u>	<u>27%</u>
Send them "back" to Japan	25	60
Miscellaneous	6	5
Undecided	7	8
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Adherents of the Canadian socialist party, the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) were more in favor of letting Japanese who are citizens remain than were either Liberal or Progressive-Conservative voters.

According to the last official Canadian Census (1941) there were in Canada more than 23,000 Issei and Nisei, including roughly 13,500 born in Canada and 9,500 born in Japan. Those born in Canada are automatically Canadian citizens as are Nisei in the United States. In Canada, however, Issei can become citizens by naturalization. As a matter of fact, only 6,000 of the Canadian Issei were aliens.

More than 22,000 of these Canadian residents of Japanese birth or ancestry lived in British Columbia. About 12,000 lived in rural areas, about 2,000 in small towns, and about 9,000 in cities of more than 30,000 population.

Although most Japanese in Canada are citizens of the Dominion, they can be deprived of voting privileges by a province, as British Columbia has done.

Under its war powers the Canadian government planned to deport not only aliens but citizens of Japanese ancestry. The highest Canadian court has ruled that the government, under its wartime powers, has the authority to suspend the laws protecting the rights of citizens and deport citizens of Japanese ancestry. Apparently the question has not as yet been finally settled.

Part II

WERE JAPANESE IN THIS COUNTRY GUILTY OF SPYING? ... SABOTAGE?

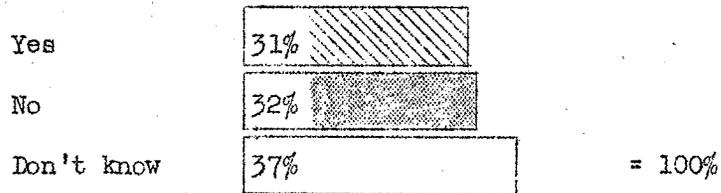
Two-thirds of the people in the United States believe Japanese living in this country spied for the Japanese government during the war. One-third believe the Nisei and Issei destroyed war materials. These attitudes hold serious implications for the period following the war when Japanese residents are seeking to make economic and social readjustments following a period of fundamental dislocation -- evacuation and relocation.

Although the experts-- OWI and FBI -- have given the Japanese a clean bill of health -- no convictions on either count, only small minorities of the public are convinced: 13% that the Japanese did not spy; 32% that they destroyed no war materials.

WERE THE JAPANESE SABOTEURS?

Following the questions on loyalty and citizenship, NORC asked a more specific question to measure information regarding the loyalty of Japanese living in the United States:

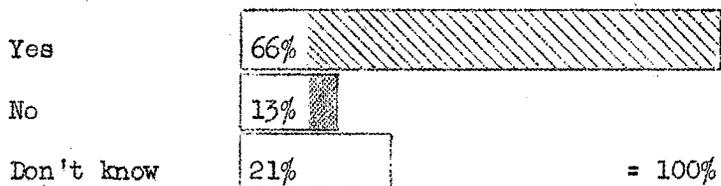
*"During the war, do you think the Japanese who lived in this country destroyed any American war materials?"*



WERE THE JAPANESE SPIES?

A companion question found more than twice as many Americans thinking that Issei and Nisei in this country had acted as spies for the Japanese government. The fact that spying is a less concrete action than destroying war materials and more difficult to prove may account, to some extent at least, for the differences in response on the two questions. NORC asked:

*"During the war, do you think the Japanese who lived in this country did any spying for the Japanese government?"*



## WHAT THE EXPERTS SAY

Supporting the opinion of 32% of the public that Japanese living in the United States did not destroy war materials during the war, the American Council on Race Relations issued the following statement: "No sabotage was committed by any Japanese-Americans in Hawaii or on the mainland, on, before, or after Pearl Harbor." This statement was endorsed by such authorities as: Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War; John Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation; Col. Kendal J. Fielder, Chief of Military Intelligence, Hawaiian Department; W. A. Gabrielson, Chief of Police, Honolulu; and Lt. Gen. Robert C. Richardson, Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Army, Central Pacific.\*

According to published FBI reports, the nearest to sabotage instigated by Japan in the United States were two movements to lower morale in this country. These movements were led, not by Japanese either living in this country or elsewhere, but by a Filipino and a Negro, respectively. "Dr. Takis," a Filipino, led an attempt to stir up trouble between Negroes and whites in the United States. "Members were ordered to be quarrelsome at government ration boards, at their jobs, at employment offices, in every public situation." Although the FBI never obtained sufficient proof of Takis' espionage activities, he was finally arrested on a forgery charge.\*\*

The second attempt to lower morale was the Ethiopian Pacific Movement of Harlem, led by Robert Obadiah Jordan, a Negro. Jordan held meetings inciting the soldiers to "turn their guns the other way," when they got to Japan. Closely watched by the FBI, Jordan was found to be receiving definite orders from a high officer in the Japanese Army and was arrested.\*\*

The American public is also mistaken on the question of spying, according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Office of War Information. The OWI makes this statement: "For the duration of the war, there was not a single confirmed report of espionage committed by Japanese-Americans." The signaling at Pearl Harbor was performed by Nazi agents, Bernard Otto Kuehn and Mrs. Friedel Kuehn.\* Since even before Pearl Harbor, Issei and Nisei, particularly along the coast, were under careful surveillance by the FBI, the statement seems authoritative.

In United States territory, only two cases of spying for the Japanese government have been reported by the FBI, neither involving any individual of Japanese birth or extraction. The Kuehns, a German family living on the island of Oahu in Hawaii, were picked up by United States intelligence officers immediately following the attack on Pearl Harbor and in time to prevent their escape in a Japanese submarine.\*\*

The second known instance of spying for the Japanese government was the case of Velva Lee Dickinson, a Caucasian and an American citizen, who owned an exclusive doll shop in New York City. She was arrested by the FBI in 1944 on the charge of sending information concealed in packages containing dolls.\*\*

\* NISHI, SETSUKO, FACTS ABOUT JAPANESE AMERICANS, CHICAGO, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS, 1946.

\*\* SINGER, KURT, SPIES AND TRAITORS OF WORLD WAR II. NEW YORK, PRENTICE-HALL, INC., 1945.

GROUP COMPARISONS

On the question of Japanese sabotage, a plurality of most population groups studied said "I don't know." Probably answers to this question, as well as to others in the series, represent a blend of information and attitudes. In other words, a "Yes" answer may be interpreted as evidencing either or both lack of information as to the facts and distrust of Japanese-Americans as a group.

While the public as a whole were almost equally divided as to the guilt or innocence of the Japanese, differences from group to group are unusually significant. Most likely to believe Nisei and Issei guilty of sabotage, answering "Yes" rather than "No," were Southerners and people in the least privileged educational, economic, and occupational groups. The largest plurality -- 41% -- agreeing with the FBI that the Japanese in the United States did not destroy war materials was found among persons with a college record. Men were better informed or more tolerant in answering this question than were women. Surprisingly perhaps, those in the older age group evidenced less distrustful attitudes than those younger.

On the question of spying, majorities of all population groups concurred in saying that Japanese in this country helped the Japanese government during the war. A somewhat higher percentage of residents of the Far West than of those living elsewhere thought Japanese committed espionage. Big city dwellers seemed somewhat better informed than town and farm folk. Even differences of opinion among persons of various educational backgrounds were slight when persons answering "Don't know" were ruled out.

The most interesting comparisons follow:

WERE ISSEI AND NISEI GUILTY OF:	S A B O T A G E ?			S P Y I N G ?		
	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW
All those interviewed	31%	32%	37% =100%	66%	13%	21%=100%
Attended college	26	41	33	68	16	16
Attended high school	34	34	32	71	12	17
Eighth grade or less	30	27	43	60	14	26
West	32	35	33	74	11	15
Pacific Coast states only	36	32	32	72	13	15
Midwest	31	33	36	68	14	18
South	38	24	38	67	12	21
New England and Middle Atlantic states	23	38	39	58	15	27
Adults 21 - 39	35	33	32	69	13	18
Adults 40 and over	28	31	41	64	13	23
Residents of metropolitan district: 1 million or over	27	36	37	61	16	23
50,000 - 1 million	27	33	40	65	13	22
Small cities and towns	36	30	34	69	12	19
Farms	34	28	38	69	13	18

## WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY

### Sabotage: YES

To judge from their comments, many of the 31% of the public who thought Japanese living in this country destroyed war materials were influenced by a traditional distrust of Japanese-Americans as a group. Exemplifying this attitude was the comment of a truck driver in Dublin, Georgia: "Them people can't be trusted at nothing." In similar vein, a Tennessee cashier remarked: "I don't know for sure, but I would think they'd do everything bad."

Even more people seemed to rely on hearsay and rumor. For example:

"I was in California during the war and heard a lot about those things." (Draftsman, Boardman, Ohio)

"Without a doubt, I think so. One of my colleagues in Detroit said Japanese-Americans let many mistakes go through the factory." (Librarian, Peru, Indiana)

"I was told in California some Japs who had truck farms and had been liked just raised the devil when war was declared." (Farmer, near Bunker Hill, Indiana)

A few qualified their answers by saying: "Not personally, perhaps, but they had it done," or "The Japs did, but very little. They weren't as well organized as the Germans."

### Sabotage: NO

The 32% who answered that the Nisei and Issei were not guilty of sabotage often seemed to base their opinions on the fact that the Japanese in this country were watched very closely and so had no opportunity to sabotage. "They had no chance!" was a common reaction. A factory inspector in Youngstown, Ohio, added: "I think the FBI were right on hand to prevent any destruction of war materials or the Japs would have destroyed some."

Other respondents gave the Japanese-Americans more credit than merely the fact that they had no opportunity for sabotage. Their wide variety of comments ranged from: "The Japanese are a very frugal people, and they think it's a crime to waste anything," to "No, I don't think they destroyed war materials. They worked harder than some of us."

A business executive in Tacoma, Washington, asserted: "The Japanese here didn't destroy war materials. The big shots destroyed our country by selling war materials, principally scrap iron, to Japan."

### Spying: YES

"Unquestionably some spied," or "The Japs did that without a doubt," were comments frequently made by the 66% majority who believed that Japanese-Americans were guilty of spying during World War II. "It was proved that they did," a Belleville, New Jersey, mason exclaimed. Less positive were a rancher near Riverdale, California: "I have no proof, but I believe they did some dirty work," and a Brooklyn porter: "I can't prove it, but I imagine Japanese in this country spied."

As with the question of sabotage, rumor and hearsay played a part in forming opinions. A Texas housewife, for instance, remarked: "I just read about spying." "Just from what I heard on the radio, I think they spied," answered a Waltham, Massachusetts, woman.

Spying in wartime is inevitable, a number of respondents contended. It is a natural expedient to be expected during wars. This reasoning appears to be behind comments such as these:

"The Japanese here must have spied. It would be no war if they didn't." (Meat packer, Chicago)

"They'd have been fools if they didn't." (Plasterer, Nashville, Tennessee)

"Every nationality will spy for their own country." (Housewife, Dubuque, Iowa)

"I guess they would take up for their own nationality." (Housewife, Washington, D. C.)

Some people admitted that prejudice influenced their opinion that Nisei and Issei were guilty of espionage. "They are too arrogantly self sufficient to suit me," was the attitude of a saw mill operator in Rainier, Washington. "From what I've heard I wouldn't put anything past them," said a McKeesrochs, Pennsylvania, hairdresser.

Others saying "Yes" qualified their answers. A Pennsylvania public utilities executive, for instance, would blame "a small per cent, probably." A school teacher in West Orange, New Jersey, believed that "a few who were secret agents spied." "Maybe those who weren't citizens -- I guess they did some spying," was the verdict of a Jeanerette, Louisiana, housewife.

Spying: NO "The Japanese here had no chance to spy," was the comment of a number of the 13% minority who answered "No" to the question. As an engineer in West Orange, New Jersey, remarked, "They were watched pretty carefully." "I never read about any of them doing anything," was another characteristically negative comment, this time from a Belleville, New Jersey, respondent.

#### RELATED ATTITUDES

When a comparison was made between information on sabotage or spying and opinions as to whether or not Japanese aliens living in this country (Issei) should be allowed to become citizens, a clear relationship was found.

Of misinformed persons who thought that Japanese living in this country committed sabotage during the war, only 28% thought they should be allowed to become citizens if they were not already. In contrast, of those who knew that Japanese residents in the United States did NOT destroy war materials during the war, twice as many -- 57% -- believed they should be granted citizenship.

Likewise, of people who thought Nisei or Issei spied during the war, only 37% would permit them to become citizens. But 67% of those saying Japanese did NOT spy, would permit the average Issei to become a citizen.

DO PEOPLE THINK CONSISTENTLY?

When people's opinions on all four questions are compared, only 7% thought Japanese in the United States loyal on all four counts; another 12% credited the Nisei and Issei with loyalty on three out of the four propositions. On the other hand, 13% considered the Japanese in this country disloyal and believed them guilty of both sabotage and espionage. The remaining 68% were inconsistent in their answers, perhaps because the questions measured a blend of information and attitudes. Twice as many of the college-educated were consistent in believing the Japanese loyal on all four counts as believed them disloyal. Of persons with less education, the reverse was true.

*JOBS AND FUTURES FOR JAPANESE MINORITY*

In peacetime should Nisei and Issei have the same opportunities to get work that white people do? NORC questions asked while the war was still in progress showed that, when no distinction was made between the two groups, a majority of the public felt that Japanese living in the United States should take second place in the quest for jobs. However, Japanese who are American citizens -- Nisei -- deserve equal consideration with whites, a majority believed, when the question was asked regarding this group only. Only a negligible minority -- 6% -- believed that Japanese who were not citizens should have an equal chance. The issue posed by NORC is one of utmost significance, suggesting as it does many implications, political and social as well as economic.

ALL JAPANESE?

The first NORC question concerning job opportunities for people of Japanese ancestry was asked in September, 1944, when the return of evacuated Japanese to the West Coast states was already in progress. Not differentiating between Issei and Nisei, the question found a majority of the public of the opinion that white Americans should have first chance at post-war jobs of any kind. More than half of those who would give Japanese an equal chance volunteered a qualification: "Yes, if they are loyal citizens." Trained interviewers asked:

*"After the war, do you think the Japanese living in the United States should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job, or do you think white people should have the first chance at any kind of job?"*

Yes, equal chance	16%	26%	17%	10%
Yes, if the Japanese are loyal citizens	21	29	22	17
	37%	55%	39%	27%
No, whites first	61	44	60	70
Undecided	2	1	1	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%

That the public had definite views on this issue is suggested by the small proportion of "Undecided" responses (as compared to other public opinion questions.)

Persons with a college background constituted the only group where a majority would give Japanese living in the United States equal employment opportunities after the war. Twice as many of the college-educated as of those with a grade school education or less gave an affirmative answer. Differences in opinion by economic level and by occupation closely paralleled the educational differences, with the more privileged groups in each instance most willing to give the Nisei, at least, an equal chance at post-war jobs.

Sectional Differences

When opinion on post-war job opportunities for Japanese living in the United States was broken down by large sections of the country, the following differences appeared:

	<u>SOUTH</u>	<u>WEST</u>	<u>MIDWEST</u>	<u>NEW ENGLAND- MID-ATLANTIC</u>
Yes, give all Japanese an equal chance	11%	11%	18%	19%
Yes, if loyal American citizens	<u>18</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>23</u>
	29%	32%	40%	42%
No. whites first	68	66	58	56
Undecided	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Were it not for its comparatively large Negro population, the South would have been even more one-sided in its Caucasian preference. (Nation-wide, 63% of whites and 48% of Negroes thought whites should be given job preference over Japanese after the war.) When the survey was made -- before the final directive allowing Japanese evacuees to return to the Pacific states -- anti-Japanese feeling ran considerably higher in the Mountain states, where evacuees had been relocated in considerable numbers, than in the Pacific Coast states.

JOBS FOR NISEI AND ISSEI?

The following spring NORC asked two separate questions regarding job opportunities for citizens and non-citizens. Sharp differences in attitude were revealed:

*"After the war, do you think Japanese who are AMERICAN CITIZENS (who are NOT American Citizens)\* should have as good a chance as other people to get any kind of job, or do you think other people should have the first chance at any kind of job?"*

	<u>CITIZENS</u>	<u>NON-CITIZENS</u>
Yes, equal chance	56%	6%
No, others first	40	56
No, send them back to Japan (volunteered)	--	33
Undecided	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
	100%	100%

} 89%

Question-Wording Experiments

To study the influence of question-wording on public opinion, NORC asked half the sample the questions as presented above, and the other half of the sample -- a fully comparable group -- questions identical except for variations in a single word. On the question regarding Japanese who are American citizens, the word "LOYAL" was inserted before "AMERICAN CITIZENS." Among the public as a whole, this change in wording increased the "Yes" responses by only 3 percentage points. Among other population groups studied, persons with high school training, residents of the New England and Middle Atlantic states, and women seemed more influenced than other groups. (See the chart on the following page.)

\* ON THE QUESTION REGARDING NON-CITIZENS, THERE WERE A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF VOLUNTEERED COMMENTS INDICATING THAT THE RESPONDENT WAS IGNORANT OF THE LEGAL INABILITY OF ISSEI TO BECOME CITIZENS.

On the question regarding Japanese who are not American citizens, the word "Japanese" was abbreviated to "JAPS," usually considered to be a more derogatory term. Among the public as a whole, the distribution of attitudes remained almost identical.

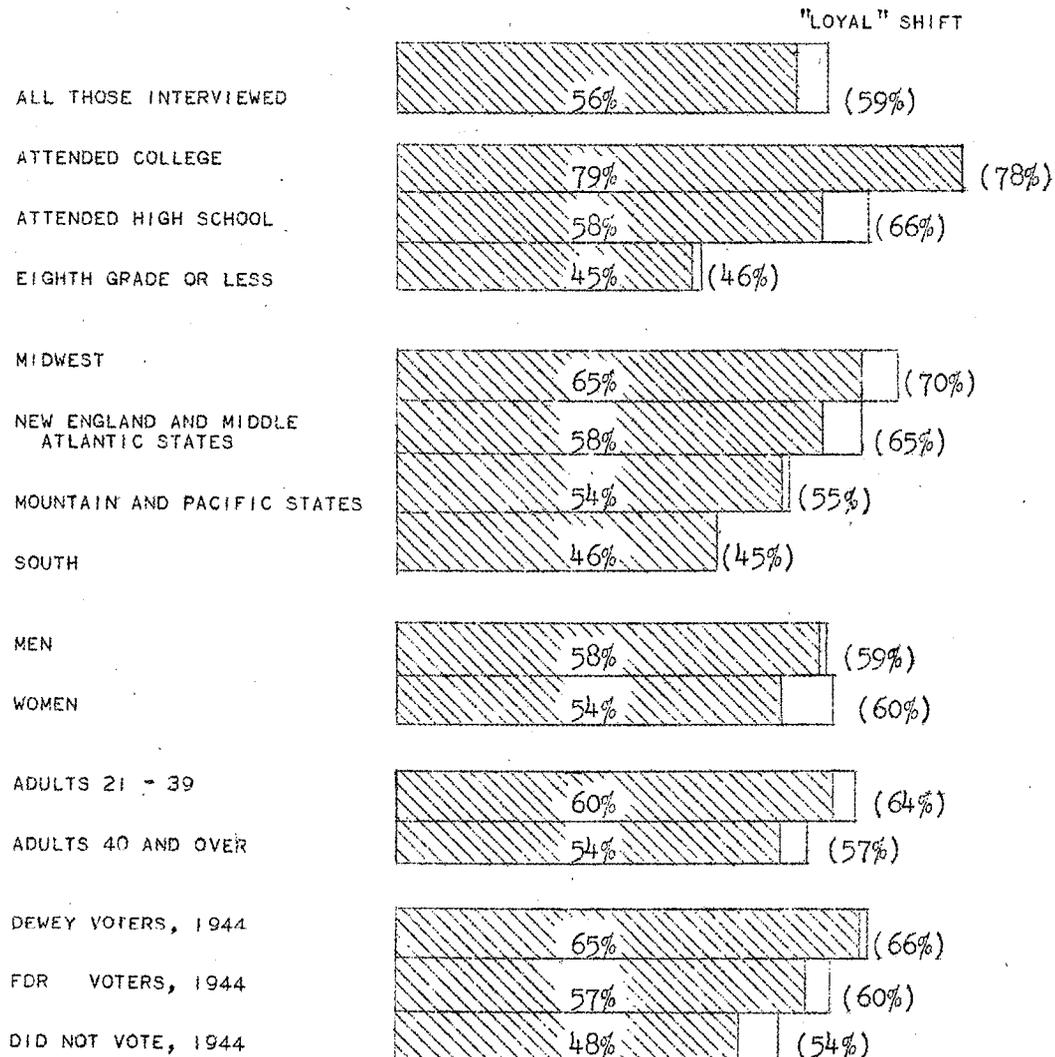
Group Differences  
Citizens

While shifts of opinion brought about by the addition of the word "LOYAL" to the question are of interest, group-to-group differences, consistent with both wordings, are far more significant. That information and tolerance are closely associated is suggested by the consistent differences of opinion among persons of various educational backgrounds. People living in the South were even less willing to concede economic equality to Nisei than were Westerners -- a difference largely due to education.

It is also significant that a very high proportion of those interviewed had an opinion on the issue. The "Undecided" percentages, unusually small for all groups, were unaffected by the change in wording.

These are the most interesting comparisons:

JAPANESE WHO ARE AMERICAN CITIZENS SHOULD HAVE EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES:



Group Differences  
Non - Citizens

Among every population group used in the analysis, a strong majority favored giving Caucasians job preference over Issei or even sending the Issei back to Japan. Even among people who have attended college, often the most tolerant and broad-minded, only 12% advocated giving non-citizen Japanese residents equal employment opportunities. Some of the more interesting comparisons follow:

SHOULD JAPANESE WHO ARE NOT CITIZENS HAVE EQUAL JOB OPPORTUNITIES?

	EQUAL	WHITES FIRST	SEND BACK TO JAPAN	UNDECIDED
All those interviewed	6%	56%	33%	5% =100%
Attended college	12	54	29	5
Attended high school	6	58	33	3
Eighth grade or less	4	54	35	7
Mountain and Pacific states	10	49	38	3
New England and Middle Atlantic states	8	56	31	5
Midwest	6	63	26	5
South	3	51	42	4
Men	9	50	38	3
Women	4	61	29	6
Adults 21 - 39	6	62	28	4
Adults 40 and over	6	52	37	5
Dewey voters, 1944	7	55	36	2
FDR voters, 1944	6	54	36	4
Did not vote, 1944	5	59	28	8

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY

Analysis of the comments volunteered by those interviewed on all three forms of the question reveals many interesting angles and aspects of people's thinking. Most of the comments from those who would not concede job equality to the Nisei and/or Issei suggest, directly or by implication, a definite feeling of prejudice against the Japanese as a group. Many of the comments from those who advocate equal employment opportunities reflect a fundamental desire for fair play and the implementation of democratic principles.

ALL JAPANESE

Send Them Back to Japan

A number of the 61% who, on the earlier question, answered that the whites should have first chance at all jobs suggested in no uncertain terms that Japan was the place for all Japanese. These sentiments are representative:

"The Japs should not be allowed here at all." (Telephone company employee, Los Angeles)

"Let the Japanese return to Japan, as they keep their citizenship there always." (Wife of factory worker, Omaha)

"Every Jap ought to be sent home regardless of citizenship." (Shipyard painter, Lorain, Ohio)

Give Whites  
First Chance

A considerable amount of bitterness was suggested by comments such as this one from the wife of a Negro steel worker in Chicago: "Ain't the Japs the ones that's fighting us? No, they oughtn't to have any jobs!" Somewhat milder feelings were evinced by a few of the 61%. A cement mill worker in Tarrant, Alabama, for example, added: "But I do think the Japs ought to have a section set aside for homes and should be treated as fairly as possible." A Chicago aircraft worker commented: "That's very hard to answer right now, as we are all very prejudiced against the Japs. They all seem bad. When you come down to it, they should have liberty, but they should not equal the whites."

Equality

Some of the '16% who answered, without qualification, "Yes, Japanese living in the United States should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of job," added comments such as these: "That's what the war is about -- giving all races an equal chance." "All should share alike. That's supposed to be the American creed, that all men are created equal." "Yes, but it would be hard to turn down a white person for a Jap." A Negro farmer outside Oklahoma City answered: "Yes, if they apply equality to us Negroes. Japs and all races that come into the United States have had a better chance than the Negro."\*

Equality, If...

Rather similar comments came from a number of the 21% who replied "Yes, if the Japanese are loyal citizens." A Cleveland businessman, for instance, expressed his conviction that there should be "no discrimination of color, race, or creed." A Negro clerical worker in Washington, D.C., answered: "We should practice true Democracy. Japanese-Americans should be given as good a chance, as the United States is made up of people from all nations." Others said: "Otherwise we violate the Constitution," or "This is a democracy -- America is a melting pot." Only rarely did this group make comments such as this one: "But that's something you can't tell about a Jap. It's better to let them work than live on the dole."

NISEI?

An Equal Chance

The majority who believed that Japanese who are American citizens should have the same chance at jobs as any other citizen often made comments amplifying or explaining their attitude. Whether or not the word "loyal" was included in the question seemed to make no noticeable difference in the comments.

\* SEE PAGE 25

The fact that the Japanese in this country were not responsible for the war was pointed out by a number of respondents: "It isn't their fault the Japanese government is at war." "They cannot help what their country does." "They should not be punished for their parents' nationality."

"Certainly they should have as good a chance. There's too much talk of discrimination against the Japanese-Americans," answers a veterans information office Counselor in Minneapolis. Others said: "There should be no discrimination," or "That's what we're fighting for."

"If they're good enough to fight for us, they should have the same chance to work for us," was a point suggested repeatedly. The wife of a freight conductor in Garrett, Indiana, commented: "There are Japanese in our Army and they are as courageous as our own boys." "Japanese-American soldiers fighting for the United States have the highest proportion of citations," according to an author's wife in New York City. The wife of a night watchman in Atlanta was one of a number to say more briefly: "There have been a lot of American Japs fighting for us in the war."

Some of those interviewed commented in terms of certain economic aspects of the problem. A factory supervisor in Chicago remarked: "I have 600 working for me, and they are very good workers." A Minnesota store manager suggested: "I don't think they would lower the standard of living where unions take care of it. If the danger became too involved, there'd be steps taken to correct it." In the same vein, a Negro soldier's wife in Oklahoma City added: "I think they should demand as high a salary or wage as any other American citizen." A Pennsylvania school teacher believed: "Not to let people earn their own way would invite future wars."

A few people expressed the view that Nisei should have equal job opportunities but added qualifying comments such as these: "If we see fit to make 'em citizens, let democracy treat them fairly, but making them citizens in the first place was a mistake." "... but they should not be in this country in the first place." "... if they have proven their loyalty," "... if they can do the work."

Others First Some comments from the minority who would give other people first chance at jobs and Nisei second indicated great bitterness on the part of white Americans. A farmer near Morganfield, Kentucky, for example, answered: "I think the yellow devils ought to be sent back where they came from." Others added remarks such as: "I don't think Japs can be loyal. We have had them in our universities, and they all plan to go back to Japan," "There is so much bitterness against them, it is hard to get people to hire them", or "Japs don't mix well in this part of the world."

### ISSEI?

Others First Whether termed "Japanese" or "Japs," non-citizens were relegated to second place in the job picture with such comments as "I don't think they should have any chance," or "They can't be trusted." An apartment house owner in Portland, Oregon, added: "I'm afraid of them. I wouldn't trust them. Their interest and heart is across the water." A farmer near Wichita was one of several to believe: "They should never have been allowed to come to this country in the first place." A Minneapolis widow went so far as to say: "But I wouldn't single out only a Japanese any more than a German or a Swede. American citizens should have jobs first."

Back to Japan

Among the substantial minority who volunteered the suggestion that all Issei should be sent back to Japan, many answered as did a Chicago traffic manager: "They ought to send those fellows back to Japan." Others were more pointed in their remarks:

"We don't need to encourage them to stay by giving them jobs. I say get rid of all of them." (Painter, airplane plant, Caroydon, Kentucky)

"None of them can be loyal Americans. They come over here and get money and education and then go back to Japan to live or die." (Housewife, Decatur, Georgia)

"It's bad enough to put up with loyal Japs. Send the rest back to their kind." (Machine inspector, Reading, Penn.)

"Vell, I think dey should send dose home -- dat's de vey -- I belief all de time." (Farmer, near Coeur d'Alene, Idaho)

An Equal Chance

The 6% who would give Issei an equal opportunity at any kind of job volunteered a number of interesting comments. A Negro minister near Detroit suggested bluntly: "As long as we allowed them to come into our country, we should allow them to make a living." A seminary student in Portland, Oregon, said: "All people should have an equal chance. I've known a lot of Issei in school and worked with them in a relocation center. We haven't shown them that our God is better than theirs. We have exploited Japan." Others remarked: "The ones true to Japan have probably gone back. The rest are victims of circumstance," or "If the Jap likes the United States, he doesn't want to go back to Japan. He didn't go back, did he? Then let them stay; give them a chance."

Confusion and Misinformation

As on the question discussed earlier\*, a number of people clearly indicated by the way they answered that they were not aware of the fact that Issei cannot, by law, become United States citizens. These samples are typical:

"They should either become American citizens or else they should be sent back to Japan." (Wife of railroad employee, Berwyn, Illinois)

"If they are not American citizens, it's because they are probably loyal to their Sun of Heaven or whatever they call him." (Housewife, Garrett, Indiana)

"Before they are given equal job opportunities, they should be made to become citizens." (Army wife, Brooklyn)

"If the country is good enough to live in, they should become American citizens or else get out. It makes the government stronger when people become citizens, and the process they would have to go through would strengthen their minds." (Businessman, Minneapolis)

"If they don't appreciate living in the United States enough to become naturalized citizens, they shouldn't have first chance to jobs or even an equal chance." (Housewife, Oklahoma City)

"A person could be a loyal Japanese and not want to give up his allegiance to his home land, because of personal ties, and also be a law-abiding resident of this country. That's democracy." (School teacher, Dickson City, Pennsylvania)

JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR NEGROES

On two different surveys NORC has asked a very similar question and found white opinion regarding job equality for Negroes somewhat paralleling opinion regarding Japanese who are not citizens. As might be expected, 92% of Negroes are opposed to employment discrimination on the basis of race. Only half as many whites share the sentiment. NORC asked:

*"Do you think Negroes should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of a job, or do you think white people should have the first chance at any kind of job?"*

	<u>NEGROES -- EQUAL CHANCE</u>	<u>WHITES FIRST</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>	
1944, whites	42%	52%	6%	= 100%
1946, whites	47	49	4	
Negroes	92	5	3	

Those who expressed the opinion that "Negroes should have as good a chance as white people to get any kind of a job" frequently volunteered comments explaining their viewpoint. Many simply added "... if qualified." Other arguments often advanced are typified by the following remarks: "The Constitution says Negroes should have equal rights." "In a democracy people of every race and creed should have an equal chance at jobs." "I have seen Negroes being drafted into the war to fight, same as us -- so they should have the same chance now." "If you're a real Christian, you have to consider everybody equal." "Negroes are human beings; they pay just as much taxes."

Many of those who believe that whites should have job priority mentioned more than one reason when asked:

*"Why do you think so?"*

- 11% of whites consider theirs a superior race and the doctrine of white supremacy mandatory; Negroes should be relegated to menial jobs.
- 11 think that Negroes are not dependable or cooperative and have other undesirable characteristics.
- 10 feel that Negroes lack general education, specific vocational training, and/or intelligence.
- 5 of whites frankly admit race prejudice.
- 8 emphasize their feeling that this is a "white man's country," that whites were here first and are in the majority numerically.
- 12 cite other reasons: that whites are not ready to accept the Negro as an equal, that Negroes are not ready for equality, that economic or social equality is undesirable, or still other arguments.
- 2 say "I don't know."

NISEI AND ISSEI APPRAISE THEIR JOB CHANCES

A limited survey conducted in the Poston, Arizona, relocation center in May and June, 1943, (by two Nisei analysts who received their training at NORC) showed that majorities of both non-citizens and citizens of Japanese extraction anticipated employment difficulties after the war:

*"In the United States do you think you will have a BETTER CHANCE or NOT AS GOOD A CHANCE for a good job than before evacuation, assuming the Allies win the war?"*

	<u>CITIZENS*</u>	<u>NON-CITIZENS</u>
Not as good	59%	67%
About the same (volunteered)	19	17
Better	16	9
Don't know	6	7
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

SPECIFIC EMPLOYMENT ISSUES

About a year after Pearl Harbor, Gallup found most residents of the Far Western states cool to the idea of employing Japanese after the war. Two questions were asked:

*"Would you be willing to hire Japanese servants to work in your home after the war is over?"\*\**

*"Would you be willing to trade at Japanese-owned stores after the war is over?"*

	<u>WILLING</u>	<u>NOT WILLING</u>	<u>UNDECIDED</u>
Hire Japanese servants	26%	69%	5% =100%
Trade at Japanese-owned stores	38	58	4

In January '44, Wallaces' Farmer and Iowa Homestead of Des Moines found that, in spite of the shortage of farm help, only one Iowa farmer in ten would favor bringing in trained farm workers of Japanese ancestry. The question:

*"If there were a chance to bring 40 American-born families of citizens of Japanese ancestry and farm experience from camps in the West to take farm jobs in your county, would you be in favor of doing it?"*

Yes 10% No 75% Undecided 15% = 100%

Opinion on the point seemed reasonably set, since a year earlier only one person in eleven, according to the same poll, favored bringing in Japanese-American citizens as agricultural workers. A typical comment: "I couldn't trust a Jap now, even if he were American born."

\* THESE PERCENTAGES ARE BASED ON A REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE OF 300 CITIZENS AND 305 NON-CITIZENS.

\*\* THE GALLUP POLL NEWS RELEASE CONTAINING THESE RESULTS DID NOT MENTION WHETHER THIS QUESTION WAS ASKED OF ALL PERSONS OR ONLY OF THOSE WHO WERE OR SAID THEY WERE IN A POSITION TO HIRE DOMESTICS.

Younger farmers, renters, and owners of big farms (over 260 acres) were slightly more in favor than others of employing Japanese-Americans. Representative of minority opinion was this remark: "Why not bring in Japanese workers? After all, there are a lot of German families around here, and they work just as hard and are just as true to their country as many American-born people."

RETURN TO THE PACIFIC COAST?

Now that the war is over and many Nisei and Issei have returned to their homes on the Pacific Coast, it is difficult to realize what an issue that return seemed when it was discussed early in the war. The desire to return the Japanese to Japan after the war was strongest in the Far West from which the Japanese were evacuated after Pearl Harbor. A year later, in December '42, the American Institute of Public Opinion reported on the following question:

*"Do you think the Japanese who were moved inland from the Pacific Coast should be allowed to return to the Pacific Coast when the war is over?"*

	<u>NATIONAL VOTE</u>	<u>VOTE IN 5 FAR WESTERN STATES **</u>
Would allow all to return	35%	29%
Would allow only Japanese who are citizens to return	26	24
Would allow none to return	17	31
Undecided at present	22	16
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Voters in the five-state western area\*\* who would allow no Japanese to return to their former homes were asked: "What should be done with them?" More than two-thirds think they should be sent back to Japan. Most of the remainder would confine them to inland areas to which they have been evacuated.

The Poston survey of May and June, 1943, showed that 59% of American-born Japanese and 67% of Japanese non-citizens believed that their chances for work would be poorer after the evacuation than before. Nevertheless, a majority wished to remain in the United States after the war, as indicated by the results of this question:

*"After the war, which of the following do you think would be best for the Japanese in the United States to do?"*

	<u>CITIZENS</u>	<u>NON-CITIZENS</u>
a. "Live in all parts of the U.S.	62%	16%
b. "Live where they did before war.	32	65
c. "Live in relocation centers.	*	1
d. "Live outside the United States."	4	14
Qualified answer	*	1
Undecided	2	3
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

\* LESS THAN 0.5%

\*\* THE CENSUS OF 1940 SHOWED THE JAPANESE POPULATION OF THE 5 WESTERN STATES -- CALIFORNIA, OREGON, WASHINGTON, NEVADA, AND ARIZONA, AS BEING ABOUT TWO-THIRDS AMERICAN: 94,000 CITIZENS; 56,000 NON-CITIZENS.

Minneapolis STAR JOURNAL  
August 28, 1946

## Editorial Comment

### Truth About Nisei

AMERICANS are supposed to be the best informed people in the world. Certainly they have easy access to the world's most efficient and comprehensive news gathering and news dispensing agencies. Nevertheless, only three in 10 Americans are aware Americans of Japanese descent committed no acts of sabotage against the country during World War II.

A National Opinion Research Center poll, findings of which appear elsewhere on this page, reveals 31 per cent of those interviewed believe the Nisei did commit acts of sabotage; 32 per cent are aware that they did not; and 37 per cent don't know.

These findings no doubt will shock residents of the Twin Cities area who became familiar with the loyalty of the Nisei through presence of the Japanese language school at Fort Snelling through most of the war. Unfortunately, other sections of the country had no such opportunity to learn about the Nisei at first hand.

Probably the biggest factor contributing to the widespread misconception was the publicity which accompanied the army's ill-advised relocation of over 100,000 persons of Japanese descent (more than two-thirds of them American citizens) from the west coast in 1942. The mass evacuation was enforced not because acts of sabotage had been committed, but because *it was assumed such acts might be committed.*

Although it is humiliating to read their tabulations, NORC pollsters have performed a public service in spreading the truth about Nisei loyalty—and the much more important truth that race alone is never a dependable measure of human character.

Mitchell, South Dakota, REPUBLIC  
September 9, 1946

#### HARD TO CONVINCED

Now that the war is over, hostile feeling against the Japanese living in the United States apparently is decreasing, according to the National Opinion Research center of the University of Denver. As a result, 50 per cent of the American people think that the average Japanese is loyal to the American government, the center finds in a survey.

When one considers the way the majority of these people co-operated with the government during the war, many giving up their lives fighting with our armed forces, it seems that much more than 50 per cent of the populace should consider the *average* Japanese as loyal.

PUBLICATIONS

Publications of the National Opinion Research Center include:

REPORTS

- 22. Do Negroes Have Equal Economic Opportunities? April, 1944\* ... \$ .10
- 23. Compulsory Military Training in Peacetime? December, 1944\* ... .15
- 24. Germany and the Post-War World. January, 1945 ..... .50
- 25. Public Opinion on World Organization up to the San Francisco Conference. April, 1945\* ..... .25
- 26. Public Opinion on Control of Prices ... Wages ... Salaries during War and Reconversion. June, 1945\* ..... .25
- 27. For the Record ... Public Opinion Misses on Russia but Scores on World Organization. September, 1945 ..... .10
- 28. What ... Where ... Why ... Do People Read? January, 1946 ..... .50
- 29. Can the U.N.O. Prevent Wars? February, 1946\* ..... .25
- 30. Should Price and Rent Control Be Continued? April, 1946\* ..... .25
- 31. Should We Return to Rationing? National Opinion on This and Other Aspects of the World Food Problem. May, 1946\* ..... .25
- 32. Japan and the Post-War World. September, 1946 ..... .50
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\* MIMEOGRAPHED

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